Anthropologica

Vol. 52 Nº 1, 2010

Canadian
Anthropology
Society

Société
canadienne
d'anthropologie

Guest Editor / Rédactrice Invitée :
Sylvie Poirier

Imagination culturelle et politique dans les communautés autochtones au Canada et en Australie / Cultural and Political Imagination in Indigenous Comunities in Canada and Australia

Editorial Policy

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

Politique éditoriale

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

Anthropologica ISSN 0003-5459
Published at Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario for the Canadian Anthropology Society.
Publiée par Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario pour la Société Canadienne d'Anthropologie.
 We acknowledge the financial assistance provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and Trent University. / Nous reconnaissons l'aide financière apportée par le Counseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada et l'université Trent.

Anthropologica

Vol. 52 N° 1, 2010

Section thématique / Thematic Section
Imagination culturelle et politique dans les communautés autochtones au Canada et en Australie / Cultural and Political Imagination in Indigenous Communities in Canada and Australia

Guest Editor / Rédactrice Invitée: Sylvie Poirier

Articles

Ideas / Idées

Anthropological Reflections / Réflexions anthropologiques

Art and Museum Review / Compte rendu d'exposition

Review Forum / Regards croisés sur un livre

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Cover / Couverture

© Royal Ontario Museum. Headdress Ejagham, Ekoi, Nigeria: wood, antelope skin, pigment, bone, 19th - early 20th century.

© Musée royal de l'Ontario. Tête avec coiffe, Ejagham, Ekoi, Nigéria : bois, peau d'antilope, pigment, os, XIX^{e} - début du XX^{e} siècle.

Section thématique
Imagination culturelle et politique dans les communautés autochtones au Canada et en Australie

Introduction

Sylvie Poirer *Université Laval*

Ce numéro s'inscrit dans la continuité d'un symposium organisé en collaboration avec Nicolas Peterson dans le cadre de la Conférence annuelle de la Société canadienne d'anthropologie (CASCA) qui s'est tenue à l'Université Carleton (Ottawa) en 2008. L'objectif du symposium était de réunir des anthropologues travaillant auprès d'autochtones au Canada et en Australie afin de favoriser l'échange et le dialogue et éventuellement d'établir les bases d'une perspective comparative autour des réalités autochtones dans ces deux pays. Plusieurs chercheurs ont répondu à notre invitation et ce symposium a connu un franc succès. Nous regrettons cependant que plusieurs des participants n'aient pu, pour diverses raisons, participer au présent numéro d'*Anthropologica* – Naomi Adelson, Michael Asch, Alexandra Beaulieu, John Carty, Harvey Feit et Nicolas Peterson – et tenons à les remercier ici pour leur contribution riche et stimulante ainsi que pour leur participation à ce dialogue.

Par « imagination culturelle et politique », nous entendons les processus par lesquels, depuis la rencontre et l'histoire coloniales jusqu'au contexte actuel, les autochtones n'ont eu de cesse que de reproduire et de transformer leurs mondes, alors que ceux-ci sont maintenant irrémédiablement enchevêtrés avec les politiques et les agendas étatiques à leur égard, avec les intérêts économiques nationaux et globaux sur leur territoire, et avec les valeurs de la modernité et de l'idéologie néolibérale. Dans la ré-imagination de leurs mondes et de leurs identités, ainsi que dans leurs interactions avec la société majoritaire, les autochtones déploient comme sujets historiques et acteurs culturels des pratiques et des formes multiples, à la fois de résistance, d'accommodation et d'engagement (Austin-Broos et Macdonald 2005; Blaser et al. 2004; Scott 2001; Taylor et al. 2005). Ce sont ces pratiques et formes qui, aux côtés des ruptures, des contraintes, des souffrances et des désillusions engendrées par l'expérience de la colonisation participent à la définition de la contemporanéité (Poirier 2000) et des projets de vie des autoch-

tones (Blaser 2004), et qui leur permettent de renouveler leur différence.

Dans le champ des études autochtones, plusieurs parallèles peuvent être établis entre le Canada et l'Australie. Ces deux pays sont issus de l'Empire colonial britannique et partagent plusieurs similitudes sur le plan de l'histoire des relations entre l'État et les autochtones. L'histoire coloniale et la déclaration de la souveraineté, les politiques successives à l'égard des autochtones, les pratiques étatiques de dépossession et de colonisation y ont en effet suivi sensiblement le même parcours idéologique. À partir du milieu du XIX^{e} siècle, des politiques dites de protection sont instituées, soit l'établissement des réserves au Canada, et des missions et communautés gouvernementales en Australie. Parmi les objectifs cachés de ces politiques figuraient d'ailleurs la sédentarisation forcée ainsi que la dépossession graduelle des territoires autochtones au profit des colons et des intérêts non-autochtones. Les politiques d'assimilation qui furent instaurées par la suite ont donné lieu, pour ce qui est du Canada, aux écoles résidentielles pour tous les enfants autochtones d'âge scolaire qui étaient dès lors retirés de leur famille et de leur milieu de vie. De manière similaire, certaines missions et communautés gouvernementales en Australie ont mis en place des dortoirs pour les enfants d'âge scolaire afin de les soustraire à l'influence de leurs parents. Sur l'ensemble du continent australien, on a également effectué un retrait forcé des enfants métissés de leur famille aborigène afin qu'ils soient socialisés dans le monde des Blancs; ce sont ceux et celles qui forment ce que l'on appelle aujourd'hui la « génération volée ».

Les mouvements de décolonisation à l'échelle internationale se sont traduits, à partir des années 1970, au Canada comme en Australie, par la mise en œuvre de politiques dites d'autodétermination (et d'autogestion). Celles-ci ont permis aux autochtones de s'engager, sur les plans politiques et juridiques, dans des processus de négociations et de revendications politiques et territoriales pour la reconnaissance de droits spécifiques (et de titres ancestraux). Ces processus, comme nous le verrons avec l'exemple des Dene Tha offert par Goulet, sont longs, ardus, semés d'embuches, de paradoxes, de désillusions, certes, mais aussi de « victoires ». Pour clore ce bref survol, ajoutons enfin qu'au moment de la signature de la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur les droits des peuples autochtones en septembre 2007, le Canada et l'Australie se sont prononcés avec les États-Unis et la Nouvelle-Zélande contre la Déclaration et ont refusé de la signer. Toutefois, le gouvernement australien de Rudd est depuis lors revenu sur sa position. Que ce soit au Canada ou en Australie, les réalités autochtones contemporaines ne peuvent donc être comprises qu'à la lumière de ces politiques successives et des réponses autochtones à celles-ci, tant sur le plan local que régional et national.

Un autre parallèle se dessine entre les deux pays, soit celui de leur relation difficile et ambigüe avec la « différence » autochtone. Plusieurs auteurs ont déjà souligné les limites que rencontrent les États démocratiques et libéraux lorsqu'ils doivent composer avec la différence et l'altérité (Povinelli 2002). En outre, la présence et la différence des sujets (coloniaux) autochtones posent un problème particulier pour le projet d'homogénéisation qui accompagne la construction de la Nation (australienne ou canadienne) (Macdonald 2008:354). Dans ces deux pays, les différences autochtones sont, plus souvent qu'autrement, traduites dans les discours publics en termes de « dysfonctions », de « désavantages », de « problèmes » ou encore d'« incapacités »; les différences des autochtones sont donc perçues comme un « échec » de leur part à se conformer aux exigences de la modernité et à se soustraire aux valeurs de l'idéologie néolibérale (voir Tonkinson et Tonkinson, et Macdonald dans ce numéro; Poirier, sous presse). De tels discours et perceptions sont en outre supportés par les figures de « l'inégalité statistique », en ce qui a trait à l'éducation, à la santé, à l'emploi ou encore au logement. Il ne s'agit pas ici de nier que les peuples autochtones, au Canada et en Australie, sont aux prises avec des problèmes sociaux majeurs (mort violente, suicide, abus et violence sous différentes formes). L'expérience de la colonisation et de la marginalisation ainsi que le déni de leur monde social et ontologique ne sont pas étrangers à cette réalité (Samson 2004). Les réalités autochtones contemporaines ne peuvent toutefois être réduites à ces problèmes et souffrances. Des groupes autochtones se sont d'ailleurs engagés dans des processus de « guérison sociale » et déploient des initiatives et des réponses locales à ces souffrances (physiques, psychologiques et spirituelles) qui sont plus en accord avec leurs valeurs, leurs modes d'être-au-monde, leurs principes moraux et ontologiques (voir Jérôme dans ce numéro; Tanner 2004).

Comme en témoignent les exemples ethnographiques offerts par les auteurs du numéro, plusieurs recoupements sont donc possibles dans les expériences et les réalités coloniales et néocoloniales des autochtones dans les deux pays. Au Canada et en Australie, les trente dernières années de politiques d'autodétermination et d'autogestion ont contribué à transformer les socialités, les subjectivités et les agencéités autochtones. Les réponses autochtones quant à la réception et à la mise en œuvre de ces politiques sont mitigées. Ces réponses, culturellement

constituées, s'orchestrent et prennent forme sur la base d'un enchevêtrement complexe entre règlements et lois étatiques d'une part, et structures sociales et politiques coutumières, d'autre part : en somme, entre valeurs de la modernité occidentale et valeurs autochtones. Ces réponses donnent lieu, à leur tour, à des formes, des espaces et des expressions tantôt d'autonomie et d'affirmation, tantôt de dépendance et de « normalisation ».

Dans les deux pays, dans les relations entre autochtones, leaders politiques des uns et des autres et différents paliers de gouvernement, la question du territoire demeure un enjeu primordial. Les territoires ancestraux, ainsi que la relation intime que la majorité des groupes autochtones entretiennent avec eux, demeurent à ce jour une composante majeure de leur monde, de leur identité, de leur historicité et de leur socialité. Et ce, en dépit du fait qu'ils ont été « invités », à des degrés divers selon les groupes, à se retirer socialement, politiquement, écologiquement et économiquement desdits territoires au profit d'intérêts économiques nationaux et internationaux. Quant aux processus de négociation et de revendications politiques et territoriales, ils continuent de s'appuyer sur les structures politiques et juridiques de l'État colonisateur (voir Goulet et Thom), contribuant ainsi à perpétuer chez les autochtones un sentiment d'injustice, d'incompréhension et de marginalisation. Non seulement le processus de décolonisation tarde à se concrétiser, mais les États canadien et australien continuent l'un et l'autre à déployer des pratiques de colonisation et des stratégies de « normalisation » envers les autochtones dans le but avoué de les transformer en sujets « modernes », plus aptes à répondre « adéquatement » aux attentes de l'État et aux valeurs de l'idéologie néolibérale (voir Tonkinson et Tonkinson, et Macdonald).

Dans ce numéro

Il est question d'une variété de groupes autochtones dans ce numéro : les Dene Tha (Goulet); les Premières Nations de la Côte Salish (Thom), les Wiradjuri (Macdonald), les Mardu (Tonkinson et Tonkinson), les Warlpiri (Dussart) et les Atikamekw (Jérôme). En s'appuyant sur une expérience ethnographique approfondie, chaque auteur aborde une facette des mondes amérindiens et aborigènes contemporains et souligne certains des défis et incompréhensions que rencontrent les autochtones des deux pays dans leurs interactions avec l'État ou face aux valeurs de la modernité occidentale.

Quelques fils conducteurs et thèmes récurrents se dégagent des textes. Parmi ceux-ci, notons la persistance, chez les autochtones, d'une socialité basée sur les relations et les réseaux de parenté, lesquels façonnent toujours les dynamiques, les pratiques et les réflexes sociaux, économiques et politiques. Ainsi, une des questions fondamentales traitée par la majorité des auteurs est celle de la distinction entre des sociétés basées sur la parenté et la société civile. En effet, chacune produit et valorise différentes formes et expressions de subjectivité et de socialité, et donc différentes notions de personne et d'être-au-monde, ainsi que différents types de responsabilités et d'obligations. Les autochtones se trouvent aujourd'hui tiraillés entre ces différents modes d'être : celui qui met l'accent sur les relations, les obligations et les responsabilités envers la parenté élargie, le territoire et les ancêtres, et celui qui découle de leur appartenance à une société civile qui met l'accent sur l'individualisme; une coexistence difficile qui pourrait être atténuée par la reconnaissance, au niveau politique, d'ontologies multiples (Clammer et al. 2004). Une autre question se dégage des textes : dans quelle mesure les autochtones au Canada et en Australie ont-ils développé depuis leur sédentarisation forcée un sentiment d'appartenance aux « communautés » sédentaires? Comment ont-ils reconfiguré dans le contexte de ces communautés – et sur un territoire restreint – les réseaux sociaux d'appartenance et de solidarité construits autour de la filiation et de l'alliance?

Parmi les autres thèmes et fils conducteurs suivis par les auteurs, on peut noter le maintien et la prégnance de la valeur et du principe ontologique de « relationalité » dans les mondes autochtones; la question de la résistance culturelle, soit les processus complexes et subtils de persistance et de transformation culturelle dans des contextes de domination et de marginalisation; la question de la différence autochtone ainsi que les difficultés de traduire, de (ré)concilier, de négocier ces différences culturelles au sein d'États nations modernes et libéraux. La question de la « traduction » de cette différence en des termes qui puissent être mieux entendus et compris demeure d'ailleurs une des principales responsabilités des anthropologues qui travaillent avec les autochtones, et représente une forme d'engagement politique en soi.

Les questions de revendications politiques et territoriales et celles de gouvernance sont abordées par plusieurs des auteurs. En prenant l'exemple des Dene Tha (Alberta), Goulet nous rappelle, de manière convaincante et en s'appuyant sur une perspective diachronique, la longue et difficile bataille des autochtones pour la reconnaissance de leurs droits et intérêts sur leurs territoires ancestraux. L'idéologie coloniale qui avait permis de justifier la dépossession territoriale des autochtones, avec des penseurs comme Locke, entre autres, perdure à ce jour. Goulet retrace, sur une période de plus de cent ans, autant les stratégies de l'État canadien pour affirmer et

maintenir sa souveraineté et ses intérêts sur les territoires des Dene Tha que les démarches entreprises par ces derniers pour protéger leurs intérêts et leurs droits collectifs. Alors que ces négociations se jouent sur le terrain du langage, des instruments et des paradigmes de l'État colonisateur, Goulet démontre comment les Dene Tha, à l'instar d'autres groupes autochtones, ont appris à décoder ceux-ci et à les utiliser dans la poursuite de leurs propres projets de société. Les rapports de pouvoir n'en demeurent pas moins nettement inégaux, et en cela, toute « victoire » autochtone, comme celle des Dene Tha dans le cadre du Projet gazier de la vallée du Mackenzie par exemple, s'inscrit dans les politiques autochtones de l'espoir.

Thom, Macdonald et les Tonkinson abordent pour leur part plus spécifiquement les questions de gouvernance au sein des communautés autochtones. Ces auteurs montrent comment les conceptions autochtones d'autorité et de gouvernance, mais aussi d'autonomie et de responsabilité s'accordent mal ou du moins difficilement avec celles des États modernes et libéraux, de la société civile et de la culture bureaucratique. Ils indiquent aussi les écarts qui existent entre les attentes des gouvernements en termes d'autodétermination et celles des autochtones.

À l'instar de Goulet, Thom s'appuie sur une perspective diachronique afin de retracer les continuités, les transformations et les enchevêtrements qui caractérisent les structures politiques et décisionnelles actuelles des Premières Nations de la Côte Salish (Colombie-Britannique). Ces enchevêtrements complexes découlent de la coexistence de formes multiples de pouvoir, de leadership et de processus décisionnels. Ce sont celles qui émanent des modes traditionnels construits autour des réseaux de parenté et des affiliations territoriales, celles qui ont été imposés par la Loi sur les Indiens, notamment les Conseils de bande, ou encore celles qui sont créées *ad hoc* pour les besoins des revendications. Thom analyse la réticence des membres des Premières Nations de la Côte Salish à former un gouvernement autochtone régional et à adopter pleinement le mode démocratique de représentation. Ces regroupements politiques plus larges, qu'il présente d'ailleurs comme leur « bête noire », sont perçus par les autochtones davantage comme un risque que comme une opportunité, et ce, dans la mesure où ils risquent de miner l'autonomie et le pouvoir décisionnel des groupes locaux – fondés sur les réseaux de parenté – et mettent en danger les principes de fluidité et de flexibilité qui caractérisent les structures politiques et les modes d'agrégation et de solidarité traditionnels avec lesquels ils s'accordent mal. La question de gouvernance, nous rappelle Thom, est tout aussi énigmatique et complexe du fait de la coexistence, dans le contexte actuel, de différentes formes de titres et de droits fonciers, soit ceux qui émanent de la coutume, et ceux définis et reconnus dans le cadre des ententes (et traités) avec les gouvernements provincial et fédéral. Les idiomes de la culture occidentale et des États Nations modernes qui considèrent la propriété foncière en termes de frontières fixes et d'occupation exclusive contrastent avec le paradigme de flexibilité des modes autochtones de tenure foncière. Ne peut-on concevoir qu'au Canada comme en Australie les politiques d'autodétermination (et d'autogestion), les attentes et les exigences des gouvernements sur les plans structurels et organisationnels ainsi que l'imposition d'une culture bureaucratique ne finissent par représenter une forme de violence néocoloniale?

Plusieurs points communs émergent entre les analyses et observations de Thom et celles de Macdonald, notamment en ce qui concerne la résistance des autochtones face à des structures exogènes d'autorité et de hiérarchie, susceptibles de miner la logique relationnelle ainsi que l'autonomie et les pouvoirs décisionnels des personnes et des groupes locaux. Macdonald s'appuie sur l'expérience des Wiradjuri, un peuple aborigène des régions rurales de la Nouvelle Galles du Sud, pour aborder la colonisation comme un « processus culturel », soit celui de la colonisation des terres (au XIX^{e} siècle) à la colonisation actuelle des personnes (avec les politiques d'autogestion) en passant par la colonisation des corps (avec les politiques de ségrégation et d'assimilation). Une analyse historique et ethnographique approfondie permet d'apprécier comment les Wiradjuri, en tant que sujets coloniaux, ont su reproduire et ré-imaginer leur monde et leurs pratiques culturelles. Jusqu'au milieu du XX^{e} siècle, dans leur interaction et leur engagement avec le monde des éleveurs, et en dépit de la colonisation de leurs territoires, les Wiradjuri ont maintenu une forme d'autonomie sociale et spatiale et reproduit les valeurs de réciprocité et de partage fondées sur les obligations et les responsabilités à l'égard des réseaux de parenté (voir aussi Peterson 1993, 2008). Or, cette situation allait changer avec l'imposition des politiques d'autogestion et des valeurs de la culture bureaucratique, et des formes de pouvoir et de processus décisionnels qui leur sont associés. Macdonald présente les politiques actuelles d'autogestion comme une forme insidieuse et violente de colonisation en ce qu'elles visent spécifiquement le contrôle et la colonisation des personnes (et non plus seulement des territoires) et leur transformation en des sujets modernes et individualistes. En effet, la logique derrière les structures organisationnelles et décisionnelles de l'autogestion où prédominent la culture bureaucratique et les exigences d'« accountability » influe

directement sur les relations entre les personnes et sur la notion même de personne; l'individualisme l'emporte sur les relations sociales. Macdonald écrit : « Aboriginal people were unprepared – in any sense of the term – to become subjects of liberal democracy which required that they exchange their kin-relations for bureaucratic ones » (voir aussi Nadasdy 2003 pour un exemple canadien). C'est donc en ce sens qu'elle parle d'une « violence ontologique ».

S'appuyant sur leur longue expérience auprès des Mardu du Désert occidental australien, les Tonkinson mettent en évidence quant à eux « le fossé infranchissable » qui sépare les valeurs des Mardu et celles de la culture occidentale dans leur tentative de mieux comprendre les réponses de ces Aborigènes aux attentes et politiques de l'État australien. Les disparités et disjonctions entre les valeurs d'un monde de chasseurs-cueilleurs et celles de la société civile et du système capitaliste s'avèrent source de tension et de malaise. Or, en dépit de leur marginalisation, les Mardu, à l'instar d'autres groupes aborigènes, semblent déterminés à maintenir leur différence. Les Tonkinson s'attachent ainsi à analyser la « différence » des Mardu dans leur relation au travail, à l'éducation, au leadership et à la propriété. Deux aspects de cette différence méritent que l'on s'y arrête. Face au travail rémunéré, non seulement les Mardu ont un niveau de scolarité nettement inférieur à la moyenne nationale, mais encore ils n'hésiteront pas à délaisser leur emploi, pour des périodes plus ou moins prolongées, afin de s'acquitter de leurs responsabilités vis-à-vis de leur parenté ou de leurs obligations cérémonielles (rites initiatiques et funéraires). Or, plus souvent qu'autrement, ces responsabilités entraînent des déplacements. Cela nous conduit à un autre aspect, celui de la mobilité, un thème abordé aussi par Dussart et, dans une moindre mesure, par Goulet. Dans le contexte contemporain, la mobilité des Mardu, quoique redéfinie par l'usage, entre autres, de moyens de transport modernes, demeure importante pour les activités de chasse et de cueillette, pour les obligations sociales – comme visiter des parents dans des communautés ou des villes plus ou moins éloignées – ou encore pour les prescriptions rituelles – comme participer à des cérémonies ou à des rassemblements. Pour les Mardu, et plusieurs autres groupes autochtones tant au Canada qu'en Australie, cette mobilité permet de consolider et de perpétuer les réseaux de relations sociales et les liens au territoire. Si une telle mobilité, nous dit Dussart à propos des Warlpiri, constitue une forme de « *nourishment* », les fonctionnaires de l'État la voient plutôt comme une « différence » à contrôler et éventuellement à éradiquer.

Dussart et Jérôme abordent plus spécifiquement certaines des réponses autochtones à la maladie et à la souffrance, et en particulier plusieurs conceptions et pratiques locales face au mieux-être et à la guérison. L'article de Dussart évoque de manière éloquente les obstacles ontologiques et les incompatibilités entre les formes aborigènes de subjectivité et de socialité et celles de la culture occidentale, notamment face à la maladie et au système biomédical. En Australie comme au Canada, les autochtones présentent un haut taux de diabète. Dussart, qui travaille auprès des Warlpiri du désert central australien, analyse comment les personnes atteintes de diabète sont sans cesse tiraillées entre l'obligation tacite – telle que les praticiens du système biomédical la conçoivent – de prendre leur médicamentation de façon régulière ainsi que de minimiser leurs déplacements, d'une part, et les responsabilités envers leur ordre social et cosmologique, soit envers les parents, le territoire et les activités rituelles, d'autre part. Or, de telles responsabilités, comme nous l'avons vu avec les Mardu, les amènent à se déplacer régulièrement, dans des conditions souvent difficiles. Plus souvent qu'autrement, observe Dussart, les diabétiques, en dépit de la souffrance qui accompagne leur condition, choisissent ainsi de « prendre soin » de leurs relations sociales plutôt que de « prendre soin » de leur bien-être physique. Cette attitude n'est pas sans évoquer la disparité entre le soi souverain et individualiste et le soi relationnel où les relations sociales (avec les parents, le territoire ou encore les ancêtres) sont constitutifs de la personne (Poirier 2008); entretenir ces relations contribue non seulement au mieux-être de la personne, mais aussi à sa raison d'être. C'est en ce sens, pour reprendre les termes d'un Warlpiri, qu'« il est difficile d'être malade », non pas tant à cause des souffrances physiques induites par la maladie, mais en raison de la difficulté pour les diabétiques de maintenir et de « nourrir » les relations et les obligations sociales et rituelles qui sont au fondement de l'identité et de l'être warlpiri.

En prenant appui sur l'exemple des Atikamekw, groupe algonquien de centre-nord du Québec, Jérôme évoque pour sa part le mouvement pan-amérindien de guérison sociale qui s'est répandu, au cours des 30 dernières années, dans les communautés autochtones du Canada en réponse aux blessures et aux souffrances, individuelles et collectives, induites par la colonisation et les politiques de dépossession et d'assimilation. Au niveau communautaire, ce mouvement de guérison s'est aussi traduit par un renouveau rituel où des pratiques traditionnelles, délaissées au moment de leur conversion au Catholicisme, ont fait depuis peu l'objet d'un processus de réappropriation et de réinterprétation. Trois pratiques rituelles retiennent l'attention de Jérôme : la cérémonie des premiers pas, la loge à sudation et le powwow. Il

expose comment chacune de ces pratiques contribue, dans le contexte des communautés sédentaires, à retisser les liens sociaux et à ré-imaginer les formes traditionnelles de socialité et de solidarité. Mais Jérôme nous amène aussi sur un autre terrain, quelque peu négligé d'ailleurs par les anthropologues, celui du rire, de la moquerie et de l'humour, non seulement au quotidien et dans les relations sociales, mais aussi dans les contextes et pratiques rituels. Le jeu, le rire et la fête apparaissent dès lors comme des « principes relationnels » du rituel; ils sont même parfois garants de son efficacité. Les Atikamekw, écrit-il, maîtrisent et manient l'art de rire *avec* et de rire *de* quelqu'un. Chez les Atikamekw, et cela pourrait aussi s'appliquer à plusieurs des peuples amérindiens et aborigènes, l'art de rire est ainsi indissociable de l'art de vivre.

Les analyses et les regards ethnographiques que nous livrent les auteurs de ce numéro permettent de mieux apprécier pourquoi et comment les autochtones – de manière différente selon les lieux, les trajectoires coloniales et les dynamiques sociales et culturelles spécifiques – parviennent à résister à la « transformation ontologique » qui est attendue d'eux. Enfin, que les autochtones adoptent rarement l'attitude attendue face aux politiques étatiques, qu'ils continuent de déployer des pratiques et des stratégies d'affirmation, de résistance et d'engagement en empruntant des avenues souvent inattendues et innovatrices, ou encore qu'ils parviennent à renouveler leur différence mais sans la perdre (Austin-Broos 2003), tout cela devrait contribuer à stimuler notre imagination anthropologique et nous permettre de ré-imaginer, de reconfigurer, voire de décoloniser à notre tour nos propres paradigmes conceptuels et méthodologiques.

Sylvie Poirier, Département d'anthropologie, Pavillon Charles-De Koninck, 1030, avenue des Sciences-Humaines, Université Laval, Québec, Québec G1V 0A6, Canada. Courriel: Sylvie .poirier@ant.ulaval.ca.

Références

Austin-Broos, Diane
2003 Places, Practices and Things: The Articulation of Arrernte Kinship with Welfare and Work. American Ethnologist 30(1):118-135.

Austin-Broos, Diane, et Gaynor Macdonald, dirs.
2005 Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Blaser, Mario
2004 Life Projects: Indigenous People's Agency and Development. *Dans* In the Way of Development. Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalisation. Mario Blaser, Harvey Feit et Glenn McRae, dirs. Pp. 26-44. Londres: Zed Books.

Blaser, Mario, Harvey Feit et Glenn McRae, dirs.
2004 In the Way of Development. Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalisation. Londres: Zed Books.

Clammer, John, Sylvie Poirier et Eric Schwimmer, dirs.
2004 Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Macdonald, Gaynor
2008 Difference or Disappearance: The Politics of Indigenous Inclusion in the Liberal State. Anthropologica 50(2):341-358.

Nadasdy, Paul
2003 Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Peterson, Nicolas
1993 Demand Sharing: Reciprocity and the Pressure for Generosity among Foragers. American Anthropologist 95(4):860-874.
2008 On the Persistence of Sharing: Personhood and Egalitarian Domestic Moral Economies. Communication présentée à la Conférence annuelle de la CASCA, Université Carleton, Ottawa, 8-11 Mai.

Poirier, Sylvie
2000 Contemporanéités autochtones, territoires et (post) colonialisme. Réflexions sur des exemples canadiens et australiens. Anthropologie et sociétés 24(1):137-152.
2008 Reflections on Indigenous Cosmopolitics/Poetics. Anthropologica 50(1):75-85.
Sous presse Resistance, Accommodation and Engagement in Indigenous Contexts: A Comparative Perspective between Canadian and Australian Examples. Anthropological Forum.

Povinelli, Elizabeth A.
2002 The Cunning of Recognition. Durham et Londres: Duke University Press.

Sansom, Colin
2004 « We Live This Experience »: Ontological Insecurity and the Colonial Domination of the Innu People of Northern Labrador. *Dans* Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. John Clammer, Sylvie Poirier et Éric Schwimmer, dirs. Pp. 151-188. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Scott, Colin H., dir.
2001 Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Quebec and Labrador. Vancouver et Toronto: University of British Columbia Press.

Tanner, Adrian
2004 The Cosmology of Nature, Cultural Divergence, and the Metaphysics of Community Healing. *Dans* Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. John Clammer, Sylvie Poirier et Éric Schwimmer, dirs. Pp. 189-223. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Taylor, Luke, Graeme K. Ward, Graham Henderson,
Richard Davis et Lynley A. Wallis, dirs.
2005 The Power of Knowledge. The Resonance of Tradition. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Thematic Section
Cultural and Political Imagination in Indigenous Communities in Canada and Australia

Introduction

Sylvie Poirer *Université Laval*

This issue marks the continuation of a symposium presented, in collaboration with Nicolas Peterson, at the annual conference of the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA) which was held at Carleton University (Ottawa) in 2008. The goal of the symposium was to bring together anthropologists working with indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia so as to foster exchange and dialogue and, eventually, build the foundation for a comparative outlook on indigenous issues in the two countries. Several researchers accepted our invitation and played their part in a very successful symposium. The symposium participants who unfortunately could not contribute to the present issue of *Anthropologica* were: Naomi Adelson, Michael Asch, Alexandra Beaulieu, John Carty, Harvey Feit and Nicolas Peterson. We wish to thank them for their stimulating and enriching contribution and their participation in this dialogue.

By cultural and political imagination, we mean the ways by which indigenous peoples have, since their first encounters with colonists till today, reproduced and transformed their worlds as these have now become irremediably entangled with state policies and agendas, modern and neoliberal values, and national and global commercial interests in their territories. In the ways they reimagine their worlds and identities and interact with the larger society, indigenous peoples practice multiple forms of resistance, accommodation and engagement, both as historical subjects and cultural actors (Austin-Broos and Macdonald 2005; Blaser et al. 2004; Scott 2001; Taylor et al. 2005). These practices, alongside the fractures, constraints, suffering and disillusionment stemming from their colonization, have greatly defined their contemporaneity (Poirier 2000) and life projects (Blaser 2004) and are contributing to a renewal of their difference.

Several parallels can be established between Canada and Australia in the field of indigenous studies. Both countries were creations of the British colonial empire and the history of their relations between the state and

indigenous peoples have many similarities. In both countries, colonial history, the declaration of sovereignty, successive policies concerning indigenous peoples, and state practices of dispossession and colonization followed very similar ideological routes. As of the middle of the 19th century, so-called protection policies were introduced by respectively establishing reserves in Canada and missions and government communities in Australia. Was it not one of the hidden agendas of these policies to force indigenous peoples to become sedentary and gradually dispossess them of their territories in favour of colonists and non-indigenous interests? In Canada, the assimilation policies that were later imposed gave rise to residential schools for all Native, school-aged children, who were then taken from their families and lifeways. In Australia, certain missions and government communities set up dormitories for school-aged children to remove them from their parents' influence. Mixed race children were forcefully taken from their Aboriginal families all over Australia to be raised in the white people's world. Australians now call these children the "stolen generation."

The international decolonization movements of the 1970s pushed Canada and Australia to implement self-determination and self-management policies. These policies have allowed indigenous peoples to engage in political negotiations and land claims so as to have specific rights and ancestral titles recognized. As we will see in Goulet's example of the Dene Tha, these processes are long, arduous, and full of pitfalls, paradoxes and disillusionment, but also sometimes contain "victories." To conclude this brief overview, we might add that when the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of indigenous Peoples in September 2007, Canada and Australia, along with the United States and New Zealand, spoke out against the declaration and refused to sign. The Australian government under Rudd has since, however, changed its position. In both Canada and Australia, present-day indigenous situations can only be understood in light of the successive policies and subsequent responses of indigenous peoples at the local, regional, and national levels.

There is another parallel between the two countries: their difficult and ambiguous relationship with the "difference" of the indigenous other. Authors have already pointed out the limits that democratic and liberal states face when they must deal with difference and otherness (Povinelli 2002). Moreover, the presence and difference of their indigenous and still colonial subjects pose a particular problem for the construction of a homogeneous nation, be it Australian or Canadian (Macdonald 2008:354). In both countries, indigenous differences are, more often than not, described in public discourse in terms of "dysfunctions," "disadvantages," "problems" or "inabilities." The differences of indigenous peoples are seen as "failures" on their part to meet the requirements of modernity and to accept neoliberal values (see Tonkinson and Tonkinson, and Macdonald in this issue; Poirier In press). Such statements and perceptions are supported by education, health, employment and housing figures that denote "statistical inequality." It is not our purpose here to deny that indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia are faced with major social problems, including abuse, violence and suicide. Colonization, marginalization and the denial of their social and ontological world are not unrelated to these problems (Samson 2004). The reality of present-day indigenous peoples cannot however be reduced to these problems and the suffering they engender. Indigenous groups have moreover begun the process of "social healing" and have undertaken local initiatives and responses to their physical, psychological, and spiritual suffering that is in keeping with their values, their ways of being-in-the-world and their moral and ontological principles (see Jérôme in this issue; Tanner 2004).

As can be seen from the ethnographic examples provided by the authors in this issue, several parallels can be drawn between the colonial and neocolonial experiences of the two countries' indigenous peoples. The last 30 years of self-determination and self-management policies in Canada and Australia have changed indigenous peoples' socialities, subjectivities and agencies. Indigenous peoples have responded in disparate ways to the implementation of these policies. The complex entanglement between Western and indigenous values, between state regulations and laws on the one hand and customary social and political structures on the other has shaped these culturally constituted responses. These in turn have given rise to forms, spaces and expressions that swing from autonomy and affirmation to dependence and "standardization."

The land question remains a fundamental issue in both countries with regard to relations among indigenous peoples, their political leaders and different levels of government. Ancestral lands, as well as the intimate relationship that the majority of indigenous groups have with them, are still a major component of the indigenous world, identity, historicity and sociality. This despite the fact that these groups have been "invited" in various ways to give up their land—be it socially, politically, ecologically or economically—for the benefit of national or international economic interests. As for land claims and political negotiations, they continue to be based on the political and judicial structures of the colonizing state (see Goulet and Thom in

this issue), thereby perpetuating feelings of injustice, misunderstanding and marginalization among indigenous peoples. Not only is the de-colonization process excruciatingly slow, but the Canadian and Australian states are continuing with their colonization practices and "standardization" strategies concerning indigenous peoples, with the stated goal of changing them into modern subjects who will be able to respond more "appropriately" to the state's expectations and to neoliberal values (see Tonkinson and Tonkinson, and Macdonald in this issue).

This Issue

The indigenous groups discussed in this issue include the: Dene Tha (Goulet), Coast Salish First Nation (Thom), Wiradjuri (Macdonald), Mardu (Tonkinson and Tonkinson), Warlpiri (Dussart) and Atikamekw (Jérôme). Based on an in-depth ethnographic inquiry, each author looks at an aspect of contemporary Amerindian and Aboriginal worlds and highlights some of the challenges and misunderstandings that indigenous peoples in the two countries must deal with in their interactions with the state and in their consideration of modern Western values.

A few recurrent themes stand out in the texts. Of particular note is the persistence in indigenous cultures of a sociality founded on kin-based relationships and networks, which have a permanent effect on indigenous social, economic and political practices, interactions and reflexes. One of the fundamental questions addressed by the majority of the authors is thus the distinction between kin-based societies and civil society. Each of these societies produces and values different forms of subjectivity and sociality, and thus different notions of the person and being-in-the-world, as well as different types of responsibilities and obligations. The indigenous peoples now find themselves torn between two different ways of being: one which puts the accent on relations with, obligations to, and responsibilities toward kin, ancestors, and land; and another, that of the civil society, which puts the emphasis on individualism. This difficult coexistence could be attenuated by the recognition, at the political level, of multiple ontologies (Clammer et al. 2004). Another question that arises concerns the extent to which indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia have, since their forced sedentarization, developed a feeling of belonging to sedentary "communities." How have they re-imagined—in the context of these communities and in a limited territory—the social networks that are based on kinship and alliances, on belonging and solidarity?

Other themes addressed by the authors are worthy of note: the preservation and resonance of the ontological principle of "relationality" in indigenous worlds; the issue of cultural resistance, that is the complex and subtle processes of cultural persistence in response to domination and marginalization; the issue of the indigenous difference and the difficulties of "translating," reconciling and negotiating these cultural differences in modern and liberal nation-states. Indeed, is it not one of the main responsibilities for anthropologists in this field—an expression of their political engagement—to "translate" this difference into more easily understandable terms?

The issues of political demands, land claims and governance are examined by several authors. Using the example of the Dene Tha in Alberta, Goulet convincingly describes for us, through a diachronic perspective, the long and difficult battle they have fought to have their rights and interests in ancestral lands recognized. The colonial ideology that, based on thinkers such as Locke, has justified dispossessing indigenous peoples of their land still persists. Goulet relates the strategies deployed by the Canadian state for more than 100 years to affirm and preserve its sovereignty over Dene Tha land, as well as the initiatives undertaken by the Dene Tha to protect their collective rights and interests. While the tools used in the negotiations have been those of the colonizing state, namely its language, instruments and paradigms, Goulet shows how the Dene Tha, like other indigenous groups, have learned to decipher these tools and use them to pursue their own social projects. The balance of power, however, remains clearly lopsided, and as such, any indigenous "victory," like that of the Dene Tha against the pipeline of the Mackenzie Valley Gas Project, is one small example of the indigenous politics of hope.

Thom, Macdonald and the Tonkinsons examine the more specific issue of governance in indigenous communities. These authors illustrate how indigenous conceptions of authority, governance, autonomy and responsibility clash with or, at least, diverge from those of modern, liberal states, civil society and bureaucratic culture. They also point out the gaps that exist between governments' and indigenous peoples' expectations concerning self-determination.

Like Goulet, Thom employs a diachronic perspective to relate the continuities, changes, and entanglements that characterize the current political and decisional structures of the Coast Salish First Nations in British Columbia. The complex entanglement stems from multiple forms of power, leadership and decision-making. These forms have different sources including: traditional ways based on kin-networks and territorial connections; Indian Act impositions, in particular band councils; and current Native land claims and demands. Thom analyzes the reticence of members of the Coast Salish First Nations to

form a regional Native government and fully adopt a democratic approach to representation. These larger political groups, which are "anathema" to them, are seen by this Native people to be more of a risk than an opportunity. They believe this structure might undermine the autonomy and decision-making authority of local groups founded on kin-based networks and conflict with and even endanger the principles of fluidity and flexibility that characterize their political structures, groupings and traditional solidarity. Thom also reminds us that the issue of governance is enigmatic and complex due to the coexistence, in the current context, of different types of land rights and interests, namely those stemming from custom and those defined and recognized in agreements and treaties with provincial and federal governments. The idioms employed in Western culture and modern nation-states to describe land ownership in terms of fixed boundaries and exclusive use contrast with the flexibility paradigm that marks the indigenous land tenure approach. Are these self-determination and self-management policies, government structural and organizational expectations and bureaucratic culture impositions not, in themselves, a form of neocolonial violence in Canada and Australia?

There are several similarities in the analyses and observations of Thom and Macdonald, most notably those concerning indigenous peoples' resistance to exogenous authority and hierarchy structures that are likely to undermine the relational logic, autonomy and decision-making power of local people and groups. MacDonald bases her inquiry on the experience of the Wiradjuri, an Aboriginal people from the rural regions of New South Wales, and looks at the "cultural process" of colonization in three different forms: namely the colonization of land (in the 19th century), the colonization of bodies (in segregation and assimilation policies), and the current colonization of personhood (through self-management policies). An in-depth historical and ethnographic analysis helps us understand how the Wiradjuri, as colonial subjects, were able to reproduce and re-imagine their world and cultural practices. In their interactions and engagements with sheep farmers and despite their land being colonized, the Wiradjuri maintained social and spatial autonomy up to the middle of the 20th century, reproducing the values of reciprocity and sharing based on obligations toward and responsibilities for kin networks (see also Peterson 1993, 2008). This situation changed, however, with the imposition of self-management policies, bureaucratic values and their associated decision-making authority and processes. Macdonald presents the current self-management policies as an insidious and violent form of colonization in as much as they specifically aim to control and colonize the person—rather than just land—and to transform that person into a modern, individualistic subject. The underlying logic of the organizational and decision-making structures of self-management—where bureaucratic culture dominates and accountability requirements directly impact the relationships between persons and even the very definition of a person—is one in which individualism wins out over social relations. Macdonald writes, "aboriginal people were unprepared—in any sense of the term—to become subjects of liberal democracy which required that they exchange their kin-relations for bureaucratic ones" (see also Nadasdy 2003 for a Canadian example). It is in this sense that she speaks of "ontological violence."

The Tonkinsons, who have spent many years attempting to better understand the Western Desert Mardu and their responses to Australian state policies and expectations, now describe the gulf between these people's values and those of Western culture as being unbridgeable. The disparities and disjunctures between hunter gatherers' values and those of civil society and capitalism are a source of tension and discomfort. Despite their marginalization however, the Mardu, like other Aboriginal groups, seem determined to uphold their "difference." The Tonkinsons analyze the Mardu's difference in their relationship to work, education, leadership and ownership. Two aspects of this difference are worthy of our attention. With regard to paid work, not only is the Mardu's educational level considerably lower than the national average, but they do not hesitate to leave a job, for varying lengths of time, in order to meet their kin responsibilities or ceremonial obligations such as initiation or funeral rites. More often than not, however, these responsibilities imply travel, which brings us to the second aspect, mobility, a theme which is also discussed by Dussart and, to a lesser extent, by Goulet. In the current context, the Mardu's mobility, though redefined by the use of modern transportation among other things, is still considerable. It meets the demands of hunting and gathering, of visits to kin living in towns or cities near or far, and of participation in ritual ceremonies and gatherings. For the Mardu and several other indigenous groups, in both Canada and Australia, this mobility allows them to consolidate and reproduce their social networks and ties to the land. As Dussart tells us about the Warlpiri, this mobility is a form of "nourishment." Civil servants, on the other hand, see it as a "difference" to be controlled and eventually eradicated.

More specifically, Dussart and Jérôme look at indigenous responses to illness and suffering in local well-being

and healing practices. Dussart eloquently evokes the ontological obstacles and incompatibilities between Aboriginal forms of subjectivity and sociality and those of Western culture, in particular with regard to illness and the biomedical system. In Australia as in Canada, there is a high rate of diabetes among indigenous peoples. Dussart, who works with the Warlpiri in Australia's Central Desert, analyzes how people with diabetes are incessantly torn between their biomedical responsibilities as advised by their medical practitioners, namely regularly taking medication and limiting travel, and their social and cosmological responsibilities toward their kin, land and ritual activities. As we saw with the Mardu, the Warlpiri must travel regularly in often difficult conditions to fulfil these responsibilities. As Dussart has observed, diabetics, in spite of their physical suffering, more often than not choose to "look after" their social relations rather than "look after" their physical well-being. This attitude evokes the discrepancy between the sovereign and individualistic self and the relational self for whom social relations with kin, land or ancestors make up the person (Poirier 2008). Taking care of these relations contributes not only to the person's well-being but also to his or her raison d'être. This is what the Warlpiri people mean when they say that "it is hard to be sick now." It is not so much because of the physical suffering arising from the illness, but rather because of the difficulties that diabetics have maintaining and "nourishing" the social relations and ritual obligations on which Warlpiri identity and being are founded.

Jérôme evokes the pan-Amerindian social healing movement, taking as an example the Atikamekw, an Algonquian group from central-northern Québec. This movement has expanded in Canada's Native communities over the last 30 years in response to both the individual and collective suffering that has followed from colonization, dispossession and assimilation policies. At the community level, this healing movement is being expressed through a renewal in traditional ritual practices that were dropped in the conversion to Catholicism and that are now being re-appropriated and reinterpreted. Jérôme focuses his attention on three ritual practices: the first steps ceremony, the sweat lodge and the powwow. He shows how each one of these practices contributes, in the context of sedentary communities, to restoring social ties and re-imagining traditional forms of sociality and solidarity. Jérôme also takes us to another area that is somewhat neglected by anthropologists, that of the laughter, mockery and humour that occurs not only in daily events and social relations, but also in ritual contexts and practices. Games, laughter and festivities thus appear as the "relational principles" of ritual. They also sometimes guarantee their effectiveness. The Atikamekw, he writes, master the art of laughing *with* and *about* someone. The art of laughter is an integral part of the art of living for the Atikamekw, a fact which could apply to several other Amerindian and Aboriginal peoples.

The ethnographic analyses and inquiries that the authors in this issue have provided allow us to better appreciate how and why indigenous peoples resist their expected "ontological transformation," and in ways that differ according to place, colonial trajectories and socially and culturally specific configurations. The fact that indigenous peoples rarely respond to state policies in an expected manner, that they continue to employ affirmation, resistance, and engagement practices and strategies by taking often unforeseen and innovative paths, and that they renew their difference without losing it (Austin-Broos 2003) should also stimulate our anthropological imaginations and allow us to re-imagine and even de-colonize our own conceptual and methodological paradigms.

Sylvie Poirier, Département d'anthropologie, Pavillon Charles-De Koninck, 1030, avenue des Sciences-Humaines, Université Laval, Québec, Québec G1V 0A6, Canada. E-mail: Sylvie .poirier@ant.ulaval.ca.

References

Austin-Broos, Diane
2003 Places, Practices and Things: The Articulation of Arrernte Kinship with Welfare and Work. American Ethnologist 30(1):118-135.

Austin-Broos, Diane, and Gaynor Macdonald, eds.
2005 Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Blaser, Mario
2004 Life Projects: Indigenous People's Agency and Development. *In* In the Way of Development. Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalisation. Mario Blaser, Harvey Feit and Glenn McRae, eds. Pp. 26-44. London: Zed Books.

Blaser, Mario, Harvey Feit and Glenn McRae, eds.
2004 In the Way of Development. Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalisation. London: Zed Books.

Clammer, John, Sylvie Poirier and Eric Schwimmer, eds.
2004 Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Macdonald, Gaynor
2008 Difference or Disappearance: The Politics of Indigenous Inclusion in the Liberal State. Anthropologica 50(2):341-358.

Nadasdy, Paul
2003 Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Peterson, Nicolas
1993 Demand Sharing: Reciprocity and the Pressure for Generosity among Foragers. American Anthropologist 95(4):860-874.
2008 On the Persistence of Sharing: Personhood and Egalitarian Domestic Moral Economies. Paper presented at the Annual CASCA Conference, Ottawa, 8-11 May.
Poirier, Sylvie
2000 Contemporanéités autochtones, territoires et (post) colonialisme. Réflexions sur des exemples canadiens et australiens. Anthropologie et sociétés 24(1):137-152.
2008 Reflections on Indigenous Cosmopolitics/Poetics. Anthropologica 50(1):75-85.
In press Resistance, Accommodation and Engagement in Indigenous Contexts: A Comparative Perspective between Canadian and Australian Examples. Anthropological Forum.
Povinelli, Elizabeth A.
2002 The Cunning of Recognition. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Sansom, Colin
2004 "We Live This Experience": Ontological insecurity and the Colonial Domination of the Innu People of Northern Labrador. *In* Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. John Clammer, Sylvie Poirier and Éric Schwimmer, eds. Pp. 151-188. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Scott, Colin H., ed.
2001 Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Quebec and Labrador. Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press.
Tanner, Adrian
2004 The Cosmology of Nature, Cultural Divergence, and the Metaphysics of Community Healing. *In* Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. John Clammer, Sylvie Poirier and Éric Schwimmer, eds. Pp. 189-223. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Taylor, Luke, Graeme K. Ward, Graham Henderson,
Richard Davis and Lynley A. Wallis. eds.
2005 The Power of Knowledge. The Resonance of Tradition. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Legal Victories for the Dene Tha?: Their Significance for Aboriginal Rights in Canada

Jean-Guy A. Goulet *Saint Paul University*

Abstract: In 2008, the Federal Court of Appeal upheld the 2006 Federal Court ruling that the federal government had failed in its fiduciary duty to consult with the Dene Tha of northwestern Alberta concerning the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The analysis of these significant legal victories for recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights in Canada underlines the religious underpinnings of the Crown's understanding of Aboriginal rights, and identifies the competing interests that repeatedly take governments, industry and Aboriginal peoples before the courts.

Keywords: Aboriginal rights, Crown, Fiduciary Duty, Mackenzie Valley Gas Project, Dene Tha, Alberta

Résumé : En 2008 la Cour fédérale d'appel entérinait le jugement rendu en 2006 par la Cour fédérale selon lequel le gouvernement fédéral avait manqué à son devoir fiduciaire de consulter les Dènès Tha du nord-ouest albertain dans le cadre du projet du pipeline du Mackenzie. L'analyse de ces victoires légales significatives pour l'avenir des droits autochtones au Canada souligne la dimension religieuse des énoncés politiques de la Couronne et met en lumière les intérêts difficilement conciliables qui opposent les gouvernements, les milieux d'affaire et les peuples autochtones devant les tribunaux.

Mots-clés : Droits aborigènes, Couronne, obligation fiduciaire, Projet gazier de la vallée du Mackenzie, Dene Tha, Alberta

Introduction

"May your deliberations be guided by Divine Providence, may your wisdom and patriotism enlarge the prosperity of the country and promote in every way the well-being of its people" (Canada 2007a:19). The religious dimension of Canada's ambitions is obvious in this concluding sentence of the October 2007 Speech from the Throne. Such a speech is read by the Crown's representative, the Governor General of Canada, at the beginning of each legislative session of the Canadian parliament when the government of the day outlines its legislative agenda.[1] Every Speech from the Throne is read to the elected members of Parliament and to the members of the Senate appointed by the Prime Minister of Canada. It is they who, in the name of her Majesty, decide on the laws of the land. They claim to be doing so in the interest of all subjects. Aboriginal Peoples[2] disagree. As Deh Cho First Nations interim Grand Chief Gerald Antoine said in Ottawa in April 2008, "when you say our future must fit into your system, we think that system is unjust" (Deh Cho First Nation 2008). The unavoidable question must then be asked: is justice and constructive co-existence between the settler state and Aboriginal Peoples possible in Canada today?

The answer to this crucial question depends in part on the Crown. It is a prominent Canadian political and religious actor in whose name laws are promulgated and judgements of the courts are made. The law regulating the production and distribution of the dollar coin was promulgated in the name of "Elizabeth the Second, *by the Grace of God* of the United Kingdom, Canada and Her other Realms and Territories QUEEN, Head of the Commonwealth, *Defender of the Faith*" (Leblanc 1996:1, emphasis added). "God Save The Queen," widely known as the Royal Anthem is "played in the presence of members of the Royal Family or as part of the salute accorded to the Governor General and the lieutenant governors" (Canada 2007b:1). The Anthem not only mentions God six

times, it also equates God's enemies with the Queen's. These religious themes go back to the 16th century when nascent English nationalism was "sanctioned by religion" and a reformed religion took "perceptible nationalistic overtones." The British then saw "England as God's Peculiar People, and the Token of His Love." This religious stance gave a distinct and unique nation a sense that its prosperity and power were due to "divine intervention" (Greenfield 1992:60, 62).

The evolution of the government's relationship to the original inhabitants of the land depends also in part on the outcome of the long-standing pursuit of justice against unjust laws undertaken by Aboriginal Peoples since the arrival of Europeans in their midst. The historical, ethnographic and court records show that Aboriginal Peoples and the Crown disagree on the meaning and implications of the treaties they have entered into. Disagreements have given the Supreme Court of Canada a prominent role in defining Aboriginal and treaty rights. There is now general agreement that the 1982 constitutional protection of Aboriginal rights "represents the culmination of a long and difficult struggle in both the political forum and the courts for the constitutional recognition of [A]boriginal rights," a struggle led by "strong representations of native associations and other groups concerned with the welfare of Canada's [A]boriginal peoples" (*R. v. Sparrow* 1990:32). Over the past 25 years, Aboriginal peoples have argued successfully in numerous cases brought before the Supreme Court of Canada that laws enacted by the Parliament of Canada failed to respect their rights and interests.[3] This paper shows that such recognition on the part of the Supreme Court has yet to radically change the view taken by federal, provincial and territorial governments on Aboriginal rights.

Specifically, this article examines the events that led the Dene Tha to seek a court order in 2005 that would oblige the federal government to consult with them "about the MGP [Mackenzie Gas Pipeline], including the design of the environmental assessment process, the terms of Reference for the environment assessment, the treatment of the Connecting Facilities, and the program of financial and/or technical support to assist the Dene Tha' in participating in the process" (*Dene Tha' First Nation v. Canada (Minister of Environment)* 2006:122, henceforth Federal Court 2006).[4] The government maintained that the Dene Tha did not have a right to intervene in the MGP project because it pertained to the Northwest Territories and that limited consultation with them reflected the fact that the MGP would connect with an Alberta pipeline south close to Dene Tha reserves. In November 2006, the Federal Court of Canada rejected the government's view on what constitutes proper consultation of the Dene Tha and declared that "the duty to consult cannot be fulfilled by giving the Dene Tha' 24 hours to respond to a process created over a period of months" (Federal Court 2006:116). The presiding judge ruled that "The location of the Dene Tha's affected territory (south of 60) also is irrelevant to justification for exclusion because the scope of the JRP [Joint Review Panel] includes the Connecting Facilities [located in Alberta] as part of its consideration of the whole MGP" (Federal Court 2006:74). As discussed below, the federal government immediately appealed the decision, suggesting that Judge Phelan was in error.

The federal government's position is also the one taken by Alberta in recent court cases. It argued that treaties signed by the Crown before the Province was created in 1905 allow it to take land necessary for settlement or economic activity without consulting Aboriginal peoples (more on this issue of treaty interpretation below). In *R. v. Cardinal*, the Alberta Provincial Court agreed, ruling that "the duty to consult was fulfilled by negotiation of the treaty itself, and the subsequent survey of reserves, and the fulfilment of the treaty land entitlement requirement in the treaty" (Rath and Rana 2003:29). This judgment ran counter to the one rendered three years earlier by the same court in *R. v. Breaker* (2000). The case involved the right of an Aboriginal person, Mr. Breaker, to hunt in a provincial wildlife sanctuary. Judge Cioni then rejected the provincial position: "I find the Crown's argument to depend on 'bootstrap logic,' i.e., there are no rights to be breached because of the very effect of the Crown's action, and to ignore the jurisprudence of *Sparrow* and *Badger et seq*" (Rath and Rana 2003:28).[5] Undeterred, in *R. v. Cardinal* the Province was still maintaining that treaties had abolished Aboriginal rights in Alberta.

If governments and courts can act in this way today, how much more could they act in the past contrary to what the Supreme Court now recognizes as Aboriginal treaty and constitutional rights? Is justice ever done? Can it be done? Some argue that the courts are politicized and that "lurking behind the camouflage of justice is a game of redistributive politics that is just as dirty, narrow, and self-interested as the game played in the legislative arena" (James et al. 2002:4). Others object that by "reinterpreting treaties in the light of extrinsic evidence, including both historic documents and oral traditions," the courts are "rewriting treaties without the consent of both parties" (Flanagan 2002:135). In effect, more and more, litigation rather than political agreement becomes the context in which "the meaning of indigenous difference is produced" (Hamilton 2008:5). In this process, for better or worse, culture has entered the vocabulary of Aboriginal peoples,

politicians, commissions and the courts when trying to conceptualize their respective rights and obligations and so define their relationships.[6]

To analyze these competing views on Aboriginal rights, I proceed in four steps. First, I argue that disagreements in the field of Aboriginal rights reflect differences at the level of culture or social imagination. Second, I show that to understand these disagreements we must go back in time to the 1763 Royal Proclamation and discuss the Crown's unilateral definition of its relationships to Aboriginal Peoples. Third I document how, over the past century, Dene Tha resistance to policies that denied their ancestral rights frustrated government attempts to control their activities in their homeland. Fourth, I review the events that triggered the Dene Tha court challenge to the MGP and analyze the rulings in their favour to show that despite these legal victories, the federal government and the Dene Tha still disagree on the nature and extent of their respective rights.

Culture and the Collective Imagination

To understand disputes around Aboriginal rights obvious throughout Canada's history, I find useful the concept of culture as consisting of "the socially available 'systems of social significance'—beliefs, rites, meaningful objects—in terms of which subjective life is ordered and outward behaviour is guided" (Geertz 1973b:95). The focus here is on the relationship between ideas, subjectivity and action in public. "Contracting your eyelids on purpose when there exists a public code in which so doing counts as a conspirational signal is winking" (Geertz 1973a:12). Absent this code, the contracting of the eyelid is a meaningless twitch. In Canada, royal assent is required for legislation to become law, an assent signified by a nod of the head from the Governor General or her deputy: "It is this gesture that constitutes Royal Assent, and it is at this time that the bill comes into force as law" (Canada 1989). Absent this political code, the nod has no legal significance.

This understanding of culture is akin to that of social imagination defined "not according to the common usage of the term (the fictional or the illusory) but as a system of social representations that give meaning to natural and social phenomena" (Beaucage 2007:96, author's translation). Any social order is sustained in the world through images of how things ought to be. Numerous social processes, creation, competition, cooperation, cooption, et cetera, come into play, for if an idea "loses its grip on the minds of a sufficient majority, or of a minority with sufficient power to impose it on others, it cannot be sustained and is bound to vanish from the outside world as well" (Greenfeld 1992:18).

This view of culture is often criticized. For many, "the assumption that there are two separate levels—the cultural, on the one side (consisting of symbols) and the social and psychological, on the other—which interact" is highly problematic for it moves us away from "a notion of symbols that are intrinsic to signifying and organizing practices" (Asad 1993:32). In other words, if actions are of interest only because of "their symbolic content, not their mundane consequence," Geertz is "an extreme idealist" for whom "culture is the essential element in the definition of human nature, and the dominant force in history" (Kuper 2000:92, 120). Such charges are unwarranted. Caton, for instance, reminds us that following Geertz, "behaviour must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behaviour—or more precisely, social action—that cultural forms find articulation," forms that "*draw their meaning from the role they play (Wittgenstein would say their 'use') in an ongoing pattern of life, not from any intrinsic relationship they bear to one another*" (Caton 2006:39). To Caton's observations I may add that critics forget that Geertz called upon anthropologists to "write a social history of the imagination" (1973b: 96). Interpretive codes not only change over time, at any given time actors may argue for different rules of interpretation. In a history of any collective imagination cultures "are not given, nor are they necessarily primary," they "are above all 'constructed'" as individuals and groups seek to establish boundaries between themselves (Schouls 2003:85). An interpretive approach to culture is therefore compatible with a view of culture as socially constructed or historically constituted, an evolving phenomenon "constantly remade through social encounters, ethical deliberations, political processes and writing" (Biehl et al. 2007:7).

Gérard Bouchard similarly sees culture as collective imagination, "the product of the totality of symbolic steps by which a society gives itself points of reference to anchor itself in space and time, to make possible communication between its members and to situate itself in relationship to other societies" (Bouchard 2001:14, author's translation) A collective imagination calls to political action and generates a "national culture ... that offers itself as the official symbolic framework of the collectivity as a whole" (G. Bouchard 2001:29, my translation). The Speech from the Throne, the stance of governments and the court rulings discussed above are all part of an evolving national culture in which different actors compete to constitute the social order in a given way and to define the language in which it will be affirmed.

Let us consider, for instance, the over-representation of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian prisons. According to

the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), this fact is due to a failure of the criminal justice system and "the principal reason for this crushing failure is the fundamentally different world views of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people with respect to such elemental issues as the substantive content of justice and the process of achieving justice" (Hamilton 2008:30). For some, framing the issue of justice in terms of a cultural divide "undermines any explicit discussion of race and of how racism structures Canadian society, undercutting any analysis of indigenous peoples generally, and indigenous women in particular, as a racialized group" (Hamilton 2008:92). For others, framing the issue of justice as the RCAP does in terms of culture or worldview opens the door to official recognition that "the creation of legal meaning—*jurisgenesis*—always take place through an essentially cultural medium" (Borrows 1996:632).

Following White, Borrows (Anishinabe/Chipewa) sees the creation of law as flowing from "'a culture of argument' that 'provide[s] a place and a set of institutions and methods where this conversational process can go on, as well as a second conversation by which the first is criticized and judged'" (Borrows 2005:192). Legal systems thus evolve through living cultures. "Each Aboriginal Nation has its own particular stories which categorize its legal relationships to different orders of Creation" (Borrows 1996:661, 632).[7] Napoleon (2007:3) of Cree, Saulteux and Dunne'za ancestry, and adopted member of the Gitanyow (Gitksan) House of Luuxhon, Ganeda (Frog) clan, similarly argues that "since our legal orders and law are entirely created within our cultures, it is difficult to see and understand law in other cultures." She adds that since "law is culturally bound, it is only law within the culture that created it. Gitksan law is not law to Cree peoples, and vice versa" (Napoleon 2007:3-4). In the same way, one may add, Canadian law is not law in the U.S. or in Mexico, which has not prevented them to enter a free trade agreement that does not diminish their sovereignty and ability to create laws each within their own cultural tradition. Is the same possible for First Nations within Canada? The Supreme Court suggests it is when it writes that "the challenge of defining [A]boriginal rights stems from the fact that they are rights peculiar to the meeting of two vastly dissimilar legal cultures" (*R v. Van der Peet* 1996). The Court must then decide "which legal culture is to provide the vantage point from which rights are to be defined" or "incorporate both legal perspectives" which is the "morally and politically defensible conception of [A]boriginal rights" (*R v. Van der Peet* 1996:507). How this is to be done remains to be seen.

Colliding Collective Imaginations

History shows that in the past quite different views of what was morally and politically defensible prevailed. The religiously legitimated British national culture alluded to above invested the King of England with the power to abrogate the laws of infidels (i.e., Aboriginal Peoples) "for that they be not only against Christianity, but against the law of God and of nature" (Asch 2002:25). Views such as these arose at a time when "an ideology proclaiming European superiority over all other people of the earth was taking hold" (RCAP 1996:12). In 1698, for instance, when writing about America, Locke maintained that "the 'Indians' have property in the fruit and nuts they gather, the wild corn they pick, the fish they catch and the deer they hunt, but not in the land on which they hunt" for they are in a "state of nature," not of civilization (Tully 1995:72). In Canada, this ideology discredited the notion of Indian ownership since, in the words of Stephen Leacock, they "were too few to count" and "their use of resources of the continent was scarcely more than that by crows and wolves, their development of it nothing" (Smith 2005:87).[8] Accordingly, "Canadian law has often been applied on the assumption that First Nation cultures were inferior to European laws and culture" (Borrows 1996:633), thereby legitimating their dispossession (Williams 1989).

British law also developed the notion that the title to the lands occupied by native North American Indians rested with the Crown, a notion vigorously opposed by Indian nations of the time and of today (Borrows 1997). In the 1763 Royal Proclamation, the King, not the British Parliament, sought to rein in the expansionary views of colonists thriving far away from his eyes. He required "that *no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands* reserved to the said Indians ... but that *if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name*" (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* 1997:203). In 1990, following a reference to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 respecting the right of native populations "to occupy their traditional lands," the Supreme Court had noted that "there was from the outset never any doubt that sovereignty and legislative power, and indeed the underlying title to such lands vested in the Crown" (*R. v. Sparrow* 1990:30). Hence "the treatment of '[A]boriginal title' as a compensable right can be traced back to the *Royal Proclamation, 1763*" (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* 1997:203).

According to this Proclamation, colonial governments, religious groups, entrepreneurs, et cetera, cannot extend

their land holding by purchasing lands from Aboriginal Peoples who live on them. The King seeks less to protect Indians than to restrain the ambitions of his British subjects—nascent political foes and rebels—colonizing the eastern shores of North America. In 1748, at the age of 16, George Washington (1732-99) was working as a surveyor "for the Fairfax family, the largest landowners in Virginia." Throughout his life Washington went on to survey "80,000 acres of land in more than 200 professional surveys" and became "an active land speculator" (Graham 1999:1). He purchased 70,000 acres of land in six present-day states and fought "over bounty lands promised to the veterans of the Virginia Regiment who fought with him in the French and Indian War" before the Revolutionary War (1775-83) (Graham 1999:2, 3).[9] After independence the alienation of Indians from their land proceeded relatively swiftly through military campaigns and other means. The American Declaration of Independence is an exemplary case in which the language proclaiming the birth of a nation simultaneously takes possession of the territory it claims from Britain and Aboriginal Peoples, "consecrating the existential reality of the United States of America in an action in which the world as language and the world-world are one and the same" (Giroux 2004:293, author's translation).

While this is not the place to compare and contrast American and Canadian policy toward Aboriginal populations it should be noted that "from the 17th Century to the 20th Century more than 400 treaties were signed between the British Crown and Aboriginal Peoples. Many of these treaties were meant to establish military or commercial alliances, or to simply accommodate each other at a particular place at a particular moment in time" (Dussault and Erasmus 1994:12, author's translation). This was the case with the 1764 Niagara Treaty signed between the British Crown and approximately 2,000 chiefs representing over 24 Nations gathered at Niagara. At that assembly, the 1763 Royal Proclamation was read to the Indians "and a promise of peace was given by Aboriginal representatives and a state of mutual non-interference established" (Borrows 1997:163). Read jointly, the 1763 Royal Proclamation, the 1764 Niagara Treaty, the wampum belt supporting oral tradition, and the reports of British officials who met with the Indians, all led to one conclusion, that the First Nations convened in 1764 received assurances that they would continue governing themselves in their territory. It follows that "colonial interpretations of the Royal Proclamation should be recognized for what they are—a discourse that dispossesses First Nations of their rights" (Borrows 1997:171-172).

Following the 1867 British North America Act, however, the colonial view of the Crown's prerogative guided the government. Treaties became the means to implement an immigration policy designed to enable hundreds of thousands of Europeans to establish themselves on "Indian" lands. Canada thus acquired an area equivalent to five times the size of France (543,915 square kilometres) or more than eleven times the size of the United Kingdom (244,101 square kilometres).The purpose then as today, as stated in the 2007 Speech from the Throne, was to "enlarge the prosperity of the country" and "promote ... the well being of its people" (Canada 2007a:19).

It is always in the name of the Crown that Treaty Commissioners appointed by the federal government tell Indians they must give up their territory in favour of Canada. The treaties stipulate that "the said Indians DO HEREBY CEDE, RELEASE, SURRENDER AND YIELD UP to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2007a). When confronted with this evidence, Chief François Paulette of the Treaty 8 Tribal Council (Yellowknife, Northwest Territories) retorts: "In my language, there is no word for 'surrender.' There is no word. I cannot describe 'surrender' to you in my language, so how do you expect my people to [have] put their X on 'surrender'?" (RCAP 1996:10). In the same vein, asserting her people's inalienable right to their homeland, Julienne Andre from Arctic Red River maintains that "This land is ours. I was born in it and God gave it to us. We didn't buy it. Why they want to buy it from us?" (Scott 2008:42). The religious dimension in her statement is often found in affirmations of Aboriginal identity and rights (Goulet 2008, In press).

To this day descendants of the chiefs who signed these treaties remind us that the Commissioners "negotiating treaties on behalf of the Crown often used a symbolic language that alluded to their perennial character: 'as long as the sun will rise, that the grass will grow and that the river will flow'" (Dussault and Erasmus 1994:12, author's translation). Treaty 8 is quite explicit in this matter: "Her Majesty also agrees that next year and annually afterwards for ever, She will cause to be paid to the said Indians in cash ... to each Chief twenty-five dollars, each Headman ... fifteen dollars, and to every other Indian of whatever age, five dollars" (INAC 2007a). Government officials call that day the "Treaty Day." Dene Tha refer to it as "the day on which people are given money."[10] Concerning this practice which I witnessed six times between 1980 and 1985, Dene Tha Elder Jean-Marie Talley, told

me, "this money was not to sell anything but to make us brothers and sisters. That is what my father, who saw them give money, used to say. It [the treaty] will not be a lie for God as long as night follows night, and as long as the sun lasts, and as long as the water flows." In other words, for the Dene Tha the Treaty established a kinship-like alliance with the government. Concerning Treaty 11 a Dhe Cho Elder in Wrigley similarly noted that "we are here to help each other and to live like brothers and sisters, one relation. This is a peace treaty" (Asch 2002:32). If the Dene Tha are hosts to foreigners they do so after the Crown promised them that they could continue living as they had done before in their traditional homeland. Briefly, in the minds of the Dene Tha Treaty 8 did not extinguish their ancestral rights. These are still alive and worth fighting for (INAC 1985).

Making treaties through interpreters, between parties whose most basic assumptions about land, autonomy, respect, were so different, is inherently ambiguous.[11] Each party left the negotiations thinking they had achieved their respective goals, the Crown in extinguishing the ill-defined rights of Indians in exchange for defined rights to education, health care, freedom to hunt, et cetera, the Indian in having established a peace treaty intended to establish a pattern of co-existence allowing them to pursue their activities in their homeland. The dismay of the Dene when confronted with government actions stem from their fundamentally different understanding of the Treaty.

Dene Tha Resistance to Government Policies

If, "in the history of colonial invasion ... maps are instruments of conquest" (Said 1996:xxix), they also indicate where conflicts are likely to occur. Conflicts between the Dene Tha and outside parties—government, government agencies and industry—arise in part because foreign political boundaries cross their homeland and new jurisdictions are created without consultation and due consideration of their ancestral rights and treaty rights.

After the Dene Tha signed Treaty 8 in 1900, they continued to move freely in their homeland. In 1905, the central government created the province of Alberta and appointed an Albertan, Frank Oliver, as Minister of Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (Fumoleau 1994:142). New political and legislative entities entered the lives of the Dene Tha without their consent. In Edmonton, the capital of the newly established province, politicians pursued their interests in the northern parts of "their" territory. Immigration of settlers, followed by the construction of rail transportation, soon made possible the transfer of resources and crops from the north to the south.[12]

In 1906, cognizant of these developments, the federal government amended the Indian Act "to ensure that games laws in the prairie provinces and in the NWT [Northwest Territories] would not apply to [A]boriginal people without the consent of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs" (Bouchard 2006:13). Provincial game laws might still apply to Indians without their consent, as long as the federal government looking after the interests of its wards consented. More followed. "In 1930, without consulting Aboriginal Peoples, Canada transferred ownership and administrative control of Crown lands and natural resources to the province of Alberta under the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement (NRTA)" (Ross 2001:4). The federal government assumed that the province would allow for Aboriginal subsistence activities on Crown lands.

Provincial authorities were determined, however, to regulate hunting and trapping within their jurisdiction. As of 1939, the government of Alberta forbade all residents, Aboriginals or not, to hunt and trap without a provincial license. Everyone then became liable to prosecution for hunting or trapping on a trapline other than one's own. The Dene Tha obtained licences for individual traplines but did not change their behaviour. A government official reported: "The whole body of trappers followed age-old inclinations, simply followed the game and fur and could not or would not confine their operations to individual areas" (Bouchard 2006:16).[13] The Dene Tha were exercising their best judgment: "Our people lived and travelled all over Dene Tha traditional lands following the animals and hunting them in their best habitats ... My grandparents went wherever animals moved. Their life was based around where and when the animals moved and could be found" (J.-B. Talley N.d.:20). "I would travel through my line but would go further into BC and the NWT ... Even though we [the Dene Tha] had a trapline, we went out on the land wherever we wanted," says another Dene Tha (Didzena N.d.:2).

This practice offended government authorities. In 1950, to emphasize their authority over their respective territories, the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia blazed the border between the two provinces. In 1951, the border between Alberta and the NWT was bulldozed. Despite clearly drawn borders, the Dene Tha carried on with their activities throughout their homeland. As shown by Brody (1981) for Dunne-za, whose territory in British Columbia is adjacent to that of the Dene Tha, it is through their movements that hunters and trappers politicized their identity and asserted their rights over a given geographical area. In other words, "the national territories of [A]boriginal hunters are continuously invented, reaffirmed

not only through speech but through journeys over the land" (Desgent and Lanoue 2005:11, author's translation). Governments may blaze boundaries as they wish; doing so does not take away Dene Tha rights, including that of self-government and of moving unimpeded in their homeland as agreed to at the time of Treaty 8. As Chief Ahanassay reminded the MGP JRP, "as Dene people, we did not create those NWT boundaries, BC-Alberta boundary, that kind of stuff ... We have Dene people all around us ... As a people, we all share lands" (Joint Review Panel (JRP) 2006: 3853).

In her study of Dene Tha youth's attachment to their community and homeland, Spyce emphasized that "place is more than a location; it involves human experiences, emotions, and meanings attached to the lived environment" (Spyce 2009:51). In this sense, Dene Tha territory is more than a geographical space. As place, it is the focus of collective attachment and identity, the context "within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur" (Spyce 2009:58). The issue is how to maintain the historical relationship to the land and community in the face of so many interventions by outside interests. In 1995, to improve relationships with government and industry, the Dene Tha agreed to participate in a Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study (TLUOS).[14] The study revealed two important differences in the perspective of the parties involved.

First, "land" and "occupied land" had different meanings for the Dene Tha and for the government and industry. A Dene Tha interviewed said, "we did this study to show our land. Drilling on the water, that too is our land. To the people the water is part of the land we need to show that—under the Land and Water Act it is not so" (Horvath et al. 2001:17). The government takes the view that once it grants land around Dene Tha reservations to industry, "these lands are 'occupied' and are no longer accessible to the Dene Tha' for traditional use" (Horvath et al. 2001:22). In the eyes of the Dene Tha these lands continue to be theirs even when others have access to them.

Second, for reasons of their own, the Dene Tha withheld from investigators locations associated with traditional healing practices, particularly the areas where they collect plants with healing properties. As a Dene Tha stated, "not everyone should know about them [medicine, or powers]" and "any person cannot just pick ground medicine. It is dangerous if one does not know how to use it" (Dene Tha Nation 1997:38).[15]

Dene Tha are also cognizant and appreciative of the sites of ceremonies held over time across their homeland, sites that are strong identity markers.[16] All agree that the area in which they hunt, trap, fish and gather plants "is Dene Tha' territory" which needs protection for the well-being of Dene Tha today and tomorrow (Horvath et al. 2001:18). As a result of the study, community pride and awareness of the importance of traditional sites and knowledge increased (Horwath et al. 2001:36).[17]

"While issues of the ownership and territory seemed to be at the forefront of community members' minds, the TLUOS has not had the desired impact in terms of outside recognition of these issues" (Horvath et al. 2001:17). The provincial government allocates sub-surface rights to industry without consulting Aboriginal peoples. When Treaty 8 signatories in northern Alberta complained about the devastating impact of the "Cheviot Coal Project approved in neighbouring Treaty 6 territory," the Alberta government "argued that neither treaty rights nor a duty to consult exist at all when it exercises its authority under the NRTA [Natural Resources Transfer Agreement] to take up lands for mining" (Szatylo 2002:223). Companies therefore come to the Dene Tha with permits issued by the Alberta Department of Energy giving them rights "to drill for and recover oil and gas in a specific area" (Ross 2001:5). Since "industry's communication with the Dene Tha' comes late in the process of resource development making process," it tends to "revolve around mitigating impacts and considering the concerns of the Dene Tha'" (Horvath et al. 2001:28).

In this respect, the Alberta government falls short of its obligation to protect the rights of Aboriginal peoples. In other words, "despite the statement, in the Aboriginal Policy Framework (Alberta 2000), that government will meet its constitutional obligations to Aboriginal people in the context of land and resource developments and honour their treaty rights, it has yet to develop the necessary tools to implement this commitment" (Ross 2001:6). According to Chief Ahnassay, "the time has come for Alberta to scrap their unconstitutional Consultation Guidelines and to sit down with the Dene Tha and other First Nations in Alberta to negotiate a mutually satisfactory consultation process" (Dene Tha' First Nation 2008:1).

The Mackenzie Gas Project Yesterday and Today

In 1973, governments and industry proposed to build a pipeline from the Mackenzie Delta in the Arctic to Alberta in the south across Dene territories, without consulting them, much as Quebec was proposing then to invest in major hydroelectric developments in the James Bay area without consulting with the Cree. In both cases, Aboriginal Peoples asked the Courts to prevent government from

proceeding with initiatives that ignored their rights. Judge Malouf in Québec and Judge Morrow in the NWT issued injunctions to stop the projects, reminding the respective governments of the Crown's fiduciary duty to protect the interests of Aboriginal Peoples. Governments were instructed to negotiate agreements with Aboriginal Peoples whose lands and livelihoods would surely be impacted by major developments beneficial primarily to urban centres in the south.

In the NWT, through the Berger Inquiry, the federal government initiated consultation with all the Dene, Metis and Inuit communities along the Mackenzie River. The Berger Commission concluded that the projected Mackenzie Pipeline ought to be postponed by ten years to allow all parties to reach an agreement on the development that would eventually take place. The federal government accepted this recommendation and the Dene communities from the Mackenzie delta down to the Alberta border coalesced as one negotiating body presenting itself to the world as The Dene Nation (Goulet 2001). At the end of lengthy negotiations, the parties arrived at an agreement in principle (Dene Nation and the Metis Association of the NWT 1982) which the Dene Nation Assembly rejected in June 1990.

The vote against the agreement followed a speech by Georges Erasmus, President of the Dene Nation. He reminded the Dene that while they were negotiating with the federal government to extinguish their rights on large tracts of land in return for jobs and monetary compensation, the Supreme Court was recognizing important Aboriginal rights. By accepting the agreement would the Dene not relinquish the rights recognized by the highest court? This is precisely the view taken by the Supreme Court in the same year. Interpreting Section 35(1) of the Constitution, the Court concluded that "the word 'existing' makes it clear that the rights to which s. 35(1) applies are those that were in existence when the Constitution Act, 1982 came into effect. This means that extinguished rights are not revived by the Constitution Act, 1982" (*R. v. Sparrow* 1990).

The rejection of the agreement in principle meant the end of the Dene Nation as an umbrella negotiation organization for Dene communities throughout the NWT. The federal government proceeded to negotiate with regional groupings, reaching agreements that included an extinguishment clause with the Dinjii Zhuh (Gwich'in) in 1992, with the Sahtu (Bearlakers) in 1994 and the Dogribs in 1999. Immediately south of the Dogribs, the Deh Cho First Nation (DCFN) did not settle its claims with the federal government. With Chief negotiator George Erasmus, the DCFN are still seeking an agreement that would not include an extinguishment clause. Its lands, which overlap in part with those of the Dene Tha, comprise 40% of the NWT territory through which the MGP would have to go before reaching Alberta. Indeed, were it not for the existence of the boundary set at the 60th parallel, the Dene Tha would most probably be part of the Deh Cho First Nations with whom they share "significant familial and cultural relationships" (Federal Court 2006:7).[18]

In 2001, Yukon and the NWT Aboriginal communities were bluntly reminded that corporations looking around the world "for competitive tax regimes, competitive royalty rates, available skilled workers, and governments who honour their commitments ... will not be held hostage to a multitude of artificial and unnecessary barriers," such as land claims based on Treaty rights, "that do not exist elsewhere" (Morgan 2001). The reference to unnecessary barriers underscores the importance of mobility of capital and labour for the corporate world. The image of the liberal-minded capitalist held hostage by Aboriginal peoples claiming their treaty rights calls to mind that of a rescuer, a role that the business sector expects the government to fill. This is the role taken by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development when he declares that "the Deh Cho is the largest bit of unfinished business North of 60 in this country" and it is an open question as to "whether it will be resolved prior to the pipeline" (Baily 2006). In other words, negotiations should not impede the multi-billion dollar MGP project meant to fuel prosperity in Canada and beyond.

To this end, while negotiating with the Deh Cho First Nations, government officials and business corporations established the regulatory framework for the MGP. Key stakeholders were identified, the principles to guide the expert assessment of the pipeline on sensitive environments and remote communities were established, and a public consultation process was announced (NGPS 2003). The stakeholders' first initiative was to create the Aboriginal Pipeline Group (APG). This was done in 2000 following meetings in Fort Liard and Fort Simpson of Aboriginal politicians and businessmen representing the Inuvialiut, the Gwich'in, and the Sahtu. The APG's motto is "Maximizing economic benefits through ownership in a Northern pipeline." In June 2001, APG "negotiated a Memorandum of Understanding with the Mackenzie Delta Producers—Imperial Oil, ConocoPhillips, Shell and Exxon Mobil" whereby it would eventually gain one third ownership of the MGP (APG N.d.). Assuming a 33% ownership of the project, the APG estimated its share of future profits in the order of $100 million per year, a profit to be distributed among APG shareholders (APG 2004:2).[19] With this agreement the Mackenzie Valley Producers

Group was formed, including three oil corporations (Imperial Oil, ConocoPhillips and Shell Canada) and one Aboriginal partner (APG).

Second, in June 2003, the Mackenzie Valley Producers Group, of which APG is a partner, filed with the Minister of Resources a Preliminary Information Package (PIP), a 205-page document describing the scope of the project and its implementation timetable (Imperial Oil et al. 2003). The filing of the PIP triggered the creation of the Northern Gas Project Secretariat in December of the same year. This development followed the Interim Resource Development Agreement signed by the federal government with the Deh Cho First Nation on 17 April 2003 (Deh Cho First Nations 2003; INAC 2003). Third, on 18 August 2004, the Minister of the Environment appointed a Joint Review Panel (JRP), "a seven-member, independent body that will evaluate the potential impacts of the project on the environment and lives of the people in the project area" (Northern Gas Project Secretariat N.d.). Finally, also in August 2004, the Minister of the Environment issued the JRP's Terms of Reference, a 77-page document outlining the MGP and the scope of the assessments to follow (Northern Gas Project Secretariat 2004).

The appointment of the JRP and the issuing of its Terms of Reference, followed a presentation by Robert Reid, President of APG to the Senate Standing Committee on Energy, on 8 March 2004. Reid noted that the Deh Cho had yet to sign on to the APG Memorandum of Understanding which had "the potential to significantly delay this important project [the MGP]—a delay that could jeopardize both the project itself and the significant benefits that APG's ownership in the pipeline would bring to NWT Aboriginal Groups" (APG 2004:2). Reid urged the government to reach an agreement that would bring the Deh Cho Nations within the fold of the MGP. The following month, in response to the difficulty of reaching a common ground with the Deh Cho First Nations, the federal chief negotiator Tim Christian suggested that if a negotiated settlement was not reached, "any decision in the future would not be his, but that of the Canadian government" (Deh Cho First Nation 2008).[20]

What might the government do? Reflecting on his role in the MGP in 1970, Chrétien wrote: "I was in conflict with myself: as Minister of Indian Affairs I was on the side of the Indians; as Minister of Northern Development I was in favour of development" (Chrétien 1986:61). Comprehensive land claims negotiated with the Gwitch'in, Sahtu and Dogrib extinguished Aboriginal rights and opened the way to development. The MGP is again high on the national agenda and the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada has "no intentions to either support or fund procedures that are dysfunctional, non-constructive, or systematically in opposition to the interest of Canada or the interest of the majority of northerners" (INAC 2006). In other words, Canada could cease funding current negotiations with the Deh Cho First Nation and walk away from negotiations. If ministers have to take sides, they give primacy to national interests. This, maintain Aboriginal Peoples, leads to injustice. As poignantly stated by Dene Tha band member, Gloria Silver at the MGP JRP hearing in High Level:

> Yes, you're going to sit here and you're going to talk and then you're going to say "Well, we talked to you, but the Prime Minister of Canada wants it, the President of the United States want it, the town of High Level wants it, Zama wants it, we want it. The almighty dollar, that's what we're after. The hell with your way of life, your culture, your water, your animals, your children, your grandchildren. We'll go ahead and do our thing. It doesn't matter what you say." [Joint Review Panel 2006:3832]

In other words, Canada's expertise at developing natural resources and responding to continental energy demand has yet to be matched with a capacity to protect the land and Aboriginal communities.

In March 2005, the APG appointed former Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed to its board. In the press release announcing this appointment, APG President Robert Reid said about Lougheed that "his experience in developing oil and gas resources in Alberta during his tenure as Premier in the 1970s and 1980s, will serve Northerners well as they work towards developing the Mackenzie Gas Pipeline" (APG 2005). Not mentioned in the press release is the key role Lougheed played in the formulation of section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act. In November 1981, Lougheed agreed to section 35 "if the word 'existing' were added to the constitutional provision that [A]boriginal and treaty rights 'are hereby recognized and affirmed'" (Smith 2000). Lougheed insisted on this wording "as it was feared that without it the section would create new rights that were not previously recognized in law" (Smith 2000). As seen above, the Crown has repeatedly defended the view that rights claimed by Aboriginal peoples do not exist in law because they were extinguished by Treaty.

This stance is the one taken in 2005 by the consortium of oil companies and the APG. In their Community Reports pertaining to the environmental impact of the Gas Project in Rainbow Lake and Zama City, two communities in Dene Tha territory, five categories of ownership of land were distinguished, none of them Aboriginal:

federal Crown lands administered by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), Crown lands administered by the territorial government, provincial Crown lands, municipal lands and private lands (Imperial Oil et al. 2005). The report, which recognizes that the MGP may run into zoning conflicts at the municipal level, does not mention potential conflicts with the Dene Tha.

"In July 2004 the Dene Tha' were given copies of the draft EI [Environmental Impact] Terms of Reference (a 70-page highly technical document) and the draft JRP [Joint Review Process] Agreement, and were told that the deadline for input on both was the following day" (Federal Court 2006:44). The determination of the federal government to sideline the Dene Tha in the development of the MGP led them to appeal to the Federal Court, which they did on 18 May 2005. The Dene Tha also filed a motion with the JRP asking that the hearings scheduled to be held in High Level Alberta in July 2006 be suspended until the ruling of the Federal Court. The Chair of the JRP denied the motion, writing that "the matters under consideration by the Federal Court of Canada ... are beyond the jurisdiction of the Panel and are to be resolved by the court" (Northern Gas Project Secretariat 2006).

Following a lengthy trial, on 10 November 2006, Justice Phelan of the Federal Court found the federal government in breach of duty to consult the Dene Tha' with respect to the MGP (Foisy 2006a, 2006b). While he noted that all parties recognized the existence of the Crown's "duty to consult," he ruled that four federal Ministers had "breached their duty to consult" and reminded them that "the duty to consult cannot be fulfilled by giving the Dene Tha' 24 hours to respond to a process created over a period of months (indeed years) which involved input from virtually every affected group except the Dene Tha'" (Federal Court 2006:116).

Justice Phelan noted that in three recent cases, the Supreme Court had described the duty to consult as a duty more general than the fiduciary one, a duty "arising out of the honour of the Crown" (Federal Court 2006:77). It is worth recalling here that article 35(1) of the Constitutional Act, 1982 stipulates that "the existing [A]boriginal and treaty rights of the [A]boriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed" (Canada 1982) and that article 25 of the Canadian Charter of Rights asserts that none of its parts "shall be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any [A]boriginal treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the [A]boriginal peoples of Canada" (Canada 1982). Consistent with this view the Supreme Court ruled that "Section 35(1) is to be construed in a purposive way. A generous, liberal interpretation is demanded given that the provision is to affirm [A]boriginal rights" (*R. v. Sparrow* 1990). In *Mikisew Cree First Nation* (2005) the Supreme Court affirmed the Treaty 8 First Nations right to object to developments that might impact negatively on their environment. Against the view of the provincial and federal governments, "the Court held that any consultation must be undertaken with the genuine intention to address First Nation concerns," underlining that this "right to consultation takes priority over the rights of others" (Federal Court 2006:103-104).

In light of these constitutional rights and legal precedents, Justice Phelan recognized that a remedy was called for. He noted, however, that "the difficulty posed by this case is that to some extent 'the ship has left the dock.' How does one consult with respect to a process which is already operating?" (Federal Court 2006:130). The Court decided to hold further remedies hearings and the JPR was "enjoined from considering any aspect of the MGP which affects either the treaty lands of the Dene Tha' or the [A]boriginal rights claimed by the Dene Tha'" and "from issuing any report of its proceedings to the National Energy Board" (Federal Court 2006:133).

In paragraph 68 of his judgment, Justice Phelan noted that the Deh Cho First Nation, while not having a final land claim settlement with Canada, had "entered an Interim Measures Agreement and an Interim Resource Development Agenda that gives the Deh Cho rights in respect of its claimed territory" (Federal Court 2006:69). Moreover, "as a result of litigation initiated by the Deh Cho alleging that Canada had failed to consult with it adequately regarding the MGP, the Deh Cho received a generous agreement," including settlement funds of millions of dollars "to prepare for the environmental assessment and regulatory review of the MGP," along with "$15 million in economic development funding for this same time period to facilitate the identification and implementation of economic development opportunities relating to the MGP, and $3 million each fiscal year until 2008 for Deh Cho process funding" (Federal Court 2006:27).

On 30 November 2006, 20 days following the judgment of the Federal Court, Jim Prentice, Minister for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, appointed "Tim Christian as Chief Consultation Officer for the Dene Tha' First Nation" and charged him with the task of "negotiating a Settlement Agreement with the DTFN, as part of Canada's commitment to fulfilling its obligations to consult" (INAC 2007c). Notwithstanding these negotiations, on 5 December 2006 "Canada filed a Notice of Appeal of the Federal Court decision of November 10th, 2006, concerning the Dene Tha' First Nation and the Mackenzie Gas Project," arguing that it was doing so "in

the interest of seeking greater clarity of the law on Aboriginal consultation" (INAC 2007c:1). The appellants, the Minister of Environment, Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and the Minister of Transport, failed to convince the Federal Court of Appeal that Judge Phelan had "imposed on the Crown an obligation that is different or more onerous than is justified by the jurisprudence" and that "in assessing whether there had been adequate consultation, [Justice Phelan] applied a standard of correctness rather than reasonableness" (*Canada (Environment) v. Imperial Oil Resources Ventures Ltd.* 2008:8, 10). In January 2008, to the great satisfaction of the Dene Tha, the Federal Court of Appeal upheld Judge Phelan's 2006 ruling and dismissed the government's request.

In the meantime, on 23 July 2007, the federal government had signed an agreement with the Dene Tha. The agreement is similar to that in place with the Deh Cho First Nations. If the MGP is approved, Canada will provide $25 million to the Dene Tha First Nation to assess the impact of the project on culture and heritage as well as "on asserted or existing Treaty or Aboriginal rights" (INAC 2007d). The parties also decided to cease litigation and agreed to "set out a time-frame for Canada's review of a Dene Tha First Nation claim to Aboriginal Rights and Title in the Southern Northwest Territories" (INAC 2007d).

What is the significance of the 2007 agreement and the Dene Tha 2006 and 2008 legal victories? They reveal that the Crown and Aboriginal Peoples still disagree on the nature and extent of their rights, not only because they pursue different interests, but also because these are pursued within distinctive cultural understandings, or collective imaginations, defining who they are as people, how they are to relate to land and to each other. Briefly, because they do not see the world and each other through the same system of significance, they inevitably end up in adversarial positions.

Following the 2007 agreement, the minister of INAC was careful to distinguish between Treaty and Aboriginal rights: "The Dene Tha' First Nation (DTFN) hold Treaty 8 rights in this area [northern Alberta], which Canada acknowledges. The DTFN also assert Aboriginal rights to lands in the southern NWT, which Canada does not recognize" (INAC 2007c). Briefly, the minister reaffirms the position of the Crown: Treaty extinguishes Aboriginal rights. Aboriginal peoples who pursue traditional activities on Crown land have no title to the land. Not so for the Dene Tha for whom Treaty affirms Aboriginal rights and extends Dene Tha peaceful cooperation with newcomers to their homeland. According to Chief Ahnassay, "this Settlement Agreement is a signal that, going forward, governments and industry will work with us to ensure our Treaty and Aboriginal Rights, and our rights as first peoples of this great land, are respected" (INAC 2007d).

The Dene Tha and the Deh Cho First Nations are currently working on "an accord which would lay out how we're going to use our shared territories within the NWT" according to Chief Ahanassay. Rather than define the issue as one of overlap, they want to refer to "a shared area" where they "have a common harvest area and land use." The goal is not to assert exclusive rights but to "show to industry [and] the government, that we are still Dene people, that we work together and we share lands" (JRP 2006:3852, 3853, 3856). The Deh Cho First Nations and the Dene Tha hope that the government will adopt a similar perspective on access to shared land. They do so in the knowledge that the Federal Court of Appeal has called upon all parties to reach agreement out of court. What does the future hold? A final settlement with the Deh Cho First Nations and the Dene Tha that extinguishes their Aboriginal rights to "enlarge the prosperity of the country and promote in every way the well-being of its people" (Canada 2007a:19)? A final settlement based on shared ownership of a territory on which many nations build a sustainable future? The answer to these questions will define the national culture for years to come.

Conclusion

This article highlights the strategies deployed by the Crown to assert its sovereignty and interests over those of Aboriginal peoples and describes how the Dene Tha have acted over more than a century to protect their collective rights and interests. The relationship to Aboriginal peoples was defined unilaterally by the Crown who did not question the subjection of others to its policies. An ideology of supremacy led governments and Canadians to view Aboriginal objections to economic development projects as obstacles to orderly exploitation of the nation's resources. Too often, Aboriginal Peoples have had to take their case to provincial courts and to appeal to the Federal Courts and to the Supreme Court of Canada to reverse adversarial lower-court decisions. Despite these decisions upholding Aboriginal and treaty rights, governments are inclined to interpret these rulings in the narrowest sense possible. The fight between Aboriginal Peoples and the Crown is unending.

Aboriginal Peoples have also sought recognition of their rights at the international level through the UN Declaration on the Rights of Aboriginal Peoples signed in 2007. It is from the UN that Aboriginal Peoples, in

Canada and elsewhere, received recognition of their right to exist and develop as enduring, self-governing societies in their ancestral homelands. At the time, four Anglo-Saxon countries, Canada, the U.S., Australia and New Zealand, did not sign the Declaration. The deeper roots of this resistance to recognition of Aboriginal rights are found in a particular system of social significance, or in a specific form of social imagination, namely that of a Sovereign Crown which takes under its tutelage Aboriginal peoples, claiming their territory as its own so as to introduce them to the universal movement toward civilization. The failure to radically question this system of social significance formed in a Christian world inevitably leads to the repetition of similar conflicts in which Aboriginal Peoples and settlers are continuously at odds. Justice and peaceful co-existence are possible; they are a matter of radically re-imagining our joint destinies.

Jean-Guy A. Goulet, Faculty of Human Sciences, Conflict Studies, Saint Paul University, 223 Main Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 1C4, Canada. E-mail: jggoulet@ustpaul.ca.

Acknowledgments

I am most grateful to Christine Hanssens, Sylvie Poirier, Randy Bouchard, Richard Freeman, Monique M. Passelac-Ross, Cora Weber-Pillwax, Patrick Scott and two anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier versions of this paper and their encouragement to improve upon what I submitted to their attention.

Notes

1 Speeches from the Throne typically end with a similar reference to Divine Providence assisting Canadian legislators.

2 Following the Constitutional Law of 1982, Aboriginal Peoples denote First Nations (formerly known as Indians—with or without treaty, status or non-status), Inuit (formerly known as Eskimos) and Metis (also known as Half-Breeds).

3 See for instance, *Guerin v. The Queen* 1984, *R. v. Sparrow* 1990, *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* 1997, *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada* 2005.

4 *Dene Tha'* (with an apostrophe) is used by the Dene Tha band, governments and courts, in contrast to *Dene Tha* (without apostrophe), the linguistically more accurate spelling used in the anthropological literature.

5 Given the *Sparrow* test,

> In practice, the Crown would have to prove at trial that regulations had been infringed by the defendant: a *prima facie* case. Then the burden of proof shifts to the defendant to show that he or she has an existing [A]boriginal or treaty right that is frustrated to some degree by the regulation. If the exercise of the protected right is adversely affected by the regulation, then the Crown must justify its application in the face of section 35 protection, which is not absolute. This is the case despite section 52 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* which provides that any enactments inconsistent with protected rights are, to the extent of the inconsistency, "of no force and effect." [Virtual Law Office 1990]

6 The literature on this topic is vast. This paper draws upon the work of many authors, among them, Asch (2002), Beauchemin (2007), Borrows (2002), Hamilton (2008), Napoleon (2007), Niezen (2003), Poirier (2004), Schouls (2003) and Tully (1995).

7 Borrows demonstrates the importance of stories in shaping legal reasoning among his own people, the Anishinabe (1996: 649-652), the Navajo (2005:210-211) and the Blackfoot (2005:193-195). Tully (1995) does the same as he draws on *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii* to challenge dominant views on constitutionalism.

8 Leacock was a prominent political scientist at McGill University. His book was paid for by Samuel Bronfman, the owner of Seagram the liquor company. One hundred and sixty thousand copies were "distributed free of charge to schools and libraries" (Smith 2005:87).

9 "Later in the colonial period, a new crop of land companies composed of English and colonial speculators sought both title to and political control over great tracts in the Mississippi Valley ... [attracting] some of the ablest colonial leaders into their ranks, among them George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Franklin, the Whartons and George Croghan. The struggles of these rival companies for charters and grants played an important role in British colonial policy during the years before the Revolution" (Graham 1999:4). I thank Bruce Miller for bringing these facts to my attention.

10 Among the Chipewyan, Slavey, Hare and Dogrib, treaty is translated to English as "money is distributed," Indian Agent as "the one distributing money," July as "then month when money is given" and the first Treaty as "the first time money was given" (Kulchyski 2005:81).

11 The ambiguity inherent in making treaties is apparent in the report that Commissioner David Laird wrote to the Minister of the Interior on 22 September 1899, following his negotiations with the Aboriginal parties to Treaty 8. The Treaty specifies that "Her Majesty the Queen HEREBY AGREES with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing ... subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the country, acting under the authority of Her Majesty" (INAC 2007a). When the Dene asked the Commissioner if their "usual vocations" would be curtailed by the government, he answered that any reduction would not be such to prevent their making "a livelihood by such pursuits" (INAC 2007b). His verbal assurances were ambiguous at best, for it told the Dene Tha that by definition they were under tutelage, wards of the State. They were not to decide their fate.

12 As mentioned by a reviewer of this paper, one of the motivations for extending Treaty 8 to part of northeastern British Columbia was to open the territory for safe passage to the Yukon gold fields. See Duff and Petryshyn (1999-2000) for a special issue of Lobstick on the 100th anniversary of Treaty 8.

13 Similar attempts by the Quebec and Ontario governments failed to reallocate traplines so that Crees in each province would have their "traplines in the province where they 'resided'" because "the latter changes conflicted with Cree views of their 'residence' which was on hunting territories" that preceded provincial boundaries (Feit 2005:281).

14 The study was funded by Alberta industries and the federal government as well as the provincial governments of Alberta and British Columbia. Given the source of the funding, TLUOS did not consider Dene Tha traditional lands outside of Alberta on which the Dene Tha claim Aboriginal rights and where they continue to hunt, trap and harvest plants.

15 See Goulet 1998 for a discussion of Dene Tha views on danger, power and powerfulness. Dene Tha told the MGP Joint Review Panel recently of the importance of traditional ways. "My family gathers plants to use as medicine to remedy health ailments. My parents are well informed about the many different types of plants used for medicines as that knowledge is passed down" (G. Tallay N.d.:2). "We have many medicinal remedies to treat many kinds of illness or health ailments ... I know that some of the younger people of our family were taught what to look for and where to go look for it" (Didzena N.d.:3).

16 "There are tea dance [also known as the Prophet Dance] ceremony sites and spiritual cultural areas found on Dene Tha' traditional lands ... My father keeps me informed about those sacred places and sites" (G. Tallay N.d.:1). "There are also important ceremonial sites on the land ... We still have ceremonial offerings and give offerings at those places. We pray and give thanks to the creator at these sites and pray that it will be a good year for all who enter the circle" (J.B. Tallay N.d.:3).

17 Significantly, the photograph of Alexis Seniantha fills the whole cover page of the TLUOS publication. Until his death in the early 1990s, he was the head prophet who presided over the Dene Tha ceremonies of offerings and a major healer in his own right. The first chapter of *Those Who Know: Profiles of Alberta's Native Elders* by Diane Meili (1991) is devoted to Alexis Seniantha, a clear indication of the high regard he was held in Alberta.

18 In his submission to the JRP for the MGP, Dene Tha elder John Baptiste Tallay affirmed the closeness of the two people: "The Deh Cho people are closely related to the Dene Tha people. We use a similar dialect. Our language and traditional culture are similar. We share the same lands. We are related through blood and our extended families" (J.B. Tallay N.d.:1). While Tallay resides in Chateh, Alberta, his grandmother from Fort Simpson in Deh Cho territory had married a Dunne-za from northeastern British Columbia.

19 "The Sahtu Pipeline Trust is the largest single owner of APG with 34 partnership units; the Gwich'in Tribal Council is next with 20 partnership units; the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation holds 4 partnership units; and we have 34 partnership units set aside for the Dehcho Pipeline Management LP, who are in the process of joining APG" (Senate of Canada 2008:8-9).

20 Failing a land claim agreement what happens? Responding to Senator Nick Sibbeston from the NWT who had asked if the MGP could be built without a land claim settlement with the Deh Cho First Nations, Mr. Chambers, Executive Director of the Northern Gas Project Secretariat, referred to three diamond mines operating in the NWT in areas where land claims have not been settled: "It is not unprecedented that capital projects do proceed if there is goodwill on the part of everyone involved. While I cannot say whether the [MGP] project can happen prior to a land claim being settled, I can say that based on the experience of the diamond mines, it is not unprecedented if there is goodwill among the parties" (Senate of Canada 2008:17-18).

References

Aboriginal Pipeline Group (APG)

N.d. Aboriginal Pipeline Group. Maximizing Ownership and Benefits of the Mackenzie Valley Gas Project. Electronic document, http://www.mvapg.com/page/page/1922394.htm, accessed 6 May 2008.

2004 The APG: An Exceptional Deal. A Presentation to the Senate Standing Committee on Energy, 8 March 2004. Electronic document, http://www.mvapg.com/articles/article/2501921/35209.htm, accessed 6 May 2008.

2005 Former Alberta Premier Joins Board. Press Release, 16 March 2005. Electronic document, http://www.mvapg.com/releases/release/1936497/5726.htm, accessed 6 May 2008.

Asad, Talal

1993 Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam. Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press.

Asch, Michael

2002 From *terra nullius* to Affirmation: Reconciling Aboriginal Rights with the Canadian Constitution. Canadian Journal of Law and Society/Revue canadienne droit et société 17(2):23-39.

Bailey, Sue

2006 Ottawa Offers Land Deal to Only First Nation Offside with Pipeline Project. Associated Press. 31 May 2006. Electronic document, http://ca.news.yahoo.com, accessed 28 January 2008.

Beaucage, Pierre

2007 Après le règne de Jésus. Aperçus de l'imaginaire des autochtones pentecôtistes de l'ouest du Guatemala. Anthropologica 49(1):95-111.

Beauchemin, Jacques

2007 La société des identités. Éthique et politique dans le monde contemporain. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. Outremont, QC: Éditions Athéna.

Biehl, Joao, Byron Good and Arthur Kleinman

2007 Introduction: Rethinking Subjectivity. *In* Subjectivity: Ethnographic Investigation. Joao Biehl, Byron Good and Arthur Kleinman, eds. Pp. 1-23. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Borrows, John

1996 With or Without You: First Nations Law (in Canada). McGill Law Review 41:629-665.

1997 Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History, and Self-Government. *In* Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law,

Equality and Respect for Difference. Michael Asch ed. Pp. 155-172. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
2002 Recovering Canada: The Resurgence of Indigenous Law. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
2005 Indigenous Legal Traditions in Canada. Journal of Law and Policy 19:167-223.

Bouchard, Gérard
2001 Genèse des nations et cultures du nouveau-monde. Essai d'histoire comparée. Cap-Saint-Ignace, QC: Les Éditions du Boréal.

Bouchard, Randy
2006 Dene tha' Presence in Northwestern Alberta and the North West Territories. Report prepared for Robert Freedman, Cook Roberts Lawyers, Counsel, Dene tha' First Nation. 30 May 2006. Victoria, BC: Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants.

Brody, Hugh
1981 Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Canada
1982 The Constitution Act, 1982. Electronic document, http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/const/annex_e.html, accessed 2 May 2008.
1989 The Legislative Process. Prepared by Luc Fortin. Political and Social Division Affairs. Electronic document, http://dsp-psd.tpsgc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/bp151-e.htm#C.%20The%20Legislative%20Process(txt), accessed 5 July 2009.
2007a Strong Leadership: A Better Canada. Speech from the Throne, 16 October 2007, Opening of second session of the 39th Legislative Assembly. Electronic document, http://www.sft-ddt.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1364, accessed 1 May 2008.
2007b Canadian Heritage: Royal Anthem "God Save the Queen." Electronic document, http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/sc-cs/godsave_e.cfm, accessed 1 May 2008.

Caton, Steven C.
2006 What Is an "Authorizing Discourse"? *In* Powers of the Secular Modern: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors. David Scott and Charles Hirschkind, eds. Pp. 31-56. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chrétien, Jean
1986 Straight from the Heart. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart-Bantam.

Deh Cho First Nation
2003 Deh Cho First Nations Interim Resource Development Agreement—Duh gogha ndeh ts;eh saamba holeh ts'ehk'eh eleh seegots'eleh. Electronic document, http://www.dehchofirstnations.com/documents/agreements/dehchoirda_e.pdf, accessed 2 May 2008.
2008 Ottawa Negotiations Briefing Notes April 22-24, 2008. Electronic document, http://www.dehchofirstnations.com/negotiations.htm, accessed 6 May 2008.

Dene Nation and The Metis Association of the NWT
1982 Public Government for the People of the North. Draft document, 1st revision. Unpublished manuscript. Yellowknife.

Dene Tha' First Nation
2008 Dene Tha' First Nation Wins Important Legal Victory. Press Release. 17 January 2008.

Dene Tha' Nation
1997 Dene Tha' Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study. Calgary: Arctic institute of North America.
2006 Survey of Dene Tha' First Nation Traditional and Current Land and Resource Uses in Areas That May Be Affected by the Mackenzie Gas Project. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/Upload/Interveners/Dene%20Tha%20First%20Nation/061120_DTFN_Survey_Page_1-25.pdf, accessed 12 January 2009.

Desgent, Jean-Marc, and Guy Lanoue
2005 Errances. Comment se pensent le nous et le moi dans l'espace mythique des nomades septentrionaux sekani. Collection Mercure. Ethnologie numéro 142. Ottawa : Musée canadien des civilisations.

Didzena, Harry
N.d. Dene Tha' First Nation Submission to the Joint Review Panel. Interview with Harry Didzena of Chateh, Alberta. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/Upload/Interveners/Dene%20Tha%20First%20Nation/061120_DTFN_Survey_Page_26-50.pdf, accessed 12 January 2009.

Duff, Crerar, and Jaroslav Petryshyn, eds.
1999-2000 Treaty 8 Revisited: Selected Papers on the 1999 Centennial Conference. Lobstick: Volume 1. Electronic document, http://www.lobstick.com/Treaty%208%20Main/t8%20main.htm, accessed 2 May 2008.

Dussaut, René, and Georges Erasmus
1994 Préface. *In* Aussi longtemps que le fleuve coulera. La nation dènèe et le Canada. René Fumoleau, dir. Pp. 11-17. Anne Moreau, trans. Québec: Septentrion.

Feit, Harvey
2005 Recognizing Co-Management as Co-governance: Visions and Histories of Conservation at James Bay. Anthropologica 47(2):267-288.

Flanagan, Tom
2002 Canada's Three Constitutions: Protecting, Overturning, and Reversing the Status Quo. *In* The Myth of the Sacred: The Charter, the Courts, and the Politics of the Constitution in Canada. Patrick James, Donald F. Abelson and Michael Lusztic, eds. Pp. 125-142. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Foisy, Baptiste W.
2006a Tout ce qui nous reste, ce sont les tribunaux. L'aquilon. le souffle francophone des territoires du nord ouest. Édition du vendredi 21 juillet 2006. Electronic document, http://www.aquilon.nt.ca/article.asp?cle=3634, accessed 23 July 2007.
2006b Les Déné tha remportent leur procès antre-pipeline. L'aquilon. le souffle francophone des territoires du nord ouest. Édition du vendredi 17 novembre 2006. Electronic document, http://www.aquilon.nt.ca/article.asp?cle=3634, accessed 23 July 2007.

Fumoleau, René
1994 Aussi longtemps que le fleuve coulera. La nation dènèe et le Canada. Anne Moreau, trans. Québec: Septentrion.

Geertz, Clifford
1973a Islam Observed. 2nd edition. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
1973b The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.
Giroux, Dalie
2004 Dieu est-il mort en étude des idées politiques? Sur l'aporie de l'opposition entre les idées et le monde. Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique 37(2):281-300.
Goulet, Jean-Guy A.
1998 Ways of Knowing: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Dene Tha. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
2001 Denendeh: Anthropologists, Politics and Ethnicity in the Reorganization of the Canadian Northwest Territories. *In* Identity and Gender in Hunting and Gathering Societies. Senri Ethnological Studies No. 56. I. Keen and T. Yamada, eds. Pp. 151-161. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology Monograph Series.
2008 La dimension religieuse des revendications autochtones au Canada. Recherches amérindienne au Québec 38(2-3):83-93.
In press Le lien inaliénable entre le Créateur et les Premières Nations: Une dimension méconnue des affirmations identitaire au Canada et au Québec. *In* Dynamiques religieuses et autochtones des Amériques: Vers de nouvelles méthodes/Religious Dynamics of Indigenous People of the Americas: Toward New Methods. Robert Crépeau et Marie-Pierrre Bousquet, eds.
Graham, Laura
1999 Library of Congress Places More Washington Document on Line. Electronic document, http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/articles/news/loc.html, accessed 8 February 2009.
Greenfeld, Liah
1992 Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Hamilton, Jennifer A.
2008 Indigeneity in the Courtroom: Law, Culture, and the Production of Difference in North American Courts. New York: Routledge.
Horvath, Sherry, Laura Mckinnon, Mark Dickerson and Monique Ross
2001 The Impact of the Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study on the Dene Tha' First Nation. Final Project Report 2001-18. Edmonton: Sustainable Forest Management Network.
Imperial Oil, APG, ConocoPhillips and Shell Canada
2003 Preliminary Information Package. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/docs/pip.pdf, accessed 6 May 2008.
2005 Socio-Economic Baseline. Zama City Community Report. IPRCC.PR.2005.03. Environmental Impact Statement for the Mackenzie Gas Project, Volume 4: Part B. Electronic document, http://www.mackenziegasproject.com/theProject/regulatoryProcess/applicationSubmission/Documents/Vol_4B-Zama_City_Baseline.pdf, accessed 6 May 2008.
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)
1985 Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements. Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy. Ottawa : Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
2003 Deh Cho First Nations Interim Measures Agreement. Electronic document, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/agr/dci_e.pdf, accessed 6 May 2008.
2006 Fostering Prosperity in the North. An address by The Honourable Jim Prentice, PC, MP, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non Status Indians to the Circle of Northern Leaders. Denis Drolet Hall, Norman Wells, Northwest Territories, 19 April 2006. Electronic document, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/mr/spch/2006/fpn-eng.asp, accessed 11 July 2009.
2007a Treaty 8. Electronic document, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty8/trty_e.html, accessed 1 May 2008.
2007b Report of commissioners for Treaty 8. Winnipeg, Manitoba, 22 September 1899. Electronic document, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty8/rpt_e.html, accessed 1 May 2008.
2007c Backgrounder—Dene tha' Settlement Agreement. Electronic document, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/m-a2007/2-2894-bk-eng.asp, accessed 6 May 2008.
2007d Government of Canada and Dene Tha' First Nation reach settlement agreement. Electronic document, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/prs/m-a2007/2-2894-eng.asp, accessed 6 May 2008.
James, Patrick, Donald F. Abelson and Michael Lusztic, eds.
2002 Introduction: The Myth of the Sacred in the Canadian Constitutional Order. *In* The Myth of the Sacred: The Charter, the Courts, and the Politics of the Constitution in Canada. Patrick, James, Donald F. Abelson and Michael Lusztic, eds. Pp. 3-14. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Joint Review Panel for the Mackenzie Gas Project / Commission d'examen conjoint du projet gazier Mackenzie.
2006 Volume 41. Hearing held at/L'audience tenue à High Level Native Friendship Centre, High Level, Alberta, 5 July 2006. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/documents/060908_TSCRPT_Vol_51.pdf, accessed 2 July 2009.
Kulchyski, Peter
2005 Like the Sound of a Drum: Aboriginal Cultural Politics in Denendeh and Nunavut. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
Kuper, Adam
2000 Culture: The Anthropologist's Account. 3rd edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Leblanc, Roméo
1996 Proclamation Authorizing the Issue and Prescribing the Composition, Dimensions and Designs of Two Twenty Dollar Precious Metal Coins, SOR/95-450. Electronic document, http://www.canlii.ca/en/ca/laws/regu/sor-95-450/latest/sor-95-450.html, accessed 6 July 2008.
Meili, Dianne
1991 Those Who Know: Profiles of Alberta's Native Elders. Edmonton: Newest Press.

Morgan, Gwyn
2001 Are Northeast British Columbia and the Territories Playing to Win or Poised to Lose in a Global Natural Gas Game? Paper delivered by Mike Graham, AEC Oil & Gas, at the Oil and Gas Conference: Fueling the Future, Fort Nelson, British Columbia, 17-19 October.

Napoléon, Val
2007 Thinking About Indigenous Legal Orders. Research Paper for First Nations Governance (NCFNG). Electronic document, http://www.fngovernance.org/research/val_napoleon.pdf, accessed 29 June 2009.

Niezen, Ronald
2003 Culture and the Judiciary. The Meaning of the Culture Concept as a Source of Aboriginal Rights in Canada. Canadian Journal of Law and Society/Revue canadienne droit et société 18(2):1-26.

NGPS (Northern Gas Project Secretariat)
2003 Memorandum of agreement for the establishment of the Northern Gas Project Secretariat to provide support to the panels and boards with public hearing requirements conducting an environmental assessment and regulatory review of the Mackenzie Gas Project. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/documents_e.html, accessed 6 May 2008.
2004 Environmental Impact Assessment: Terms of Reference for the Mackenzie Gas Project. By the Inuvualuit Game Council, the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board and the Minister of Environment. August 2004. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/documents/tor_final_e.pdf, accessed 6 May 2008.
2006 Ruling on the Motion by Dene Tha' First Nation to Adjourn the Community Hearing Scheduled for 5 July 2006. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/upload/joint%20review%20panel/060628_jrp_ruling_dtfn_jun22_motion.pdf, accessed 6 May 2008.
N.d. Joint review panel for the Mackenzie Gas Project. Electronic document, http://www.jointreviewpanel.ca/, accessed 6 May 2008.

Poirier, Sylvie
2004 Présentation. La (dé)politisation de la culture? Réflexions sur un concept pluriel. Anthropologie et Sociétés 28(1):7-22.

Rath, Jeffery R.W., and Allison Rana
2003 In the Supreme Court of Canada (On appeal from the British Columbia Court of Appeal), File Number: 29146. Electronic document, http://www.ubcic.bc.ca/files/PDF/DoigRiverFN_Taku.pdf, accessed 6 May 2008.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)
1996 People to People, Nation to Nation: Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Ross, Monique
2001 The Dene Tha' Consultation Pilot Project: An "Appropriate Consultation Process" with First Nations' Resources. The Newsletter of the Canadian Institute of Resources Law No. 76.

Said, Edward
1996 Peace and Its Discontents. New York: Vintage.

Schouls, Tim
2003 Shifting Boundaries: Aboriginal Identity, Pluralist Theory, and the Politics of Self-Government. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Scott, Patrick
2008 Stories Told: Stories and Images of the Berger Inquiry. Yellowknife: The Edzo Institute.

Senate of Canada
2008 Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Energy, the Environment and Natural Resources. Issue 10—Evidence—May 27, 2008. Second Session 39th Parliament, 2007-08. Electronic document, http://www.parl.gc.ca/39/2/parlbus/commbus/senate/com-e/enrg-e/pdf/10issue.pdf, accessed 17 February 2009.

Smith, Donald
2005 From "Indians" to "First Nations": Changing Anglo-Canadian Perceptions of the North American Indian in the Twentieth Century. Constitutional Forum 13(3) and 14(1):80-87.

Smith, Melvin H., Q.C.
2000 Some Perspectives on the Origin and Meaning of Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. Electronic document, http://oldfraser.lexi.net/publications/pps/41/s4_meaning.html, accessed 19 February 2009.

Spyce, Teresa (Tera) Marlene
2009 Disruption in Place Attachment: Insights of Young Aboriginal Adults on the Social and Cultural Impacts of Industrial Development in Northern Alberta. Masters thesis, Department of Rural Economy, University of Alberta.

Szatylo, Deborah M.I.
2002 Recognition and Reconciliation: An Alberta Fact or Fiction? The Duty to Consult in Alberta and the Impact on the Oil and Gas Industry. Indigenous Law Journal 1:201-236.

Tallay, Garrett
N.d. Dene Tha' First Nation Submission to the Joint Review Panel. Interview of Garrett Tallay. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/Upload/Interveners/Dene%20Tha%20First%20Nation/061120_DTFN_Survey_Page_26-50.pdf, accessed 12 January 2009.

Tallay, John Baptiste
N.d. Dene Tha' First Nation Submission to the Joint Review Panel. Interview of John Baptiste Tallay. Electronic document, http://www.ngps.nt.ca/Upload/Interveners/Dene%20Tha%20First%20Nation/061120_DTFN_Survey_Page_26-50.pdf, accessed 12 January 2009.

Tully, James
1995 Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, Robert A.
1989 The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest. New York: Oxford University Press.

Legal Cases

Alberta Provincial Court

2000 *R. v. Breaker* CarswellAlta 1248. (Alta. Prov. Ct. [Crim.Div.])

2003 *R. v Cardinal* (Red Deer, May 23, 2003), Docket No. AO7966685G and AO796696G (Alta.Prov. Ct. [Crim.Div.])

Federal Court (FC)

2006 *Dene Tha' First Nation v. Canada (Minister of Environment)*, Docket T-867-05. 10 November 2006. Electronic document, http://decisions.fct-cf.gc.ca/en/2006/2006fc1354/2006fc1354.pdf, accessed 23 June 2009.

Federal Court of Appeal (FCA)

2008 Canada (Environment) v. Imperial Oil Resources Ventures Ltd. (2008 FCA 20) A-113-06, 17 January 2008. Electronic document, http://decisions.fca-caf.gc.ca/en/dn/2008/01.html, accessed 23 June 2009.

Supreme Court of Canada

1984 *Guerin v. The Queen*, [1984] 2 S.C.R. 335. Electronic document, http://csc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1984/1984rcs2-335/1984rcs2-335.html, accessed 1 May 2008.

1990 *R. v. Sparrow* [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1075. Electronic document, http://scc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1990/1990rcs1-1075/1990rcs1-1075.html, accessed 1 May 2008.

1996a *R. v. Badger* [1996] 1 S.C.R. 771. Electronic document, http://csc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1996/1996rcs1-771/1996rcs1-771.html, accessed 6 January 2009.

1996b *R. v. Van der Peet*, [1996] 2 S.C.R. 507. Electronic document, http://scc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1996/1996rcs2-507/1996rcs2-507.html, accessed 4 July 2009.

1997 *Delgammukw v. British Columbia*, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010. Electronic document, http://scc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1997/1997rcs3-1010/1997rcs3-1010.html, accessed 1 May 2008.

2005 *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada (Minister of Canadian Heritage)*, 2005 SCC 69, [2005] 3 S.C.R. 388. Electronic document, http://csc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/2005/2005scc69/2005scc69.html, accessed 6 January 2009.

Virtual Law Office

1990 *Sparrow* v. *The Queen* [1990] 1. S.C.R. 1075. Annotation. Electronic document, http://www.bloorstreet.com/200block/rsparrow.htm, accessed 1 May 2008.

The Anathema of Aggregation: Toward 21st-Century Self-Government in the Coast Salish World

Brian Thom *University of Victoria*

Abstract: There are significant tensions in state-sponsored attempts to formulate aggregated First Nations self-government bodies. In spite of decades of pressure from the Indian Act and Canada's Inherent Self-Government Rights Policy, and a dramatic privatization and alienation of lands and resources, First Nations' visions of future self-governments continue to be distinctively local, with a few notable exceptions. This article looks at how the kin-based principles that underwrite Coast Salish leadership, property, political networking and the distribution of political power bases profoundly influence choices in self-determination. These issues challenge both state and First Nations negotiators to reconcile cultural difference in these agreements.

Keywords: self-government, Coast Salish, Canadian Aboriginal policy, kinship, political organization

Résumé : Les tentatives parrainées par l'État de concevoir des organismes de gouvernement autonome en délégation de pouvoir chez les Premières Nations engendrent des tensions significatives. En dépit de décennies de pression associée à la Loi canadienne sur les Indiens et la politique sur le droit inhérent à l'autonomie gouvernementale, de même qu'à la privatisation et à l'aliénation de territoires et de ressources naturelles, les Autochtones continuent de voir les futurs organismes de gouvernement autonome comme distinctement locaux, à quelques exceptions près. Cet article étudie comment, chez les Salishs de la Côte, les principes fondés sur la parenté qui sous-tendent les bases du leadership, de la propriété, des réseaux politiques et la distribution du pouvoir politique ont une influence profonde sur les choix relatifs à l'auto-détermination. Ces enjeux posent aux négociateurs de l'État et des Premières Nations le défi de faire concorder les différences culturelles lors de l'élaboration de ces ententes.

Mots-clés : gouvernement autonome, Salish de la Côte, politique autochtone canadienne, parenté, organisation politique

Introduction

In the summer of 2007, in a minor local media tempest,[1] the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, an umbrella organization representing six Coast Salish Indian bands where I had been employed full-time as a researcher, advisor and negotiator for seven years, nearly fissured. The circumstances of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group are not different from those other Coast Salish communities who have attempted aggregation. The former 24-member Stó:lō Nation, which had coalesced when I was a tribal employee in 1994, had, barely 10 years later, split into two tribal councils and a half a dozen independent bands.[2] The Mid-Island Tribal Council, which provided services and leadership for many of the smaller First Nations on the east coast of Vancouver Island split in the late 1990s. The South Island Tribal Council suffered a similar fate following the collapse of their justice program. Indeed, in spite of repeated calls for political aggregation—from Hawthorne, Belshaw and Jamieson's report, *Indians of British Columbia* (1958:465-466), to the recommendations on aggregation by the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Government of Canada 1996), to the high-level dialogue in 2009 between provincial and First Nations leadership in British Columbia concerning the so-called reconstitution of Indigenous Nations (British Columbia 2009)—there has been little traction in Coast Salish communities for strongly centralized self-government. Indeed, in the discourse around unity in self-government I have experienced in my day-to-day participation in Coast Salish political life, aggregation seems to be something of an anathema.

This scenario presents a significant conundrum for those who are seeking both to re-imagine and to re-establish self-determination within the overall framework of the state. For indigenous actors, it represents a moment of the possible re-imagining and re-moulding of identities that have been deeply shaped by colonial processes (Anderson 1991) into ones where cultural creativity and

strategic compromises may, depending on one's view, result in significant benefit or persistently and catastrophically bureaucratized lives. For state actors, aggregation of indigenous governments creates the possibility of bringing self-sufficient, accountable and democratic indigenous governance institutions into the fold of the nation state. Indigenous communities otherwise continue to be too small, too disparate, too poor, to have the capacity to meet their own self-government aspirations. Indeed, for state actors who articulate policies of accommodating indigenous difference while encouraging self-sufficiency, the political gains and economies of scale that result from collaboration in aggregated indigenous self-government institutions are seen as a crucial long-term goal.

Though there are examples of functional aggregated self-governments, from the Inuit legislature in Nunavut, to the Saami Parliament in the Nordic countries, such institutions are the exception, not the rule. Drawing on an ethnographic account of historic and contemporary Coast Salish political life in British Columbia, this article examines some key reasons why the discourse of indigenous self-government has come to see aggregation as something of an anathema.

Though there are many nuanced and local reasons for the continued reluctance of members of closely related Coast Salish Indian bands to aggregate into a central government, two underlying issues pervade self-government discussions and decision making. The first is the assimilative dynamic of state power, which acts as a significant political disincentive for present day Indian bands to dissolve and coalesce into larger political units. This power transforms local, culturally shared social and political relationships into ones familiar to, and indeed often mirroring, the state itself. Such transformative power is warily regarded by Aboriginal people who have in many ways been failed by the states' institutions and bureaucracies in the wake of colonization. The ethnographic evidence from my experience in Coast Salish communities reveals many disincentives: self-preserving Indian Act governments; the legal and economic uncertainty regarding the place of aggregated self-governments within the overall constitutional and fiscal relationship of First Nations governments to the state; and, given a lack of politically integrating tools such as a common media (in spite of intense regional interaction), a divided, underfunded power-base presently focused on difficult local crisis issues like lack of housing and youth violence. The apparent incentives that are there—important structural changes in fiscal financing, clarified law-making roles vis-à-vis federal and provincial government—are bewilderingly complex and expensive to implement and they are generally bundled in self-government negotiations with community non-starters such as the requirement to give up tax exemptions currently guaranteed by the Indian Act.

The second underlying issue is the dynamic of power in kin-ordered politics among closely related First Nations people. Though kin groups' power has diminished since the fabric of everyday life has been woven in with the norms of modern, individual-centred, mainstream society, the kin-based principles that underwrite indigenous communities' leadership, territories and property, political networking and the distribution of political power bases continue to profoundly influence choices in the ongoing formulation of indigenous self-determination. Though identifications with long-standing networks of extended kin continue to resonate for Coast Salish social and cultural lives, people also strongly identify with their Indian band. The strength of this village-based identity is underscored by Indian Act driven membership codes, through which eligibility to receive benefits and services—from housing and land to social programs—is derived.These issues challenge both state and indigenous actors endeavouring to reconcile cultural difference through negotiated self-government arrangements.

Describing Coast Salish Polities

There has been considerable ethnographic work done in describing the prevailing elements of political organization of Coast Salish people, looking at both "traditional" polities and those which are more clearly derived from Coast Salish peoples' experience with the bureaucratic mechanisms of the state (Allen 1976; Angelbeck 2009; Barnett 1938, 1955; Boxberber and Miller 1997; Collins 1979; Drucker 1983; Kennedy 2007; Kew and Miller 1999; Lewis 1980; Miller 1989; Miller and Boxberger 1994; Miller 1997; Mitchell 1983; Suttles 1963; Verma 1956; among others). This ethnographic material paints a remarkably consistent picture of historic political authority in Coast Salish communities from the early 1880s to just prior to 1940. Coast Salish political authority largely rested at the level of the local residence group (Drucker 1983:88), which is typically made up of a large household group or villages of closely related households (Barnett 1938:119). Larger aggregations of villages did occur at certain locales, normally to take advantage of abundant resources (Mitchell 1983:99-100), but the aggregations were not "tribes" in the usual sense of the term (Kennedy 1995; Miller and Boxberger 1992; Suttles 1963:513), rather they were peaceful neighbours with no supra-village order (Barnett 1955:18). Even in these residence groups, consolidated political authority did not rest with a "chief" or "council" of individuals, but was distributed between respected indi-

viduals, often high-born or wealthy, and those who had the capacity to coordinate the specialized labour of the group.

Until they were appointed by Canadian officials, villages had no superior chiefs (Barnett 1938:129-130; Suttles 1989; Collins 1979:251), with political power vested in respected, property and title-holding family heads or other specialists who could organize people for specific tasks, but whose power was largely at the discretion of their followers (Suttles 1963:513). Nor was the village group self-contained or self-sufficient (Suttles 1960, 1963:502, 514) inasmuch as social relations between closely related but geographically distant kin were frequently more important than those between neighbours within a village (Leacock 1949; Lewis 1980; Suttles 1963:517). Indeed, these now famously named residence groups—such as the Musqueam, the Cowichan, the Squamish—that affiliated on the basis of household, village or watershed residence, are deeply cross-cut by groups of exogamous, bilaterally descended, property-owning kin-groups, which form large networks throughout the Coast Salish world (Suttles 1963:513; Kennedy 2007). Contact within this broad kin-based "community" has been continually reinforced through extensive informal social networks, including labour (working together on subsistence and other ventures); trade (pervasive small-scale economy of redistribution or reciprocity); ritual (bighouse, shakers, ritual healing); potlatch (family feasts, formal events like namings); and sport (basketball, soccer, canoe races) (Suttles 1963:517). So, while village or tribal aggregations did not historically serve stable, long-term political functions, regional inter-village networks of kin have been a critical component of Coast Salish social and political life. The importance of these regional kin networks persists today, in spite of the significant social and cultural transformations that have been experienced over the last four to five generations.

Contemporary Political Organization and Aggregation

Though the key centre of power today is the local Indian band, there is some political unity beyond village groups. Regional and provincial level political lobby groups and a bewildering array of regional service-provision groups have all formed to take advantage of economies of scale. Below I detail the local and regional political configuration of Canadian Coast Salish communities.

Local Level

In British Columbia, much of the political authority held by Coast Salish residence groups was nearly universally transferred to Indian bands that are supported by the Canadian government (Suttles 1963:516). Band councils have been appointed or elected since the 1880s in some Coast Salish communities, but as late as the 1940s in others, and handle—to the degree that the Indian Act permits them—the political affairs of these communities. Verma observed that with these Indian bands a "new economic and political unit owning land and moneys in common [was] imposed on existing units [traditional villages and extended families]" (1956:66).

As Table 1 demonstrates, the Coast Salish Indian bands do not incorporate old village groups on a simple 1:1 basis. During the late 19th and early 20th century processes of reserve creation and Indian Affairs administration, many bands were formed from aggregations of several closely

TABLE 1
Coast Salish Indian Bands in Canada (with spring 2008 populations)

Mainland	Mainland	Islands
(Sunshine Coast/northern Strait of Georgia Area)	**(Fraser Valley Area)**	**(Parksville-Nanaimo Area)**
Homalco (456)[> 1]	Kwantlen (197)[> 1]	*Pentlatch Tribe* [> 1]
Klahoose (79[a])[> 1]	Matsqui (233)[> 1]	Qualicum (106)[1:1]
Sliammon (959)[> 1]	Sumas (182[a])[> 1]	Nanoose (217)[1:1]
Sechelt (1218)[> 1]	Lakahahmen (Leq'a:mel) 341)[> 1]	Snuneymuxw (1513)[> 1]
(Howe Sound Area)	Scowlitz (107[a])[> 1]	**(Ladysmith/Duncan-Gulf Islands)**
Squamish (3600)[> 10]	Chehalis (965)[> 1]	Chemainus (1145)[> 1]
	Chilliwack Tribe [> 10]	Halalt (208)[> 1]
(Vancouver Area)	Aitchelitz (40)[1:1]	Lyackson (189)[> 1]
Musqueam (1196)[> 1]	Kwaw-kwaw-a-pilt (40)[1:1]	Penelakut (840)[> 1]
Katzie (494)[> 1]	Skowkale (227)[1:1]	Cowichan (4196)[> 10]
Semiahmoo (80)[> 1]	Skwah (464)[1:1]	Malahat (258)[1:1]
Tsawwassen (275)[1:1]	Shxwhá:y (319)[1:1]	Lake Cowichan (15*)[1:1]
Tseil-Waututh (Burrard) (442)[1:1]	Soowahlie (351)[1:1]	
Kwikwetlem (Coquitlam) (61)[1:1]	Squiala (129)[1:1]	**(Victoria-Saanich Area)**
Qayqayt (9)[1:1]	Tzeachten (387)[1:1]	Songhees (489)[> 1]
	Yakweakwioose (63)[1:1]	Esquimalt (256)[> 1]
	Pilalt Tribe [> 5]	T'Sou-ke (Sooke) (216)[1:1]
	Cheam (470)[1:1]	Scia'new (Beecher Bay) (230)[1:1]
	Popkum (8)[1:1]	*Saanich Tribe* [> 10]
	Peters (118)[1:1]	Tsartlip (571[a])[1:1]
	Tait Tribe [> 10]	Pauquachin (363)[1:1]
	Shxw'ow'hamel (164)[1:1]	Tseycum (153)[1:1]
	Skawahlook (72)[1:1]	Tsawout (749)[1:1]
	Chawathil (521)[1:1]	
	Yale (145)[1:1]	
	Union Bar (118)[1:1]	
	Seabird Island (801)[> 1]	
	Hatzic Tribe [> 1]	
	Whonnock Tribe [> 1]	
	Skayuks Tribe [> 1]	
	Sna'kwemelh Tribe [> 1]	

Note: Square brackets show number of 18-19th C. "village groups" incorporated into present-day Indian bands. "Tribes" in italics are historic named group aggregations *not* recognized as formal political bodies today.
[a] In population number indicates only on-reserve population numbers represented.

connected local groups or village groups. The aggregations were consistent with the government's policies for the effective and efficient administering of residence-based communities but also were responses of First Nations working to negotiate a new position in a landscape that was rapidly transformed by intense settlement.

Cowichan Tribes and Squamish Nation distinguish themselves as very large Indian bands, both representing aggregations of more than 10 historical local village groups and having memberships today of around 4,000 people. This aggregation of the Cowichan-area villages was done by Indian Affairs in about 1954, "because the separate bands [villages] were related groups on a common reserve, were using common trust funds, and more and more of their property was being held by members who had moved out [from the historic village areas] to live elsewhere [in newly established suburban areas] on the reserve" (Lewis 1980:56). The Squamish Band amalgamated in 1923, with 16 of the 17 closely related Indian bands established to administer Squamish Indian Reserves amalgamating into one unit with Chief George of the Burrard Band not agreeing to join (Verma 1956:68,73). At Squamish, the amalgamation occurred to alleviate the strained relations between kin caused when certain parcels of or assets from Indian Reserve lands were sold. The proceeds of these sales were distributed only to members of the Indian bands who resided on these Reserves, while others, who had held legitimate extended family claims to these lands under the customary law system but had ended up belonging to neighbouring Indian bands, got nothing (Verma 1956:68-73). Amalgamation allowed for each member to have an equal share of the cash distributions from these land and assets sales.

Sliammon, Chehalis, Chemainus, Musqueam, Sechelt and Snuneymuxw are all large Indian bands that have between 1,000-1,500 members, and each of them is also a large aggregation of historic village groups. Tsawout, Seabird Island, and Penelakut are mid-sized Indian bands with between 750-850 members, which are also state-created, multi-village aggregations from the late 19th to the early 20th century (Duff 1952:42; Rozen 1985:95, 97, 101, 126-127; Suttles 1951:24). Most of the small Indian bands (n=27) have between 50 and 500 members and about half represent single historic village groups, though 13 of them (Klahoose, Semiahmoo, Qualicum, Scowlitz, Sumas, Lyackson, Kwantlen, Halalt, Matsqui, Esquimalt, Leq'á:mél, Homalco, Songhees and Katzie), are also aggregations of several historic villages now represented by single Indian bands. Several very small Indian bands may represent the descendants of local groups that may have only been a single family kin-group, like the Lake Cowichan (Rozen 1985:217-218) or villages that experienced devastating historic depopulation, such as Popkum and Qeqayt (Duff 1952:34, 24).

Indian bands derive much of their formal power through the mechanisms of the state, including having the power to make by-laws as set out in the Indian Act, and to provide core services funded primarily by annual fiscal transfers from the Federal Government, with "top ups" being provided for additional delegated services such as health care, child and family services, or fisheries management (see Table 2). Indian bands have the option of incorporating for the purposes of generation of revenues, supported now by federal legislative options which provide additional governance and taxation for bands who opt in. Economic development corporations which run "band businesses" frequently have governance boards made up of elected band chiefs and councils or persons appointed by them.

TABLE 2
Coast Salish Local (Indian Band) Program and Service Delivery

Elementary / secondary / post-secondary education schools, curriculum and funding
Band Governance Support
Indian Registry
Elections
Lands and Trust services
Infrastructure, water, other municipal services
Social assistance
Social support services
Health services
Housing programs (CMHC social housing)
DFO funded fisheries programs
Employment programs
Economic development / Band-run businesses

Regional Level

To say that aggregation is a complete anathema would be an overstatement of the situation on the ground. In addition to the state's 19th- and 20th-century administrative aggregations of village units into Indian bands discussed above, there have been a number of First Nation led efforts at regional-level political organization and consolidation (see Table 3). These regional bodies have been formed largely for taking advantage of economies of scale when performing important functions: negotiating self-government, land claims and other inter-governmental agreements; providing technical services and community planning; administering, providing and delivering health and other services; creating economic opportunities and facilitating economic development; promoting education,

TABLE 3
Regional Political Organizations of the Coast Salish in Canada

Treaty Negotiation Offices	Tribal Councils	Political Affiliates
Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (Cowichan, Lake Cowichan, Halalt, Penelakut, Lyakcson, Chemainus)	**Stó:lō Nation** (Aitchelitz, Leq'a:mel, Matsqui, Popkum, Shxwhá:y Village, Skawahlook, Skowkale, Squiala, Sumas, Tzeachten, and Yakweakwioose)	**Sencot'en Alliance** (Tsartlip, Tsawout, Pauquachin, Semiahmoo)
Temexw Treaty Association (Beecher Bay, Malahat, Nanoose, Songhees, and Sooke)	**Stó:lō Tribal Council** (Chawathil, Cheam, Kwantlen, Kwaw'kwaw' apilt, Scowlitz, Seabird Island, Shxw'ow'hamel and Soowahlie)	**Coast Salish Gathering Organization**
Stó:lō Xwexwilmexw Treaty Association (Aitchelitz, Leq'a:mel, Popkum, Skawahlook, Skowkale, Tzeachten, and Yakweakwioose)	**Naut'samawt Tribal Council** (Chemainus, Halalt, Homalco, Klahoose, Malahat, Nanoose, Sliammon, Snuneymuxw, Tsawwassen and Tsleil-Waututh)	
	Defunct: - South Island Tribal Council - Mid Island Tribal Council - Southern Vancouver Island Tribal Federation (15 bands)	

TABLE 4
Coast Salish Regional Program and Service Delivery Organizations (not exhaustive)

Health Services
- Inter-Tribal Health Authority (28 Vancouver Island Coast Salish members)
- Tsewultun Health Centre (Cowichan)
- H'ulh-etun Health Society (5 members)

Child and Family Services
- Lalum'utul' Smun'eem Child and Family Services (Cowichan)
- Kwumut Lelum Child and Family Services (9 members)

Coast Salish Employment and Training Society (22)
First Nations Marine Society (26 members)
Friendship Centres (urban areas)
Tribal Councils (South Island, Mid-Island, Nutsa'maat)
M'akola Group of Societies (Victoria, Duncan, Nanaimo)

cultural practices and community leadership; and, administering, providing and delivering programs and services.

Under or parallel to these regional bodies, there is a myriad of programs and organizations which provide services that most Canadians receive from their provincial or federal governments Examples of these organizations are shown in Table 4. The provision of these services is often complicated by lack of harmonization between federal and provincial governments in terms of standards, funding and arrangements for services provided to on- and off-reserve Indians. Even for something as basic for most Canadians as medical services, First Nations health authorities are often seen as an efficient means for administering the complex interplay between federal and provincial programs and services for status Indians. These regional bodies are generally incorporated as "societies" under the provincial Societies Act, with boards of directors who are often appointed by Indian band chiefs and councils.

The recent annual Coast Salish Gathering is a different kind of political aggregation. The Coast Salish leadership from both Canada and U.S. communities assembles on an annual basis to discuss environmental issues, co-ordinating strategies toward actions of mutual benefit. They have seized on funding opportunities provided by several government environmental agencies to assist in the planning, logistics and expenses of the gathering. An oversized, hand-made, skin drum, made sometime in the 1990s, lists the names of all the Coast Salish Indian bands, with the signatures of each of the originally participating chiefs beside their band. The drum is passed from host-community to host community to serve as a symbol of the unity and common interest the Coast Salish have and of their strategy of coming together to seize opportunities. A prominent organizer of a recent Coast Salish Gathering told me that it was very significant that these leaders were putting differences aside to work together. He said that the gathering has two strengths. One is that people cannot be on top of each other—no one is over the others in the way the gathering is structured. This is now it needs to work when the families are all related at the grandparental or more distant level. The second is the ability for leaders of communities to opt in or out. If people do not like it, they can move, without having to tear down the work of the others. This has made the Coast Salish Gathering a flexible, viable institution for the limited but important mandate it deals with.

Provincial Level

There are also three major provincial level political bodies in which Coast Salish First Nations participate (see Table 5). These bodies, again accountable to Indian band chiefs and councils, are the current generation of broad-based First Nations political lobby groups which press federal and provincial governments for policy change (antecedent organizations have been described by Drucker

TABLE 5
Province-Wide Political Organizations

First Nations Summit (Coast Salish members)	Union of BC Indian Chiefs	Assembly of First Nations (BC Region)
Katzie, Musqueam, Squamish, Tsawwassen, Tsleil-Waututh, Yale, Stó:lō (Aitchelitz, Leq'á:mél, Matsqui, Popkum, Skawahlook, Skowkale, Tzeachten, and Yakweakwioose), Homalco HTG (Cowichan, Chemainus, Lyackson, Penelakut, Halalt, Lake Cowichan), Klahoose, Sechelt, Sliammon, Snuneymuxw, Te'mexw (Beecher Bay, Malahat, Nanoose, Songhees, and Sooke)	About 70 bands in British Columbia, few of which are involved in the British Columbia Treaty Process.	All 192 bands in British Columbia

1958:97, 121-122; Hawthorne et al. 1958; Tennant 1982, 1983, 1990; Thornton 2002). The major achievements of these organizations in recent years have been the 2005 Transformative Change Accord with the Government of Canada, the 2006 New Relationships with the British Columbia Government and the Federal Government's Statement of Apology to the former students of Indian Residential Schools in 2008. These bodies continue to be the touchstone for dialogue with First Nations for provincial and federal legislative and policy reform. They also coordinate or help administer several provincial-level service organizations (see Table 6). Though important for lobbying and providing limited services in the form of policy expertise, the political authority of these provincial-level bodies should not be overstated. Many Aboriginal people feel that these are largely spokesperson positions whose work is not mandated by the general First Nation population. These bodies are nothing like the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' proposals (Government of Canada 1996) for formal representation in parliament through a House of First Peoples.

TABLE 6
Provincial Program and Service Organizations

First Nation Summit
Fiscal Relations Committee
First Nations Chiefs' Health Committee
First Nations Technology Council
First Nations Education Steering Committee
Assembly of First Nations, BC Region
British Columbia First Nations Fisheries Council
British Columbia First Nations Energy Summit
British Columbia Aboriginal Fisheries Commission

Examples of Failed Aggregation

Given these examples, a certain degree of political aggregation has occurred among Coast Salish communities. However, from my own experiences, there have been many other attempts at unity beyond the local group that have been strained, rocky and tumultuous, and some of which have ultimately failed. Indeed, I would argue that there remains continual tension favouring the fissioning of political organizations that try to represent multiple Coast Salish people beyond the family level. From the constant tension of fission in the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group; the very public 2004 split of the Stó:lō Nation; the 2004 and 2009 calls from members of two different village groups (Somena and Quamichan) in Cowichan to re-establish their own governance outside the Cowichan Tribes; the lack of support of Indian band chiefs and councils for the federally unrecognized Hwiltsum First Nation's joining any tribal council or treaty negotiations; the outright litigation between multiple First Nations (Musqueam-Squamish-Tseilil-Waututh; Cowichan-Sencot'en-Tsawwassen) around "overlapping" land claims; the yearly inter-band divisions over the economies of the Fraser River sockeye fishery; the folding of the Mid Island and South Island Tribal councils; the problems of South Island Justice Project's attempt to institutionalize socio-ceremonial aggregations (Miller 2001); to the splitting and dissolving of numerous intertribal program and service delivery agencies (from justice and policing programs to health and child and family services agencies), all experiences show that many Coast Salish people have significant difficulty with political aggregation. So, again I turn to my question, why?

Why Is Aggregation an Anathema

Earlier I proposed that the assimilative dynamic of state power and the continuing importance of kin-centred identity and politics are underlying factors behind the reluctance of Coast Salish people to fully engage in political aggregation. Below, I point to examples that underscore the working of these two forces, showing how in realms of Indian band decision making and leadership, and in the engagement of federal and provincial government land and self-government policies, Coast Salish people are reluctant, hesitant and even dismissive, electing largely to stay out of political aggregations.

To formulate these examples, I have drawn on my extensive participation as an active observer of Coast Salish political life and from extensive dialogues with Coast Salish political leadership, elders and community members in a variety of public and private forums. I have been

intensively involved in these discussions and dialogues on an ongoing basis since 1994. I have almost always worked as a tribal employee for First Nations institutions that represent multiple Indian bands. My work as a tribal employee has been near the centre of the governance-building effort: negotiating land claims provisions, facilitating dialogue about the reconstitution of self-government, developing inter-governmental relationships with federal, provincial and local governments, preparing for litigation on rights issues that affect individuals from multiple Indian bands, co-chairing a multi-First Nation park co-management board, and so on. From my perspective as a tribal employee, aggregation has largely been seen as an important but elusive goal. My account attempts to balance maintaining a respectful anonymity, by not elaborating detailed examples and dialogues, with providing a candid ethnographic account of the situation on the ground over the past 15 years.

Indian Bands in Inter-Indian Band Contexts

Talking to a prominent, retired First Nations leader over lunch recently, I was struck by his candid observation that it only became possible for the Indian bands of the Nass River valley to move decision making forward on the Nisga'a treaty once there was a clear separation between the bands and the Nisga'a Nation. Under Indian band chiefs and councils, he said, it was impossible to get decision making on a treaty, as collective interests were subordinated by locally pressing issues. When the Nisga'a Tribal Council was formed, it was mandated directly by the general membership of Nisga'a citizens to handle making decisions on treaty issues, without needing to go back to individual chiefs and councils for approval. This cleared a critical hurdle for building the aggregated governance of the Nisga'a Nation.

In Coast Salish territories, there is similarly a significant lack of decision making by aggregated Indian Act governments. In instances where this has occurred, such as in the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group where the chief of a large band like Cowichan Tribes with 4,000 members sits on a board of directors with an equal vote to fellow directors of much smaller bands (for instance, Lake Cowichan Band with under 20 members), decision making at the aggregated level becomes a serious political liability at the band level. Consensus decisions on "safe issues" such as administration, personnel or general mandating are made through a board of directors, but when more politically complex issues are brought to the table, the board of directors are reluctant to tackle them without thoroughly grounding any decision with their chiefs and councils at home. Where this process has worked, such as the establishment of a collective committee to engage Parks Canada in cooperative management of the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve, or in establishing a Memorandum of Understanding with the Archaeology Branch, reaching a consensus decision was very time consuming. In other examples, such as the ratification of a draft political accord around land use planning with the Islands Trust or the possible admission of a new member to the Treaty Group, dissent of any one of the member First Nations prevented a consensus decision from being reached.

In an analysis of political decision making at the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, David Pope, a lawyer, mediator and advisor to First Nations on governance issues, has suggested that there may be other ways to structure the Board to achieve more effective decision making (2009:3):

- Unanimity (complete consensus), all must agree
- Simple Majority (50% plus one of the members). The Canadian House of Commons is an example.
- Special Majority based on a certain majority of number of members representing a certain proportion of the population involved. The proposals for a formula to change the Canadian Constitution usually are based on this type of majority.
- Special Majority based on a certain majority of number of members representing a certain proportion of the financial contribution to the organization, where financial contribution and population are not necessarily the same, as in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.
- Weighted votes based in part on the population and in part on whether a member is participating by paying for a particular service, such as is used in British Columbia Regional Districts.
- Determining what a "sufficient consensus" is to carry the matter, as was used in the peace negotiations in Northern Ireland or the planning for future government in South Africa in the transition from apartheid. This usually amounts to a majority of representatives, but always requires enough participants to ensure that the decision "sticks" and is not avoided or reversed at the next meeting if some participants are different. This method is very uncertain and is used in situations where changing alliances and goals often arise.

However, there has been little appetite to date for restructuring around any of Pope's suggestions, nor are there other Coast Salish aggregated political bodies which have, to my knowledge, adopted any of the more complex of these decision-making mechanisms. Accountability for

political decision making is clearly a key factor, as it is the chiefs and councils that are directly elected (or selected in the case of hereditary chiefs with life-terms), and the aggregated bodies with appointed boards like the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group are accountable only to the chiefs and councils not directly to the whole membership. Significant political concerns at the band level arise when aggregated governments compete for the same limited funds available to Indian bands or when the implementation of some benefit from aggregated governance (for instance securing land) is perceived to be advantageous to one community to the exclusion of others. Such scenarios have led either to a lack of willingness to make a decision or to the fissioning of the aggregated body when decisions were taken that had an objectionable element.

Information sharing on political issues among band councils, between bands and an aggregated political body, and between these bodies and the general membership is also crucial in this context. I have observed, however, that there is often a significant lack of information flow, despite the close proximity of these communities. The lack of an integrating Coast Salish media, such as a newspaper or radio station, contributes to this. Most local news stories concerning Coast Salish bands are run in small-circulation papers of the Black Press newspaper chain, with little media attention paid to pan-Coast Salish issues. Some locally published newsletters are photocopied or commercially printed, but these seldom carry on the kind of intensive dialogue needed for inter-community political issues to be fully raised. Such media are often viewed as irreparably biased or as self-serving and leave little room for independent, local voices.

Where Indian bands continue to be the sole bodies accountable for political decision-making in aggregated political structures (such as the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group) whose board of directors are appointed by the bands (as opposed to elected or selected by the general membership), there are also real potential problems in efficiency and effectiveness of decision-path information flow. Already burgeoning band council agendas are strained in dealing with issues or decisions that are needed to move forward aggregated governance issues. However, when the staff or Board of Directors move forward on issues without bringing them to individual Indian bands for decision making, councillors may feel like they are being left behind on political issues being led by a central office. The efficiencies and economies of scale of a central political body become lost in this scenario.

While the need for local accountability in political decision making may be a significant practical barrier to aggregation, another significant conceptual barrier exists in the view that aggregation is tantamount to "overthrowing" the Indian bands which have come to stand for the more ancient village settlements established in *syuth*, a class of oral traditions that belong to the Coast Salish canon of charter myths (Thom 2005:83). Coast Salish communities, like other communities on the Northwest Coast (Adams 1974:172), have oral traditions that recall the very First Ancestors on the land who established the original communities, many of which have continued to the present day. In the Coast Salish forms of these stories, powerful people drop from the sky or otherwise appear in the world and found the original villages (see for example, Barnett 1955:18, 20-21). The stories frequently refer to fundamental teachings about the importance of exogamous kin relations and extended family networks. They also commemorate prominent landmarks and villages in the Coast Salish world through the places that the ancestors landed, or exercised and experienced their powers and settled communities. The figures whose deeds are recounted in these stories provide a "charter" for the named local groups today, outlining rights and privileges of their resident members. In discussions with Coast Salish leaders and Elders about these syuth (Thom 2005:88-93), I have been struck by how strongly they provide an index of identity, anchoring connections to village places—now largely articulated as one's home Indian Reserve—through these ancient ancestors. Though the interconnection between communities through the kinship and travel of these ancestors within the Coast Salish world is sometimes rhetorically commented on as an integrating force, the greater sense of political identity is in the connections to the ancestral village area for which the Indian band most often stands today. Such strong band identities continue to be articulated today, even among young leaders, like one individual who, in a recent important community discussion of aggregation, said

> We don't want to lose our identity as distinct First Nations. We can all come together but we don't do that at the expense of who we are as Chemainus people, as Cowichan people. We don't want to come together and have as a result our identity melt into one. You bring who you are together at the table. In decolonizing, we need to not dilute who we really are.

While advocates of aggregation may find the Nisga'a experience compelling in reducing or constraining the political authority of Indian bands, it is clear in the Coast Salish case that Indian bands are going to be a continuing fixture in the political landscape.

Leadership

Leadership has continued to follow the axiom that there be "no superior chief," with few Indian band chiefs having more broad-based support than immediate kin and some co-residents. Though in recent years, a few Coast Salish leaders, like British Columbia's Lieutenant Governor Steven Point, have been given the honorific title Grand Chief, it is a position of moral not formal political or institutional authority. Leaders who command broader popular support within the Coast Salish community activate and maintain extended kin ties in venues like winter dancing, canoe racing or Indian doctoring, which are largely outside the formal political process. This support has rarely manifested in broad political support in the context of formal aggregated governance.

Indeed, among the extended network of kin, there has always been a tension amongst in-laws, something Snyder (1964:75, 389-391) observed in her analysis of the canon of Coast Salish myth, and navigating the practical or political limits of relationships in these vast kin networks is one of the central challenges of personhood in Coast Salish life. While reliance on in-laws for access to important resource sites, sharing of locally abundant resources and hospitality while travelling, is a prominent theme, there is a potential for gluttony in sharing or overextending one's welcome that adds an edge to the relationship. Reliance on in-laws from other communities in roles of political leadership has the potential to erode the support of local kin, who, in the contemporary era, exchange their support for jobs, social housing, discretionary education funding and other band-run opportunities. The fear is that in an aggregated governance scenario, where economies of scale may eliminate duplication of services offered by individual bands, such discretion may be eliminated. This can even be seen in instances of Indian band-level leadership, where an individual married into a politically influential family from another Coast Salish community can hold political influence for a time, but loses local support when the connecting kin dies or breaks off the relationship. Such change is frequent at the band level, where political leadership is often in flux. Chief and council elections are typified by having very large slates of candidates, including many from a single family, with the result of vote-splitting. Compelling leaders may hold office for a time, but frequent chief and council elections, mandated by standard Indian Act election codes which require elections every two years, make continuity a challenge.

Rhetoric involved in the maintenance of political support invokes the scorn of johnnies-come-lately and the trust of people of proven, established lineages. This is very frequently articulated today in the context of individuals who regained their status through the change to membership rules imposed by Bill C-31. That bill allowed status Indian women who had lost their membership when they married non-status individuals, to regain Indian status for themselves and their children. I have heard such people derisively described as having "floated in on a log." There is suspicion of their spurious claims as compared to those of old, established families whose members have chosen to continue to live on-reserve in recent generations. Such gossip can intensify between communities, where suspicions about the veracity of linking genealogies may be highlighted as distrust for a neighbouring community's leaders is augmented.

Land Claims Policies

The aggregation of bodies with rights over land presents another significant conundrum for Coast Salish communities. The fate of customary land tenure, Indian Act forms of title (location tickets, certificates of possession), fee-simple titles, and the potential for some future form of land tenure created by land claims agreements, is debated in considerations of aggregated governance. Political aggregation creates new problems for determining who (collective and individual) title holders will be, and what jurisdictions local or aggregated authorities will have over these lands.

Local, ancestral property systems which recognize properties being held by both family and residence groups (Kennedy 2000; Thom 2005) have never been codified to the extent that they may be effectively administered by a central government. Even the Cowichan Land Committee, which has operated for over 30 years with a mandate to reconcile ancestral property claims with Indian Act forms of title on Reserve lands, is still embroiled in significant debates over outstanding issues of location, boundaries and descent of ancestral titles.

Under the current options available to First Nation governments through land claims agreements in British Columbia, all forms of Aboriginal title within a First Nation's territory are converted to fee-simple title held collectively by the group settling the land claim (such as in the Nisga'a, Maa-nulth and Tsawwassen Final Agreements). An aggregated group may hold the title collectively as a Nation (such as clause 3 of the Nisga'a Final Agreement land chapter) or choose to have the new fee-simple title held collectively by each of the local groups benefitting from the agreement (such as clause 2.3.1 of the Maa-nulth Final Agreement land chapter). The title holding group—either the umbrella or local group—is required to set out in its constitution what the terms would

be for dispossessing itself of collective title (in the case of transferring a fee-simple title to individual members for instance) to any of its lands (for example clause 13.3.1(m) of the Maa-nulth Final Agreement).

The problem is compounded if post-land claim agreement titles rest with individual Coast Salish village communities, as intercommunity territorial boundaries are not neatly understood (Thom 2009), resulting in the infamous "overlapping claims" that bedevil contemporary land claims and treaty negotiations. Divisive debates, which in 2007 were punctuated by litigation at the British Columbia Supreme Court over the Tsawaassen Final Agreement (*Cowichan Tribes v. R.*; *Cook v. The Minister of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation*), continue as Indian band councils consider the complexities of overlapping territorial boundaries between their village communities. Similar issues encumber the closing negotiations for the Yale Final Agreement, which are disputed by the Stó:lō Nation and the In-SHUCK-ch Final Agreement, which is hotly contested by the Chehalis Band. Though aggregation under an umbrella government or collective title holding group appears to be an elegant solution, it is also plagued with problems.

Under a fully aggregated governance model, individual family heads with ancestral properties (who were fortunate enough to have their homes and important resource locales located on lands received under the benefits of the agreement, as many likely will not be), individual holders of Indian Act titles, and Indian band councils, who control common band properties, would all have their titles converted to a collective fee-simple title held by the aggregated group. The aggregated government's jurisdiction would then be relied on to create, register and administer lesser titles. The uncertain outcomes of such a feudalization and redistribution of the existing customary and Indian Act tenure systems—in spite of all the problems, peculiarities and uncertainties of those customary and Indian Act titles (cf. Alacantra and Flanagan 2006)—is a risk that many Coast Salish people are extremely cautious about, as the process is obviously fraught with potential for the powerful to benefit at the expense of those whose relationship to the lands are contested. These issues are all exacerbated by the extremely small land offers made by the government in the largely urban Coast Salish area, perpetuating an overall scarcity of land for which these titles could be worked out.

Self-Government Policies

Canada's Inherent Right of Self-Government Policy (Government of Canada 1995) articulates how the federal government is willing to recognize self-defined Aboriginal groups, their constitutions and a range of legislative powers, and will work to facilitate program and service delivery capacities. In British Columbia, self-government under Canada's Inherent Right Policy has been, for all but the Sechelt and Westbank First Nations (which derive delegated authorities from provincial or federal legislation), been negotiated within the framework of settling land claims in the British Columbia Treaty Process. It has, to date, failed to produce any lasting agreements with aggregated Coast Salish First Nations.

Canada's approach to governance in the treaty process has produced examples of both aggregated (Nisga'a) and village-level (Tsawwassen, Maa-nulth) governance based on the core principles of this policy. The preambles to these agreements contain an acknowledgment by Canada and the First Nation in question that, prior to the treaty, Aboriginal jurisdictions flowed from the First Nation's inherent right of self-government. The treaty then goes on to set out constitutionally binding general provisions which modify all pre-existing governance (and other) rights into those which are articulated between the covers of the treaty. In these general provisions, Canada and British Columbia are released from and indemnified against all obligations or duties, past, present and future, around any right or jurisdiction not explicitly set out in the treaty. The general provisions also make it explicit that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms apply to the government of the First Nation and that federal and provincial laws now apply concurrently with the laws of the First Nation, with the priority of laws on occasions of conflict being established on a case-by-case basis for each political authority that has made it into the text of the treaty. These general provisions clarify that any of the governance powers mentioned in the text of the treaty do not include authority over criminal law, criminal procedure, intellectual property, official languages of Canada, aeronautics, navigation and shipping, or labour relations and working conditions, which are exclusive areas of federal jurisdiction under Canada's Inherent Rights Policy.[3]

The governance chapters of these treaty agreements then establish that the collective rights and jurisdictions of the First Nation will be democratically represented by the First Nation government established under a constitution that a majority of the eligible members ratify at the same time as the treaty. The Canadian authorities expect that the structure of such governments will ensure that the majority of responsible decision makers are democratically accountable to the membership through elections, irrespective of any hereditary or other means of selecting government representatives. Canada insists on treaty text that establishes these governments and their

institutions as legal entities, with the legal rights and duties of a natural person (closing a legal ambiguity in the status of Indian bands). The governance chapters then set out provisions to allow the First Nation government to delegate any of its law-making authorities to another First Nation or to a public institution established by one or more First Nations in British Columbia. Finally, these governance chapters and various references in other chapters, exhaustively (through about 20 pages of text) set out the scope and limits of the heads of power of that First Nation (summarized in Table 7).

TABLE 7
General First Nations Heads of Power Negotiated through BC Treaty Process (drawn from Maa-nulth Final Agreement 2006 and Tsawwassen Final Agreement 2008)

General Governance - election, administration, management and operation of the First Nation government - use, possession and management of a First nation's assets - citizenship in the First nation - adoption of its citizen's children residing in British Columbia - solemnization of marriages - powers of enforcement of the First Nation's laws - direct taxation of the First Nations citizens - preservation, promotion and development of language and culture	**Management of Lands and Activities on First Nations Lands** - use, management, planning, zoning and development - regulation of nuisances, buildings and structures, businesses and land use planning in designated foreshore areas - ownership, disposition of estates or interests - expropriation for public purposes by First Nation government - public order, peace and safety - regulation of businesses - traffic, transportation, parking and highways - buildings and structures - forest resources and forestry practices - protection, preservation and conservation of the environment - conservation and management of, and public access to heritage sites, artifacts and ancient human remains
Government Services - child protection services for First Nation's citizens - childcare services on First Nation's lands - K-12, post-secondary and language and culture education provided by the First Nation - health services provided by the First Nation - social development services provided by the First Nation - emergency preparedness services provided by the First Nation - public works services on First Nation lands	**Natural Resources** - use of water from the First Nation's water licence - distribution of fish, wildlife plants harvested under the agreement - licencing of members exercising harvesting rights under the agreement - methods, timing and location of harvest of wildlife under the agreement - trade and barter of wildlife harvested under the agreement

Many Coast Salish communities negotiating governance in the British Columbia Treaty Process are cautious about accepting such provisions for self-government within the permanently binding agreements of a Final Agreement. One issue which has attracted widespread criticism by First Nations leadership and their legal advisors is the extent to which the so-called "certainty" clauses of the general provisions chapter limits the entire future scope and extent of their authority to the text of the treaty. They are concerned that the ingenuity and pragmatism of the currently uncodified systems of customary law—for instance with respect to intangible property systems, or the management of family or village properties that fall outside the treaty settlement lands provided with the agreement—will be much diminished by such an approach, eliminating important constitutional protections for the future exercise of any rights that are not adequately articulated in the treaties (Thom 2008).

Another concern is the relatively permanent decision that must be made within the text of a Final Agreement with respect to who the governing authority will be as well as the extent of the the jurisdiction(s) that the treaty recognizes for the First Nation. Though there are jurisdictional delegation clauses allowing the First Nation to pass its authority to other First Nations, aggregations or their public institutions, once they have also entered into final agreements (for instance the Tsawwassen Final Agreement governance chapter clauses 39 and 40), such provisions do not provide assurances that a community's future decision to associate or disassociate with other levels of Aboriginal government will be accommodated without significant complexity. Even under the terms of such treaties, there has been some ambiguity concerning the differential allocation of jurisdiction by disparate First Nations governments to the aggregate First Nations body. In the case of education, for instance, if an aggregated First Nation body passed laws under the authority delegated by a First Nation that had carved out its jurisdiction in detail under the treaty, could those laws apply to a member First Nation whose authority may not have been as exhaustively established (and such differences in drafting conventions do exist between these agreements) or may indeed have merely been delegated from the Province in an out-of-treaty arrangement? The inter-jurisdictional complexities of this system reinforce the political economics of the lowest common denominator in such efforts. The fluidity of association and decision making present in Coast Salish communities is effectively subsumed under the state-like First Nation governments established under these agreements.

Many community members have little hope that aggregated governments produced by self-government agreements will be able to solve the social crisis produced by poverty and the disenfranchisement experienced by many Aboriginal people living in a settler society. Though

these problems have been too complex to be solved by Indian bands, there is a significant reluctance to put political capital into another possible failure. The examples of chronically inadequate funding of the services provided by aggregated Aboriginal governments, both those like the Nisga'a who have established agreements, or the former Stó:lō Nation who established their own constitutions, reinforce this view.

Indeed, aggregation under Canada's Inherent Right to Self-Government Policy and attendant positions in self-government or land claims negotiations have come to be characterized by a number of Coast Salish First Nations leaders as a "risk" rather than an opportunity to embrace. Several have stated that aggregated, constitutionally entrenched Aboriginal self-governments need to be more fully empowered for Coast Salish people to risk the consequences of the significant and uncertain change from Indian Act governance to aggregated bodies operating outside the known bounds of the Indian Act. Others have been cautiously critical of how aggregated governance under this policy erases kin-based polities through democratization, structural permanence of institutions through binding "constitutions" and certainty provisions, membership criteria, and application of the Charter of Rights, and replaces them with something much more familiar to the state.

Indigenous Nations and the New Relationship in British Columbia

The stakes for aggregation increased significantly in the spring of 2009 with the proposal from the British Columbia Government and First Nations Leadership Council to pass provincial legislation that would recognize that Aboriginal rights and title exist through the territories of "Indigenous Nations" without the requirement of proof or strength of claim, establishing revenue sharing and shared decision making for planning, management and tenuring decisions over these lands (British Columbia 2009). The First Nations Leadership Council has circulated several documents, letters and PowerPoint presentations amongst the Aboriginal leadership in British Columbia providing context for discussion of this proposed legislation, including a draft map of Indigenous Nations territories (see Figure 1). The comprehensive involvement of First Nations in decision making and revenue sharing under this legislation would be dependent on their having aggregated into these Indigenous Nations, where the collective rights and title holders who share common threads of language, customs, traditions and history join together into a single, formal political aggregation. This vision of "Indigenous Nations" as being the proper title and rights holders comes from the Canadian courts which, in decisions like *Marshall, Bernard, Delgamuukw* and *Tsilhqot'in,* have stated that the collective, rights-based governance, decision-making authorities that flow from Aboriginal title must be exercised by Aboriginal "peoples" or "nations," and not necessarily at the level of the Indian band. The First Nations Leadership Council is also motivated by a vision that the many divisive territorial overlaps between closely related Indian band communities will be significantly resolved by their consolidation into aggregated Indigenous Nations who engage the Province in shared decision making and revenue sharing on the basis of their collective territorial interests.

I understand from discussions with provincial officials that the British Columbia Government is in part motivated to encourage the reconstitution of Indigenous Nations because of its need for effective, efficient First Nations decision making. If the government is going to implement some manner of legislated duty toward the Aboriginal title of a First Nation through formal shared decision-making mechanisms, for example, significant economies of scale need to be realized. Vocal critics, like prominent First Nations commentator Arthur Manual, claim that the move is also a crass political manoeuvre by the provincial government which anticipates that dissenters and Aboriginal rights activists will have a voice during the intense international spotlight of the 2010 Olympic Winter Games.[4] The government could claim that it has boldly legislated recognition of Aboriginal rights and title, while satisfying its own conservative constituency by incurring very little actual risk of significant material outcome in the short term, as recent experience has shown that there is very little present political appetite for aggregation by Indian band First Nations in British Columbia. Whatever the motivations, the very public discourse around this proposed legislation has created a high-stakes environment for First Nations leaders to consider aggregation to increase their involvement in the management of and the reaping of benefits from their territories. Not surprisingly, late in the summer of 2009, the proposal in the Reconciliation Act to aggregate Indian bands into Indigenous Nations was rejected by Aboriginal leaders in a rare all-chiefs gathering held in Vancouver.[5]

Indeed, in numerous informal discussions I have had with Coast Salish leaders on the proposed legislative initiative, many were not persuaded by the potential benefits of aggregation. These individuals would prefer not to risk entering into such formal aggregations where their identity as individual communities—in spite of their widespread kin connections—might be lost in the decision making about the approval of land use plans and the receipt of benefits from the provincial development of lands and resources in

Figure 1: Map showing sovereign Indigenous Nations territorial bondaries. UBCIC, June 1993. Redrawn by M.J. Chrchill and Brian Thom, 2010.

local corners of the a so-called Indigenous Nations' territories. Navigating the internal politics of such decisions appears to be an impossible task at this time.

Kinship in aggregated political organization

The pre-eminent Northwest Coast scholar Wayne Suttles observed in 1963 that "the Coast Salish were not to be made over to conform to the model of the Old World peasant village—ideologically homogeneous, economically self-sufficient, socially self-contained" (516). Today, the negotiation process around land claims and self-government may be more effective in promoting this assimilation goal. It may be that, as Suttles suggested over 45 years ago, an alternative to these current government mandates will emerge that will incorporate the regional kin networks

and their social, ceremonial, economic and, perhaps, political manifestations, providing "a basis for the growth of the organization and leadership that is needed" (1963:523) to establish strong and culturally relevant self-governments.

The extended Coast Salish kin group, which plays an enormously important role in areas of life as diverse as subsistence, ceremony and sport, would appear to be the natural line upon which aggregation could be built. Extended kinship may provide the common idiom of relationship, creating a pathway so that aggregated political structures in the Coast Salish world can come together temporarily, even opportunistically, around areas of common interest. The Coast Salish Gathering example discussed earlier is an interesting example of this, with the event and the institution that has emerged to sustain it serving Coast Salish communities on well-defined, common, transboundary and transnational environmental issues. Also, individual charismatic leaders who work within and beyond the bounds of this kin-centred cultural logic may make the politics of approaching aggregation less dangerous and divisive. The dynamic leadership of Steven Point who united the Stó:lō in the 1990s, or Cowichan council member Abraham C. Joe's success drawing on extensive political, kin and Shaker church networks to gain support in pushing for housing reform and land claims processes in the late 1960s and 1970s are examples. Formulating elements of the idiom of extended kinship in aggregated political action may be the best way to operationalize Cornell and Kalt's (1998) now famous observation that success in self-government is most often won when indigenous institutions and authorities are organized and implemented in ways that are rooted in indigenous concepts of authority and governance.

Given that these extended kin groups are not permanent or mutually exclusive (Suttles 1963:514), it is hard to imagine how the state would be able to articulate with an amorphous kin-based political structure if it were to be more formally empowered. Indeed, as Kew and Miller (1999:57-59) and Allen (1976) have suggested, there is a great deal of (at least theoretical) flexibility of residence affiliation in being a member of a bilateral kin network. If affiliating with kin from one area becomes tense (Allen 1976:169), or there are significant political disagreements with band or other aggregated governments (Kew and Miller 1999:59), people can (and do) "pull out," re-affiliate or form new groups of like-minded kin. This element of the functioning of kin-based social organizations—what Kew and Miller call "routine political actions rather than schisms" (1999:59)—may be difficult to actualize in the language and organizational practice of bureaucratic institutions and democratic, aggregated Aboriginal self-government.

Government mandates in self-government negotiations may already allow for the delegation of law-making authorities from one First Nation government to another, foreshadowing the need for economies of scale for First Nations institutions providing services under harmonized First Nations laws. In practice, the process of delegated governance is likely to be cumbersome, politically charged and unwieldy. Re-crafting membership codes and citizenship eligibility criteria may be another mechanism for achieving a recognition of unity through bilaterally descended ancestry. In discussions around crafting just such codes and criteria in treaties, I have heard First Nations leaders express serious concerns about being unable to provide enough land or governance services to all the members "coming home." Enabling people to hold membership in multiple First Nations (as many Coast Salish people do for tribes on either side of the Canada-U.S. border, as dual-membership within a nation is prohibited due to potential "double-dipping") may be another strategy. These suggestions point to ways for First Nations leaders to work within the challenges of the state's agendas and policies to bring cultural principles into contemporary governance.

Conclusions

It is clear that it is in the agency that First Nations have in navigating and controlling the processes of social change that are engendered in building First Nations governments, that fundamental indigenous ideas, indeed indigenous ontologies (Poirier 2005; Scott 2001), will be brought to shape these governments in the 21st century. It is important to see these processes as dynamic, not merely a myriad of state-run programs to aggregate local communities, but indeed a great political debate that rages in the communities. In the case of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, for instance, a decade-long project has been underway to undertake a decision about political unity, with community forums, elders' meetings and special working groups all discussing the idea of coming together, sitting as one (*nutsa'maat* in the Island dialect of the Hul'q'umi'num' language). There are strong supporters of more regional-style, aggregated representation working with symbols of identity—shared language, shared territory, shared history, shared cultural practice, shared kin—to shape new forms of Aboriginal government. And there are strong detractors from the idea of dismantling the political identities that have taken their current shape under Indian Act and subsequent federal and provincial policies, and which have become so central a feature of many First Nations lives. While the title "anathema of aggregation" may have been shown here to be hyperbole,

the political tension is very real and a considerable puzzle for 21st-century self-government.

Brian Thom, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria, PO Box 3050 STN CSC, Victoria, British Columbia, V8W 3P5. E-mail: bthom@uvic.ca.

Notes

1 "Tribes breaking away to form independent parallel treaty table," *Cowichan News Leader Pictorial*, 16 May 2007, "Parallel Treaty Moves Step Closer," *Cowichan News Leader Pictorial*, 20 June 2007; "Tribes Walk on a Different Path One Worth Taking," *Cowichan News Leader Pictorial*, 27 June 2007.

2 "Dispute Splits Sto:lo Nation," *Chilliwack Progress*, 27 July 2004; "Treaty Fight Leads to Sto:lo Split," *Abbotsford Times*, 29 July 2004.

3 These legal mechanisms for describing the status of Aboriginal self-government in a Final Agreement can be seen, for example, in the Tsawwassen Final Agreement, preamble clause D, general provisions chapter clauses 9, 12 (b), 13, 16, 17, 19 and 22, and governance chapter clause 1.

4 For instance, Arthur Manuel's "Commentary," *Georgia Strait*, 23 July 2009, electronic document, http://www.straight.com/node/241616, accessed 13 September 2009.

5 "BC First Nations Leaders Declare Reconciliation Act Officially Dead," *Vancouver Sun*, 28 August 2009; "Legacy of Change Shattered," *Globe and Mail*, 5 September 2009.

References

Adams, John
1974 Dialectics and Contingency in "The Story of Asdiwal." An Ethnographic Note. *In* The Unconscious in Culture: The Structuralism of Claude Lévi- Strauss in Perspective. Ino Rossi, ed. Pp. 170-178. New York: E.P. Dutton.

Alacantra, Christopher, and Tom Flanagan
2006 Customary Land Rights on Canadian Indian Reserves. *In* Self Determination: The Other Path for Native Americans, Terry Anderson, Bruce Benson, and Tom Flanagan, eds. Pp. 134-158. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Anderson, Benedict
1991 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Rev. edition. London and New York: Verso.

Angelbeck, William
2009 "They Recognize No Superior Chief": Power, Practice, Anarchism and Warfare in the Coast Salish Past. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

Allen, Edwin
1976 Intergroup Ties and Exogamy among Northern Coast Salish. Northwest Anthropological Research Notes 10(2):161-172.

Barnett, Homer
1938 The Coast Salish of Canada. American Anthropologist 40:118-141.
1955 The Coast Salish of British Columbia. Eugene: University of Oregon Press.

Boxberger, Daniel, and Bruce Miller
1997 Evolution or History? A Response to Tollefson. Ethnohistory 44(1):135-138.

British Columbia
2009 Discussion Paper on Instructions for Implementing the New Relationship. Electronic document, http://www.gov.bc.ca/arr/newrelationship/down/implementing_the_new_relationship_0309.pdf, accessed 1 September 2009.

Collins, June
1979 Multilineal Descent: A Coast Salish Strategy. *In* Current Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Sol Tax. R. Hinshaw, ed. Pp. 243-254. New York: Mouton Publishers.

Cornell, Stephen, and Joseph P. Kalt
1998 Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today. American Indian Culture and Research Journal 22(3):187-214.

Drucker, Philip
1958 The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organization on the Northwest Coast. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 168. Washington DC: US Govt Printing Office.
1983 Ecology and Political Organization on the Northwest Coast of America. *In* The Development of Political Organization in Native North America. Elisabeth Tooker, ed. Pp. 86-95. Philadelphia: American Ethnological Society.

Duff, Wilson
1952 The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum.

Government of Canada
1995 The Government of Canada's Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Self-Government. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 5, Renewal: A Twenty-Year Commitment. Ottawa: Canada Communication Group Publishing.

Hawthorn, H., C. Belshaw and S. Jamieson
1958 The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kennedy, Dorothy
1995 Looking for Tribes in All the Wrong Places: An Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria.
2000 Threads to the Past: The Construction and Transformation of Kinship in the Coast Salish Social Network. Ph.D. dissertation, Exeter College, Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Oxford University.
2007 Quantifying "Two Sides of a Coin": A Statistical Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network. British Columbia Studies 153:3-34.

Kew, J.E.M., and Bruce G. Miller
1999 Locating Aboriginal Governments in the Political Landscape. *In* Seeking Sustainability in the Lower Fraser Basin: Issues and Choices. M. Healey, ed. Pp. 47-63. Vancouver: Institute for Resources and the Environment, Westwater Research.

Leacock, Eleanor
1949 The Seabird Community. *In* Indians of the Urban Northwest. Marian Smith, ed. Pp. 185-195. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lewis, Claudia
1980 Indian Families of the Northwest Coast: The Impact of Change. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, Bruce
1989 Centrality and Measures of Regional Structure in Aboriginal Western Washington. Ethnology 28:265-276.
2001 The Problem of Justice: Tradition and Law in the Coast Salish World. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Miller, Bruce, and Daniel Boxberger
1994 Creating Chiefdoms: The Puget Sound Case. Ethnohistory 41:267-294.

Miller, Jay
1997 Back to Basics: Chiefdoms in Puget Sound. Ethnohistory 44:375-388.

Mitchell, Donald
1983 Seasonal Settlements, Village Aggregations, and Political Autonomy on the Central Northwest Coast. *In* The Development of Political Organization in Native North America. Elizabeth Tooker, ed. Pp. 97-107. Washington: American Ethnological Society.

Poirier, Sylvie
2005 A World of Relationships: Itineraries, Dreams, and Events in the Australian Western Desert. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Pope, David
2009 A Future for the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group. Unpublished memorandum on file in the HTG Library and Archives, Ladysmith.

Rozen, David
1985 Place-Names of the Island Halkomelem Indian People. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of British Columbia.

Scott, Colin
2001 On Autonomy and Development. *In* Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Quebec and Labrador. Colin Scott, ed. Pp. 2-20. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Snyder, Sally
1964 Skagit Society and its Existential Basis: An Ethnofolkloristic Reconstruction. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington.

Suttles, Wayne
1951 The Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington.
1960 Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish. American Anthropologist 62(2):296-305.
1963 The Persistence of Intervillage Ties among the Coast Salish. Ethnology 2:512-525.
1989 They Recognize No Superior Chief: The Strait of Juan de Fuca in the 1790s. *In* Culturas de la Costa Noroeste de América. José Luis Peset, ed. Pp. 251-264. Madrid: Turner Libros.

Tennant, Paul
1982 Native Indian Political Organization in British Columbia 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism. British Columbia Studies 55:3-49.
1983 Native Indian Political Activity in British Columbia 1969-1983. British Columbia Studies 57:112-136.
1990 Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Thom, Brian
2005 Coast Salish Senses of Place: Dwelling, Meaning, Power, Property and Territory in the Coast Salish World. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, McGill University.
2008 Disagreement-in-Principle: Negotiating the Right to Practice Coast Salish Culture in Treaty Talks on Vancouver Island, British Columbia. New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry 2(1):23-30.
2009 The Paradox of Boundaries on Coast Salish Territories. Cultural Geographies 16:179-205.

Thornton, Thomas
2002 From Clan to *Kwáan* to Corporation: The Continuing Complex Evolution of Tlingit Political Organization. Wicazo Sa Review Fall:167-194.

Verma, Behari
1956 The Squamish: A Study of Changing Political Organization. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Criminology and Sociology, University of British Columbia.

Colonizing Processes, the Reach of the State and Ontological Violence: Historicizing Aboriginal Australian Experience

Gaynor Macdonald *University of Sydney*

Abstract: The success of Aboriginal people in reconstituting kin and locality-oriented socialities which could engage with Australian nation-building is underestimated in the naturalizing of "the local community" by anthropologists and politicians alike. But these socialities have not been able to withstand their radical re-shaping under "self-management" programs. These have produced a violent struggle between kin and civic sociality, and between personal autonomy and social responsibility. The consequent loss of cultural and economic autonomy, the stress placed on the realization of persons, and the rendering of authority as ineffectual have produced a pervasive social sickness throughout Aboriginal Australia.

Keywords: Colonization, Aboriginal Australians, self-management, ontology, social suffering, personhood

Résumé : Les populations aborigènes ont connu du succès dans leur entreprise pour reconstituer des unités sociales basées sur la parenté et la proximité et susceptibles de contribuer à la reconstruction de la nation australienne. Toutefois, les anthropologues comme les politiciens ont tendance à sous-estimer cette réussite quand ils décrivent « la communauté locale » comme un phénomène naturel. Mais ces unités sociales ont mal supporté leur reconfiguration radicale dans le cadre des programmes « d'autonomie gouvernementale ». Ces programmes ont engendré de violentes luttes entre les liens de parenté et la participation civique, de même qu'entre autonomie personnelle et responsabilité sociale. La perte d'autonomie culturelle et économique qui s'ensuit, l'insistance sur la réalisation des personnes et la description de l'autorité comme inefficace ont engendré un malaise social envahissant dans toute l'Australie aborigène.

Mots-clés : colonisation, Aborigènes australiens, gouvernement autonome, ontologie, souffrance sociale, identité individuelle

Contemporary Social Suffering: A Reflection of Colonialism?

In one Aboriginal society after another, the length and breadth of Australia, there is an escalation of violence, especially directed at women and children. As well, substance abuse, widespread corruption asserted through bullying tactics, bribery and threats are part of a violence that has been increasing over the past three decades, since the late 1970s (see for example, Sullivan 1986; Sutton 2009; von Sturmer 1982). I would not want to suggest that there were no social problems before this. On the contrary, when I began my own fieldwork in central rural New South Wales (NSW) in 1981, there were violent people and vulnerable people but they were not the norm. There was poverty but there was also hope. There were work histories to be proud of, strong and inspirational men and women to look up to, hilarious stories to tell in the evenings, sports prowess to celebrate and small kids to enjoy. While there might have been periods of boredom and restlessness, there was also something to look forward to, the next pay day, the weekend disco and the promise of social movements such as "land rights." There was a sense that things could and would get better. No one spoke of their communities as if they were out of control, spiralling downwards into increasing poverty, drug and alcohol abuse or of people thieving from their own.

Within a decade I could see people turning in on themselves, sucking the lifeblood out of social relations with spitefulness and resentment. Another decade later there were knife fights, rapes, suicides and unexplained murders. What was happening? People in these communities were blaming each other. I was wondering how it was that people who continually celebrated their earlier lives of "caring and sharing" and their evident commitment to kin networks could so rapidly start tearing each other apart. Soon other anthropologists were reporting similar

situations from other parts of Australia, with those working in "remote" areas tending to interpret this as an inability to deal with coming out of the bush or desert. But Wiradjuri people had not responded to their arguably more violent experiences of "the frontier days," between 1815 and about 1850, in this way, and they had later worked alongside whitefellas in rural NSW for well over a century. So why did they seem to be in turmoil too?

Aboriginal peoples throughout Australia, from one to two centuries beyond those frontier days, often refer to their contemporary social suffering as due to their colonization. This claim would have to be dismissed if colonization is understood as past event. But Aboriginal statements are not simply focused on an unjust past which has led to present discrimination. Rather, they alert us to the ways in which colonization itself continues in various guises, something anthropology has paid insufficient attention to. If colonization is to be understood as process, how should it be understood? The ongoing impact of an initial colonization in Australia is largely understood through the persistence of injustice (cf. Watson 2007) or the lack of provision of the same rights of access available to non-indigenous citizens. But these are issues of long-standing and do not of themselves account for the late 20th century and contemporary degree of social suffering.

Yet I will argue that the Aboriginal interpretation is correct.[1] An analysis of the reasons for this escalation in social suffering requires that we understand colonization as a *cultural* process (see for example, Kelm 1998), not solely one of social control and political-legal transformation. Colonization as processual experience does not unfold in predictable ways: it is experienced differently in different times and places; it provides opportunities for some and suffering for others. Neither is it a universal story: it has had many different faces, rationales and unfoldings. It is a long, slow, often clumsy and ill-thought (if thought at all) set of intertwining and contradictory processes which engage the people involved—colonizer and colonized—over time in a variety of ways.

An important component in these historical processes is the complex composition of the invading population, something the term colonizer does not adequately capture but which can significantly impact on relations with colonized peoples who, in relative terms, are more likely to share a social and cultural world. It then becomes more apparent that colonial relations quickly become variegated, as hegemony is asserted, frustrated and reasserted and as new subjectivities emerge, are contested and transform. This is an analysis that must be grounded in the specifics of time, place and human encounters. It is already a contradiction to speak of "the colonizer" as singular, as if the power differentials between militia and convict, between wealthy and impoverished immigrant, gold digger and missionary, did not make for different views and encounters with an indigenous other who was likewise not singular, and made even less so by the differential impacts of encroachment. However, as *persons*, there was a distinct difference between the ways in which each understood themselves vis-à-vis their own, and vis-à-vis the "other" they encountered.

Colonial subjectivity itself is a changing experience but the ontological dimensions of the variable and long-term processes of colonization have not been a focus for anthropology (but see for example, Samson 2004). What happens to "persons" when change is imposed, one after another? Personhood is not something "one can take on and off like a glove" (Douglas and Ney 1998). We know people everywhere are capable of enduring changed circumstances and yet rebuilding meaningful lives. But is there a limit—a kind of change which so violates our personhood that it renders us unable to make a creative human response? When is change so traumatic that it disables our human capacity to adjust, disintegrates ethical sensibilities or moves us beyond moral relationships?

There is no universalizing or generalizing story of colonization that can be told for the Australian continent and there are few local studies. It is widely recognized that Aboriginal peoples have had diverse colonial histories resulting, by the 1970s, in the awkward and misleading division of them into peoples of either "settled" (living in urban or rural areas, predominantly in southern Australia) or "remote" Australia (Rowley 1970). The former, which includes the Wiradjuri people of central NSW, were long assumed to have "lost their culture" and thus the distinctiveness of being "traditional" or "authentic."

I want to look at the changes Wiradjuri people experienced over time, looking at how different stages of the colonial project impacted on Wiradjuri subjectivities. Colonization is the experience of having one's world taken over by a hegemonic force—but this is not a totalizing experience and to understand its impacts, it is necessary to examine the intent and outcomes of the colonial project, how and why it changed over time, what parts of Wiradjuri worlds were taken over, when, how and why. This requires appreciation of the colonial project in specific historical times and places and thus the differential impacts on those rendered its subjects.

Above all, colonization is a relationship between people who begin as "other" to each other but who soon become socially and economically intertwined into a single social field. It is in the ways in which the myriad relations which arise as one people establish control over the

lives of another that colonization is *experienced.* It is in these relationships, rather than in laws and policies enacted in metropoles, that colonial subjects are made and hegemony imposed. And, it is in these relationships that we can likewise see how uneven hegemonic control is—ineffective in one place and time, oppressive elsewhere. The reach of the newly imposed state is shaped according to differential values placed on resources and local circumstances; curbed by the "tyranny of distance" (Blainey 1982); expanded as the technologies of state develop over time.

Historicizing and Locating Colonization

Wiradjuri experience is not typical of colonial encounters across the Australian continent. A variety of ecologies, economic changes wrought by the colonial process in response to these ecologies, the history of changing attitudes between indigenous person and settler, and the changes in the value of land and persons mean that a generalized history of sweeping colonial processes in Australia will be (as they often have been) fraught with the difficulties of over-generalization, abstraction and assumption. Universalizing histories can serve political ends but they do not aid understanding of the intricacies of human interactions in dynamic and often contradictory ethnographic moments.

My fieldwork began in 1981 with several Wiradjuri family networks, many of whom I continue to work with. I have explored the experiences of these families over six generations of living along the Lachlan, Macquarie and upper Bogan Rivers in the central north of the Wiradjuri-speaking region. In Aboriginal cosmology, language adheres to country (Hamilton 1982; Merlan 1981), although social networks may extend well beyond it. These families have experienced "change" in different ways at different times. It is not a predictable process: its variations can be understood in terms of the intentions of the hegemonic forces asserting control over Wiradjuri country and Wiradjuri people over time. These intentions changed according to specific political and economic agendas. The capacity of the state to operationalize its intentions also changed in its effectiveness over time. The pressure on those Wiradjuri persons who became colonial subjects was not constant and has not dissipated over time. On the contrary, this history enables me to argue that it is the "self-management" policies initiated in the 1970s which have extended the reach of the state in such a way that Wiradjuri people, as elsewhere in Australia, are currently experiencing the worst form of social and cultural destruction that colonialism brings to bear: the colonization of their personhood.

The number of local divisions making up the Wiradjuri speaking peoples makes the Wiradjuri area one of the largest language-countries on the continent. It, in turn, is part of the immense Riverine area of southeastern Australia, linking the peoples who lived within Australia's only drainage system, the Murray-Darling River basin, as well as the rivers flowing west of the range in south Queensland. Wiradjuri people, as with others of this Riverine cultural bloc, did not have patriclans as found elsewhere in Australia. Rather, they had developed an extensive matri-totemic system, linking people across and beyond the language-region and bringing value to frequent and extensive travel. Living in small familially based local groupings, whose membership generally had a core in an adult couple but could otherwise be labile as people moved temporarily or permanently from one grouping to another for various social reasons, they were also clustered into local divisions defined in ecological terms. While marriage, trade, ceremony and ecological necessity formed networks across this vast territory, and with neighbours, there was a preference for local endogamy which enhanced the strength of these local divisions.

The families I refer to were associated with particular *taurai,* local territories within a language area, in which the people of that taurai had a right to hunt, fish and gather. Living in small familially based local groupings of between 15 and up to 50 people, those associated with the taurai had a core in an adult couple (headman and his wife, both gaining this status through the high prestige in which they were held) but could otherwise be labile as people moved temporarily or permanently from one grouping to another for various social and ceremonial reasons.[2] Taurai were clustered into local divisions defined in ecological terms, such as along a stretch of river. Hence the Lachlan River (*Kalarr*) or Macquarie River (*Wambool*) were local Wiradjuri-speaking divisions within which were many taurai.

The violence and disease of the frontier days was devastating in terms of the percentage of Wiradjuri people affected. They had experienced one wave of smallpox before the British had found a way over the densely forested mountains. Another wave was to follow a couple of decades later (Butlin 1983). Other introduced illnesses also took their toll. The enormity of this can only be imagined in terms of the trauma of frequent deaths: people for whom funerals were a significant ritual were fleeing places of sickness, leaving their dead as they lay (Beveridge 1883; MacKaness 1941). The historical focus on the relative chaos of the first decade of colonial incursions has lent itself to a perception of loss, disruption and dispersal, and hence the politically desirable notion that Wiradjuri

people and their neighbours "lost their culture" and could not, socially and culturally, survive the changes in their lifestyle (Macdonald 1998). But what really did happen to Wiradjuri families?

Australian Aboriginal persons have long been constituted through a system of kin relatedness which has been intricately embedded, with a high degree of specificity, in spatial, ecological and cosmological environments. Popularly glossed as the Dreaming, this ontological–cosmological framework focuses on the interrelatedness of all life. Social relations, defined in terms of kin-relatedness, were, above all, characterized by a high degree of personal autonomy, demand sharing (Peterson 1993) and "allocative power," authority earned over a lifetime of looking after others through enabling access to valued resources (Macdonald 2000).

This gave rise to a world so intricately integrated that early anthropologists assumed that it could not withstand change. The influence of this early anthropology was persuasive: the worlds of colonized Aboriginal peoples were seen as fragile. Like Radcliffe-Brown's shells or Benedict's cups, they were rigidly shaped and change could only shatter them beyond recognition.[3] These were cold societies (Levi Strauss 1963, 1966), inevitably doomed in their encounter with the over-heated juggernaut of modernity. Within a few decades there would already have seemed sufficient evidence of "de-traditionalized" or "detribalized" Aboriginal peoples living on the fringes of emerging country towns to substantiate this argument. But such assumptions were not based on an ethnographically-informed understanding of how and why people changed—or how "change" should be understood.

They are views which have also been politically attractive. The intractability of the social sickness to which I referred above was explained to the *Washington Post* in 2000 by the then Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Phillip Ruddock, as being because the government was

> starting from a very low base. We're dealing with an indigenous population that had little contact with the rest of the world. We're dealing with people who are essentially hunter-gatherers. They didn't have chariots. I don't think they invented the wheel. [Reynolds 2000]

As recently as April 2009, an anthropologist explained on ABC Radio National that the Aboriginal peoples of "remote" Australia were finding it hard to cope because they had only just come in from the desert or the bush, implying that this causes a disintegration so profound that they start violently abusing each other (Woods 2009). In refuting these interpretations of Aboriginal incapacity to deal with change, I present a more powerful explanation for what is currently happening—that which is affecting Aboriginal people with diverse histories of change under colonialism and who are currently living within diverse economic contexts.

The quotidian is the locus of the becoming of colonial subjects. It is subtle and varies from one part of the continent to another, depending on why the colonists wanted land, whether they wanted labour, the extent of conflict in the early years of frontier expansion, the extent to which racialized difference forms part of the colonial imaginary, and so on. There is no doubt, however, that within one generation of the presence of Europeans in the fertile inland of NSW in the 1830s, Aboriginal life had been irrevocably changed. But what changes did take place? Why and how? And what did these mean for the constitution of Aboriginal "persons"? What did it mean to be Aboriginal in circumstances that had not only undergone a rapid and violent period of change as the frontier pushed west, but that were to become characterized by wave after wave of change for the next 150 years?

Colonizing Land: Greed, Labour and Indifference

Although Captain Arthur Phillip had come from England with instructions to endear himself to the natives and enter into treaties with them, in the two decades it took to find a means of crossing the impenetrable Blue Mountains to the west of Sydney, attitudes had hardened. Phillip found Aboriginal peoples on the coast unwilling to engage in any way meaningful to the British (who kidnapped some to try and work around this). A century and a half later, anthropologist Bill Stanner (1977) came to interpret British frustrations over just the first five years as having produced what thereafter became a "history of indifference." In most respects, Stanner is right. But his comment elides the various relations required in the colonial effort to transform this harsh continent into an image of a fertile Britain. Aboriginal people have, in some places and times, been essential to the successful development of capitalism. It is also the case, however, as Stanner implicitly recognizes, that when they were seen as being in the way their fate was not a matter of major concern. Recent decades have changed that comfortable indifference and Australians are having to address the consequences of a history of neglect, hardship and discrimination. How they are doing that and why is written into family histories on the Lachlan which I briefly outline here. This is not a typical story because these dynamics are played out in myriad ways, even within Wiradjuri country. But what I hope to demonstrate ethnographically is the way in which colonial intentions changed over

time and how the colonial project thus shifts in relation to those who have been colonized and who are forever the reminder of colonialism's inherent contradictions.

The Colony of NSW was not established for its apparent wealth of minerals, spices or foodstuffs. Rather, land was required for penitentiaries. The newly independent United States of America was no longer a viable option for ridding industrialized Britain of human waste. Convicts served as the indentured labour required to build the facilities for their own imprisonment and the infrastructure of the new colony. Efforts to encourage Aboriginal people into working relations (always menial) were thus half-hearted.

Once the Blue Mountains were crossed and the vast river plains of the Macquarie and Lachlan had been sighted, these were coveted for their pastoral potential. A town, Bathurst, was established in 1815, which made it more feasible for the adventurous to seek their fortunes over the mountains. Initial Wiradjuri reactions demonstrated curiosity and were rarely violent unless in response to violence. They became violent when the newcomers took over sources of food and water or moved into areas of particular cultural significance. Violent reaction also followed insulting abuse of Wiradjuri people. Beyond the towns, a man and his family, or two or more brothers, might decide to take their chances and clear the country for sheep. Sheep as well as shepherds were targetted. It is noteworthy that this violence was not indiscriminate but specifically directed toward newcomers who behaved in objectionable ways (Coe 1986; Salisbury and Gressor 1971). These raids produced terror on both sides, and were met with organized but indiscriminate reprisals by military police, including a second declaration of martial law in 1824 (the first had been in 1817 on the east side of the mountains), less than ten years after the first encounters. As in the case of coastal reprisals, martial law was a means of "ridding us of troublesome blacks." The pronouncement was accompanied by the announcement in the *Sydney Gazette* (14 October 1824) that this was a "war of extermination" (Salisbury and Gressor 1971). British militia quickly established the force of their muskets and Wiradjuri people found themselves having to deal with this new presence and learn what opportunities as well as constraints it posed. By the late 1820s, coordinated attacks in the east of Wiradjuri country had been subdued and white men felt safe enough to venture further, but fighting would start up again whenever they aggressively entered new taurai (Gammage 1983).

By the end of the 1840s, many Wiradjuri had lost control of their taurai, especially where small towns were established and agriculture commenced, yet this is not the whole story. Wiradjuri who had survived smallpox, influenza and armed conflict might have been bruised and battered but not all their lands had come under British control: the process of colonizing specific areas of land was gradual. Patterns of daily practice on taurai and interaction with those of neighbouring taurai continued in the midst of change and death. Perhaps by the 1850s they could even think that the worst was over. They were not to know that they were in the eye of a storm whose magnitude would have been unfathomable.

By the 1830s, the eastern Wiradjuri realized the British were there to stay but they were also maintaining and restoring their own cultural equilibrium after a decade and a half of unrest. Some would have no truck with white men and sporadic violence continued. Others had come to value the new goods, clothes and tools available to them, and were happy to exchange these for a few hours work around town. Some, perhaps those left with few economic options, were quickly dragged into dependence on alcohol, tobacco and food that could be acquired with relatively little effort in the towns. Trading a small task, such as chopping wood or fetching water, for cash or kind was common.

But these towns were still small dots in a landscape of taurai. And it was an extraordinary set of relationships that was to develop on these taurai in one place after another throughout the inland. Paradoxically, these relations enabled the successful emergence of the sheep industry at the same time that they ensured the continued self-identity of Wiradjuri people vis-à-vis each other and their taurai. As the military established an overall context of British control by force, the relative peace which followed enabled Scottish, English and Irish to venture in search of tracts of land to turn into sheep runs—some of them vast. Men set out from Sydney to take their chances; to establish a working life, if not their fortunes "in the bush." They set off with a brother or a friend, occasionally alone, to find land they could farm. By the late 1820s, they could cross the Blue Mountains on convict built roads, and could make the fledgling town of Bathurst on the west side a base from which to explore. After that, they were on their own.

As the British entrepreneur started his exploration for land, headmen saw an entrepreneurial opportunity for themselves. As they encountered these British travelling into their taurai, they worked out when rapport could be established. Aspiring pastoralists were often filled with horror and fear at an Aboriginal presence and shot to kill. However, a significant number—I estimate at least 50%—sought to establish amicable and respectful relations. In turn, Wiradjuri headmen offered to assist in the selection

of land, the building of bark huts and later houses, the procurement of food and water and, perhaps most importantly, protected them from raids from other Aboriginal people. In other words, the pioneers of the Australian sheep industry started out with powerful, knowledgeable and invaluable Aboriginal patrons. These patrons advised the newcomers how to avoid floods and how to survey roads to connect with other properties and with the convict-made roads back to Sydney. As a symbol of mutual respect, the Aboriginal man often took the name of his new brother. English-style names were useful. The British had difficulties pronouncing Aboriginal names and the Aboriginal naming system did not encourage the use of kin or ritual names by others. New names allowed for a new style of relationship—although some were probably unaware of the derogatory or demeaning intention of some of the nicknames that were bestowed (for example, King Tea Pot, Tadpole, Donkey, Solomon the Blâck) (Christophers 1964; Mitchell 1839).

The Wiradjuri headman who became known as William Sloane took his name from John Sloan, a Scotsman who turned William's taurai on the Lachlan into a sheep station named *North Logan* (Busby 1941). The Scottish and Wiradjuri Sloan families did not intermarry but lived and worked on the property over three generations. John Grant took up *Merriganowry*, almost opposite *North Logan*, on which Wiradjuri people continued to camp. His son, John Jr. had three children by Catherine (née Elmes) Ryan from the Lachlan Wiradjuri, starting a Wiradjuri family of Grants (Grant Nd). William, one of these children, ran Bumbaldry Station, to the southwest of Cowra. Decades before, Billy Glass had taken his name from William Glass on the southern creek of the Lachlan known as The Bland but he was ordered off, moving up to Bumbaldry (Musgrave 1926). The names Sloan and Glass are still associated with Wiradjuri families along the Lachlan from Cowra to Condobolin. James White named his properties on the Bland *Burrowmunditroy* and *Burrangong*, the names he was taught by headman, Cobborn Jackie (Musgrave 1926). These are only some of the Lachlan families who trace their ancestry in the country in which they still reside and with which they identify in terms of Aboriginal identity politics.

On these properties and others, relationships grew between Wiradjuri patron and British pastoralist that, in many cases, were to endure through the next two to three generations. They were relationships recognized and respected by other Wiradjuri people. These white families were guests in particular taurai, whether or not they understood this—but there is evidence that many did. They acknowledged the support they received and the status of their headman (and sometimes headwoman) by giving them a brass gorget (sometimes incorrectly labelling them as "kings"). The tradition of giving military gorgets to Aboriginal men and women who performed valuable services had started in the 1820s in Sydney and continued into the 20th century, although the practice was banned among the military from 1830 on (National Museum of Australia, n.d.). William Sloan and Cobborn Jackie received them for their help in setting up stations and providing protection from other blacks. John Grant gave them to senior men on Merriganowry who rescued white people in the 1840s floods. These adventurous pastoralists recognized that Wiradjuri knowledge of the land and its climate was invaluable, especially in time of flood. These black families warned their guests as soon as they heard the familiar sounds in the far distance. People elsewhere were swept away. They taught their guests to build above the flood plains, helped them construct bark huts, showed them how to hunt and what foods were edible.

As Wiradjuri men and women became expert horse breakers and riders, acquired fence-building skills and learnt to shear sheep, they maintained their independent camps, their own economy, their marriage alliances and their patterns of social, economic and ritual travel. Many of their people had died of disease and conflict: social and ritual life had to be modified. Slowly their economy changed. One of the attractions of being a patron to a particular pastoralist was the ability to make demands on one's guests in terms of long-standing Wiradjuri conventions. The fickle seasonal cycles which could produce cycles of starvation and plenty, were evened out by the availability of new foods grown and imported by these guests (see for example, Ferry 1979).

The anguish which must have followed the Wiradjuri death toll from disease and massacres could be healed—human beings are remarkably resilient. Restricted access to land was only one imperative to change. The other was the desirability of new foods and new technologies for storing and transporting water—perhaps the most important and influential of the changes Europeans introduced. These came in the form of new animals, plants and technologies which had not previously existed on the continent. Not merely attractive, these provided a new lease on life. However romantic the notion of hunting and gathering has become under Sahlins' (1972) influence, on most of this continent life was a cycle of famine as well as feast. What was now avoidable was death occasioned by drought. Hard work produced the seed to be ground into flour which could now be obtained in a sack for a day or two's work—relatively light work at that. Wiradjuri demands

for food met with various responses from these farmers but the latter quickly learned that if they resisted they put themselves at great peril. Wiradjuri demands were expected to be met. Slowly these Wiradjuri people became more engaged with the activities of pastoralism and their economic options closed off with more intense land use. Their land was changing and they were changing with it, as were the white families they lived alongside.

Wiradjuri family members supplemented white labour in the paddocks and in the house. White men willing and skilled to work in the "outback" were often hard to find. However, it was during the gold rushes, from the 1850s to 1890s in northeastern Wiradjuri country, that Aboriginal workers became invaluable. White workers literally dropped their tools in the fields and disappeared in search of wealth. James Sloan's wife on North Logan wrote home to England to say that she did not know how they would have gone on without Aboriginal help (Sloan family records, courtesy of Catherine Bennett, Cowra, 2006).

It is unlikely that the Wiradjuri men who acted as hosts and patrons could see how their actions would eventually lead them into greater economic dependency. In the early years, the symbiosis worked for both Wiradjuri and farmer, and a degree of reciprocal respect grew up which, although probably misinterpreted on both sides, worked for them. Wiradjuri camps looked poor and dirty to the British gaze, but this did not infer enforced poverty. When desired, Aboriginal people erected their own bark huts along the lines of the British, but a majority engaged with selected aspects of the new possibilities and constraints imposed by their colonization in their own familiar terms: those on their taurai or pastoral stations could choose when they wanted to work and how they wanted to live.

The symbiosis that was possible as Wiradjuri taurai become converted into pastoral properties was not the experience of Wiradjuri whose lands were either not desired or were transformed by agriculture or townships. Some become an unwelcome sight around the new towns as they sought work to augment a precarious existence and some resorted to alcohol. Collectively, these more visible people fed the growing usefulness of the 19th-century perception that Aboriginal persons were backward, not fully human, not worthy of consideration. Life on these urban margins was very different than for those who had found a means of reproducing and re-imagining their cultural practices and meanings within the context of pastoralism.

Wiradjuri people did not of their own volition suddenly become subservient, colonial subjects, regardless of the ways in which they were being defined by Europeans. They remained a proud people, whose rights in relation to their taurai were literally sacrosanct—determined by creator spirits and inviolable. On the other hand, that Aboriginal people were inferior was an uncritical assumption made by most Europeans of the time. The subservience or subjection this implies was not always born out in the bush: where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men and women worked hard alongside one other, forming respectful relations across class and ethnic divides, they recognized human worth and friendship, even if not social worth. There are many written tributes and commemorations on headstones which testify to the depth of friendships and loyalties which grew up away from the towns and cities. This relationship of patronage would be completely inverted by the beginning of the 20th century, to become one of (white) master or boss to (Aboriginal) worker. Nevertheless, relations remained strong and loyal throughout generations on a great many stations, only to be severed by events beyond local control.

In the midst of the traumatic changes wrought in their relations to their own country, the surviving Wiradjuri people had found pockets within which they could maintain meaningful lives. These meanings were now crafted from innovations as well as pre-colonial beliefs and practices, and were subject to constraints on practice and movements imposed by a new and hegemonic power. Yet, on the taurai, redefined as stations, they had a degree of social and spatial autonomy. It was a sufficient space through which to maintain essential characteristics of their cultural lives. Importantly, it encouraged a dual economic system which, while increasingly moving from hunting and gathering to purchasing goods, was also flexible enough to allow for the economies of relatedness and travel through which they continued to express and reproduce the kin ties which governed intra-Wiradjuri sociality.

Several Wiradjuri people had, by the end of the century, developed their own farms on land provided by the state government.[4] Many senior people had chosen to become self-employed contractors, working with their kin-based teams as shearers, fencers or fettlers, in land clearing or doing odd jobs in the off seasons. Employment was high even though they competed with white teams. The status certain jobs and incomes attracted were a cause for pride and respect among black and white alike. Wiradjuri people may have looked like dependent wage labourers at the end of the century but their engagement with the relations of capitalism were partial and externalized. Among themselves, they transformed the expectations of work, wages and roles in capitalism into terms which encouraged their own senses of being and acting in the world. They had lost economic control of their land but it

continued to play an important part in spatial identity formation. They had learned how to transform the concept of cash and the inequalities it might have introduced by treating it much as they did any other resource entering their domain. They transformed their colonial condition and status in terms through which they could continue to understand themselves as *Wiradjuri* persons.

Colonizing Bodies: Wealth, Rights and Exclusions

At the end of the 19th century and into the early years of the 20th century, the NSW Colonial Government put an end to many of these relationships, perhaps not intentionally but certainly in a spirit of indifference to their impacts on Aboriginal peoples. Two key events were to impact Wiradjuri lives: Federation, which produced a more structured racializing of Aboriginal peoples with subsequent controls over their movements; and, in NSW, a push toward more intensive settlement of rural lands, known as Closer Settlement programs, which significantly curbed many Wiradjuri options.

This produced a shift in the colonial project. The appropriation of land and the relative lack of value placed on Aboriginal labour meant that Aboriginal people had been ignored by the state, treated with indifference, or with attempts to eradicate them through military force or poisoning in areas where they became a nuisance. But by the end of the 19th century, capitalism had been established and Australia was a wealthy set of colonies about to become a nation-state. What kind of nation, what form of governance and what characteristics represented the desirable citizen were the preoccupations of the late 19th century, leading to independence from Britain in 1901. The 1901 Australian Constitution included all residents as equal citizens—Aboriginal peoples and the various "others" who had come to make new lives: Chinese, Indians, Afghanis and others. However, these inclusions were only to keep the Colony of South Australia on side. Following Federation, a series of laws prevented the remaining "coloured others," including Aboriginal peoples, from full participation, and restricted further migration. Most of the indentured labourers brought in from the Pacific Islands to work on sugar cane had been deported before the necessity to accord them citizenship arose. These strategies were designed to ensure that Australia would be a "white nation."

Federation marked the beginning of independence from Britain. This was not a process of decolonization as this is conventionally understood. There was no departure of the colonizer, no hand-over of power or rights to the colonized. Federation was simply a shift in power between the settler-colonist and the metropole from which they had previously been governed. However, it did lead to significant changes for Aboriginal people, including Wiradjuri. In defining the new citizen of the nation, Federation Fathers had decided not to include Aboriginal peoples: the new Commonwealth Government was not given powers to legislate on their behalf. Left to the whims of each state, policies differed from one place to another in terms of who was defined as "Aboriginal," as well as the kinds of restrictions which would be placed on those so defined: they lost many of the rights and freedoms they had enjoyed in the 19th century.

The tables had now been completely turned: dependence on Aboriginal knowledge and labour was no more, and the racialization of Aboriginal peoples became more extreme. "Aboriginal" in NSW meant hypodescent. This "one drop rule"—which was not, as Hollinger (2003 and see Munasinghe 2006:17-18) argued, unique to the United States—meant that any person in NSW "tarred with the brush" could be designated as Aboriginal and was thus subject to the *Aborigines Protection Act* (NSW) 1909. One in four, eight or even 16 ancestors was enough to have one defined as Aboriginal, a definition which meant exclusion, denigration and denial of civil rights. A "touch of the tar brush" was enough to exclude one from mainstream "white" Australian society whether rural or urban. The Act controlled where people could live, what rations they might be allocated, what work they could do and who they might marry. It also allowed for the Aborigines Protection Board to remove children from their families on various grounds, including "neglect"—defined as not living in a conventional house. In practice, the Board removed thousands of children who were light skinned, in the belief that their "white blood" would make them more amenable to training as domestic servants or farmhands (see for example, Link Up and Wilson 1997).

The second event was the NSW Government's response to intensifying demands for land as the Australian population increased. The only way to meet this demand was to force the vast pastoral stations to subdivide. The *Closer Settlement Acts* were not popular with pastoralists but they were also losing their control over the "outback," and this was reinforced with the advent of Federation. As their lands were subdivided, some sold out all together while others retained a portion of their property. Few could support their Aboriginal camps: these became expendable, forcing a new wave of dispersals.

Although the descendants of James Sloan kept a portion of *North Logan*, the Wiradjuri Sloan family had to take leave of old William Sloan's taurai. Granny Sloan and her counterpart, James Sloan's wife Marion, who had met

each other as young brides, were now two old women. They had lived out their different lives together, sharing the same space as well as the joys and trials of raising large families of children and grandchildren. On leaving *North Logan*, Wiradjuri Granny Sloane presented to white Granny Sloane a superb gift of artefacts carved by her people in their early years on *North Logan*: spears, boomerangs, digging sticks, clubs and shields. Among these was the brass gorget that James had given William, both men by then deceased. James' descendants still treasure this collection (Catherine Bennett 2006, personal communication). To part with items which must have meant a great deal to Wiradjuri Granny Sloan begs the question as to how she understood her actions. Was she concerned for the life that lay ahead? Did she see this gift as marking the end of the life she and William had known, of which there would have been little left? Whatever her reasons, it was an act of trust in and respect of in those white people with whom her husband had formed such a close relationship many decades before.

Similar evacuations were going on in many places. In response, the NSW Government gazetted more land "especially for the use of Aborigines." One such area was the 32 acres known first as *Nanima* but soon to be renamed *Erambie*, on the bank of the Lachlan River opposite the town of Cowra. The families who moved to *Erambie* were the direct descendants of the local Lachlan taurai, all encompassed within pastoral stations. For the families who were now known as Sloan, Glass, Murray, Coe and Collett, *Erambie* was the reserved land closest to their taurai or station homes, and thus still within their own local division of the Lachlan Valley. From that move, they would become, for the first time, villagers, a sedentary people. This new spatial constitution would become known as a "local Aboriginal community," a term that has become so naturalized that many Australians could be forgiven for thinking that Wiradjuri have always lived in communities. In fact, this is a history of barely a century. This was a major upheaval after decades of re-adjustment—another process of cultural and economic adjustment that should also be regarded as an extraordinary achievement in the annals of human history, and which gives the lie to the idea that Aboriginal people did not have the capacity for change.

For the next 70 years their movements would be controlled by government legislation, much of it under the Aborigines Protection Board's (APB) and later Aborigines Welfare Board's (AWB) often oppressive managerial regimes (see Read 1980, 1984, 1988). The lands gazetted "especially for Aboriginal use" were now classed as either reserves or stations. Reserves were simply camping areas, some with the addition of a school and a resident teacher. The stations were managed reserves. A manager or his wife might also act as a teacher or a teacher might be appointed. Although the schools were run by the Department of Education, it was not expected that they meet the standards of education or resource allocation as required of non-Aboriginal schools. What this move represented in the colonial history of Wiradjuri people was the shift from colonization of their country to colonization of their bodies: a new and much more demanding form of colonial control was about to come into being. This would change the sets of local relationships which had structured their social and economic lives in the 19th century. From 1909 the state secured a particular kind of power over Wiradjuri people by defining them as a different and legislatively racialized form of citizen.

Ironically, the value that Aboriginal labour had acquired was what ensured a continued, if increasingly limited, form of spatial and social autonomy. It was valued because it was competitive and reliable, not because it was cheap. Many stations had paid equal wages in the 19th century and the introduction of unionism, in particular the influential Shearers' Union, ensured this. By the end of the 1920s, equal wages were mandated for all Australians, including Aboriginal Australians, throughout NSW. The reserves served to support a rural workforce out of season—approximately four months of the year they had a base, with rations, to return to. The rest of the year, kin-based teams could travel around the stations and farms, many returning each year to properties they knew well, to shear, fence, clear, pick fruit and to enjoy each other's company as they met up with others (Beckett 1958, 1965).

Erambie had been set aside for local Wiradjuri families in 1892. It did not become a supervised Aboriginal station until 1924. *Erambie* residents then had to account for their every movement: spending, eating habits, the cleanliness of their houses and even their social relationships. Nevertheless, days on "the mission" (as all such reserves were called) are remembered by Wiradjuri people as times of community solidarity, discipline and happiness as well as times of pain, deprivation and adversity (see oral histories in Read 1984). The apparent contradiction reflects the two worlds in which people lived: on the one hand, their close kin-based relationships and, on the other, their segregated and marginal status in Australian society. Discrimination was rife, having increased with the white politics of Federation and increases in legislative controls, but was mediated by the relative autonomy that even the supervised reserves provided.

During the mission era, most people could find employment. Both men and women were employed on *Erambie*, working for the manager; men found seasonal work such as fruit picking, shearing, jobs on the council and droving; whilst women worked in the towns and stations, usually as domestic workers. This was a time of productive adjustment: Wiradjuri people grew their own vegetables, and supplemented government-erected huts by building their own homes from whatever materials were at hand. It was a common boast that the *Erambie* mission was self- supporting (Chaffe 1981; Foster and Mellick 1981; Read 1984). Memories focus on the productive skills people passed on from one generation to another as they had in the 19th century. People had jobs in which they could take pride (Read 1980, 1984).

Conditions were arguably worse then they had been in their camps on the stations. Residents at *Erambie* in the early 1940s had no running water, sinks, baths, stoves or washing lines. Tin covers substituted for windows and jam tins for saucepans. Rations per household included oatmeal, jam or syrup, two cakes of soap each week, two loaves of bread every two days and some powdered milk. Only the oatmeal and milk could be supplemented during the week. There was no electric light and the purchase of kerosene for lamps or meat, depended upon whether people had employment for cash wages. Work on the mission was often paid in rations rather than cash. Scabies and malnutrition were common and infant mortality was high. Housing conditions did produce a degree of shame still evident among a few older women today, but only in so far as relations with Europeans were concerned. Among themselves they retained, assisted by their spatial separation from Europeans, much pride in qualities of life they often believed to be superior. These included their concern for kin, their commitment to ensuring equity of distribution among their own, honesty and their respect for those who had earned it (Macdonald 1986).

Wiradjuri remember the managers as "a mixed bunch." Some are recalled with respect but most were regarded as unduly harsh and paternalistic. If they spoke out against the system they risked expulsion, losing their rations, or worse, losing their children. The managers had the power under the Act to expel people from the mission or to refuse them entry. This meant that young people who had been sent away for apprenticeships as domestics or farmhands, or men working elsewhere whose families were on the mission, could be, and often were, refused permission to return home or were charged with trespassing (Foster and Mellick 1981:12). The effects on familial relations are still felt and people spent many years attempting to trace kin.

Control by managers has not prevented Wiradjuri people from depicting themselves as having had an independence of spirit and purpose throughout the mission era (Read 1984). Read described *Erambie* people as having "had the reputation of aggression and defiance towards the Aborigines Protection Board" (1982:10). Those whom I have known myself who grew up under the managers at *Erambie* did not present themselves, as one historian believed (Read 1980:106), as "institutionalized Aborigines" who "accepted the rules (and a good part of the beliefs, folklore and prejudice) of European supervisors and workmates." Rather, the "old people," as the elders are called, inspired and taught the generation who were to spearhead Aboriginal political action for civil rights and land rights from the 1950s on. A recurring theme in the accounts of the next generation is that these old people refused to submit to pressure themselves. They are appreciatively remembered for the stand they took against harsh managers or general injustice. An *Erambie* woman expressed this at a land rights meeting in 1983 when she said, "our fathers and forefathers battled for our rights and we mustn't give in." Despite authoritarianism and paternalism, Wiradjuri people perceived themselves as having maintained some autonomy. *Erambie* was characterized by strong and politically aware leadership and people were unanimous in asserting that they exercised controls over the intra-Wiradjuri domain: "The officials and the white people were under the impression that the managers ran the mission. The managers didn't at all. It was the tribal elders" (Foster and Mellick 1981:6; see also Agnes Coe in Read 1984:67).

"Local communities" were not natural or preferred modes of Aboriginal sociality—all the more reason to acknowledge how they were able to make them work for themselves. They retained a smaller but important measure of personal, social and economic autonomy while living under the control of the APB and AWB, even with spatial and legal confinement, limited opportunities and repressive treatment. The desire to get out from under managerial control was constant and grew in intensity, prompting various social movements and calls for civil rights. Factors external to the mission facilitated the development of political consciousness and strategy. The mobility and relative independence of men (and some women) who were expected to get work off the mission reproduced the long-standing communication networks amongst Aboriginal people in different parts of the state. Several *Erambie* men were involved in campaigns to bring about public awareness of the ill-treatment Aboriginal people suffered under the APB. The Aborigines' Progressive Association, founded in 1937, prompted the NSW

government of the day to change its policy of segregation to one of assimilation (Miller 1985:150-151; Read 1983:206). *Erambie* people were amongst those who travelled to Sydney in 1938 during the 150th sesqui-centenary celebrations to declare a "National Day of Mourning" for Aboriginal people at a rally demanding recognition, justice and a restoration of their rights (Miller 1985:151-156).

Seemingly progressive at the time, these protests moved the NSW government to set up a reconstituted Aborigines Welfare Board with an explicit policy of assimilation. In fact, this led to greater management of people's lives rather than less. But the mission years were not the success in welfare or assimilation terms which policy makers had hoped for. The wheels set in motion to civilize and assimilate the Wiradjuri did not revolve according to plan. Reserve life did not provide attractive models or scope for development along mainstream Australian lines. Significantly, however, they did provide a relatively secluded environment in which Aborigines could continue the process of reconstructing their social environment in terms of their own views of the world.

There is a dual irony about the mission era. First, the deliberate attempts to destroy traditional Wiradjuri lifeways actually engendered new forms which, although, not "traditional" were distinctly Aboriginal. Second, the missions reveal a paradox in Wiradjuri memories: they both deplored the semi-imprisonment, oppression and restrictions they experienced, yet, at the same time, found much they valued. The reserves were spaces they could identify with, withdraw to, and the concentration of people and activity in these small areas fostered rather than destroyed corporate identity. These spaces, small though they were and under a form of surveillance, nevertheless provided a sufficient degree of social autonomy that people could reproduce their valued and taken-for-granted ways of being in the world. People who worked across white and Aboriginal domains did so with a degree of bicultural aptitude—but when they were "home" they were part of an Aboriginal-defined ontological and social world.

To the extent that practices identify the state at the level of the quotidian, then the 20th century ushered in controls over Wiradjuri activity—what people could do in terms of work, where they could live, what they could eat and how they could organize their domestic space. This represented a new wave of colonization, the colonization of bodies as workers, as burdens on the state, as eyesores, and as proliferators of unwanted "half-caste" children. The state reached into domestic and public spaces inhabited by Wiradjuri people so as to control (and limit) education, forms of employment and wages in non-unionized contexts (especially domestic service). The state had now become liberalism's benign despot, half-heartedly inculcating meaningless concepts of the good citizen to those denied any realization of the rights of citizens.

This management of Wiradjuri activity, oppressive as it could be at times, was not total: there was work that took people away, often for months at a time, and intra-Wiradjuri socialities continued to be expressed in terms of long-valued understandings of themselves as kin-oriented social selves. The state's attempt to rid itself of "the Aboriginal problem" failed in so far as the wider Australian society made no effort to assimilate Wiradjuri people and Wiradjuri people showed little interest in *becoming* like white people. I should qualify this: there were many demands for equal rights, for better living conditions and for an end to the managerial regime, however, these cannot be read as desiring to become a different kind of *person*.

As Diamond (1974) remarked of indigenous peoples of North America, there had been little about the quality of white people's lives that produced envy, desire or respect. He went so far as to assert that a majority of people have found the alternatives to the modern, capitalist nation as economically, socially and spiritually more *viable* and only change them when forced to. When I started my own fieldwork in the early 1980s, Wiradjuri people often expressed a mixture of sorrow and disbelief bordering on contempt for the ways in which white people lived with and treated each other, including their kin. So it cannot simply be said that segregation and racism limited Wiradjuri choices and thus, by default, prevented them from "becoming modern." Choices were also exercized in the reproduction of ontological foundations they continued to value—not in any pristine or unchanged form, but nevertheless expressing more in common with the social values and practices of their past than with white ways introduced to them a century and a half earlier. However, the period I refer to as the "mission era," from the early 20th century to the 1970s, is one in which the bodily control of Wiradjuri people was designed to turn them into less visible, assimilated citizens: to extinguish any remaining Aboriginality of culture or colour (see for example, Bell 1964; Reay 1949).

Albeit with only snippets presented here, my ethnography demonstrates a consistent pattern of Wiradjuri efforts to engage with the circumstances of their colonization. As consistent has been the pattern of indifference, rebuttal and demolishing by the state. A number of mixed descent people with less distinctly Aboriginal facial features have chosen "to pass" as something other than Aboriginal (such as Maori or Polynesian). A small number have been willing to leave their own social meanings and values behind to become a "coconut"—black on the out-

side but white on the inside, a type of Australian-style "Uncle Tom" but they do not always succeed. The majority have preferred the difficulties of "mission life" and relative poverty to becoming "white."

Assimilationist policies failed not because the Aboriginal people did not desire an improvement in material living standards and economic opportunities but because Anglo-Australians equated this, as many still do, with acceptance of and conformity to middle class Anglo-Australian lifestyles as well. Wiradjuri people either refused or were unable to accept the terms upon which improvements were offered—those being that they relinquish their own ways of being. There was a space of autonomy on the reserves within which adjustments could be made and the distinctly Aboriginal ontology, albeit transforming, continued to shape the understandings people had of themselves, each other and their shared lives. What Peterson (1993) refers to as the Aboriginal domestic economy of "demand sharing," through which persons and relatedness have always been realized and expressed, was retained to a remarkable degree by these Wiradjuri people on the Lachlan (Macdonald 1986, 2000). This was the environment in which I commenced my fieldwork in 1981. Unbeknownst to me at the time, I was witness to the end of this second wave of the colonizing process: the wheels were already in motion for an even more intense colonizing pressure.

Colonizing Persons: Self-Management and the Battle for the Mind

Wiradjuri experiences as colonial subjects over time were of a progressive loss of spatial and social autonomy as demands for their lands increased and new values produced through demand for their labour decreased. Through relationships with Australians "on the land" they had encountered significant and often painful change but this also included new practices which provided transformative spatial and social niches, and which appealed to their own value systems. Although their own farmed lands were taken from them, they continued with self-employed contract teams who worked groups of properties. Their desire to expand their work horizons in terms of both independent businesses (farms) and forms of industry (trades and university training) within and beyond the rural economy (and thus still within their own country) were denied by the force of the "mission" regime within which they were controlled. The consistent demand for civil rights strengthened in the 1930s and was given impetus by the land rights movement through the 1960s and 1970s. These movements were designed to enable them to exercise choices *within* the nation.

The next stage of their colonial experience, however, referred to in policy terms as self-management,[5] would be even more devastating because it involved the loss of intra-Wiradjuri economic and political autonomy. Rural recession, coupled with the increasing mechanization of what remained of the industry and the nation's move from dependence on agriculture and stock to mining hit Wiradjuri pastoral workers hard. Unemployment rose rapidly and with it declined respect for old people: they no longer had resources, skills or knowledge of value to pass down to their descendents. This prompted the state to involve itself in an unprecedented program of micro-management of people's lives. This was more devastating than the loss of land and social choices, or the confinement of spatial relations. It signalled the ultimate violence that colonization entails: the battle of the state for the hearts and minds of people who stubbornly persisted, for whatever reasons, to understand themselves outside of the cultural practices and beliefs of modernity, nationalism and capitalism by which they could more effectively be governed and turned into productive consumers.

What was significantly different in comparison with the mission era and its managerial system is that this program involved the management of relations *between Wiradjuri people themselves*. This is something that no earlier system of governance had attempted to the same extent. Their own political culture, which had largely been shielded from state interventions in previous decades, had espoused equity of distribution, denied the legitimacy of representation in any generalized sense, and recognized authority only when achieved not ascribed. They were not accustomed to the hierarchical and exclusionary relations of representative democracy.

The state's ability to intervene in the relationships between persons stemmed directly from the exclusion of Aboriginal people from the mainstream economy and their growing dependence on social security incomes or "welfare." This resulted in two significant changes: first, there was a move from employment and self-employment in the private rural sector to jobs created by governments, federal and state, in government-funded Aboriginal organizations; second, there was the impact of these organizations themselves.

Aboriginal-run organizations were often started by Aboriginal activists concerned to change conditions for their people. Much needed funding was provided by government to run services that Aboriginal people, with long histories of discrimination in mainstream Australia and now increasingly without incomes, needed. Many had boards and staff who were kin, who worked well together in a commitment to serve "their people" more widely.

These included the Aboriginal Legal Service and Aboriginal Children's Service, both started by Wiradjuri people, the Aboriginal Medical Service, the Aboriginal Housing Companies and various other Aboriginal Co-operatives. Although most started as "grassroots" organizations, often with little funding, they increasingly became part of the official policy of self-management as they became recipients of government funding. In the 1970s, as Federal support became available for the first time, these organizations mushroomed by the thousands.

Self-management was contradictory from the start: Aboriginal organizations were funded ostensibly to bring greater cultural, social and economic autonomy to Aboriginal peoples. In fact, they found themselves permitted to manage their increasing dependence on behalf of the state, according to state-defined forms of organization and within a state progressively shedding its commitment under neoliberalism to being a "welfare-state." Indifference to Aboriginal cultural values produced a set of policies, organizational structures, expectations and forms of accountability which made self-management a transformative space but one that would be extremely destructive of Aboriginal selves.

These destructive effects were evident early: one devastating account published by von Sturmer in 1982 might have alerted people (see also Sullivan 1986; von Sturmer 1984). In the Wiradjuri case, as elsewhere, Aboriginal people blamed each other for the impact of unseen structures making entirely new demands of people's relations with each other. One minute people were kin, sisters, the next minute one sister had become the chairperson of an organization determined to evict the other sister for not paying rent. Mum headed up the Aboriginal Co-operative: "she can allocate money to anyone but the selfish old cunt won't give me a cent." Whether there were rules about who could be given handouts and on what occasions is irrelevant—kin are supposed to privilege kin. If you are not kin, what are you? And the elections! Reducing respect to the "numbers game," the people who could get most kin to the meetings—regardless of history, rights, ability, respect—got the positions. One mob is voted in, the other gets the numbers up next meeting to pass a vote of no confidence and vote them out, then they rustle up the numbers for another election. Little wonder that a non-comprehending NSW Government limited elections in Local Land Councils first to once a year then once every two years. All this meant was that the other mob did not get involved at all. Nor did the bureaucrats understand why their well-intentioned efforts seemed to fail, why Aboriginal people did not seem "to get it," why people who were supposed to "share" and be so "community-oriented" seemed to become uncaring and selfish to the extreme (see Macdonald 2004).

Self-management was very different from the rights and autonomy that the calls for self-determination aspired to during the land rights movement. These assumed Aboriginal people would run their own programs in their own way according to their own political values (see Macdonald 2004 for a Wiradjuri example; also Carter et al. 1987). The social values and demands of *being Aboriginal* were now found to be in direct opposition to those expected of people in receipt of government largesse. "Government funding" meant strict adherence to bureaucratic values. Although tackled with some energy and relative success to start with, self-management programs quickly turned sour as people found themselves having to become different persons in order to realize the prospects these seemed to offer. From one part of Australia to another, regardless of differences in colonial histories, it became evident that "local Aboriginal communities" were encountering increasing problems with modes of decision making, forms of representation, the disjuncture between kin-based relationships and the bureaucratic roles that were now imposed on them (Myers 1988; Palmer 1990). The options were few: not to comply meant no resources. Receipt of resources, however, almost always meant conflict at the local level. Aboriginal people were unprepared, in any sense of the term, to become the subjects of a liberal democracy which required that they exchange their kin relations for bureaucratic ones (Austin-Broos 1996, 2003, 2009).

Three and a half decades of programs designed to ameliorate impoverished living conditions and the state of Aboriginal peoples' health have met with little success. But such measures are not, in fact, designed *for Aboriginal peoples*. Rather, they are an ongoing if underestimated part of the colonial project itself, which has always intended to control both Aboriginal land *and* Aboriginal peoples. In the appropriation of land, they have been successful. With regard to the reshaping of Aboriginal selves, however, one might argue that they have been spectacularly unsuccessful.

Self-management continued as government policy, regardless of political party. Policy is now moving rapidly towards greater intervention and mainstreaming of services under the rhetoric of "practical reconciliation." The political representation of self-management as a "failure" of Aboriginal will or competency legitimates even more state intervention with ever escalating conflict now erupting into increased violence and abuse of selves and others. This, in turn, serves to convey that Aboriginal people are confirming their inability to manage themselves.

Ontologically, culturally constituted understandings of persons and selves, and the socialities that reproduce these, are of course amenable to change, to adaptation, but this cannot be achieved, even when desired, when wrenched into new shapes by force. This is the force self-management was able to apply through its new and unprecedented control of Aboriginal people at a micro-level, economically as well as socially. This in turn was enabled by their increasing marginalization within the restructuring Australian economy. No form of governmentality can be understood as singular or all-powerful but in the rolling out of self-management programs, the Australian state found its most skilful means of destroying *Aboriginal persons*. The irony of this is that, in the first phase of colonization, within the constraints brought about by the loss of land, Wiradjuri people nevertheless had a sufficient space of social and economic autonomy from which to negotiate what it meant to become a part of modernity. As the state developed its frustrated and contradictory attempts to shape them into citizens of the nation-state, they became progressively alienated rather than incorporated.

As land is returned under land rights and native title legislation, and bodies are freed from managerial control, the battle for the *ontological transformation* that all those who become part of modernity must go through intensifies. For this is the pre-condition and price of freedoms and rights in a hegemony defined by a capitalist liberal democracy. Why has it taken over 150 years for this to happen? Because that small space of economic and spatial autonomy allowed for the cultural reproduction of changing but recognizable *Aboriginal selves*. In the 19th century, with resources and spaces of their own to give them a place from which to negotiate their engagement, Wiradjuri people proved not only their capacity but also their inventiveness in adapting to new circumstances. Certainly, they were doing so within imposed constraints, and these constraints increased over time but they also changed with them. What they could not adapt to was the manipulation of their selves. No one can; this is the ultimate violence.

The violence of colonialism is ongoing because the colonial project is unfinished (Watson 2007). The only way to deflect Aboriginal claims for self-determination as a greater degree of autonomy from the state, greater control over their own lands and resources, and the right to live according to their own values—which is, of course, a limited form of decolonization—is to control Aboriginal difference. The colonial project remains incomplete in settler nations who have not decolonized, exterminated or assimilated the peoples they displaced. The history of state efforts with regard to Aboriginal peoples is part of the way in which the state has been able to extend its reach over its citizens. Aboriginal peoples are different only to the extent that they seem recalcitrant, unable or unwilling to accept the state's own civilizing processes. The state has had to devise a series of strategies aimed at securing a particular kind of power which will better allow them to achieve a particular form of subject–citizen.

Ontological Violence

If there is sufficient autonomy with which to maintain the dialectic between valued cultural practice and the economy which supports its expression, that practice can be reproduced. This was not true of many Aboriginal practices, yet many of these proved superficial when it came to the deeper level at which people experience themselves as persons. So integral to being, one's sense of personhood changes only slowly, imperceptibly, as external conditions change. Human beings can go through great trauma, migrations and even religious conversions without undergoing profound ontological change. This has been true of Wiradjuri people. However, adaptation has been enabled only because they had a degree of autonomy, of spatial and social distance from those who sought to change them, such that they could make their own transformations in their own way.

The expression and reproduction of particular cultural selves rests on an economy which has been made conducive to cultural meanings and practices. In a situation of social and economic change, these valued cultural selves can only be maintained if the social and economic transformations can be renegotiated in some way. For this transformation, social and spatial autonomy is essential. For 150 years, Wiradjuri people had, through oppressive and sometimes violent circumstances, retained the autonomy required to understand their world in their own ontological-ethical terms. That it was no longer understood in terms of the cosmology of the Sky Beings was not relevant. What was significant was that they could continue *being in relation to each other* in ways that made sense to their *social selves*.

The very gradual shifts in economy of the 19th century did not make major changes in the Wiradjuri domestic economy of demand sharing, which focuses on modes of circulation in the constitution of relatedness rather than production (Macdonald 2000). Even as wage earners of the 20th century, the structures of rural work maintained imperatives to share income, skills and knowledge.

However, self-management not only does not provide but actually denies these imperatives to relatedness. In encouraging individualism, and placing people in roles

vis-à-vis each other rather than kin relationships, it promotes an opposition to the kin-social world. There are no valued knowledges or other resources to be handed down by the old people and their ability to exercise authority is undermined by the appointment of boards and executive officers of organizations. Accountability to the kin-based social world declines and demands are not reciprocated.

In the establishment of local Aboriginal organizations, government policy makers assumed a cultural capacity and willingness to hierarchical and representative decision making. But Wiradjuri people did not share this culture—it negated egalitarianism and the responsibility to the kin-based social world demanded of persons. The practices seized on in the past to encourage socialities—rural work teams, communal activities, engagement with Christianity, card playing, sport and even drinking—were inadequate to sustain kin sociality in the face of the individualizing and atomistic, competitive dynamics introduced through new channels of resourcing which imposed culturally unfamiliar social relations. The notion of the community, whether conceptualized in Christian terms, or in terms of a disadvantaged group working together for civil rights, or as people who shared a Wiradjuri heritage, was a strong incentive to work together and support each other.

The same argument can be made for the Wiradjuri cultural heritage, evidenced in demand sharing practices, in personal autonomy, in notions of leadership—in other words, in practices of personhood, what Wiradjuri people on the Lachlan usually refer to as "*Koori* way" (Koori is the common way in which Aboriginal people of central NSW refer to themselves), an intuitive sense that they do things differently even when they look the same. These practices of personhood have ensured that what is distinctive about Wiradjuri as indigenous people is not what they have brought forward from their past as static "traditions," but is to be discovered in *how* they have changed (Sahlins 2000).

It is not surprising that violence and corruption increased through decades of programs which aimed to ameliorate impoverished living conditions and the state of Aboriginal health. Nor is it surprising that their health declined with the increase in "lifestyle" diseases. But the ameliorative measures are not, in fact, designed for Aboriginal peoples. Rather, they are an ongoing, if underestimated, part of the colonial project itself, which has always intended to control both Aboriginal land and Aboriginal peoples. The continued existence of "indigenous peoples" within the settler state serves to refute the effectiveness and, more importantly, the legitimacy of the liberal project which legitimized their colonization in the first place (Macdonald 2008).

Any colonial project has different facets, not all of which are experienced in any particular colony and not in any particular order. The most obvious is the desire for land and its resources. In Australia this was paramount and initially included land for settlement and then its transformation for economic production. Second is a desire for labour to be used locally or elsewhere. Both the exporting and importing of slaves and the coercion into labour of indigenous populations come to mind in this regard. In Australia, with convict labour and a rural industry that was not particularly labour-intensive, it was not necessary to coerce Aboriginal people into work until the opening up of the cattle industry in the far North. Wiradjuri people competed competently alongside white workers in the pastoral industry. Contrary to popular opinion, they often received equal wages, so they needed to be good.

It was not local employers but decision makers in the cities, preoccupied with the making of the nation, who found Aboriginal people incompetent, unworthy of attention, in the way and needing to be contained. The belief that Aboriginal people would eventually disappear, as in "die out" or "assimilate," was wishful thinking. So, too, was the idea that, by structuring people's relationships vis-à-vis each other regardless of their social values, one could turn them into a less-than-white middle class white citizenry.

The idea of indigeneity has come to legitimize the presence of these others but they remain, in Australia as elsewhere, marginalized, somewhere on the periphery of both citizenship and personhood. Their living conditions are an embarrassment to the state, as is their status as an unhealthy, burdensome and unproductive category of welfare recipients. Their demands to have land returned and to have greater autonomy is irksome in the face of a neoliberal economy in which developers and shareholders demand greater access to resources on "Aboriginal land." But the real battle a colonially-constituted state would like to win is the battle for the mind. If Aboriginal people would only give up their understandings of themselves as kin in country, would move into the cities, would learn to accumulate property instead of giving it away, and would work a seven-hour day, then they could become useful to the state.

Gaynor Macdonald, Department of Anthropology (A26), University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia. E-mail: gaynor.macdonald@usyd.edu.au.

Notes

1 This article introduces a key argument of my forthcoming publication, *Promises and Lies, Australian Aboriginal Experiences of Modernity*, where it is expanded and illustrated ethnographically in greater depth.

2 The idea of a headman here does not refer to a hierarchical or hereditary position. It is based on respect earned over one's lifetime, experiential knowledge, and the ability to use one's skills and knowledge to provide resources for others (which I refer to as allocative power, Macdonald 2000). Although there was a preference for patrifiliation, this would depend on the abilities of one's son, could be competitive, and was tempered by the matritotemic cults which worked against the formation of patrilocality (see also Gold 2006; Macdonald and Gold N.d.).

3 British structural-functionalist, Radcliffe-Brown (1952), argued that the social structures of primitive societies were comparable on the basis of structure, as are sea shells, but shells are also rigid and impermeable. Similarly, American culturalist, Ruth Benedict (2005) argued that cultures were poured into cups, each different from the others, but able to be completely shattered. Despite differences in these respective approaches across the Atlantic, early anthropology saw non-modern societies as fragile and unable to change. A good comparison of Radcliffe-Brown and Benedict in this respect can be found in Carrithers 1992. Later, Levi-Strauss (1963, 1966) was similarly to distinguish between hot (changing, European) and cold (resistant, unable to change) societies.

4 Land was being gazetted "especially for Aboriginal use" and was available to families or sets of families as small residential reserves. As people were removed from taurai they found themselves forced into supervised Christian missions or onto these reserves, several of which were initially held by individual families. As white pressure for land intensified, nearly 75% of these reserves were illegally revoked by government acts which were subsequently retrospectively legalized in 1983 (Macdonald 2004).

5 The policy stance was called *self-determination* under the Federal Whitlam Labor Government of 1972, but this was formally changed to *self-management* in 1975 under the Fraser Liberal-National Coalition and it remained so for the rest of that century.

References

Austin-Broos, Diane
1996 Morality and the Culture of the Market. *In* Economics and Ethics? P. Groenewegen, ed. Pp. 173-183. London and New York: Routledge.
2003 Places, Practices and Things: The Articulation of Arrernte Kinship with Welfare and Work. American Ethnologist 30(1):1-18.
2009 Arrernte Present, Arrernte Past: Invasion, Violence and Imagination in Indigenous Central Australia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Beckett, Jeremy R.
1958 A Study of a Mixed-Blood Aboriginal Minority in the Pastoral West of New South Wales. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Australian National University.
1965 Kinship, Mobility and Community among Part-Aborigines in Rural Australia. International Journal of Comparative Sociology 6(1):7-23.

Bell, James Harle
1964 Assimilation in New South Wales. *In* Aborigines Now: New Perspectives in the Study of Aboriginal Communities. Marie Reay, ed. Pp. 59-71. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

Benedict, Ruth
2005 [1934] Patterns of Culture. Orlando, FL: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Beveridge, Peter
1883 Of the Aborigines Inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling. Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales 17:10-74.

Blainey, Geoffrey
1982 [1975] The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History. Melbourne: Sun Books.

Busby, Marion Elsie, ed.
1941 The Story of North Logan, 1841-1941. Cowra, NSW: RNB Genealogy Series.

Butlin, Noel G.
1983 Our Original Aggression: Aboriginal Populations of South Eastern Australia 1788-1850. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

Carrithers, Michael
1992 Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carter, B.,E. Hussen, L. Abbott, M. Liddle, M. McCormack, P. Duncan and P. Nathan
1987 Borning: Pmere Laltyeke Anwerne Ampe Mpwaretkeke, Congress Alukura by the Grandmother's Law. Australian Aboriginal Studies 1(1987):2-37.

Chaffe, Cathy
1981 The Aboriginal People of Erambie: Descendents of the Wiradjuri. B.A. Hons thesis, Department of Anthropology, Macquarie University, North Ryde.

Christophers, Barry
1964 The Stud Book. Guardian. 27 February.

Coe, Mary
1986 Windradyne of the Wiradjuri. Sydney: Blackbooks.

Diamond, Stanley
1974 In Search of the Primitive: A Critique of Civilization. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Douglas, Mary, and Stephen Ney
1998 Missing Persons: A Critique of Personhood in the Social Sciences. Berkeley: California University Press.

Ferry, John
1979 The Failure of the New South Wales Missions to the Aborigines before 1845. Judy Inglis Memorial Prize Essay 1978. Aboriginal History 3(1):25-36.

Foster, Desdemona, and Katie Mellick
1981 Erambie...Under The Managers. Stories Told by Agnes and Biddy Coe, Josie Ingram and Jenny Munro. Bathurst: Mitchell College of Advanced Education.

Gammage, Bill
1983 The Wiradjuri War 1838-40. The Push from The Bush. A Bulletin of Social History 16:3-17.

Grant, David
N.d. Genealogy of the Grant Family in Southern Ireland: Grant Family History, the Genealogy and Story of a Family in Ireland from 1169 to the Present Day. Electronic document, http://www.grantonline.com/grant-family-genealogy/Tipperary/Moyne/john_grant.htm, accessed 12 December 2009.

Gold, Marina
2006 Starring Sky Beings and Creeks: Social-Spatial Worlds of the Riverine. B.A. Hon. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.

Hamilton, Annette
1982 Descended from Father, Belonging to Country: Rights to Land in the Australian Western Desert. *In* Politics and History in Band Societies. Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee, eds. Pp. 85-108. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hollinger, David
2003 Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States. AHR Forum: Amalgamation and the Historical Distinctiveness of the United States. American Historical Review 108(5):1363-1390.

Kelm, Mary-Ellen
1998 Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-50. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Levi-Strauss, Claude
1963 Structural Anthropology. New York: Basic Books.
1966 The Savage Mind. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Link Up and Tikka Jan Wilson
1997 In the Best Interest of the Child? Stolen Children: Aboriginal Pain/White Shame. Aboriginal History Monograph 4. Canberra: Aboriginal History.

Macdonald, Gaynor
1986 The Koori Way: The Dynamics of Cultural Distinctiveness in "Settled" Australia. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.
1998 Master Narratives and the Dispossession of the Wiradjuri. Aboriginal History 22:162-179.
2000 Economies and Personhood: Demand Sharing among the Wiradjuri of New South Wales. *In* The Social Economy of Sharing. George W. Wenzel, Grete Hovelsrud-Broda and Nobuhiro Kishigami, eds.. Pp. 87-111. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
2004 Two Steps Forward, Three Steps Back. Canada Bay: Lhr Press.
2008 Difference or Disappearance: The Politics of Indigenous Inclusion in the Liberal State. Anthropologica 50(2):341-358.

Macdonald, Gaynor, and Marina Gold
N.d. Between Creeks and Stars: Social and Local Organisation in the Australian Riverine.

Mackaness, George
1941 George Augustus Robinson's Journey into Southeastern Australia, 1844. Royal Australian Historical Society Journal 27(5):318-349.

Merlan, Francesca
1981 Language, Land and Social Identity in Aboriginal Australia. Mankind 13(2):133-148.

Miller, Keith
1985 Koori: A Will To Win. Sydney: Angus & Robertson London.

Mitchell, Thomas T.
1839 Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia. London: T. and W. Boone.

Munasinghe, Viranjini
2006 Narrating a Nation through Mixed Bloods. *In* Nationalism's Bloody Terrain: Racism, Class Inequality, and the Politics of Recognition. George Baca, ed. Pp. 14-28. New York: Berghahn Books.

Musgrave, Sarah
1926 The Wayback. Parramatta, NSW: Cumberland Argus.

Myers, Fred R.
1989 [1988] Burning the Truck and Holding the Country: Property, Time and the Negotiation of Identity amongst Pintupi Aborigines. *In* We Are Here: Politics of Aboriginal Land Tenure. Edwin N. Wilmsen, ed. Pp. 15-42. Berkeley: University of California Press.

National Museum of Australia
2007 Aboriginal Breastplates. Electronic document, http://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/aboriginal_breastplates, accessed 16 December 2009.

Palmer, Kingsley
1990 Government Policy and Aboriginal Aspirations: Self-Management at Yalata. *In* Going It Alone? Prospects for Aboriginal Autonomy. Robert Tonkinson and Michael Howard, eds. Pp. 165-184. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Peterson, Nicolas
1993 Demand Sharing: Reciprocity and the Pressure for Generosity among Foragers. American Anthropologist 95(4):860-874.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.
1952 Structure and Function in Primitive Society. London: Cohen and West.

Read, Peter
1980 Fathers and Sons: A Study of Five Men of 1900. Aboriginal History 4(1-2):97-116.
1982 A Double Headed Coin: Protection and Assimilation in Yass 1900-1960. *In* All That Dirt: Aborigines 1938. An Australia 1938 Monograph. Bill Gammage and Andrew Markus, eds. Pp. 9-28. Canberra: Australian National University.
1983 A History of the Wiradjuri People of New South Wales 1883-1969. Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Australian National University.
1984 Down There with Me on the Cowra Mission: An Oral History of Erambie Aboriginal Reserve, Cowra, New South Wales. Collected and edited by Peter Read. Sydney: Pergamon Press.
1988 A Hundred Years War: The Wiradjuri People and the State. Rushcutters Bay, NSW: Australian National University Press.

Reay, Marie Olive
1949 Native Thought in Rural New South Wales. Oceania 20(2):89-118.

Reynolds, Fiona
2000 Ruddock under fire from Democrats, Labor and Greens. PM Archive, 5 October. Electronic document,

http://www.abc.net.au/pm/stories/s196112.htm, accessed 12 December 2009.

Rowley, C.D.
1970 Outcasts in White Australia. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Sahlins, Marshall
1972 Stone Age Economics. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton.
2000 Ethnographic Experience and Sentimental Pessimism: Why Culture is Not a Disappearing Object. *In* Biographies of Scientific Objects. L. Daston, ed. Pp. 158-293. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Samson. C.
2004 "We Live This Experience": Ontological Insecurity and the Colonial Domination of the Innu People of Northern Labrador. *In* Figured Worlds: Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. John Clammer, Sylvie Poirier and Eric Schwimmer, eds. Pp. 161-188. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Salisbury, T., and P.J. Gressor
1971 Windradyne of the Wiradjuri: Martial Law at Bathurst in 1824. Sydney: Wentworth Books.

Stanner, W.E.
1979 [1977] White Man Got No Dreaming, Essays 1938-1973. Canberra: ANU Press.

Sullivan, Patrick
1986 The Generation of Cultural Trauma: What Are Anthropologists For? Australian Aboriginal Studies 1:13-23.

Sutton, Peter
2009 The Politics of Suffering: Indigenous Australia and the End of the Liberal Consensus. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

von Sturmer, John R.
1982 Aborigines in the Uranium Industry: Towards Self-Management in the Alligator Rivers Region? *In* Aboriginal Sites, Rights and Resource Development. R.M. Berndt, ed. Pp. 69-116. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.
1984 The Social Impact of Mining: Economic Consequences: Residence, Resources, and Inequities. *In* Aborigines and Uranium: Consolidated Report on the Social Impact of Uranium Mining on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, ed. Pp. 53-74. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Watson, Irene
2007 The Aboriginal State of Emergency Arrived with Cook and the First Fleet. Australian Feminist Law Journal 26:3-8.

Woods, Mike
2009 CDEP: Indigenous concerns. Interview with Dr Inge Kral and Damien McLean. Broadcast on ABC Radio National "Breakfast" 21 April. Electronic document, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/breakfast/stories/2009/2548148.htm, accessed 16 December 2009.

The Cultural Dynamics of Adaptation in Remote Aboriginal Communities: Policy, Values and the State's Unmet Expectations

Myrna Tonkinson *University of Western Australia*
Robert Tonkinson *University of Western Australia*

Abstract: Using examples drawn from the Mardu, a Western Desert people, we seek to illustrate the incommensurability of remote Aboriginal and mainstream Australian cultures, including their opposed constructions of politics. Although there is ample evidence of Aboriginal people like the Mardu having adapted to their changed circumstances, deep differences persist. Kin-based authority and regulation of behaviour have been weakened and are often ineffective, but no viable civil society has emerged; this gap between Mardu and Western values and customs results in cultural clashes and the elusiveness of mutual accommodation. We emphasize elements of difference and difficulty that stem largely from the contrast in how these two kinds of societies deal with the tension between autonomy and relatedness.

Keywords: Australian Aborigines, values, policy, leadership, social change

Résumé : À partir d'exemples tirés des Mardus, une population du Désert de l'Ouest australien, nous cherchons à illustrer l'impossibilité de comparer la culture grand public australienne et celles des populations aborigènes isolées, y compris leurs perceptions opposées de la politique. Bien que nombre d'exemples existent de populations aborigènes qui, à l'instar des Mardus se sont adaptées à l'évolution de leur contexte, de profondes différences persistent. L'autorité et la régulation des comportements par les liens de parenté ont été affaiblies et sont souvent inefficaces, mais aucune société civile viable n'a émergé; cet écart entre les valeurs et coutumes occidentales et celles des Mardus engendre des affrontements culturels et fragilise les accommodements mutuels. Nous mettons en lumière des éléments de différence et de difficulté qui découlent en bonne partie du contraste entre les manières dont ces deux types de société gèrent les tensions entre l'autonomie et les obligations mutuelles.

Mots-clés : Aborigènes australiens, valeurs, politiques, leadership, changement social

Introduction

The centrality of values to the structure of cultures has long been accepted by social scientists, and many have pointed out, following Weber, that conflict between sets of values, whether within or between cultures, is intrinsic to cultural dynamics. Values are thus pivotal in situations of cultural change, which, as Robbins argues, can occur only when "key values" change, "either because new values are introduced or because the hierarchical relations between traditional values have been transformed" (2007:301). In addition to invoking Weber, Robbins relies to some extent on Dumont's notion of values as "determinations of the relative importance of elements of a culture" (Robbins 2007:296). Putting aside Dumont's idea that among value hierarchies in each culture there is one paramount value, we characterize the current condition of the Aboriginal people among whom we have conducted research as one of tension-laden change and conflict, actual or potential, generated by deep incompatibilities between the two value systems involved.[1] At one level there is a tug-of-war between a "Western" and capitalist value system and their traditional hunter-gatherer values. At another, the Mardu and others often experience an emotional or geographical tugging between the ancestral lands to which they are attached and on which they feel a degree of autonomy and control, and the urban environments in which many of them are spending increasing amounts of time—and to which some non-Aboriginal observers believe they must relocate if they are to transcend the poverty and marginality that typify their current condition.

Despite the obvious incompatibility of these value sets, their importance tends to be overlooked. The Mardu, along with other indigenous minorities experiencing continuous pressure to adopt change, are expected to abandon long-held values when, at this stage of their adaptation, they have not chosen to embrace the ones preferred by "mainstream" Australian society. It may be that the

process of transformation can be accomplished, but this seems impossible as long as they continue to lack the desire to adopt introduced values in preference to their traditional, familiar set. The undoubtedly crucial role of motivation in any consideration of acceptance and rejection of novel cultural elements points to the primacy of the cognitive realm, which is the locus of a recent important paper by Victoria Burbank (2006). The question she addresses is why many Aboriginal people, especially in remote regions, are reluctant to participate in Western institutions. Burbank notes that anthropologists working in indigenous Australia have chosen to address cultural constructs at the level of individual or collective belief and practice rather than at that of mind and cognition. This tendency results in a failure to grasp culture as "a motivational force that either facilitates or obstructs productive engagement with forms of living in this world" (Burbank 2006:3).

Applying this approach to Numbulwar, a remote Arnhem Land community in which she has conducted research over several decades, Burbank explores some of the ways in which family relationships can be linked to people's willingness or refusal to take part in Western structures they encounter in everyday life. She posits that a model internalized very early in life, a "self with others" schema, provides a template for the Aboriginal child's encounters with Western institutions (2006:5). Her informants explain motivation to action in terms of "liking to" or "feeling like," and of not doing things, such as attending school on a given day, because they do not "like it" (or "feel like it"); such explanations are typically accepted by their parents, or others, as reasonable. Though greatly indulged by adults, these children are obviously not autonomous beings and in many things cannot be allowed free choice. However, as Burbank notes, these restrictive domains in Aboriginal society provide few models for action within non-familial Western structures. Also, most of these models are acquired from late childhood on, and in Burbank's view this is a significant factor in children's experience of school and, later, of work. As a key Western institution, work in particular is much more about impersonal imperatives, such as "doing a job, being on time, getting things done" than the immediacy of how people are feeling or coping or conducting their lives (2006:7). Burbank points out that the cultural models that motivate socialization in Numbulwar (and, more generally, remote Aboriginal communities like those of the Mardu) do not suppose "an adult who 'works' in either the Western sense or the Western setting" (2006:5). Her major point is that there is an emotional incompatibility between the cultural self and Western structuring of others, such that Aboriginal people *neither see nor feel* the point of being and working within such alien arrangements (2006:7). Burbank's analysis forms an important conceptual backdrop to some of the material and interpretations we present below.

All major national socio-economic indicators reveal a severely disadvantaged Aboriginal population vis-à-vis most other Australians, and remote communities are alike in the extent of their extreme dependency on the state and the many serious social problems they face.[2] In the last few years, the focus of the wider society has dwelled increasingly on community "dysfunction" and the need for Aborigines to exercise "individual responsibility" if their situation is to improve. This shift in government and community attitudes towards indigenous people cannot be separated from the dominant neoliberal ideology: responsible citizens provide for their own needs, rather than placing a burden on taxpayers through public provision of services and support. From this perspective, "difference" in many of its manifestations equates with dysfunction and—unless it entails positive economic outputs, as is the case, for example, with much Aboriginal art production—will not be supported. However, the extension of this demand to Aboriginal people ignores the history, complexity and inherent inequality of their relationships with the Australian state.

Against this background, and drawing on knowledge gained from our long association with one Western Desert people, we canvass several issues illustrative of the seemingly intractable gulf between policy goals and actual community conditions and outcomes. Like most other Aborigines, the Mardu still lack significant access to power, knowledge, money and even good health (Tonkinson and Howard 1990; Tonkinson 2007a). In the face of a plethora of regulations, policies, pressures and expectations from government and other external sources, they nonetheless seem determined to maintain their distinctiveness and successful strategies aimed at mutual accommodation have so far proved elusive. Although kin-based authority and regulation of behaviour have been weakened and are often ineffective, they have not been replaced by a viable civil society. The contrast between kin-based and civil society exemplifies the gap between Mardu and whitefella values and customs that underlies current dilemmas, and we hope that the examples we cite have some value for cross-cultural comparisons.

Much of the impetus to change has been imposed by the dominant society and huge disparities in numbers and power separate it from both of Australia's indigenous minorities. Without doubt, the heavy burden of adaptation has been borne by people such as the Mardu in the

era since "first contact."[3] The great increase in indigenous people's control of their communities and their destinies that was expected to follow from new federal government self-management policies in the 1970s has proved illusory. Instead, in our study area as in most remote Aboriginal communities, dependence on outside advisers, experts and functionaries has increased, creating a situation in which the Mardu are to some extent complicit (cf. Tonkinson 1977, 1978, 1981, 1982, 1988).

We now outline some elements of Mardu outlook that are pertinent to our concerns here (cf. Tonkinson 2007b).

Mardu Worldview and the Whitefella Domain

All our research since the 1960s and 1970s confirms the persistence of a Mardu worldview that is, in important respects, distinctly different from the Western orientation of the dominant society. As late as the 1960s, there were Mardu still experiencing "first contacts" with whites, so little wonder that the cultural imprint of the past remains strong, particularly among older people. Proud of their Law and their cultural uniqueness as Western Desert people, the Mardu show little interest in transcending the differences that both mark them as distinct and serve as a convenient label for what to them are puzzling or otherwise unappealing facets of white custom and culture. Noting a particular contrast, they will often say, "whitefellas do that," generally in a non-judgmental way, intended as an observation rather than an impetus to action or change.

Despite enormous challenges to their powers of adaptation ever since they became sedentary, Mardu values of sharing, compassion and deep, abiding emotional attachment to kin, home and country remain firmly at the core of their worldview. Such cultural conservatism and group-centredness is patently at odds with many prominent values in Australian society (for example, those relating to property, time management, progress, aspiration, improvement, wealth accumulation and future-orientation). Mardu place very high value on their kinship relationships and their autonomy, but their understanding of the latter concept differs from commonly held assumptions of the dominant majority. For the Mardu, autonomy is about making decisions and choices as one sees fit, being accountable to no one, albeit within the bounds of "the Law," which entails obligations and responsibilities based on kinship and relatedness. In their scheme of things, dependence on others is perfectly compatible with personal autonomy, and relatedness is an essential component of the autonomous self. This differs sharply from Western notions of autonomy whereby the individual is independent and self-reliant, but amenable to a "high degree of uncoerced cooperation."[4] Mardu interpretation of autonomy in relation to outsiders appears to entail freedom from paternalistic and authoritarian strictures and avoidance of the economic strivings that whites consider essential to Aboriginal advancement. "Mucking in" and "lending a hand" or "seeing the need" are not characteristic of Mardu interaction with whites. The roots of this passivity probably lie in traditional Mardu forms of dependency reinforced by early contact experiences with strongly paternalistic whites playing the role of "boss," thus prompting reactions that Elkin once controversially described as "intelligent parasitism" (see McGregor 1996). Whatever their origins, passivity and dependency characterize the relationship of the Mardu to the Australian state and its agents. There are tasks and obligations that Mardu are happy to leave to others, as our discussion of local employment indicates.

Work

Besides the basic fact of limited opportunity, Mardu cultural values, such as high mobility, kinship and ritual obligations, make for a general incompatibility with the market economy and conventional jobs; these are major factors contributing to their low level of participation in paid labour. Things were not always this way, however. Until Aboriginal employment opportunities in the pastoral industry evaporated in the wake of equal wage legislation in the 1970s (cf. Bunbury 2002), able-bodied men—and some women, who were employed as domestics)—were in demand in that arena. There they could practice their considerable skills as horsemen, trackers, shepherds, fence-builders and so on, which brought them much satisfaction and pride in their work, and also a positive recognition by whites of their worth. Pastoral employment was also compatible with the ritual obligations on which Mardu set great store (see Tonkinson 1974). Work on stations was prized by Mardu, both men and women, and many look back on those days with nostalgia. Today, helicopter mustering is the norm, and very few jobs are available for Mardu in the surrounding region.

One striking feature of desert people is their extraordinarily high levels of tolerance for discomfort, frustration, inconvenience and hardship. Efforts by governments to goad such peoples into action through "carrot and stick" schemes, aimed at enticing Aborigines into conformity, are unlikely to galvanize them (Tonkinson 2007b). Thus, "work for the dole (unemployment payment)" programs have fared poorly in Mardu communities. Some people enjoy their work and a few remain in jobs for extended periods, but even the most dedicated worker might stop

for weeks or months, or altogether, in response to death of close kin, or a perceived slight from a boss or co-worker (see Tonkinson 2008). Stopping people's payments for failing to show up for work, with the intent of forcing them back into employment, ignores both their high tolerance for privation and the powerful redistributive effects of sharing and gambling. The Mardu economy is not about production; rather, it revolves around issues of circulation, redistribution and consumption and on attempts to gain allocative power over invariably scarce resources.[5] A majority of Mardu adults are unemployed but social welfare payments, such as pensions and child allowances, plus the constant circulation of cash, driven by kinship obligations and gambling with cards, ensure that most community members have access to food, though there are often lean periods as the time for the next payment looms.

The rise in non-Aboriginal employment on Mardu settlements is in part linked to a Mardu disinclination to work locally. With notable exceptions, those few who have the qualifications or experience to do these jobs do not always consider the "top-up" to their "work for the dole" wage sufficient to make it worthwhile. Also, working in their own community can entail lots of relatedness but little autonomy, so they are likely to be subjected to resentment and to criticism from community members, especially when they resist pressures to give certain kin preferential treatment such as free goods or services. Exposure to the risk of shame and anger, many say, is "not worth it." At the same time, low levels of education minimize people's chances of competing for jobs in towns, even if they desired to seek them. In any case, there is no widely shared Mardu moral evaluation of work that links it to feelings of self-respect or exalted status (Tonkinson 2007b).[6]

A strong Mardu cultural emphasis on mobility (and on discharging the mandatory obligations and responsibilities intrinsic to kin relationships) works against structures of continuity in employment: it is virtually impossible to sustain attendance at, and commitment to, training programs or the job itself in uninterrupted fashion. Travel is undertaken over huge distances within the cultural bloc that is the Western Desert, and sometimes beyond, to visit kin, attend funerals or sports carnivals, participate in "Law Business," engage in shopping expeditions and, notably, on the part of those who are drinkers, to obtain alcohol. For the vast majority of Mardu, the social obligations involved in these activities are much more important than staying in a job or, indeed, ensuring children's attendance at school. This situation is not necessarily one of continuity from desert traditions. For example, deaths were traditionally followed quickly by interment, with major mourning rituals held a year or two afterwards, whereas today the advent of cool-rooms and access to transport, plus the high frequency of deaths in Mardu communities, have resulted in funeral attendance as virtually an ongoing event (see Glaskin et al. 2008; Tonkinson 2008).

Education

Education probably best exemplifies the stark contrast in perspectives and the distance separating tradition from modernity (cf. Sutton 2001:132). In traditional Aboriginal societies, "education" comprised observation, imitation and learning through repetition, and there was no formal, institutionalized learning environment akin to the school. Today, remote area schools in Western Australia have never been better equipped or (in many cases) staffed, yet, among Mardu, attendance levels and scholastic performance have probably never been worse.[7] Truancy has been rife in Mardu schools in recent years, and tends to be countenanced, if not instigated, by parents: the same people who make immense efforts and travel great distances to attend a funeral, might call a child out of the classroom for a trivial reason (to help carry bags of groceries home from the store, for example), or stay away from their home community, school and work for weeks on end without a qualm.

Children are permitted considerable independence and presumed to have valid reasons for the decisions they make, so are not normally chastised for absenting themselves from school. Besides, few Mardu see a connection between education and "success" as they measure it, given their circumscribed horizons, and the persistence of priorities based on Mardu values. Thus, success at school could mean being sent elsewhere for further education, but homesickness is such a powerful emotion in Mardu society that, usually, the few who go soon return, and everyone considers the cause legitimate. Whether they stay or leave, however, Mardu children's low level of scholastic attainment imposes limitations for their future management of communities on their own lands or successful engagement in the wider economy (cf. Schwab 2005).

Recently, there have been calls by Aboriginal people in some remote areas, including Mardu, for the re-institution of the dormitory system or boarding school. In addition to any improvements in children's care, nutrition and scholastic performance, it would certainly reduce nurturance burdens currently borne by many older people who are fostering small children. As one older Mardu woman put it, "it would be like the old [Mission] days, but not so strict; without the beating"; she argued that par-

ents would be more prepared to leave their children behind to attend school while they were travelling if the children were in dormitories, supervised and chaperoned.

Land Rights, Mardu Religion and Leadership

Among the themes of the CASCA session in which these papers were presented that resonate with the Mardu situation are: the often arduous and lengthy process of achieving land rights as legislated by the nation-state, and the suggestion that whether or not indigenous groups have won political recognition, land rights or native title, they face similar kinds of social problems because the "negotiated coexistence" they aspire to entails cultural imperatives as well as politico-economic concerns. Once Mardu discovered, some 30 years ago, that exploration for minerals had taken place in their traditional homelands without their knowledge or permission, and were then informed that these lands belonged to an entity known as "the Crown," they began agitating for land rights. Spurred on by deep concern about the risk of desecration of their myriad sacred sites, some groups moved in the 1980s to establish communities back in the homelands.[8] It took a decade from the inception of national native title legislation for the Mardu to gain such title over the bulk of their desert homelands in 2002.[9]

Native Title legislation mandates the establishment of a Prescribed Body Corporate to mediate between title holders and other parties. Besides the inequalities in power between title holders and, for example, state authorities and multinational mining companies, there are daunting challenges involved in ensuring that the representative body functions in the best interests of *all* Mardu title-holders rather than just the politically savvy and active few. Here the gulf between traditional and contemporary leadership patterns among the Mardu is large, and an increasing disjunction between them highlights the ways in which exogenously derived changes may clash with indigenous values and imperatives. For example, imposed structures have resulted in emergent economic inequalities in remote settlements that tend to favour those, predominantly men, who hold leadership positions through a kind of community inertia. Some of these individuals appear to act less often as disinterested community leaders than in the interests of themselves and their close kin. While welcoming better access to resources that extend their ability to forage for cash and other necessities, they usually abjure administrative and other duties, and often cannot or will not impose their authority when things go amiss in their communities. This reluctance to act may relate to a disjunction between the achieved status of some younger leaders (now middle-aged), who have built lives and careers partly around some of the apparatuses of self-determination, and their failure to be advanced to a concomitantly senior level in the ritual arena. Senior Lawmen assess men's rights to lead in terms mainly of their ritual status and are, amongst themselves, quite harsh and dismissive of these young leaders' rise to prominence in recent decades; yet they are publicly reticent in their criticism of the latter's actions as "secular" leaders.

Male and female ritual hierarchies, which function in marked contrast to the kin-dominated egalitarianism of mundane life, have become increasingly separated from, and decreasingly significant for, contemporary leadership in the arena of intercultural or "whitefella" politics. They remain integral elements of "Law business" but their influence has noticeably weakened since the 1960s. Many mature Mardu are also troubled about matters such as the attenuated flow of religious knowledge from elders to younger adults. It used to take about 15 years for a youth's journey from first initiation to marriage, a process now severely truncated, as is the volume of religious knowledge and traditions being transmitted. Though the time allotted to religious affairs has shrunk since the 1960s, the annual "big meetings" held to initiate youths, perform rituals, settle disputes and exchange information remain major events, attracting large numbers and nourishing regional solidarities. Nevertheless, one of the greatest challenges facing the Mardu is the tension between their wish for continuity in the workings of their Law, still the linchpin of their cultural integrity, and their need to respond to demands for leaders and brokers who can operate effectively in the external environment with which they are obliged to engage.

In the midst of a massive resources boom and the promise of substantial income flowing to the representative native title body, the confrontation of two kinds of leadership and issues of fairness in distribution will take centre stage in Mardu affairs. One cannot help but conclude that the spoils could go predominantly to those *kuntaparni* ("shameless ones") with the chutzpah to act beyond the restraints of Mardu values, especially their strongly egalitarian ethos.

Property

A recurrent theme in recent debates, particularly in the wake of the Northern Territory intervention, is private home ownership in remote Aboriginal communities. The former federal conservative government was a strong critic of communal title and an enthusiastic proponent of individually-held 99 year leases over privately owned houses. The current Labor government is continuing to

pursue this goal in some Northern Territory locales and it is conceivable that similar arrangements will be extended to indigenous communities in other parts of the country. Yet people like the Mardu would rate private ownership very low on their list of priorities in life. True, Mardu have become enthusiastic consumers of many goods and services valued by most other Australians, such as motor vehicles, clothing, food, electronic appliances and gadgets, toys and so on, but they show minimal concern about individual ownership and the preservation and maintenance even of seemingly much desired items. Mundane property per se seems neither to arouse feelings of pride in ownership nor prompt envious comment; things circulate at a high rate via the demand sharing intrinsic to kin relationships and felt obligation. It certainly does not rate with the primacy of social relationships and strongly held values about sharing (which children are taught from infancy to regard as a natural rather than a cultural act, cf. Hamilton 1981). Adults will stand by ignoring small children who wreak havoc on items in and around houses or vehicles, and are disinclined to interfere because to do so would prompt a temper tantrum, in Mardu eyes an audible instance of neglect or abuse.

Although a newly acquired motor vehicle is a highly prized item for which the purchasers would have pooled funds, or used windfall cash from a successful card game, or may have saved over some months, it is cherished as a means to the supreme end of mobility rather than as an object in itself. It will be driven through the bush, endure food spills, dirt, severe overloading and inadequate attention to servicing needs until its short but very active life ends.

Houses present particular cultural problems since Mardu still routinely move out of houses when a death occurs. Usually the houses are re-occupied, usually after an interval of months, by people not closely related to the deceased. In only two cases that we are aware of have members of the same family moved back into the house associated with their deceased relative. Both in communities and in urban areas, housing authorities have accommodated Mardu cultural sensitivities. Insistence on long-term commitment to a family-owned house could have disturbing consequences for Mardu. Also, given the combination of high mobility levels and strongly felt impulse to go to the aid of kin, people may spend long periods of time in communities other than their own.

Concluding Comments

In the brief examples outlined above, we have attempted to illustrate Burbank's point about people's disinclination to engage productively (in non-Aboriginal terms) with institutions of the wider society. The "self with other" schema is fundamentally incompatible with Western notions of the detached individual capable of impersonal engagement free of considerations of kinship and a range of "interested others." Culture-based considerations are certainly a major element in the perpetuation of Mardu distinctiveness and a continual state of low-level resistance to exogenously imposed constraints aimed ultimately at making Mardu more like whitefellas. Mardu are at their strongest and most secure when on country, interacting with a range of kin and engaging in activities like hunting or gathering, where their considerable skills are being productively used and things are more like what they once had been. The antithesis of this situation is being in town, which can be a dangerous and debilitating situation: their distinctiveness exposes them, and their social marginality is perpetuated by both their own positive Aboriginal identity and entrenched racist attitudes among many of the non-Aboriginal people among whom they reside. Many Mardu remain in, but not of, towns, captured again, but this time by alcohol or by the need for medical treatment such as renal dialysis.[10]

Even those Mardu who live in Perth and in smaller towns closer to their homelands, continue to adhere to values such as kin-relatedness, sharing, mobility and so on, that put them at odds with the requirements of individualistic, capitalist striving focused on progress, time, and accumulation. If people like the Mardu are either lured or compelled away from the homelands they have struggled long and hard to win back via successful claims to native title, most will be reluctant émigrés. The previous federal government, intent on "mainstreaming," made loud noises against remote communities as "cultural museums" and havens for the unemployed and perverse, and uttered threats of closure or withdrawal of funding (cf. Vanstone 2005).

There are, however, some good reasons, other than those we just mentioned, for allowing remote communities to persist. For example, there is a growing body of Australian Bureau of Statistics data suggesting that, in relative terms, indigenous people in metropolitan, outer metropolitan and regional Australia are worse off than in remote and very remote regions. Altman (2005) identifies significant negatives, citing regional and urban indigenous unemployment rates 3–4 times those of non-indigenous for example. In 2006, in a speech to federal parliament, then Labor politician, Dr. Carmen Lawrence, reported two significant findings from recent Western Australian research: first, that "the level of clinically significant emotional and behavioural difficulties amongst children is actually lowest in the most remote communi-

ties"; and second, that "alcohol consumption is much lower amongst the young people who live in those outermost communities than it is among those in metropolitan areas or areas surrounding agricultural and mining regions."[11] Arguably, there will be a gradual retreat from both the homelands and from some of their cherished traditions that are incompatible with prevailing Australian values. However, the history of their colonization, as well as cross-cultural examples, show that coercion is ineffectual. In a condition of conflicting values, a Weberian dynamic is at work and the Mardu must first raise the necessary motivation to choose to adopt values that will result in cultural changes that will entail unpredictable results. Ultimately, though, the outcome is not entirely in Mardu hands; the Australian people will decide whether or not they are prepared to underwrite the retention of cultural difference currently exhibited by remotely-located Aboriginal people. The current federal government, meantime, has committed itself to the process of "closing" the 17-year life expectancy gap between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, and to reducing other large discrepancies in socio-economic status between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.

To conclude by widening the referent of this article, it seems that many of the generalizations we make about cultural incompatibilities are in various measures applicable to pedestrian hunter-gatherers globally.[12] Research in this field in recent decades has focused on attempts by these peoples, now sedentarized and encountering problems of adaptation and adjustment, to accommodate themselves to Westernizing pressures. Discussions of social transformation have tended to revolve around social relations and ideology, specifically the "foraging ethos" or "foraging mode of thought," which is at the forefront of anthropological theoretical thinking in hunter-gatherer studies (see for example, Ingold et al. 1988; Widlok and Tadesse 2005). The economy founded on hunting and gathering has been supplanted by a range of economic activities, including wage labour, marginal herding or cultivating, craft manufacture, mendicancy and welfare payments, which are being pursued, with varying degrees of success. Such activities, and the social and mental frameworks within which these new productive patterns are embedded, account importantly for the persistence of such groups in the post-hunting-gathering era.

Myrna Tonkinson, Anthropology and Sociology, M255, The University of Western Australia, 15 Stirling Highway, Crawley, Western Australia 6009. E-mail: myrnat@cyllene.uwa.edu.au.
Robert Tonkinson, Anthropology and Sociology, M255, The University of Western Australia, 15 Stirling Highway, Crawley, Western Australia 6009. E-mail: Bob.Tonkinson@uwa.edu.au.

Acknowledgments

We thank the Mardu people for their friendship and cooperation over several decades. For our research since 2002, we were supported by ARC-Discovery Grant DP0210203. Our thanks also to Victoria Burbank for her valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Notes

1 The people who identify themselves as Mardu (now commonly spelt *Martu*) live in a number of towns and Aboriginal settlements in the Pilbara region of Western Australia but in the 1960s most were based at Jigalong Mission. Situated 1,200 kilometres northeast of Perth near the western edge of the Gibson Desert, Jigalong began as a camel-breeding station on the Rabbit Proof Fence, and later doubled as a ration depot for increasing numbers of Mardu drifting in from the desert in small groups and then eventually settling there. Although they now live with a great deal less control and surveillance than in the mission era (1946-69), the die of dependence was cast once immigrants from the desert settled down on its margins in a process regarded in retrospect by many Mardu as one of subtle seduction; as one man aptly put it, "we were captured by flour and sugar" (Tonkinson 2002:162; see also Tonkinson 1974).

2 For anyone seeking an overview of social scientific assessments of the current sociopolitical situation in remote Aboriginal Australia, an important recent reference is the volume of papers edited by Austin-Broos and Macdonald (2005), the proceedings of a workshop sponsored by the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia that was held at the University of Sydney late in 2004.

3 This term has different meanings in different regions of Australia. In the case of the Mardu, first contact with white people occurred between the 1930s and 1960s. Nationally, in the 1950s and 1960s, policies of containment and virtual neglect gave way to those of "assimilation," at least for part of the indigenous population, and were ultimately superseded with the advent, in the 1970s, of self-management policies.

4 We are grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this phrase and for impelling us to make explicit this important distinction. See acknowledgment in note 12.

5 See for example, Austin-Broos and Macdonald 2005; Martin 2005:4-5; Peterson 2005:3.

6 Change may be occurring in this attitude as some young Mardu, most of them males, are gaining employment in local mines. They and their families express pride in these jobs, akin to the way cattle station workers were viewed by previous generations.

7 To gain some idea of the complexities of the "problem" of indigenous education, especially in remote parts of Australia, see the articles by Schwab (2005) and Lea (2005).

8 With respect to notions of "social healing," there is no doubt that the Mardu concerned also saw other benefits, including distancing themselves from sources of alcohol, increased autonomy, greater access to and control over financial and material support, and the great satisfaction of "being on country" and teaching their children its totemic geography.

9 Absent was a significant tract on the western edge that had been designated as a National Park and was thus ineligible for claim under Native Title. Negotiations with the relevant government body over issues of joint management, employment of Mardu as rangers and so on, are ongoing.

10 There is also the risk of arrest, and not just for drunk and disorderly conduct. Much of the Mardu's current involvement with the justice system concerns motor vehicle offences: unpaid bills and fines, lack of licences, ignored summonses and breached community work orders. These offences are testament to a value system that rates obligations to kin as immeasurably more important than accountability to bureaucracies Mardu see as having little or no moral claim over them.

11 House of Representatives, Indigenous Communities Speech, 30 May 2006.

12 We are indebted to an external reviewer of the penultimate draft of this paper for pointing out these parallels as evidence of the wider ethnographic significance of our paper and for some of the detail here reproduced.

References

Altman, John C.
2005 Economic Futures on Aboriginal Land in Remote and Very Remote Australia: Hybrid Economies and Joint Ventures. *In* Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia. Diane Austin-Broos and Gaynor Macdonald, eds. Pp. 121–134. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Austin-Broos, Diane, and Gaynor Macdonald, eds.
2005 Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Bunbury, Bill
2002 It's Not the Money—It's the Land. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

Burbank, Victoria
2006 From Bedtime to On Time: Why Many Aboriginal People Don't Especially Like Participating in Western Institutions. Anthropological Forum 16(1):3-20.

Glaskin, Katie, Myrna Tonkinson, Yasmine Musharbash and Victoria Burbank, eds.
2008 Mortality, Mourning and Mortuary Practices in Indigenous Australia. Farnham: Ashgate.

Hamilton, Annette
1981 Nature and Nurture: Aboriginal Child-Rearing in North-Central Arnhem Land. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Press.

Ingold, Tim, David Riches and James Woodburn, eds.
1988 Hunters and Gatherers (2 vols). New York/Oxford: Berg.

Lea, Tess
2005 Learning Lessons: A Retrospective. *In* Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia, Diane Austin-Broos and Gaynor Macdonald, eds. Pp. 151-164. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

McGregor, Russell
1996 "Intelligent Parasitism": A.P. Elkin and the Rhetoric of Assimilation. Journal of Australian Studies 50-51:118-130.

Martin, David
2005 Governance, Cultural Appropriateness and Accountability within the Context of Indigenous Self-determination. *In* Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia, Diane Austin-Broos and Gaynor Macdonald, eds. Pp. 187–202. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Peterson, Nicolas
2005 What Can Pre-Colonial and Frontier Economies Tell Us about Engagement with the Real Economy? *In* Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia. Diane Austin-Broos and Gaynor Macdonald, eds. Pp. 7–18. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Robbins, Joel
2007 Between Reproduction and Freedom: Morality, Value and Radical Cultural Change. Ethnos 72(3):293-314.

Schwab, R.G. (Jerry)
2005 Education and Community. *In* Culture, Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia. Diane Austin-Broos and Gaynor Macdonald, eds. Pp. 165-174. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Sutton, Peter
2001 The Politics of Suffering: Indigenous Policy in Australia since the 1970s. Anthropological Forum 11(2):125–173.

Tonkinson, Myrna
2008 Solidarity in Shared Loss: Death-Related Observances among the Martu of the Western Desert. *In* Mortality, Mourning and Mortuary Practices in Indigenous Australia. Katie Glaskin, Myrna Tonkinson, Victoria Burbank and Yasmine Musharbash, eds. Pp. 37-53. Aldergate: Ashgate.

Tonkinson, Robert
1974 The Jigalong Mob: Aboriginal Victors of the Desert Crusade. Menlo Park: Cummings.
1977 Aboriginal Self-Regulation and the New Regime: Jigalong, Western Australia. *In* Aborigines and Change: Australia in the '70s. Ronald M. Berndt, ed. Pp. 65-73. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
1978 Aboriginal Community Autonomy: Myth and Reality. *In* Whitefella Business: Aborigines in Australian Politics. Michael C. Howard, ed. Pp. 93-103. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
1981 Djundimunya: A Desert Aboriginal Community in Transition. *In* Beyond the City: Case Studies in Community Structure and Development. Margaret Bowman, ed. Pp. 127–143. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
1982 Outside the Power of the Dreaming: Paternalism and Permissiveness in an Aboriginal Settlement. *In* Aboriginal Power in Australian Society. Michael C. Howard, ed. Pp. 115–130. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
1988 One Community, Two Laws: Aspects of Conflict and Convergence in a Western Desert Aboriginal Settlement. *In* Indigenous Law and the State. B. Morse and G. Woodman, eds. Pp. 395–411. Dordrecht: Foris.
2002 [1991] The Mardu Aborigines: Living the Dream in Australia's Desert. 2nd edition. Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston; Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

2007a The Mardu Aborigines: On the Road to Somewhere. *In* Cultures Through Case Studies: Continuity, Change and Challenge. George Spindler, ed. Pp. 225–255. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

2007b Aboriginal "Difference" and "Autonomy" Then and Now: Four Decades of Change in a Western Desert Society. Anthropological Forum 17(1):41-60.

Tonkinson, Robert, and Michael Howard

1990 Aboriginal Autonomy in Policy and Practice: An introduction. *In* Going it Alone? Prospects for Aboriginal Autonomy. Robert Tonkinson and Michael Howard, eds. Pp. 67–81. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Vanstone, A.

2005 Beyond Conspicuous Compassion—Indigenous Australians Deserve More Than Good Intentions. Address to Australia and New Zealand School of Government, Australian National University, Canberra, 7 December.

Widlok, Thomas, and Wolde Gossa Tadesse, eds.

2005 Property and Equality (2 vols). New York/Oxford: Berghahn

"It Is Hard to Be Sick Now": Diabetes and the Reconstruction of Indigenous Sociality

Françoise Dussart *University of Connecticut*

Abstract: Biomedical research on diabetes mellitus among Aboriginal Australians often presumes that misunderstanding and miscommunication undermine the treatment and diagnosis of chronic illness. But data collected in 2006 and 2007 challenge that presumption, suggesting that one community of Warlpiri people refashions biomedical notions of chronic and acute illness. Rather than misinterpreting etiologies and treatments of diabetes, the Warlpiri people tend to reinterpret them, making manifest in the medical universe the "indigenization of modernity" that Marshall Sahlins has observed in the domains of material and technological culture. The Warlpiri people respond to diabetes by balancing pressures and protocols of the medical clinic, the place where they live, and, at times, the charismatic Christian churches.

Keywords: diabetes, Aboriginal Australia, sociality, indigenized modernity

Résumé : Les études biomédicales sur le diabète mellitus chez les Aborigènes australiens présument souvent que cette maladie chronique est mal comprise et que le manque de communication rend son traitement incertain. Or, des données recueillies en 2006 et 2007 remettent en question cette présomption. Leur analyse suggère en effet que dans une communauté aborigène, les Warlpiri remodèlent les notions occidentales de la condition chronique et de la maladie aiguë. Au lieu de mal interpréter les étiologies et les traitements du diabète, les Warlpiri tendent plutôt à les réinterpréter, rendant ainsi manifeste dans l'univers médical « l'indigénisation de la modernité » que Marshall Sahlins a analysée dans les domaines de la culture matérielle et technologique d'autres peuples autochtones. Les Warlpiri affrontent leur diabète tout en essayant de trouver un équilibre entre les pressions et les protocoles de la clinique médicale, de l'endroit où ils résident, et parfois aussi des Églises chrétiennes charismatiques.

Mots-clés : diabète, Aborigènes australiens, socialité, l'indigénisation de la modernité

> The very ways societies change have their own authenticity, so that global modernity is often reproduced as local diversity. —Sahlins 1993:2

Introduction

According to the World Health Organization, diabetes mellitus kills more than 3.5 million people each year. Without concerted local and global effort, experts predict that the mortality rate for the disease will increase by more than 50% over the next decade (Diabetes Atlas 2007). The statistics among Fourth World Peoples—well documented in Sub-Saharan Africa, throughout the Americas and Asia (Ekoé et al. 2001; Joe and Young 1994; Mbanya and Mbanya 2003; McMurray and Smith 2001; Rock 2005)—are even more dire.[1] Indigenously populated regions of Australia have been particularly hard hit by the diabetes pandemic; Aboriginal residents of remote settlements are ten times more likely than the broader population to suffer Type 2 diabetes (Cass et al. 2005). In some Aboriginal communities, one in three adults is afflicted with the disease.

As a result of this dispiriting reality, a good deal of biomedical analysis has been focused on the affliction among indigenous populations. Typically, the work in question presumes that misunderstanding and miscommunication undermine treatment and diagnosis. But my analysis, based on data collected in 2006 and 2007 at a Central Desert Aboriginal settlement,[2] challenges certain aspects of that presumption. Field research suggests that many Aboriginal peoples, knowledgeable about the main etiological aspects of the disease, knowingly sidestep biomedical treatment protocols—strict weight management, the modification of dietary habit and exercise—and translate notions of chronic and acute illness to accommodate their own notions of neocolonial social identity. Indeed, rather than *mis*interpreting etiologies and treatments, Warlpiri people tend to *re*interpret the language surrounding diabetes, and in so doing make manifest, in the

medical universe, the kind of "indigenization of modernity" that Marshall Sahlins has observed in the material and technological cultures of other Fourth World Peoples. Warlpiri people's response to diabetes displays a community not only capable, but compelled, to tailor medical protocols and discourse to indigenously constituted patterns of residential kinship and social connectedness, as well as distinctly Aboriginal notions of personal autonomy. By so doing, Warlpiri people reshape the local praxis of their sociality (Foucault 1973) in ways that undermine the universalizing discourses of national healthcare organizations, schools, correctional facilities, Christian churches and other "knowledge-making institutions."[3]

In a provocative essay titled "What Is Anthropological Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century," Marshall Sahlins shows how indigenous peoples, threatened by the colonial pressures of assimilation, survive "by harnessing industrial technologies to Paleolithic purposes" (1999:vi). Far from being destroyed by the materiality of the market economy, these cultures under siege—in South Africa, in the Americas and Australia—repurpose Western commodities in ways that reify more conventional imperatives. This distinctive form of engagement with modernity (Sahlins 1999:xii) is not, however, limited to material culture. It can also be found in more abstract forms of intercultural exchange. For in much the way the Hawaiians and Kwakiutl for example refashion, say, European cloth to accentuate "differences of genealogy," the Warlpiri people rework, at often great emotional and physical costs, their relationship to chronic illness—a concept itself alien to Warlpiri culture—in ways that allow for the subtle negotiation of indigenous social identity in the face of "emergent modernities" (Etkin et al. 1990; Fee, 2006:2990-2992; Heil 2003; Paradies et al. 2007; Radhakrishnan 2002).

While some thoughtful researchers have noted, in general terms, the distinction between indigenous and biomedical perspectives on diabetes, even going so far as to acknowledge the potential benefits of treatment regimens that acknowledge both traditional and medicalized protocols, rarely do these investigators recognize that a fundamental dichotomy governing medical discourse—the distinction between acute and chronic illness—does not exist in conventional Warlpiri cultural repertoires. Warlpiri diabetes sufferers perceived diabetes as a "white person's disease" rendered all the more problematic because its Aboriginal victims eschew the lexicon conventionally applied to diagnosis and treatment. Nor is the complex social obligation generated by illness in Aboriginal settlements, a dynamic rooted in residential kinship patterns, comparable to Western paradigms. Absent the recognition, and close analysis, of such essential cross-cultural differences, strictly biomedical interventions among the indigenous are bound to be less than effective (Brady 1995; Ferreira and Lang 2006; Ferzacca 2000, 2001; Humphrey et al. 2001; Lea 2005; Rock 2005; to cite but a few). Following Margaret Lock's concern "with the relationship among politics, scientific knowledge production and its application, and the creation of so-called 'needs' among populations, together with the search for moral order and control in contemporary society" (1987:5), insightful works on deteriorating health and chronic illness amongst Aboriginal peoples in Australia have underlined the need to rethink collaboration amongst indigenous peoples, the state and its proxy, the medical establishment (see for example, Devitt and McMasters 1998; Heil 2003; Kunitz 2002; Sarthre 2004; Sutton 2001, 2009; Trudgen 2000). In discussing the impact of drastic cultural changes in a relatively short time on the lives of indigenous peoples, these works show how both ethnomedical and biomedical diagnoses and treatments are perceived, managed, reshaped locally and often enter in conflicts in neocolonial Australia. Everyday, Aboriginal peoples struggle to reconstruct their lives against the backdrop of governmental and medical discourses, which generally define their ways of life as "something the matter with them" (Sahlins 1999:xi). In short, I argue that understanding how Warlpiri diabetes sufferers cope with chronic illness and the various management modalities that the disease triggers (Young 1982), sheds light on how a sedentarized community inhabits a milieu of indigenized modernity. For Warlpiri diabetes sufferers and their kin, diabetes, sometimes called "the sugar-disease" or defined as "too much sugar in the blood," has plagued their lives since a couple of decades after they were forced to abandon their hunting and gathering lifestyle.[4] Very few interviewees evoked misconceived notions of genetics or environmental toxicity and even fewer attributed the causes of the disease to traditional forms of sorcery.[5] In fact, most people laughed when that possibility was raised. The reflection of this 41-year-old sufferer of diabetes is typical: "too much sugar in the blood and they [doctors] tell me that it runs in my family."[6] A middle-aged man who has lived with diabetes for 12 years exemplifies a lucid overview on the etiology of the illness:

> My diabetes did not come from sorcery attacks. Sorcerers did not give me diabetes, no one sang me [a sorcery practice] to give me diabetes. My kin or my enemies are not responsible for my diabetes. It came from white people's lifestyle. It came from the food we eat, maybe it is also in my family blood, the polluted air, the rubbish everywhere.

The etiology of diabetes is rarely discussed and most of the time relegated to an inevitable state of health. As one Warlpiri sufferer of diabetes explained: "Listen! This is the way we live—the way we are. We are not white."[7] By reducing the diagnostic to an inevitable biomedically-defined chronic illness, patients disable the sociopolitical resonance of a prescribed biomedical program of medication, diet, exercise and other lifestyle changes intended to stabilize their condition. They are not white, indeed. While others have highlighted similar findings, they generally attributed them to miscommunication between patients and medical staff and to a disregard for the contemporary health beliefs of their patients (see for example, Cass et al. 2005; Eades 1992; Guthridge 1998; Humphrey et al. 1998; Lowell et al. In press; Trudgen 2000). Miscommunications surely exist, but as Garro and Lang have argued in their work on Anishinaabeg and Dakota, most people are "well-informed about the standard medical explanations for their illness and the basic instructions for its treatment and they also continued to draw upon and to speculate about other kinds of knowledge regarding health and healing" (1994:321). With Garro and Lang, what I am interested in here is rather the agency of the sufferers of diabetes and how they draw upon different cultural repertoires and technologies to cope.

Malady and Modernity

The introduction—or rather, imposition—of Western culture, with its surfeit of supposed material "dividends" (cars, cheap clothing, fast food) has done little to improve the health of the area's earliest and once hearty inhabitants. The contrary is the case. The deteriorating physical and social plight of the indigenous population of the Central Australian Desert is well documented (Sutton 2009). In 1946, when Warlpiri peoples were forced to abandon their nomadic lifestyle to live on a government-run ration depot, their health declined dramatically. For decades, diseases that were otherwise eradicated in other parts of the population lingered on among the Aboriginal people residing in government-run settlements and missions.

The battalions of social welfare and medical experts dispatched to the Outback—often working at odds with one another—have done little to improve the quality of life among Australia's most marginalized citizens. Despite these sporadic and contradictory interventions, Warlpiri people, as most Aboriginal peoples and Torres Straight Islanders, have experienced an unprecedented surge in chronic illnesses—diabetes, cancer, end-stage renal failure and high blood pressure. And, of course, health is not the only thing that has suffered; their ritual life, also under assault, has been shaped by non-indigenous interventions. These two variables—health and ritual—are not unrelated. Indeed, traditional ritual life and kinship relations have always been a part of conventional "treatment" of illness. Yet with the introduction of fragmented governmental health policies and the erosion of indigenous protocols, Warlpiri people have been compelled to revise both their relationship to illness and to ritual life—to reconstruct their sociality in the face of ever-changing neocolonial pressures (Peterson and Sanders 1998).

It is in this context that I undertook two field trips—in 2006 and again in 2007—to conduct research in an Aboriginal settlement where government health investigators from the WYN, a health corporation tending to the medical needs of some 1,500 individuals residing in various remote indigenous communities outside Alice Springs, had documented an extremely high incidence of diabetes. In one survey, conducted in 2004, the health service diagnosed diabetes in 35% of the adult population, with 70% of those sufferers facing end-stage renal disease within the following five years (WYN 2005). Specifically, I conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with 84 diabetic patients (60 women and 24 men) between the ages of 16 and 81, as well as with 14 family members of diabetes sufferers.[8] These formal interviews were supplemented by residential observations; I lived with 12 sufferers of diabetes over a period of three months (Dussart in Schwarz and Dussart 2010).

Indigenous Sociality vs. Personal Autonomy

Prior to sedentarization (and in fact, until quite recently), the Warlpiri people were apt to trace physical or mental illness to one of two sources: sorcery by an enemy or the repercussions of some transgressive act. If the etiology of such illness appears distinctly non-Western in nature, so too was the nature of prognosis and treatment. Illnesses, always perceived as curable, necessitated complex social obligations of the healthy, a dynamic tethered to kinship.[9] Treatment focused on healing rituals and the use of local medicines. In essence, the notion of incurable chronic illness did not exist in the ways Warlpiri people recall their pre-colonial universe. When an illness with acute symptoms struck such as a severe flu, it was and still is always the *nyurnu* or "sick one" who would declare the malady. This is done by the display of atypical, even aberrant behaviour: wrapping oneself in blankets during extremely hot weather or sleeping in inappropriate public spaces such as the school during the middle of the day. These mise-en-scènes, in turn, trigger equally scripted responses from the kin relations of the sick one, who must evince

concern and compassion in a highly regimented manner. To repeat: illness is always declared by the sick one, never by healthy kin. This is important to point out because the sick one's acknowledgement of illness carries with it a wide range of restrictions. Illness precludes participation in a vast range of consequential social activities—rituals, hunting and gathering expeditions and travelling to other places. These limitations are required to minimize the risk of further exposure to malevolent beings.

The task of monitoring the ill falls to residential kin. Failure to limit the activities of the unhealthy can precipitate charges of sorcery against the lax relative.[10] This monitoring dynamic, linking as it does the sick ones and kin, is emblematic of the broader "looking after" (*warrawarrakanyi* or *jinamardarni*) relationships that constitute the driving force behind all Warlpiri caring praxis.[11] But such connectedness cuts both ways; it dilutes an equally fundamental component of Warlpiri social identity: personal autonomy. And although all long-term illness places a strain on the fragile balance between the kin obligations ("looking after") that operate in the demand-sharing social economy and the autonomy of the individual, chronic "non-traditional" illnesses such as diabetes create a far greater disequilibrium both by their alien "chronic" nature and by adding a layer of non-indigenous medicalized protocols. Indeed, biomedical treatment of diabetes requires sustained clinical surveillance and self-discipline, all of which runs counter to the personal autonomy at the core of Warlpiri social identity. The result is a neo-colonial condition that undermines both personal autonomy and social connectedness, and adds unbearable "social suffering" to lifelong physical distress.[12]

Because diabetes treatment is often accompanied by pressure, from both extended kin and medical practitioners, to "stay in one place" (near a clinic), sufferers often keep the fact of their condition secret, revealing only to one or two family members the nature and scope of the illness. In fact, biomedically-defined chronically ill persons painfully resist stasis prescribed by both their relatives' traditional expressions of "looking after" as well as the biomedical institution. One cannot underestimate the negative impact of the immobility prescribed by local clinicians. The biomedical establishment systemically presses for those afflicted with diabetes to stay close to the clinic and limit travel. But this kind of restriction is anathema to contemporary Warlpiri people, erstwhile hunters and gathers whose identity is still very much rooted in nomadism. At a moment's notice, child or adult can decide to leave with often a bare minimum of necessities such as a blanket and some cash, or even nothing at all, to visit relatives, partake in distant rituals or sports events, go shopping in the distant town or accompany others for a long drive (see also Musharbash 2008).

They need to remain mobile. With increased access to motor vehicles, buses and taxis, healthy and sick Warlpiri individuals now travel frequently to maintain social relations with their kin often scattered over the Northern Territory, South Australia and Western Australia.[13] One diabetes sufferer, now deceased, noted:

> If you do not care for your mob [relatives], you are selfish, you are alone, you are nothing, you cannot ask for nothing. Nothing. You are rubbish. No one cares for you. You can't expect nothing, nothing. That is why we leave the settlement and follow our relatives. We may forget our tablets and then we cannot get them at another clinic for weeks. So we go without. If I feel too sick when I am away, I try to come back or go to another Aboriginal clinic. Then once I get them I feel a bit better [laughs].

The number of geographical loci where one "cares" or "looks after" one's relatives has exponentially increased in the last two decades, and so has the movement of inhabitants. Warlpiri people travel frequently and for long periods to various settlements and cities—a pattern of mobility that encumbers the treatment of chronic illness.

Chronicles of Chronic Illness (Birth of the Chronic)

Early on in my fieldwork, I interviewed an older woman suffering from diabetes who declared, "it is hard to be sick now." The woman in question had grown up before her people were settled, and enjoyed the healthful rhythms of traditional Warlpiri life—hunting and gathering. As a child she was nourished by the land. Now she was neglected by the government. Given her background, I took her seven-word statement to mean that it was difficult to stay healthy in the settlement and I attached to the comment my own indictment of a government that had corralled, marginalized and neglected her settlement for more than half a century. Inadequate education, food and healthcare facilities had taken their toll.

However, what I was hearing was not what she was saying. Two months after our first interview, during the evening hours of late summer, I asked her to elaborate on the seven words. It emerged that the difficulty she perceived focused specifically on the pressures that chronic illness generated in the negotiation of social obligations and the competing need for autonomy.[14] What she meant was this: reconciling the biomedical demands of chronic illness in a setting governed by dense sociality of a demand-sharing economy was "hard work."[15] In other

words, it was not the illness per se that was "hard." The challenge emerged from the obligations associated with the pandemic chronic condition. Another diabetes sufferer echoed this despair, again only obliquely alluding to social pressure: "We have too many sick relatives today. Too many people are sick now, we have to stop thinking about it."

The social pressures that accompany pandemic chronic illness explain why the Warlpiri people so often assiduously downplay the incurable nature of diabetes. Few sufferers cast themselves in the role of the "sick one" because to do so risks untenable exclusion from ritual and social functions and impedes the ability to travel, activities that still constitute an elemental component of Warlpiri identity.

To avoid the label of "sick one," a sufferer of diabetes eschews the demonstrative protocols associated with traditional acute illnesses. He or she avoids public displays of physical or psychological pain, limits complaint and avoids arousing *luurrjirrimi* or pity. This is done to fence off pressures both from kin and the biomedical institutions charged with monitoring and mitigating disease.

The avoidance behaviour of the chronically ill inevitably leads to strained relationships with local medical staff.[16] Consider the observations of this 74-year-old woman, a long time sufferer of diabetes:

> We are never really healthy now you know, never healthy, no never healthy. We take pills we get a bit better, but we are still sick and we get sicker. When you're sick like me, you need to go on. If I go to the nurses, they tell me to stay put, to watch my diet, to not sit cross-legged, to do this, to do that. I told the doctor "give me more pills so I do not go on the machine" [dialysis machine], so I can go on [with my activities]. I cannot just be lying down on the ground here doing nothing [like a "sick one"]. I cannot just sit by myself. I have to go where my kin care for me and where I care for them. I do not want to be pitied. No, not pitied.

The middle-aged man quoted earlier reiterates this reticence in the face of chronic pain:

> I am always in pain somewhere in my body...I take my tablets so many tablets. If I go once without them for too long, the pains get worse. And that's that. I have to keep going...I cannot sit here and cry like a baby!

In short, diabetes sufferers regularly recoil when subjected to biomedical regimes of care because the protocols disrupt the delicate paradigm that balances kinship obligations and personal autonomy.

They respond to this imbalance by indigenizing certain aspects of the illness. Although diabetes sufferers readily acknowledge the etiology of diabetes, they regularly link the biomedically defined *symptoms* of the disease to traditional external origins such as sorcery. When pain is acknowledged, Warlpiri sufferers often invoke acts of sorcery that predate the biomedical diagnosis of diabetes they readily acknowledge. Other researchers have remarked on a dual assessment of the causes of chronic illness. For example, in their work on end-stage renal disease, Devitt and McMasters argue that end-stage renal patients "continued to find traditional Aboriginal causes of illness the most satisfying explanation for their disease" and at the same time, they also believed that their "illness was caused by 'bad food' or 'sugar'" (1998:86). Central Australian Aboriginal patients acknowledged in interviews conducted by Devitt and McMasters (1998) that lifestyle factors and sorcery caused their chronic illness.[17] In contrast, Warlpiri diabetes sufferers in 2006-7 did not provide a dual explanation for the causes of their chronic condition. Sufferers acknowledged diabetes as an incurable illness intrinsically linked to lifestyle changes brought by colonization and neocolonialism, but disconnected from sorcery practices. They generally interpreted diabetes-related symptoms—headaches, backaches, kidney aches, insomnia, infections—not as illnesses, but as embodied manifestations of sorcery acts predating their diagnosis.[18] In the face of the long-term transformative effects of two formidable old enemies—colonization and sorcery—diabetes sufferers are left with their daily struggles to control their ailments on their own terms in order to live what they deem to be a worthwhile Warlpiri life. They know that their diabetes will kill them and if not, sorcery will.

Consider this exchange I had with two women willing to discuss their diabetes:

> Woman A: It's in our family. Too much sweet food, too fatty. We used to be healthy when we lived in the bush [before sedentarization]. Now we are all sick. That's the white peoples' disease you know. That's the sugar disease. That's what it is.
> FD: What about sorcery?
> Woman B: [Laughing] No diabetes does not come because you have been sung [bewitched]!

However, the same two women, when discussing pains stemming from diabetes—cramps in their limbs and back, general fatigue, urinary problems, nausea—attributed their discomfort to acts of sorcery. The two women responded to my query about their pains that they were the result of a car accident caused by sorcery some 20 years earlier. One of the two noted:

> Someone had bewitched us. The driver was irresponsible, he did not listen, he went on the wrong road at a [ritual] time you should not go on that road. The car had a bad set of tires. Someone [with the help of a sorcerer] had switched [bewitched] the tires.

The other chimed in:

> I have had these pains [pointing to her lower back and legs] ever since, and now it is getting worse and worse. They [medical staff] could never fix me. The nangkayi [a local healer resident in another settlement] could not do anything either. That sorcery was really strong. Sometimes I cannot even walk in the morning and I get sharp pain in my legs and sometimes I do not feel my legs. That's an old pain. Since that accident I am in pain. Today, I'll stay put in the jilimi [single women's camp]. I cannot walk today.

So to repeat, while biomedical explanations of the causes of diabetes mellitus are acknowledged, the origin of *pain* caused by that disease is not.

The two women also evince how Warlpiri responses to chronic illness are influenced by social obligation. Woman A, whose kin obligations she could limit at the time the pain arose, retreated to the women's camp. She played cards and acknowledged her discomfort, supplementing prescribed pain-medicines with over-the-counter medication obtained from other women in the camp who were informed of her discomfort. Women B, on the other hand, was unable to take refuge in the women's camp because she had relatives visiting. To avoid being socially marginalized, Woman B muted her complaints. Although she took her prescription medication, she resisted all public expressions of her pain. Two days later, both announced that they felt "better" and resumed all their social activities.

Biomedical Technology and Sociality Reshaped

In principle, sufferers of diabetes who are under the care of local health workers have access to only the most global, efficient and modern technology—solid tablets of medicine taken orally. Patients receive a plastic pillbox each week containing a short supply of over-the-counter and prescription medicines. However, pharmacological protocols are difficult to reconcile with the rhythms of settlement life and so the Warlpiri often find themselves compelled to mitigate pain by relying on additional over-the-counter analgesics, and more specifically Panadol, the non-generic form of paracetamol sold in Australia.[19] These pills are taken, when available and affordable, to supplement or substitute for the medications provided by clinic workers.[20]

The local clinic, unequipped to respond to chronic illness, focuses nearly all its attention on acute care. Most sufferers of diabetes residing in remote Aboriginal communities do not have their medications adjusted for months or even years at a time, which often means that the efficacy of drug regimens inevitably declines over time.

As a result, patients have come to rely predominantly on pain medications to "control" their chronic illnesses as if they were acute conditions. Treatment is further undermined by inadequate clinic hours, a patchy centralized patient database, and Warlpiri patterns of mobility, all of which conspire to undermine efficacious treatment.

These impediments are captured in the observations of a 52-year-old diabetes sufferer:

> When I got diagnosed at first I was scared. The nurses are incompetent they never do anything when we tell them that we are going away. They never forward our medicines or give us enough. I go away sometimes for a long time to visit my granddaughters in X [a distant city]. I find ways to get my tablets. Sometimes, I feel weak, really weak, and then I know I need to take the pills...That is how Warlpiri people live...We cannot be selfish and stay here. White people are selfish; they go their own ways. They are alone I think. That's what I think...If I can, I take Panadol and then I feel better, but Panadol is not strong enough sometimes I need stronger medication, so I come back to the settlement or I go to the Aboriginal [emergency] clinic in town. Sometimes you need medications; sometimes you do not because you feel better. In fact I do not feel sick right now.

The suffering of a 25-year-old woman with diabetes[21] highlights both a clear understanding of the etiology of the disease and the pressures that arise from treatment:

> We Aboriginal people are not white, we have to go away and take care of our relatives...I go away with my relatives you know for important things such as funerals, or someone had an accident, or because we have not seen our daughter or grandson for a long time, or to visit a son or a grandson in jail. Many of us have diabetes, and so we take tablets, so many tablets, everyday...But I told the doctor to give me more tablets because I do not want to go on the "machine." Sometimes we have only sweet or fatty food to share with our kin. Sometimes we go away and it is difficult to get our medication in another clinic. If we lose them, we cannot get new ones...We have to wait [at the local clinic or hospital]. [We wait for] Nothing. The next day, we cannot go because we cannot get a lift to the clinic. So we get our tablets only when we come back to our home. I cannot just stay home...I have to decide for myself, I am boss for myself.

The differences that this young woman imagines between the life of a diabetic white woman—compliant, individualistic, selfish, and dominated—and her own, resonate well with governmental and medical discourses defining the reasons and treatment of her ill-health. But more specifically the testimonies of the two diabetes sufferers above underscore just how fraught treatment can be; the Warlpiri people must regularly negotiate competing medical and socio-political pressures, all the while attempting to ignore physical and psychological pain that might otherwise encumber the social system of extended kin relations. Most diabetes sufferers will abandon biomedical directives if they threaten essential kinship obligations and impinge on their personal autonomy.

Beyond Clinic and Kin: Charismatic Christian Currencies and Alternative Forms of Sociality

There is one more variable that enters into the discourse of the indigenous ill—a variable that takes "treatment" beyond clinic and kin. Some diabetes sufferers, when forced to navigate between medical and social protocols, opt to pursue a third path of "treatment": charismatic Christianity, a milieu which, as Peterson noted, presents "a moral and reflexive psychological space that is increasingly separated from the dense sociality of extended kin relations and abstracted from community" (2005:15). The Warlpiri people residing in the settlement where I conducted fieldwork pursue that third path to retool, adapt and re-align their social identity with the teachings of no fewer than four Christian denominations[22]: Baptist, Catholic, Pentecostal and Assemblies of God (AOG).

A majority of the settlement's residents belong to the Baptist Church, which has been a presence since 1948, two years after the government established the outpost. That said, church affiliation is extremely fluid, with allegiances shifting frequently among branches of the Protestant denominations and among various splinter groups that break off from them.[23] A significant proportion of young and middle-aged people belong to the local Pentecostal and AOG Churches.[24] Fewer than ten members of the settlement follow the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church.

While Baptist and Catholic denominations accommodate biomedical and indigenous responses to diabetes, the Pentecostal Church and the AOG campaign *against* them, even going so far as to dismiss the benefits of medicine and dietary vigilance.[25] Pentecostal and AOG church members also admonish new converts to abandon broad kin responsibilities and narrow the sphere of their social obligations to their spouse, children and other church members, and, of course, to God, since God alone provides the only means of reaching true personal salvation.

Fourteen persons afflicted with diabetes—one sixth of the sufferers I interviewed—noted that they had embraced Pentecostalism or the AOG soon after the onset of their diabetes. While half of that group abandoned charismatic teaching within a year, the other seven remained faithful. They did so, they explained, to disentangle themselves from a "rubbish way of life" plagued by demanding kin, alcohol, gambling and domestic violence. The "treatment" most common among the charismatic sufferers of diabetes was the sermon. Consider the imprecations of this 47-year-old Warlpiri male preacher with diabetes[26]:

> Only the Almighty saves, not pills. Stop drinking, clean the rubbish in your yard, dress with clean clothes, take showers, do not eat apples because they are the fruit of evil. Feed your children and send them to school, do not be afraid to abandon the rituals of the past. I know for myself that God is the only way. I know that God is your way.[27]

A 61-year-old woman with diabetes testified back[28]:

> I do not need medicine. I only need God. I am here. I am not sick. I never miss Church meetings. My husband missed so many Church meetings [at several different locations]. He did not listen. Now he is on the machine...I listened. I do not need pills.

Her testimony was immediately reaffirmed by another sufferer of diabetes, a middle-aged man:

> God told me to stop drinking, to stop looking on the ground for cigarette butts in the morning and to stop living in rubbish places, rubbish houses. He spoke to me and told me to love him, to love my family. I was sick. I was drinking. I was always away sleeping in rubbish places anywhere, in town, anywhere. I was saved by the love of God. Because God loves us we need to stop living in rubbish. Clean up your rubbish, clean up your yard. God is all we need.

AOG and Pentecostal sermons, testimonies and healing prayers regularly incorporate admonitions against alcohol, gambling and violence, and advocacy of personal and domestic hygiene. The efficacy of these imperatives cannot be entirely discounted. But, if abstinence from drinking alcohol may be beneficial, sufferers of diabetes continue to eat the same diabetic-unfriendly food available in their community. Pentecostal and AOG demands would appear to provide short-term psychological solace to persons afflicted with diabetes.[29] However, the con-

comitant impact of an inappropriate diet and a pharmacological prohibition offsets such benefits. Indeed, the health of converts deteriorates quite rapidly because they stop taking their medications, prompting more frequent visits to emergency facilities. The health of the Charismatic is further jeopardized by frequent and scattered Church meetings, some of which can require as much as 2,000 kilometres of travel, a burden that undermines both medical treatment and the social obligations of kinship. As a result of these and other pressures, many converts ping-pong between traditional Warlpiri and Charismatic Christian protocols. Such seesawing of social affiliation underscores the ever-present tensions among the ideals of a "modern indigenized Charismatic Christian person" emphasizing individuated agency, and those of a dense sociality and a lack of a private state in Warlpiri personhood.[30] In their pragmatism, sufferers of diabetes carry on by reshaping conventional, biomedical and Christian currencies.

Concluding Remarks

Fieldwork strongly suggests that while the Warlpiri people acknowledge the dangers of diabetes, they avoid much of the language, as well as the treatment protocols, advanced by bio-medicine. Instead, they deploy an indigenized response that eschews notions of the "chronic." This disavowal does not mean they remain "traditional" in their response. The sufferers of diabetes residing in a 21st-century Aboriginal settlement must negotiate modern medicine, traditional moral imperatives and the spiritual offerings of the Christian church, all the while preserving a deep-rooted sense of personal autonomy that constitutes one of the key components of Warlpiri identity. This is no easy task; survival hinges on the ability to balance the need for mobility—a prerequisite of social connectedness (whether through affiliation to kin or church)—and medical protocols that preclude constant travel. Always pragmatists, the Warlpiri people are compelled to respond to illness the way they must respond to all modern pressure—by retooling.

I do not mean to suggest that the Warlpiri response to diabetes is unique. Nor is it unconscious or thoughtless. The decisions made by the Warlpiri people regarding their choices of treatment—and they *are* decisions—parallel the perspectives of other groups. Consider, for example, the views of some morbidly overweight Americans cited in the work of Finkelstein and Zuckerman: "many individuals are making a *conscious* decision to engage in a lifestyle that is obesity promoting even if they believe that it will result in poorer health and reduced life expectancy" (2008:87). The diabetes sufferers I interviewed would appear to be taking advantage of what Marshall Sahlins called the "'conveniences' of modernity" (Sahlins 1999:411)—diabetes medications, automobiles, et cetera—to balance out personal autonomy and relatedness (Myers 1986). In short, they *indigenize* modernity, rather than simply succumbing to it.

As the interviews suggest, only by examining the extra-medical influences of social, personal and religious obligation can we hope to provide indigenous peoples with diabetes with efficacious treatment protocols. Only then can we reconcile the imperatives of individuals, kin, clinic and church. It is indeed hard to be sick.

Françoise Dussart, Department of Anthropology, U-2176, Beach Hall, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-2176, USA. E-mail: francoise.dussart@uconn.edu.

Acknowledgments

I would like to recognize the generous support of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (G2006/7135), the Wenner Gren Foundation (7544), the University of Connecticut Human Rights Institute and the Australian National University. I also wish to thank the medical and administrative personnel who provided insights and expertise during my settlement visits. My deepest thanks go to the Warlpiri people themselves. This article benefitted greatly from the critical comments of two anonymous reviewers and the scholarly interventions of Andrew Lyons, Sylvie Poirier, Nicolas Peterson, Nurit Bird-David, Peter Sutton and Fred Myers. All mistakes and infelicities remain mine.

Notes

1 I am dealing here only with diabetes mellitus or Type 2, which mostly affects Aboriginal peoples in Australia.

2 I have purposely not given the name of the settlement, nor identified the individuals who shared their knowledge. There were numerous discussions at the settlement over whether or not the place and its people should remain unidentified at least for now. It was not possible to get a consensus in 2007. Since then, some interviewees have mentioned the fact that they want to revisit the anonymity issue in the hope that this research could impact health policies in the right direction.

3 I owe this term to Fred Myers.

4 Most Aboriginal peoples living in Central Australia were tested in earnest for diabetes only in the 1970s and 1980s. It is in fact difficult to have access to any reliable data on incidents of diabetes until the early 1990s.

5 The biomedical classification of diabetes has been and is still debated (see for example, Joe and Young, 1994; Paradies et al. 2005; Rock 2005).

6 I translated all quotes from Warlpiri into English. I have identified throughout the paper those which were in English.

7 Their desire to be differentiated from non-Aboriginal people and so, in other words, to have the right to live as Warlpiri, underscores a Warlpiri modern moral order.
8 During a return trip in 2009, all interviews were cross-checked with the interviewees.
9 For a more detailed account of that dynamic see Dussart 2000.
10 See also Heil (2003) for illuminating examples among rural New South Wales indigenous peoples.
11 For an early and particularly rigorous analysis of this dynamic, see Fred Myers' 1986 work on the Pintupi people, neighbours to the southwest of the Warlpiri, Coombs 1994 and Dussart 2000.
12 Rock similarly "expands conventional understandings of population health problems" by documenting the stress of indigenous diabetes sufferers residing in Canada (2003:131).
13 The kind of mobility contemporary Warlpiri people practice is a form of engagement with modernity (see also Hirsch 2001 on Papua New Guinea).
14 I owe this "lightbulb moment" to Professor Nurit Bird-David's manuscript titled "Feeding Nayaka Children and English Readers: A Bifocal Ethnography of Parental Feeding in 'The Giving Environment'" (2008).
15 See also Peterson 2005.
16 See also Coulehan et al. 2005; Devitt and McMasters 1998; Dussart in Schwarz and Dussart 2010; Kowal and Paradies 2005.
17 The connection between causes of chronic illnesses, lifestyle and sorcery practices is not similarly articulated throughout Aboriginal Australia. For example, Schwarz's work on the Yolngu people shows how sorcery is considered "the source of incapacitating illnesses" (In press).
18 It was only in trying to find out when the sorcery events had taken place that I was able to establish the fact that they generally predated the diagnoses of diabetes. Interviewees did not make the connection. Further research needs to be carried out to understand how causes and effects are articulated by contemporary chronically ill patients.
19 I want to stress here that the Warlpiri people, like most Fourth World peoples, have access to a Western healthcare system, while most other disenfranchised peoples do not.
20 The only over the counter analgesic available at the two local shops in 2006 and 2007 was the leading analgesic produced by GlaxoSmithKline, Panadol. Locally, Panadol is twice as expensive as in the supermarkets of the nearest town and often not available after hours. It is probably important to mention here that the leaflet inside a Panadol box warns patients that its use may increase risk of kidney disease, an illness most Warlpiri diabetics should fear. However, a recent study–though I was unable to find out whether or not it was funded by GlaxoSmithKline—surprisingly argued that over the counter analgesics such as Panadol may reduce glucose intolerance and body composition in mice fed a high fat diet (Kendig et al. 2008).
21 Her first sentence echoes the title and the topic of an insightful book by Claude Denis (1997) on similar issues: *We Are Not You: First Nations and Canadian Modernity.*
22 My analysis of Warlpiri engagement with Christianity has tremendously benefitted from reading the works of Schwarz (2006, In press) on contemporary forms of Yolngu Christianity.
23 There is no movement between Protestant and Catholic affiliations as far as I know.
24 The Pentecostal church is different from the other two churches of the Assemblies of God, which in turn have distinct names and leaders.
25 We may emphasize here that the ways biblical Christian perspectives on illness and health, by which both Pentecostal and AOG Churches abide, wed matters of Christian faith to the rewards of a "better" and "longer" life without developing a theology of illness such as diabetes, seem akin to biomedical admonitions anchored in a racialized weight-gene-centred paradigm.
26 As in other parts of Australia, Warlpiri preachers generally use English rather than Warlpiri.
27 Apples are the most commonly available fruit and also the cheapest.
28 She spoke Aboriginal English peppered with Warlpiri words.
29 It is unclear though whether the ways indigenous and Christian peoples cope with their pains are related to dietary habits and physical activities (see also Samuel-Hodge 2008).
30 I want to thank Peter Sutton for pointing this out to me in discussing an earlier draft.

References

Bird-David, Nurit
2008 Feeding Nayaka Children and English Readers: A Bifocal Ethnography of Parental Feeding in "The Giving Environment." Anthropology Quarterly 81(3):523-550.

Brady, Maggie
1995 WHO Defines Health? Implications of Differing Definitions on Discourse and Practice in Aboriginal Health. *In* Aboriginal Health: Social and Cultural Traditions. Gary Robinson, ed. Pp. 187–192. Darwin: Northern Territory University Press.

Cass, Alan, Anne Lowell, Michael Christie, Paul Snelling, Marian Flack, Marrnanyin Betty and Isaac Brown
2005 Sharing the True Stories: Improving Communication between Aboriginal Patients and Health Care Workers. Medical Journal of Australia 176:466-470.

Coombs, Herbert
1994 Aboriginal Autonomy: Issues and Strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coulehan, Kerin, Isaac Brown, Michael Christie, Gillian Gorham and Anne Lowell
2005 Sharing the True Stories: Evaluating Strategies to Improve Communication between Health Staff and Aboriginal Patients, Stage 2 Report. Darwin: Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal and Tropical Health Project.

Denis, Claude
1997 We Are Not You: First Nations and Canadian Modernity. Calgary: Broadview Press

Devitt, Jeannie, and Anthony McMasters
1998 Living on Medicine. Alice Springs: IAD Press.

Diabetes Atlas
2007 International Diabetes Federation. Available from: http://www.eatlas.idf.org/.

Dussart, Françoise
2000 The Politics of Ritual in an Aboriginal Settlement: Kinship, Gender and the Currency of Knowledge. Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press.
2009 Diet, Diabetes, and Relatedness in a Central Australian Aboriginal Settlement: Some Qualitative Recommendations to Facilitate the Creation of Culturally-Sensitive Health Promotion Initiatives. Health Promotion Journal of Australia, 20(3):202-207.

Eades, Deanna
1992 Aboriginal English and the Law: Communicating with Aboriginal English Speaking Clients: A Handbook for Legal Practitioners. Brisbane: Queensland Law Society.

Ekoé, Jean-Marie, Paul Zimmet and Rhys Williams, eds.
2001 The Epidemiology of Diabetes Mellitus: An International Perspective. Chichester: John Wiley.

Etkin, Nina, Paul Ross and Ibrahm Muazzam
1990 The Indigenization of Pharmaceuticals: Therapeutic Transitions in Rural Housaland. Social Science Medicine 30(8):919-928.

Fee, Margaret
2006 Racializing Narratives: Obesity, Diabetes and the "Aboriginal" Thrifty Genotype. Social Science and Medicine 62:2988–2997.

Ferreira, Mariana L., and Gretchen Chesley Lang, eds.
2006 Indigenous Peoples and Diabetes: Community Empowerment and Wellness. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Ferzacca, Steve
2000 "Actually, I Don't Feel That Bad": Managing Diabetes and the Clinical Encounter. Medical Anthropology Quarterly 14(1):28–50.
2001 Healing the Modern in a Central Javanese City. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Finkelstein Eric A., and Laurie Zuckerman
2008 The Fattening of America: How the Economy Makes Us Fat and What to Do About It. Hoboken: Wiley.

Foucault, Michel
1973 The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception. London: Tavistock.

Garro, Linda, and Gretchen Chesley Lang
1994 Explanations of Diabetes: Anishinaabeg and Dakota Deliberate upon a New Illness. *In* Diabetes as a Disease of Civilization: The Impact of Culture Change on Indigenous Peoples. Jennie R. Joe and Robert S. Young, eds. Pp. 293-328. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Guthridge, Steve
1998 Aboriginal Perspectives of Diabetes in a Remote Community in the Northern Territory. Australia New-Zealand Journal of Public-Health 22(6):726-728.

Heil, Daniela
2003 Well-Being and Bodies in Trouble: Situating Health Practices within Australian Aboriginal Socialities. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.

Hirsch, Eric
2001 When Was Modernity in Melanesia? Social Anthropology 9(2):131–146.

Humphrey, Kim, Japanangka Mervyn and Marrawal James
1998 From the Bush to the Store: Diabetes, Everyday Life and the Critique of Health Services in Two Remote Northern Territory Aboriginal Communities. Darwin: Diabetes Australia Research Trust/Territory Health Service.

Humphrey, Kim, and Tarun Weeramanthri with Joseph Fitz
2001 Forgetting Compliance: Aboriginal Health and Medical Culture. Darwin: Northern Territory University Press.

Joe, Jennie R., and Robert S. Young, eds.
1994 Diabetes as a Disease of Civilization: The Impact of Culture Change on Indigenous Peoples. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kendig Eric L., Scott N. Schneider, Deborah J. Clegg,
Mary Beth Genter and Howard G. Shertzer
2008 Over-the-Counter Analgesics Normalize Blood Glucose and Body Composition in Mice Fed a High Fat Diet. Biochemistry Pharmacology 76(2): 216-224.

Kowal, Emma, and Yin Paradies
2005 Ambivalent Helpers and Unhealthy Choices: Public Health Practitioners' Narratives of Indigenous Illhealth. Social Science and Medicine 60:1347–1357.

Kunitz, Steve J.
2002 Indigenous Health: Lessons from the United States. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health at the End of the 20th Century. Joondalup, WA: Centre for Public Health, Edith Cowan University.

Lea, Tess
2005 The Work of Forgetting: Germs, Aborigines and Postcolonial Expertise in the Northern Territory of Australia. Social Science and Medicine 61:1310–1319.

Lock, Margaret
1987 Deadly Disputes: Biotechnology and Reconceptualizing the Body in Death in Japan and North America. Occasional Papers Series, Berkeley: The Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities.

Lowell, Anne, Isaac Brown, Betty Marrnganyin, Marian
Flack, Michael Christie, Paul Snelling and Alan Cass
In Press Sharing the True Stories: Improving Communication Between Health Staff and Their Aboriginal Patients. Interim Project Report.

Mbanya, Jean-Claude, and Dora Mbanya
2003 Diabetes Cost in Sub-Saharan Africa. Journal of Cardiovascular Risk 10:191–193.

McMurray, Christine, and Roy Smith
2001 Diseases of Globalization, Socioeconomic Transitions and Health. London: Earthscan.

Musharbash, Yasmine
2008 Yuendumu Everyday: Intimacy, Immediacy and Mobility in a Remote Aboriginal Settlement. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Myers, Fred
1986 Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self. Washington and Canberra: The Smithsonian Institution Press and the Aboriginal Studies Press.

Paradies Yin C., Michael J. Montoya and S.M. Fullerton
2007 Racialized Genetics and the Study of Complex Diseases: The Thrifty Genotype Revisited. Perspective in Biology and Medicine 50(2):203-227.

Peterson, Nicolas
2005 What Can Pre-Colonial and Frontier Economy tell us about Engagement with the Real Economy? Indigenous Life Projects and the Conditions of Development. *In* Economy and Governance in Aboriginal Australia. Diane Austin-Broos and Gaynor Macdonald, eds. Pp. 7-18. Sydney: University of Sydney.
Peterson, Nicolas, and Will Sanders, eds.
1998 Citizenship and Indigenous Australians: Changing Conceptions and Possibilities. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Radhakrishnan, Rajagopalan.
2002 Derivative Discourses and the Problem of Signification. The European Legacy 7(6):783-795.
Rock, Melanie
2003 Death, Taxes, Public Opinion, and the Midas Touch of Mary Tyler Moore: Accounting for Promises by Politicians to Help Avert and Control Diabetes. Medical Anthropology Quarterly 17(2):200-232.
2005 Classifying Diabetes; or, Commensurating Bodies of Unequal Experience. Public Culture 17(3):467-486.
Sahlins, Marshall.
1993 Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History. The Journal of Modern History 65(1):1-25.
1999 What Is Anthroplogical Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century. Annual Review of Anthropology 28:i-xxiii.
Samuel-Hodge, Carmen, Daphne C. Watkins, Kyrel L. Rowell and Elizabeth G. Hooten
2008 Coping Styles, Well-Being, and Self-Care Behaviors among African Americans with Type 2 Diabetes. The Diabetes Educator 34(3):501-511.
Sarthre, Erick
2004 Everyday Illness: Discourse, Action and Experience in the Australian Desert. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Australian National University.
Schwarz, Carolyn
2006 Christianity, Identity, Power, and Employment in an Aboriginal Settlement. Ethnology 45(1):71-86.
In Press Sorcery, Christianity, and Healing Practices: Rearticulating Kinship Relations among Yolngu People in Northern Australia. Anthropological Forum 20(1).
Schwarz, Carolyn, and Françoise Dussart, eds.
2010 Theme issue, "Engaging Christianity in Aboriginal Australia," The Australian Journal of Anthropology 21.
Sutton, Peter
2001 The Politics of Suffering. Anthropological Forum 11(2):125-173.
2009 Culture Worriers. Electronic document, http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,25542109-25132,00.html, accessed 3 June.
Trudgen, Richard
2000 Why Warriors Lie Down and Die. Darwin: Aboriginal Resource and Development Services.
WYN
2005 Report on Health Indicators for the WYN Zone.
Young, Allan
1982 The Anthropologies of Illness and Sickness. Annual Review of Anthropology 11:257-85.

Les rires du rituel : humour, jeux et guérison chez les Atikamekw

Laurent Jérôme *Université Laval*

Résumé : Certains rituels, comme la sweat lodge (loges à sudation ou sueries), occupent une place centrale dans les processus actuels de guérison en milieux autochtones au Canada. Par ailleurs, dès les premiers contacts, la littérature a montré la part essentiel du rire dans les relations sociales au quotidien. À partir de ces deux constats validés par un travail de terrain mené auprès des Atikamekw de Wemotaci (Québec), l'article montre comment le rire peut être mobilisé dans le domaine rituel. Il devient alors un incontournable révélateur des défis posés par la résolution de conflits, l'expression des émotions, le soin de traumatismes ou la communication intergénérationnelle.

Mots-clés : rire, humour, guérison, rituel, autochtones, Atikamekw

Abstract: Certain rituals, like the sweat lodge, occupy a central place in contemporary indigenous healing practices in Canada. In addition, as of first contact, the literature shows the essential part played by laughter in daily social relations. Starting from these two facts and supported by fieldwork carried out at Atikamekw de Wemotaci (Quebec), this article shows how laughter can be mobilized in the ritual domain. The challenges posed by the resolution of conflicts, the expression of emotions, the care of trauma, or intergenerational communication are then revealed.

Keywords: laughter, humour, healing, ritual, indigenous, Atikamekw

> One of the rather curious things about homo sapiens is laughter, one of the three common convulsive behaviors of people in daily life, the others being grief and orgasm.
> —Gregory Bateson 1969

> One of the best way to understand a people is to know what makes them laugh. —Vine Deloria, Jr. 1988

Introduction

À quelques exceptions près, les anthropologues n'ont pas pris au sérieux l'invitation lancée par Deloria (1988 [1969]) aux « experts » et « spécialistes » des questions autochtones. La piste paraissait pourtant originale et pleine de potentiel pour l'époque : privilégier l'analyse du rire et de l'humour afin de connaître différemment ces « Indiens d'Amérique » dont on se mettait de nouveau à parler, mais seulement pour mettre en évidence à quel point ils dépérissaient et avaient besoin d'aide. Le rire n'a certes jamais été un thème central en anthropologie, comme il a pu l'être dans d'autres disciplines telles que la philosophie avec Henri Bergson (1924), la psychanalyse avec Freud (1928, 1988) ou la littérature avec Mikhaïl Bakhtine (1970). L'importance des plaisanteries et de l'humour, dans les relations sociales et la communication humaine notamment, a néanmoins fait l'objet de quelques analyses anthropologiques très inspirantes, avec les travaux de Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1940, 1949), de Grégory Bateson (1969) ou de Mary Douglas (1968). S'intéressant à ce qui peut faire rire les Indiens, Pierre Clastres (1974) a par ailleurs montré pourquoi les Chulupi du Chaco paraguayen, dans deux de leurs mythes, rient à gorge déployée des aventures d'un grand-père chamane incestueux et des péripéties d'un jaguar maladroit. Grâce au récit, nous dit Clastres, les Chulupi peuvent rire de ces deux personnages qui inspirent habituellement crainte et respect. Clastres pointe ici la fonction cathartique du mythe qui libère « [...] une passion des Indiens : l'obsession secrète de rire de ce que l'on craint » (Clastres 1974:128).

La plupart des auteurs qui se sont intéressés aux pouvoirs du comique en milieux autochtones ont vu dans certaines formes du rire expressions et outils de résistance. Ainsi, dans son étude des relations entre jésuites et Amérindiens nomades de la Nouvelle-France, Alain Beaulieu montre comment la dérision pouvait agir comme stratégie de résistance face aux tentatives assimilatrices des missionnaires. Certains Montagnais de Tadoussac, écrit-il, « ridiculisent le discours des jésuites (JR, 16:38, 140; 24:192) cherchant parfois à les réduire au silence » (Beaulieu 1990:127). La dérision et les moqueries visaient également les membres de son propre groupe : « Cible des sarcasmes et des moqueries (JR, 20:262, 266), les convertis sont accusés notamment de se prendre pour d'autres : "[...] les Sauvages [de Tadoussac] se mocquaient de lui [un converti] sachant qu'il priait Dieu, disant qu'il voulait devenir jésuite, qu'il voulait paraître avoir de l'esprit" (JR, 16:98) » (Beaulieu 1990:127)[1]. Fikret Berkes (1986) a montré quant à lui comment l'humour pouvait être un révélateur des tensions entre catholiques et « traditionalistes » chez les Cris de Chisasibi. Chez les Inuit, c'est Jean L. Briggs (1994) qui a documenté le pouvoir de l'humour dans le règlement de conflits internes. Lawrence Gross (2007) a pour sa part insisté sur l'importance du silence dans le statut et la provocation du comique chez les Anishinaabeg (Ojibwas). Plaisanteries, railleries, moqueries sont reconnues dans la littérature existante comme des formes particulières de communication qui assurent certaines fonctions de régulation de l'ordre social, permettant ainsi l'évacuation d'épisodes de stress, de traumatismes, de conflits ou de tensions[2]. Les cibles de ces moqueries peuvent être tout autant les missionnaires, les anthropologues et les chercheurs en général, que les visiteurs et les étrangers, ou encore les personnes considérées comme dissidentes à l'intérieur de leur propre groupe.

Mais qu'en est-il du rire dans les rituels? Je propose dans cet article[3] non seulement d'insister sur les fonctions du rire mais également de proposer une lecture des contextes et des moments favorables à ses expressions dans la sphère rituelle. Cette association entre rire et rituel a été motivée par deux constats ethnographiques, développés dans les deux premières parties du texte, soit, en premier lieu, l'omniprésence du rire et de l'humour dans les relations sociales au quotidien, et en second lieu, la place centrale de certains rituels dans les processus actuels de guérison individuelle et communautaire.

Trois rituels pratiqués aujourd'hui chez les Atikamekw de Wemotaci et dans d'autres communauté du Québec et du Canada seront ensuite présentés afin de montrer, d'une part, comment le rire, à travers différentes expressions telles que les plaisanteries, l'humour, la dérision, le jeu ou la fête participe à la continuité de ces pratiques rituelles et des savoirs qui y sont reliés, mais aussi afin de mettre en évidence, d'autre part, ce qu'il révèle des capacités d'adaptation des Atikamekw au contexte social changeant. Si les thèmes du mieux-être et de la guérison rituelle restent en toile de fond de l'analyse, il sera surtout question des circonstances particulières dans lesquelles le rire peut intervenir *au sein* et *autour* de certains rituels. En effet, de quoi les Atikamekw Nehirowisiwok rient-ils dans ces circonstances-là? L'observation des transformations et innovations (ap)portées par les nouvelles générations sera par ailleurs l'occasion d'une autre interrogation : peut-on transmettre un *savoir-rire*?

Le rire au quotidien

L'importance du rire et de la plaisanterie dans les relations sociales peut souvent prendre, chez les Atikamekw comme dans d'autres groupes, la forme particulière de la raillerie. Lejeune rapportait déjà ce fait il y a quelque 400 ans : « Ie ne croy pas qu'il y aye de nation sous le soleil plus mocqueuse et plus gausseuse que la nation des Montagnais. Leur vie se passe à manger, à rire, et à railler les uns des autres, et de tous les peuples qu'ils connaissent » (Lejeune 1634:30).

Groupe traditionnellement nomade de chasseurs-collecteurs de la Haute-Mauricie, les Atikamekw, au nombre de 6000 environ, vivent aujourd'hui dans les trois communautés d'Opitciwan, de Manawan et de Wemotaci, ainsi que dans les régions urbaines de La Tuque, Montréal et Québec. Qu'ils vivent en ville ou dans les communautés, de nombreux Atikamekw rencontrés lors de cette recherche, femmes ou hommes, adolescents ou adultes d'un certain âge, usent des plaisanteries pour créer et entretenir les relations sociales, maîtrisant et maniant l'art de rire *avec* et *de* quelqu'un.

Ainsi, on se moque d'un Innu incapable de nouer ses lacets de chaussure pour cause de bedaine volumineuse, d'un Algonquin de Wemotaci à qui l'on demande s'il n'est pas perdu et s'il cherche son chemin. On rit d'un accent de Manawan, d'une expression d'Opitciwan ou du propriétaire d'une auto trop vieille pour rouler mais qui roule encore (le char d'un Indien ne meurt jamais!). On raille le pêcheur qui revient bredouille ou celui qui a rejeté à l'eau ses poissons trop petits pour être mangés, mais aussi celui qui n'a pas voulu les relâcher pour montrer qu'il ne rentrait pas bredouille. On fait des gorges chaudes du pêcheur revenu bredouille, mais qui a vu le plus gros brochet de toute sa vie de pêcheur sauter par-dessus son canot. On tourne en ridicule le chasseur qui avait un orignal dans le viseur mais qui l'a fait fuir d'avoir juré en s'apercevant qu'il avait laissé le cran de sécurité. On rit de celui qui n'a

pas tué d'orignal, mais qui en a vu un de tellement proche qu'il pouvait le chatouiller avec son fusil. On se moque du chien qui est à l'image de son maître, ou du maître qui est à l'image de son chien. En entrant dans le centre de santé, on dit qu'on est gynécologue, alors qu'on est préposé à l'entretien ...

Les visiteurs, touristes, étrangers de passage et enseignants travaillent tous, dans les premières semaines, à essayer d'établir les frontières entre la réalité et la plaisanterie. « Formés au terrain », on pourrait croire les anthropologues mieux armés pour ce faire, mais ils ne sont pas épargnés. Plusieurs anecdotes rapportant la naïveté ou les maladresses de chercheurs qui ont séjourné à Wemotaci rythment les soirées dans les campements familiaux. Profitant de leur désir de se faire accepter et de se montrer constamment sous leur meilleur jour, on ne manque pas une occasion de tester leur naïveté, de les tourner en ridicule et de retourner contre eux carnets, caméras et autres ustensiles d'enquête. Plutôt que de reproduire ici ce qui m'a été raconté sur d'autres, je me plierai à l'exercice de l'autodérision.

Dans les premières semaines de terrain, alors que de nombreuses personnes s'étaient réunies dans un campement familial pour assister au découpage d'un orignal tout juste abattu, un Atikamekw âgé d'une cinquantaine d'années prit entre ses mains la gorge encore sanguinolente de l'animal. Il s'assit devant le feu de camp et commença un récit sur les méthodes traditionnelles de conservation et d'utilisation de cette partie de l'orignal. Si elle était bien conservée, la gorge pouvait servir notamment à imiter le cri du mâle, et attirer ainsi ses congénères femelles. Pour appuyer son récit, il me montrait la base de la gorge qui, je ne pouvais que le constater, était le dessin parfait des formes du menton, de la bouche et du nez d'un être humain. Jacquot, sur un ton grave et convaincant, débitait son argumentation en prenant la peine de me préciser qu'à cette époque, les Atikamekw n'avaient pas encore de « *call* » en écorce, tels qu'on les utilise aujourd'hui pour appeler l'orignal. Mais la technique d'appel était la même : le chasseur déposait la gorge sur sa bouche, appuyait fermement pour ne laisser aucun trou d'air, puis soufflait très fort pour faire vibrer la chair qui composait l'intérieur de la cavité. Les vibrations provoquées par le souffle permettaient de reproduire le cri de l'orignal. Les autres Atikamekw écoutaient attentivement, concentrés et impassibles devant le récit de Jacquot. Le ton grave du conteur, ses gestes lents et son regard noir, le contexte du récit (un campement familial durant les semaines culturelles, autour du feu de camp), le moment choisi pour raconter (après avoir arrangé et dépecé l'orignal), les membres présents dans l'assistance (quelques jeunes enfants, de nombreux adolescents), tous ces éléments participaient à transformer ce récit en un moment privilégié de transmission des savoirs. Je n'attendais qu'une dernière chose après avoir littéralement bu les paroles de Jacquot : qu'il me tende la gorge pour que je puisse à mon tour expérimenter cette technique. Mon vœu fut bien sûr immédiatement exaucé. Je pris la gorge qu'il me tendait, je soufflai, rougis, repris mon souffle, recommençai. Mais les seuls bruits que je pus émettre furent ceux d'un souffle confronté à un obstacle impossible à percer. Découragé, j'abandonnai, laissant apparaître la forme de cette gorge imprimée au sang sur mon visage. L'assistance, complice et actrice discrète de la farce, laissa alors éclater son soulagement dans des rires tonitruants qu'elle n'aurait visiblement pas pu retenir plus longtemps. Jacquot riait aux larmes. Je m'efforçai de ne pas rire trop jaune, car comme le suggère Radcliffe-Brown, je ne pouvais pas m'offusquer devant ce qui était établi comme une tradition!

« "Joking relationship" is a relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence » (Radcliffe-Brown 1940:195).

Bien avant les savoir-faire de la chasse, du tannage de peau ou de la pêche au filet, on m'a ainsi rapidement transmis le « savoir rire de soi », habileté qui devrait par ailleurs être la qualité première de tout chercheur de terrain en milieu autochtone ...

Le dynamisme des mondes rituels

Mais je mis plus de temps à comprendre que ce rire là, présent au quotidien dans les relations sociales, pouvait être aussi celui de certains rituels. À Wemotaci, comme dans de nombreuses autres communautés atikamekw, innue ou crie, un certain nombre de rituels traditionnels rythment aujourd'hui les processus de socialisation des enfants et des adolescents. Ils sont utilisés dans les pratiques de guérison individuelles et communautaires ou donnent lieu à des rassemblements spirituels annuels (voir notamment Tanner 2004). Par rituel traditionnel, il faut entendre les pratiques et les savoirs, habituellement reconnus aux groupes algonquiens du subarctique, qui permettent d'exprimer et d'entretenir des relations sociales particulières avec les entités humaines et non-humaines qui peuplent l'environnement. Parmi ces rituels, on peut citer les cérémonies du placenta, du nouveau-né, des premiers pas, des raquettes, du premier gibier, de l'ours ou de la loge à sudation. D'autres rituels comme la danse du soleil ou de la pluie, de la pipe ou du lever du soleil sont pour leur part de facture plus récente chez les Atikamekw.

Afin d'éviter les raccourcis essentialistes et de figer les traditions atikamekw dans le temps, il convient de comprendre ces rituels à travers les circulations, les échanges, les refus et les contestations qui forment le fil conducteur des expériences et des processus actuels d'appropriation culturelle et d'affirmation identitaire en milieu autochtone postcolonial. Malgré les politiques d'assimilation, l'école obligatoire et les tentatives d'éradication par les missionnaires, ces rituels s'inscrivent en effet aujourd'hui, et ce, depuis le début des années 1980, dans des processus complexes d'échanges, de circulation et de transmission des savoirs. Ces processus ont été largement initiés et portés par ces femmes et ces hommes qui ont fréquenté les pensionnats catholiques pour Autochtones. La plupart des officiants de ces rituels sont aussi enseignants, personnes ressources en culture et en éducation, travailleurs et intervenants sociaux. Ils ont entamé leur propre processus de guérison dans les années 1980, organisant échanges et rencontres avec d'autres groupes, tels que les Cris ou les Anishinaabeg (Ojibwas), menant des recherches personnelles dans les archives ou réalisant des entrevues avec les aînés. Ils ont grandement contribué à inscrire ces rituels dans le quotidien de leur communauté. Ces rituels ont généralement lieu à l'automne, lors des semaines culturelles organisées deux fois par année, afin de permettre aux familles de rejoindre leur campement familial. Ils peuvent parfois être tenus la fin de semaine, à l'arrière des maisons, alors que d'autres sont organisés l'été, dans le cadre de rassemblements spirituels réunissant différents groupes du Québec, du Canada et des États-Unis. Le powwow de Wemotaci est ainsi organisé chaque été depuis 1997, à la fin du mois d'août.

Dans cet univers rituel dynamique, trois pratiques ont retenu mon attention : la cérémonie des premiers pas, la loge à sudation et le powwow. Si la place manque ici pour pouvoir retracer l'histoire récente de chacun de ces trois rituels, je soulignerai cependant la place importante qu'y occupent le rire et le jeu.

Le jeu et la cérémonie des premiers pas

Les analyses les plus connues de la relation entre *rituel* et *jeu* sont sans doute celles qui touchent aux rites d'inversion : le travestissement des oncles maternels Iatmul dans la cérémonie du *Naven* (Bateson 1956, 1958; voir également Handelman 1977, 1979) ou le carnaval perçu comme un *désordre* mettant en valeur *l'ordre* en sont les meilleurs exemples. En milieux autochtones, il faut chercher du côté du chamanisme, des Inuit et des Aborigènes australiens pour trouver quelques références au rire et au jeu dans les rituels. Roberte Hamayon (1995, 2000) a ainsi consacré deux contributions dans lesquelles elle utilise le *jeu* pour éclairer ce rapport particulier qu'entretiennent les chamanes mongols et sibériens avec les esprits : jeux des corps et des mots à travers les sauts, les cris, les chants, le tambour du chamane (voir également Laugrand 2008). Le jeu intervient aussi dans la relation des Aborigènes australiens avec le domaine du rêve (Poirier 1996), un jeu qui « comporte un sérieux qui lui est propre, voire un sérieux sacré » (Gadamer 1976:27 dans Poirier 1996:268). Dans le rituel, le jeu et le rire sont bien souvent liés et interviennent à des moments clés, comme ont pu le montrer Turner (1969) ou Lyons et Lyons (1985).

Très peu documentée dans la littérature portant sur les groupes algonquiens du Québec (voir Jérôme 2008), la cérémonie des premiers pas entre dans la catégorie des rites de passage, autrement appelés rituels de la première fois, soulignant les premières performances significatives des enfants, adolescents et jeunes adultes : premières menstruations, chasse du premier petit gibier (perdrix, lièvre) et du premier gros gibier (orignal, ours), première marche en raquette…Lors de mes premiers séjours sur le terrain[4], un consensus s'est rapidement dégagé autour de l'autorisation d'accès à la cérémonie des premiers pas : c'est un rituel social, contrairement à d'autres pratiques marquées par la dimension du « sacré-secret ». J'ai ainsi pu assister à douze cérémonies entre 2002 et 2009, en tant que simple spectateur, voire même en tant que participant actif jouant le rôle de parrain.

Guidé par un proche parent ou un ami de la famille, le jeune enfant doit sortir de la tente, marcher sur un chemin fait de branches de sapin et ramasser divers objets qui ont été déposés au pied d'un arbre fraîchement coupé, décoré et planté en face de la porte de la tente. Si c'est un garçon, l'enfant portera un fusil de bois. Si c'est une fille, elle portera une hache. Après avoir simulé le tir sur un animal, généralement un castor, une oie ou un lièvre placé au pied de l'arbre, l'enfant revient vers l'intérieur de la tente tout en traînant l'animal derrière lui. Il est félicité par les membres de sa famille, grands-pères et grands-mères, parrains et marraines. Il présente alors un sac, ramassé lui aussi au pied de l'arbre, aux parents et grands-parents de même sexe. Ce sac contient généralement de la nourriture et du tabac, que l'enfant devra ensuite partager à l'extérieur de la tente avec l'ensemble des personnes présentes à la cérémonie. On demande parfois à un joueur de tambour de clore la cérémonie par un chant réalisé au son du tambour à main.

Ce rituel de la première fois s'intègre ainsi dans une représentation singulière de l'espace, de l'environnement et de l'organisation sociale. Il exprime la relation entre

l'intérieur et l'extérieur, entre le camp de chasse et la forêt, entre l'espace habité, domestique (intérieur de la tente) et l'espace extérieur (la forêt, le monde des esprits). Le circuit qu'emprunte l'enfant rappelle la chasse considérée comme un voyage, comme un itinéraire dont le point de départ et de retour est l'espace domestique : le chasseur quitte l'espace domestique, s'éloigne du campement, part en direction de sa proie dans la forêt, revient vers le campement avec celle-ci et partage la nourriture avec les membres de sa famille[5]. La relation entre espace intérieur et extérieur concerne également les activités des femmes, chargées de recouvrir le sol de l'habitation avec des branches de sapin, de couper du bois et d'entretenir le feu. Dans le contexte d'une vie sédentaire, cette distinction entre espace intérieur et espace extérieur reste prédominante dans le rituel des premiers pas, notamment lorsque celui-ci est organisé dans les campements familiaux du territoire. Mais aujourd'hui, c'est bien plus l'accueil de l'enfant par la communauté toute entière que l'on vise à souligner. De nombreuses cérémonies se font d'ailleurs dans la communauté même, à l'arrière des maisons.

Dans ce rituel, le rire apparaît d'abord en réaction face aux erreurs ou aux maladresses de l'enfant dans la prestation rituelle : l'enfant fait le tour de l'arbre à l'envers; il échappe une partie du contenu de son sac; il ne veut pas sortir de la tente ou pleure dès qu'il fait ses premiers pas sur les branches de sapin. Il arrive parfois que l'animal traîné se détache de son fil ou que le contenu du sac, essentiellement composé de nourriture et de tabac, soit englouti par l'enfant alors qu'il était destiné à la famille. Ces erreurs, maladresses ou imprévus sont corrigés subtilement, soulignés avec légèreté et humour, provoquant des rires de compassion et d'encouragement de l'assistance.

L'imitation de l'activité adulte propre au sexe de l'enfant représente la principale dimension ludique de ce rituel. Même si certains enfants sont retenus par la timidité et la gêne sur le seuil de la tente, ils retrouvent leur plaisir au moment de ramasser les objets au pied de l'arbre, d'imiter le tir du chasseur ou de simuler la coupe de bois. Sculptés généralement par un membre de la famille, le fusil et la hache en bois sont élevés au statut de jouet. Certains enfants font mine de tuer le gibier (*game*) et reviennent dans la tente, le torse gonflé, signe d'une grande fierté.

Comme dans la plupart des rituels, la cérémonie des premiers pas se termine par un grand festin, le *makushan*. Au temps du nomadisme, le *makushan* (grand festin, grand rassemblement de réjouissance) était organisé pour fêter les retrouvailles en famille ou pour souligner le départ vers les territoires de chasse. Le repas débutait avec des danses et des chants au tambour à main, généralement réalisés par un aîné. Les danses pouvaient donc accompagner ces grands repas, mais contrairement à ce que l'on entend parfois, le *makushan* n'est pas une danse en soi. Aujourd'hui, ces repas sont très courus, en particulier du fait qu'ils proposent du gibier qui n'est pas accessible à toutes les familles de la communauté. À Wemotaci, la chasse est l'activité de quelques-uns. Lorsqu'un orignal est tué par un chasseur, celui-ci le partage d'abord avec les personnes qui l'accompagnaient ou avec celles venues le rejoindre pour l'aider au découpage et au transport. Il distribue ensuite des morceaux aux membres de sa famille et à des amis. Ainsi, le partage peut-il prendre deux formes : le don de l'animal tué ou du poisson pêché et l'invitation au *makushan*. La préparation des plats cuisinés pour le *makushan* peut prendre toute une journée et montre une grande diversité : côtes, filets, boudin, tête fromagée, museau d'orignal (*mos*), soupe de perdrix (*periw*), bernache, castors (*amiskw*), toujours accompagnés de banique (pain traditionnel). Le « hamburger atikamekw » a également beaucoup de succès : un morceau de banique frit fourré d'un mélange de viande hachée d'orignal, de patates, d'oignons et de sauce blanche. Le *makushan* est donc avant tout un moment de réjouissance, de rencontre, de célébration et d'échanges qui marque en même temps la fin de l'activité rituelle.

Dans la cérémonie des premiers pas, l'enfant est au cœur du rituel en tant que participant actif. Le jeu, le rire et la fête s'inscrivent en tant que principes relationnels du rituel dans une perspective particulière : celle d'y trouver du plaisir. C'est moins la portée symbolique du rituel qui est alors valorisée (même si elle reste essentielle) que l'aspect relationnel entre les acteurs du rituel : enfants, parents, famille, amis, communauté. On retrouve aussi cette dimension relationnelle dans les cérémonies du powwow.

Fêtes et socialité dans les powwows

Les powwows ont donné lieu à quelques travaux marquants en anthropologie et en ethnomusicologie (voir entre autres Buddle 2004; Blundell 1985; Ellis 2003; Lassiter 1998; Preston 1985). Ils se déroulent principalement entre mai et novembre de chaque année, le temps d'une fin de semaine. Les powwows peuvent être traditionnels (*traditional powwow*) ou de compétition (*contest powwow*). Le caractère traditionnel d'un powwow ne sert pas à définir une sorte de respect absolu pour des traditions ancestrales, mais plutôt un type particulier de powwow centré sur les concepts de cohésion sociale et de mieux-être, lesquels s'inspirent des éléments spirituels partagés par un grand nombre de nations autochtones : offrandes régu-

lières de tabac, purification à la sauge, danses de guérison. Il y a, dans les powwows traditionnels, peu ou pas de compétition, dans la succession de danseurs et danses qu'il est possible d'observer dans tous les powwows : hommes traditionnels (*traditional men*), femmes traditionnelles (*traditional women*), danse des clochettes (*Jingle Dress Danse*), danse de l'herbe (*Grass Dance*). Des demandes spéciales dans le but d'honorer un défunt ou d'aider un malade sont souvent formulées par les familles. Pour beaucoup, les powwows ont une grande valeur spirituelle et peuvent être aussi une occasion de débattre de différents enjeux de société (voir Buddle 2004). Malgré ces protocoles réglés de manière presque identique dans toute l'Amérique du Nord, les powwows apparaissent comme des rassemblements sociaux et familiaux de fête, de sport, de compétition, de loisirs, d'arts, d'échanges et de rencontres.

Certaines danses, comme la danse en rond (*Round Dance*), la *Spot Dance* ou les *Forty-Nine Songs,* renforcent ces dimensions. La danse en rond (voir Deiter 1999 et Mandelbaum 1979) est une danse sociale, autrefois aussi considérée comme une danse de séduction. Elle est effectuée au son du tambour à main, sur un rythme 1-2 (*one-two step*). Certains groupes de tambour se sont spécialisés dans ce type de chants. Dans le cadre des powwows, la danse en rond peut faire l'objet de soirées spécifiques généralement organisées la veille de la Grande entrée pour permettre aux participants, qu'ils soient danseurs, chanteurs ou spectateurs, de se retrouver en dehors du contexte protocolaire du powwow dans un climat général de fête. La danse en rond peut s'exécuter soit en couple, soit au sein de grands cercles collectifs. Elle se conclut souvent par un grand makushan.

Depuis quelques années, des formes particulières de danses se sont développées dans certains powwows : la danse de la patate (*Potato Dance*) et la Spot Dance. Ces deux dernières ont la particularité d'être l'occasion de beaucoup de rires et de plaisir pour les participants, d'abord parce que le jeu en est un élément central, mais aussi parce qu'elles proposent toutes deux des gains en argent. Dans la danse de la patate, les partenaires doivent maintenir entre leurs fronts une patate tout en continuant à danser sur le rythme habituel 1-2 des chants de la danse en rond. Le couple vainqueur est celui qui aura résisté le plus longtemps aux multiples défis demandés par le directeur d'aréna : se baisser, lever les mains, tourner les bras, et ainsi de suite[6].

La Spot Dance est une dance intertribale (danse individuelle ouverte à tous) tenue le plus souvent lors des powwow traditionnels. Aux premiers chants et battements de tambour, les danseurs commencent à tourner sur l'aréna. Le directeur d'aréna, avec force sourires, choisit secrètement un point précis sur la piste, qu'il n'aura pas de mal à reconnaître à la fin du chant. Se mêlant aux danseurs, il les lance sur de nombreuses fausses pistes, marchant à contre sens, faisant mine de les bousculer, regardant à droite, à gauche, au loin puis à ses pieds. Pendant ce temps, tous les participants, danseurs mais aussi spectateurs restés dans les tribunes, sont invités à donner de l'argent à la table du maître de cérémonie. Le montant récolté sera entièrement versé à la personne qui, à la fin du chant, s'avérera la plus proche de l'endroit déterminé secrètement par le directeur d'aréna au début.

Organisé depuis 1997, le powwow traditionnel de Wemotaci est désormais inscrit sur le *Powwow Trail* de nombreuses familles, danseurs et chanteurs originaires de diverses communautés du Canada et des États-Unis. L'organisation du premier powwow de Wemotaci est l'aboutissement d'un processus de quatre années, qui a commencé en 1993 lors de la visite d'un groupe de tambour Ojibwa (voir Jérôme 2005 et 2007). Malgré les réticences initiales de quelques aînés, il est devenu un moment majeur de la vie communautaire. Alors que des Spot Dance et des danse en rond y sont régulièrement organisées, je n'ai cependant jamais eu l'occasion de participer à des Forty-Nine Songs. Très fréquentes lors des powwows plus urbains, dans les Prairies, dans l'Ouest canadien et aux États-Unis, les Forty-Nine Songs ont un statut très particulier dans le déroulement et l'histoire des powwows. Dans un ouvrage qui retrace l'histoire de la culture du powwow dans le sud des États-Unis, Clyde Ellis (2003) explique que les Kiowas nommaient les Forty-Nine Songs « les chansons du voyage de la guerre » (*War Journey Songs*). Ces chants étaient entonnés lors des fêtes organisées pendant les guerres du Sud du milieu et de la fin du XIX^{e} siècle. Aujourd'hui, s'il y a beaucoup d'explications, il n'y a cependant pas de consensus sur les raisons qui ont poussé les gens à renommer ces danses Forty-Nine Songs. Un récit évoque un groupe de cinquante guerriers partis à la guerre, dont quarante-neuf seraient revenus. Une autre version présente les événements différemment : un seul guerrier serait revenu. Un autre récit soutient encore que ce nom serait dû à la mésaventure d'un groupe de Kiowas, rattrapé par des Blancs lors de la ruée vers l'or de 1849.

Selon Ellis, ce sont les années 1920 qui semblent avoir consacré le nom de Forty-Nine Songs, au moment où s'organisaient de plus en plus de rassemblements sociaux dans le but spécifique que les jeunes générations puissent fêter la fin du powwow après la phase protocolaire que représentait le déroulement de celui-ci. Aujourd'hui, ces danses sont particulièrement populaires chez les jeunes,

qui les ont transformées en un moment festif, un moment de rencontre sociale, un lieu où est autorisé tout ce qui est interdit dans le powwow, par ailleurs très structuré et régulé. Les Forty-Nine Songs apparaissent en quelque sorte comme le carnaval du powwow, lieu et moment de toutes les inversions possibles. La consommation d'alcool est autorisée, voire même indissociable de ces danses et de ces chants[7]. La pratique du tambour, généralement marquée d'une division strictement genrée–seuls les hommes jouent du tambour, les femmes pouvant parfois se tenir en arrière et supporter avec des voix très aigues les chants des hommes – peut devenir mixte lors des Quarante-neuf ... Alors que les rôles de chacun des joueurs de tambour sont clairement définis lors du powwow, notamment avec la désignation d'un, deux ou trois *lead singers* chargés de commencer les chants, c'est l'improvisation qui domine dans la structure du chant des Quarante-neuf ... D'après certains interlocuteurs Eeyou (Cris) et Anishinaabeg (Ojibwas) les rencontrés lors d'un rassemblement en Saskatchewan, les *Forty-Nine* ... ont d'ailleurs eu une grande influence sur la pratique du tambour et le développement de nouveaux styles musicaux. Ainsi, le style contemporain et l'incorporation des paroles en anglais seraient issus des Forty-Nine Songs. Pour certains auteurs, les Forty-Nine... agissent depuis le début comme un rite de passage à travers lequel les jeunes grandissent, certes, mais également acquièrent et développent leur qualité de chanteurs et de danseurs. Ces exemples montrent comment le rire, sous la forme particulière du jeu, de la fête et du plaisir de se retrouver ensemble peut non seulement donner une autre dimension à la pratique rituelle en l'affranchissant ponctuellement de ses codes, de ses interdits et de ses protocoles, mais participe aussi à séduire les jeunes générations de par la reformulation de certains moments rituels.

L'exemple de la loge à sudation nous fait examiner d'autres dimensions du rire dans le rituel. Alors qu'elle pourrait apparaître comme le plus rigide et le plus sérieux des rituels de par ses fonctions, la place qu'elle accorde à l'humour, aux plaisanteries ou aux railleries permet de révéler une autre facette de son efficacité.

Les rires de la loge à sudation

La loge à sudation occupe une place particulière dans la sphère rituelle des Atikamekw et de nombreuses autres Premières nations[8]. Elle ne s'inscrit pas dans un agenda précis et défini à l'avance. Elle peut être organisée en marge des powwows, dans le cadre des rassemblements spirituels réunissant des participants des trois communautés ou lors de rencontres familiales sur le territoire. Elle est utilisée de manière unique et spécifique dans chaque communauté, au sein de chaque famille. Elle est vue comme un rituel intime, sacré et souvent marqué du secret, à la différence des rituels de la première fois et des powwows qui sont considérés comme des événements sociaux, ouverts à toutes et à tous. En contexte atikamekw comme dans d'autres contextes, la loge à sudation présente elle aussi une série de moments précis : choix de l'emplacement, construction de la loge, préparation des participants au type de loge envisagé, entrée dans la loge, quatre passages rituels pendant lesquels les pierres chauffées dans le feu extérieur sont arrosées d'eau à l'intérieur du dôme fermé, clôture du rituel marquée par le partage de nourriture et de boissons, en sont les étapes marquantes.

La loge à sudation est un outil privilégié dans les programmes de guérison, autant individuels que communautaires[9]. Elle est reconnue comme un « travail sur les émotions ». Un interlocuteur m'expliquait ainsi le terme atikamekw pour loge à sudation : « *Matotasiwin*, c'est comme une chaussette qu'on retournait de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur. C'est cela que l'on fait avec notre corps, mais aussi avec notre âme. On la retourne pour sortir ce qu'il y a de sale ou de gênant en dedans. Cela prend du courage, de la volonté, des capacités pour affronter la réalité avec ses émotions » (J.B., août 2006). Les émotions, *aciwerimowin* en atikamekw, sont donc au cœur du rituel de la loge à sudation. Pour les participants, il s'agit de « faire sortir » la souffrance (*akosiw*), la tristesse (*kackeritam*), la colère (*kiciwasiw*) ou la fatigue (*aieskosiw*). Ce travail a pour but de faciliter la transformation d'un état, d'une condition, d'une santé mentale ou physique jugés problématiques. La loge à sudation est vécue comme un processus de transformation qui se réalise progressivement, au fur et à mesure des quatre passages rituels. C'est un cycle, un cercle, qui aboutit à une renaissance. Lors de ces quatre passages, on crie, on pleure, on chante, et on parle aussi. Plus surprenants cependant sont les éclats de rire qui peuvent survenir dans cet imbroglio d'émotions, rompant alors de longs moments de silence. Le rire (*papiw*) qui survient est ici un rire de libération, de soulagement, une étape significative dans le processus de cette transformation intérieure qui vise le mieux-être (*miromatisiwn*) On *est*, ou on *(re)devient* heureux, content (*mireritam*). Le rire est une manifestation soudaine et spontanée de ce mieux-être. Il est provoqué sans aucune cause perceptible par l'observateur externe. Il s'agit là d'une forme particulière de la parole : le rire comme cri de soulagement.

La parole, et avec elle le rire, prend une forme beaucoup plus structurée dans les récits[10]. Dans certaines loges, l'objectif est de se livrer par des mots, de raconter

son expérience d'abus sexuel ou de conjoint violenté. Suivant le sens précis de la marche du soleil, chaque participant prend à tour de rôle la parole et explique, outre la nature de ses maux, ce qu'il vient chercher dans la loge et ce qu'il a déjà tenté de faire pour « aller mieux ». Ces récits intimes de souffrance et d'actes de violence sont parfois teintés d'humour, mais on en rit rarement ouvertement, sauf si le « conteur » donne un signe très clair, sans aucune ambigüité, dans ce sens, qu'il indique par exemple en terminant son histoire avec une plaisanterie ou un jeu de mots connu de tous.

Si toutes les loges à sudation ne proposent pas ce type d'échanges basés sur le récit d'expériences douloureuses, elles débutent néanmoins toutes avec une autre forme de récit, les *atisokanak* ou récits de création du Monde. Toutes les loges auxquelles j'ai participé débutaient avec ce type de récit, mettant parfois en scène des personnages particuliers, comme Wissekedjakw[11], ce héros bouffon que l'on retrouve également dans les cosmologies ojibwas (Servais 2005) et algonquines notamment. La construction étymologique du terme atikamekw *Wisekatcakw* nous livre plus de précisions. On retrouve le morphème *wisa*, qui veut dire « être », et le morphème *-atcakw* qui veut dire « âme ». Ce dernier morphème est précédé de la particule *-ek*, qui souligne une souffrance. Wisekatcakw serait ainsi un être souffrant, à l'âme torturée, qui désire trouver un but à sa destinée, veut grandir et s'affirmer par les bouffonneries qu'il enchaîne et les tours qu'il joue aux autres, qu'ils soient humains ou animaux. Bien souvent, ces mauvais tours se retournent contre lui. Selon nos interlocuteurs, Wisekatcakw n'a pas vraiment de forme définitive. Ni tout à fait humain, ni tout à fait animal, c'est un bouffon, un malin, un rusé, un transformateur du réel, un héros de la création du Monde[12].

Si on retient le récit, on retient surtout ce qui fait rire; et ce qui fait rire y prend une place centrale. Comme me le faisait remarquer un jeune atikamekw en août 2007, « il y a toujours une part de comique dans le récit, surtout dans les histoires drôles. On retient plus facilement les histoires drôles, donc on retient plus facilement les histoires. On peut se détendre comme cela longuement autour d'un feu, et cela nous aide à tenir dans les *sweat* (loges à sudation ou sueries)».

Le rire joue un rôle particulier dans le récit : celui d'élément central dans les processus de transmission des savoirs. Contrairement à d'autres formes du rire, comme notamment les railleries ou les plaisanteries qui atteignent leur pleine efficacité à travers la spontanéité, la répétition n'est pas dans le récit un obstacle au rire. Au contraire, on retient ce qui fait rire. Et ce comique de répétition fait qu'à force de l'entendre, on attend le gag, ce qui participe aussi à retenir le récit et à vouloir le raconter ou l'entendre à nouveau.

Même si les loges à sudation sont chargées en émotion, les railleries, mais aussi les maladresses entraînant ces moqueries sont les plus nombreuses lorsque des Blancs, visiteurs, anthropologues ou professeurs participent aux loges[13]. « Tends tes mains, voici l'ostie », me dit-on un jour en me tendant une boisson. « Si tu n'as pas appris la Bible par cœur, tu ne peux pas rentrer ici ». « Tu as déjà été enfant de chœur? Et bien tu verras, cela n'a rien à voir ». Considérant sans doute rapidement que Blanc signifie aussi catholique, on plaisante alors longuement sur le sérieux, la rigidité, l'ennui qui accompagnent les rituels et cérémonies catholiques de la messe du dimanche, des baptêmes ou autres processions. On valorise l'*Indian time* : la souplesse, l'improvisation, qui pour de nombreux interlocuteurs caractérisent la loge. Les plaisanteries portent donc sur le caractère mécanique des rituels catholiques, raillant la transformation de corps remplis de vie en des choses rigides, raides et inaccessibles. Cette rencontre permanente entre ce qui est vivant et fluide et ce qui est contraignant et mécanique sert d'ancrage analytique à Bergson lorsqu'il s'attache à identifier les causes du comique (Bergson 1924[1900]:23). Mais ce mécanique plaqué sur du vivant à l'origine du comique, pour reprendre la formule de Bergson, ne fait pas toujours rire. Alors que je participais à un rassemblement spirituel en Saskatchewan basé sur les concepts de guérison et de médecine traditionnelle en compagnie de Charles[14] et Mary, Charles fut invité à participer à une loge guidée par un officiant cri. À sa sortie, il exprimait sa déception : « Trop sérieux. Trop sérieux pour moi. Et trop rigide. Faut faire comme ci, faut faire comme ça, et si jamais tu ne le fais pas bien, tu te fais rappeler à l'ordre! ». Lui-même officiant pour les membres de sa communauté et au-delà, Charles était passablement décontenancé d'avoir été repris parce qu'il n'entrait pas correctement à quatre pattes, ou n'avait pas enlevé sa montre. Alors que je considérais les loges à sudation comme des pratiques ordonnées, rigides et pensées dans une synchronisation parfaite des actes, des paroles et des chants rituels, montrant une certaine symbiose entre des participants qui avaient apparemment l'habitude de pratiquer la cérémonie ensemble, j'ai compris, à travers le récit de cette expérience, que les loges, en contexte atikamekw à tout le moins, étaient fondées sur la souplesse et la tolérance face aux néophytes. La règle est donc plutôt de plaquer du vivant sur du mécanique.

Mais les plaisanteries les plus souvent entendues au sein des loges concernent sans aucun doute la question du confort. Les participants sont serrés les uns contre les

autres, et l'espace peut parfois cruellement manquer à l'intérieur. On joue alors des coudes pour se faire de la place ou on plaisante sur le thermostat, la ventilation ou la climatisation. On demande à l'officiant d'installer des jeux vidéo ou des DVD. « Il faut moderniser les Sweat » est une expression qui résumerait bien ce point qui fait référence, dans le même temps, aux problèmes de confort et d'habitat rencontrés dans le village, et au développement fulgurant de l'utilisation des nouvelles technologies (console de jeux, Internet ...). Parfois, c'est l'officiant du rituel qui pourra s'adonner aux joies de l'autodérision. Alors qu'il expliquait aux participants le type de loge du jour, ainsi que son propre rôle dans le déroulement du rituel, l'un d'entre eux entama une critique du terme « chamane ». Il racontait comment on l'avait accueilli en Europe comme un haut personnage spirituel et présenté comme « le dernier chamane indien ». Afin de rappeler aux participants qu'il n'était finalement qu'une personne comme une autre, il raconta cette histoire : « Un Indien à Wemo, c'est un Indien comme les autres. S'il va à La Tuque, c'est un leader de la communauté. S'il va plus loin, à Montréal ou à Québec, c'est un grand chef. Et s'il part en Europe, il devient chamane. Peut-être devrais-je voyager plus souvent » (Charles, septembre 2005).

Le ridicule de situation, les plaisanteries, les railleries ou les récits mettant en scène un héros comique participent à détendre l'atmosphère dans une cérémonie émotionnellement chargée de par sa fonction même : on entre dans la loge pour « se soigner », « pour aller mieux », « pour se vider », « pour crier », « pour chanter », mais jamais spécifiquement *pour rire*. Si le rire trouve sa place dans la loge, il n'en motive cependant pas la participation. Il survient de manière imprévisible dans le rituel, souvent aux mêmes moments (construction de la loge, préparation, *makushan*...). Le rire est spontané, mais s'intègre parfaitement dans les variations des différentes séquences rituelles justement parce qu'il est provoqué par des références diverses à la vie quotidienne dans la communauté. Cette dimension renvoie aux travaux de Bateson[15] (1969) pour lequel l'humour naît de cette capacité à faire habilement ressortir ce qui devrait être dissimulé, de mettre au premier plan ce qui est normalement en arrière plan, d'introduire à des moments précis ce qui ne devrait pas être là. À l'intérieur de la loge, les participants ne sont pas supposés penser à la température, au confort ou à ces formes « non-traditionnelles » de loisir que sont la télévision et le DVD. Pour Bateson, l'humour naît de ces paradoxes.

Conclusion : les défis du rire

Le rire est souvent associé à l'humour et au comique. On rit parce que c'est drôle. On rit du ridicule, on peut rire avec une personne, tout comme on peut rire d'elle (Beckett 2008). On parle de comique d'action ou de situation. La répétition, l'inversion (privilégiée par exemple dans le carnaval où les rôles sont inversés) ou ce que Bergson nomme l'interférence des séries (le quiproquo) peuvent faire rire. Alors qu'ils sont privilégiés actuellement dans les démarches de guérison individuelles et communautaires, les trois rituels présentés dans ce texte intègrent parfaitement ces différentes expressions du « rire » : les plaisanteries; la dérision; le rire comme cri de libération étroitement lié à la question des émotions; le rire du récit provoqué par une inversion, par des péripéties, par les maladresses ou les bouffonneries d'un personnage mythique; le rire comme réaction à un comique de situation ou à de l'humour qui trouve souvent son inspiration dans les difficultés vécues au quotidien; le rire provoqué par le jeu, le plaisir, les danses.

L'analyse des différentes expressions du rire comporte un certain nombre de défis. Le premier est sans aucun doute celui d'en rendre compte. Par exemple, dans l'une des rares et récentes publications sur le rire et l'humour en anthropologie, Yasmine Musharbash (Carty et Musharbash 2008) s'interroge sur la manière dont elle pourrait rendre compte d'une situation comique vécue sur son terrain. Alors qu'elle était assise autour du feu et assistait à des cérémonies d'initiation en compagnie d'Aborigènes australiens, un chien est arrivé au milieu des cérémonies, couvert de traces de mains de couleur rouge, provoquant une hilarité générale qui se reproduit depuis à chaque fois que l'on croise ce chien.

Rien dans cette anecdote ne nous autorise à rire. Pour pouvoir en rire, nous dit Musharbash, il aurait fallu connaître Barbie, ce chien-saucisse court sur pattes. Il aurait également fallu reconnaître l'auteur de la plaisanterie, Neil, un garçon connu de tous qui passe son temps à jouer avec les chiens. Tout le monde avait deviné qu'il était l'auteur des traces de mains à l'ocre rouge sur le corps de Barbie. Il aurait également été indispensable de comprendre comment s'organise la répartition selon les genres dans ces cérémonies, connaître l'importance et les forces sacrées de l'ocre rouge pour commencer à saisir en quoi la situation était hautement comique. Mais, conclut Musharbash, le temps d'expliquer tout cela, et la plaisanterie est morte! Pour la plupart des auteurs qui ont travaillé sur le rire, c'est précisément tout le pouvoir de l'humour que celui de fonctionner sans explications. Comment traduire l'humour et les plaisanteries dans l'écriture ethnographique? Comment décrire une émotion aussi spontanée, souvent imprévisible? La mise en mot du rire représente un défi de taille, tout aussi grand que celui de pouvoir le saisir. Rire ensemble d'une plaisanterie nécessite une connais-

sance réciproque de ce qui peut être drôle. La plaisanterie, le comique de situation ou de geste, ou encore le quiproquo sont difficilement conciliables avec un plan de collecte de données. Dans ces situations, la compréhension doit être instantanée pour que l'on puisse rire, car le temps d'expliquer, et le rire s'enfuit... Une fois le comique explicité (et surtout compris!), on a de meilleures chances de rire ... tout seul.

En admettant que nous soyons suffisamment équipés pour saisir le rire et le traduire sans le dénaturer, survient alors un autre défi : celui de l'attente qu'un tel thème peut susciter chez le lecteur ou l'auditeur dans le cadre d'une conférence. Peut-on, et doit-on faire rire à parler ou à écrire sur le rire? Là encore, les illustrations et citations choisies par Carty et Musharbash (Carty et Musharbash 2008:210) sont éloquentes : l'analyse du rire peut être aussi drôle que l'analyse de l'eau peut être humide. On n'attend pas d'une présentation sur la musique d'être mélodieuse, pas plus qu'on attend d'une réflexion sur la tragédie qu'elle soit tragique. Bien que faire rire à écrire sur le rire ne peut être en soi un projet conditionnel à la réussite de son analyse, certains auteurs comme le folkloriste Alan Dundes et Drew Hayden Taylor, qui se nomme lui-même l'Ojibwa-aux-yeux-bleus (« the Blue-Eye Ojibway », 1996), ont parfaitement maîtrisé leur sujet. Alan Dundes répond même à l'une des questions les plus sensibles dans la compréhension des mécanismes sociaux du rire : peut-on rire de tout? Son livre, *Cracking Jokes* (Dundes 1987), montre comment même des plaisanteries peuvent toucher à des thèmes aussi délicats que la mort, la maladie, la détresse, ou la dépression.

S'intéresser au rire à travers les rituels permet enfin de mesurer autrement les continuités et les changements portés par différentes générations d'Atikamekw. Par leurs défis, leur implication dans certaines pratiques rituelles ou leur volonté de s'investir dans de nouvelles formes de musique, les nouvelles générations s'inscrivent dans une histoire qu'ils enrichissent de leurs propres références et expériences. Les innovations peuvent provoquer scepticisme, mécontentement, voire désaccord de la part des générations précédentes, comme dans le cas de la pratique des Forty-Nine Songs. Beaucoup d'aînés font encore preuve de réticence quant à la place que peut parfois prendre la pratique du tambour. Les enfants de ces aînés la considèrent parfois comme le symbole de leurs luttes et de leur résistance. De nombreux petits-enfants, et de plus en plus d'arrières petits-enfants la considèrent par contre pas seulement comme un moyen de s'affirmer, mais aussi comme une nouvelle occasion de s'amuser. On ne rit alors plus tout à fait des mêmes choses. Les Atikamekw ne partagent pas seulement une histoire coloniale, un processus de sédentarisation, une série de pathologies sociales et un taux élevé de tentatives de suicide avec les autres groupes de la grande famille linguistique algonquienne du Québec. Comme chez leurs voisins Eeyou (Cris), Anicinapek (Algonquins), Innus ou Anishinaabeg (Ojibwas) avec lesquels ils n'ont cessé d'interagir, l'art atikamekw de raconter les histoires, de transmettre les savoirs, ou encore de guérir s'avère indissociable de l'art de rire ...

Laurent Jérôme, Université Laval – DKN-0450, Centre Interuniversitaire en études et recherches autochtones (CIÉRA), Québec, Québec G1V 0A6, Canada. Courriel : Laurent.jerome @ciera.ulaval.ca.

Notes

1 Cette perspective du rire comme résistance à l'assimilation religieuse peut néanmoins être remise en question par le travail récent de Gilles Havard (2007). L'auteur se penche sur la question du mimétisme entre Amérindiens et jésuites lors de la rencontre et montre que l'imitation n'est pas forcément une stratégie parodique à visée résistante, mais peut-être aussi et tout simplement l'expression d'une attitude spontanée oscillant entre admiration et simple représentation.

2 Voir Emmons (2000). Keith Basso (1988:114) donne un autre exemple dans lequel la tradition orale et le langage peuvent être utilisés avec finesse afin d'éviter les confrontations et d'apaiser les tensions tout en soulignant l'erreur commise.

3 Je remercie Sylvie Poirier de m'avoir invité à participer à cette session particulièrement stimulante et d'avoir pris le temps de relire ce texte. Que soient également remerciés les deux évaluateurs anonymes pour leurs commentaires si précieux.

4 J'ai réalisé une vingtaine de séjours à Wemotaci depuis juin 2001, allant de quelques jours à quatorze mois (mai 2003-juillet 2004).

5 L'ethnographie d'Adrian Tanner (1979) réalisée avec des familles de Mistissini à la fin des années 1960 et la brève description du Père Louis-Philippe Vaillancourt (1975) représentent, au meilleur de ma connaissance, les descriptions les plus détaillées du rituel des premiers pas. Diane Traversy (1998) a par ailleurs consacré un mémoire de maîtrise sur différents rituels de la première fois chez les Cris de Chisasibi en montrant quelques facettes de leur évolution à travers le temps mais surtout en les reliant aux processus de socialisation des enfants.

6 Pour un exemple en vidéo, voir http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RBLNXBkV9cY, consulté pour la dernière fois le 1er septembre 2009. Le titre de la vidéo est « Pow Wow Potato Dance ».

7 Pour cette raison notamment, les jeunes Atikamekw de Wemotaci ne pourront sans doute jamais participer à des Forty-Nine Songs puisque la vente d'alcool est interdite dans la communauté pendant toute la durée du powwow.

8 Lors de cette recherche, j'ai participé à neuf loges à sudation, soit en tant que spectateur extérieur au rituel (2), soit en tant que gardien de feu (2) ou encore en tant que parti-

cipant actif au sein de la loge (5). Cette section sur les rires de la loge à sudation est développée dans un article en préparation pour un collectif dirigé par Marie-Pierre Bousquet et Robert Crépeau.

9 La littérature qui s'attache à documenter ce rituel est abondante. On pourra se référer notamment à quelques travaux d'importance : Brault (2005); Bucko (1998); Hall (1985); Hornborg (2003, 2005); Waldram (1997); Welch (2002).

10 Roger Spielmann (1988) offre des perles d'anecdotes et d'analyses pour qui veut approfondir cette question de l'humour dans la tradition orale ojibwa. Voir également Savard (1977) pour les Innus.

11 L'orthographe est ici celle de la langue atikamekw contemporaine, telle que rapportée par un interlocuteur atikamekw.

12 Une bande dessinée sur les aventures du héros comique Wisekatcakw a été écrite au début des années 1980 à Opitciwan, la communauté atikamekw située au Nord du réservoir Gouin (Lachapelle 1982). Wisekatcakw est mis en images à travers deux récits : le premier raconte ses aventures avec les outardes et l'autre avec les perdrix.

13 Voir Drew Hayden Taylor (1996) sur cette question de l'humour dans la rencontre et les relations interculturelles.

14 À la demande des participants à cette recherche, les noms cités dans ce texte n'ont pas été modifiés.

15 Je tiens ici à renouveler mes remerciements à l'un deux évaluateurs anonymes pour ses commentaires très pertinents à propos de cette référence particulière à Bateson.

Références

Bakhtine, Mikhaïl
1970 L'œuvre de François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Âge et sous la Renaissance. Paris: Gallimard.

Basso, Keith H.
1988 "Speaking with Names": Language and Landscape among the Western Apache. Cultural Anthropology 3(2):99-130.

Bateson, Gregory
1956 The Message "This Is Play." *Dans* Group Process. Transaction of the Second Conference, Bertram Schaffner, dir. Pp. 145-242. New York: Josiah Macy Jr Fondation.
1958 Naven: A Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe Drawn from Three Points of View. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
1969 The Position of Humour in Human Communication. *Dans* Motivation in Humour. Jakob Levine, dir. Pp. 159-166. New York: Atherton Press.

Beaulieu, Alain
1990 Convertir les fils de Caïn: jésuites et Amérindiens nomades en Nouvelle-France, 1632-1642. Québec: Nuit blanche.

Beckett, Jeremy
2008 Laughing with, Laughing at Among Torres Strait Islanders. Anthropological Forum 18(3)295-302.

Bergson, Henri
1924 [1900] Le rire. Essai sur la signification du comique. Paris: Éditions Alcan.

Berkes, Fikret
1986 Chisasibi Cree Hunters and Missionaries: Humour as Evidence of Tension. Acts of the 17th Algonquian conference 17:15-26.

Blundell, Valda
1985 Une approche sémiologique du powwow contemporain canadien. Recherches amérindiennes au Québec 15(4):53-66.

Brault, Emily R.
2005 Sweating in the Joint: Personal and Cultural Renewal and Healing Through Sweatlodge Practice by Native Americans in Prison. Thèse de doctorat, Département de Religion, Université Vanderbilt.

Briggs, Jean L.
1994 Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother? The Dynamics of Peace in Canadian Inuit Camps. *Dans* The Anthropology of Peace and Nonviolence. Leslie E. Sponsel and Thomas Gregor, dirs. Pp. 155-181. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Bucko, Raymond A.
1998 The Lakota Ritual of the Sweat Lodge. History and Contemporary Practice. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Buddle, Kathleen
2004 Media, Markets and Powwows. Matrices of Aboriginal Cultural Mediation in Canada. Cultural Dynamics 16(1):29-69.

Carty, John and Yasmine Musharbash
2008 "You've Got to Be Joking: Asserting the Analytical Value of Humour and Laughter in Contemporary Anthropology. Anthropological Forum 18(3):209-217.

Clastres, Pierre
1974 La société contre l'état. Paris: E?ditions de Minuit.

Deiter, Pat
1999 Piciciwin. The Moving Slowly or Round Dance. Saskatchewan Indian Powwow Issue 29(2):7.

Deloria, Vine
1988 [1969] Custer Died for Your Sins. An Indian Manifesto. New York, Macmillan.

Douglas, Mary
1968 The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception. Man 3(3):361-376.

Dundes, Alan
1987 Cracking Jokes: Studies of Sick Humour Cycles and Stereotypes. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press.

Ellis, Clyde
2003 A Dancing People. Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Emmons, Sally
2000 A Disarming Laughter: The Role of Humour in Tribal Cultures : An Examination of Humour in Contemporary Native American Literature and Art. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English and Humanities, University of Oklahoma.

Freud, Sigmund
1928 Humour. International Journal of Psychoanalysis 9:1-6.
1988 Le mot d'esprit et sa relation à l'inconscient. Paris: Gallimard.

Gadamer, Hans G.
1976 Vérité et méthode. Les grandes lignes d'une herméneutique philosophique. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
Gross, Lawrence W.
2007 Silence as the Root of American Indian Humour: Further Meditations on the Cosmic Vision of Anishinaabe Culture and Religion. American Indian Culture and Research Journal 31 (2):69-85.
Hall, Roberta
1985 Distribution of the Sweat Lodge in Alcohol Treatment Programs. Current Anthropology 26(1):134-135.
Hamayon, Roberte
1995 Pourquoi les « jeux » plaisent aux esprits et déplaisent à Dieu ou le jeu, forme élémentaire de rituel à partir d'exemples chamaniques sibériens. *Dans* Rites et ritualisation. Georges Thines et Luc de Heusch, dirs. Pp. 65-100. Paris: J. Vrin.
2000 Des usages de « jeu » dans le vocabulaire rituel du monde altaïque. Jeux rituels. Études mongoles et sibériennes 30-31:11-45.
Handelman, Don
1977 Play and Ritual. Complementary Frames of Metacommunication. *Dans* It's a Funny Thing, Humour. Anthony J. Chapman et Hugh Foot, dirs. Pp. 188-192. London: Pergamon.
1979 Is "Naven" Ludic? Paradox and the Communication of Identity. Social Analysis 1:177-191.
Havard, Gilles
2007 Le rire des jésuites. Une archéologie du mimétisme dans la rencontre franco-amérindienne (XVII^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècle). Annales 62(3):539-574.
Hornborg, Anne-Christine
2003 Being in the Field: Reflections on a Mi'kmaq *Kekunit* Ceremony. Anthropology and Humanism 28(2): 125-138.
2005 Eloquent Bodies: Rituals in the Contexts of Alleviating Suffering. Numen 52:356-382.
Jérôme, Laurent
2005 Musique, tradition et parcours identitaire de jeunes Atikamekw: la pratique du tewehikan dans un processus de convocation culturelle. Recherches amérindiennes au Québec 35(3):19-30.
2007 Identifications, relations et circulation des savoirs chez les Atikamekw. *Dans* Nature des esprits et esprits de la nature dans les cosmologies autochtones / Nature of Spirits and Spirits of Nature in Aboriginal Cosmologies. Frédéric Laugrand et Jaarich Oosten, dirs. Pp. 479-496. Québec : PUL.
2008 « Faire (re)vivre l'Indien au cœur de l'enfant »: ritualisation et pouvoirs des rituels de la première fois chez les Atikamekw. Recherches amérindiennes au Québec 38(2-3):45-54.
Lachapelle, Claude
1982 Carcajou, Wissekedjawk: les gloutons fripons. Montréal: Éditions Appartenance.
Lassiter, Luke, E.
1998 The Power of Kiowa Songs: A Collaborative Ethnography. University of Arizona Press: Tucson.
Laugrand, Frédéric
2008 « Tu n'as point d'esprit ». Le jeu et le rire des autochtones. Cahiers de spiritualités ignaciennes 32(123):51-66.
Lejeune, Paul
1634 « Relation de ce qvi s'est passé en la Novvelle France svr le grand flevve de S. Lavrens en l'année 1634 ». Relations des Jésuites 1611-163. Montréal, Éditions du Jour (1972).
Lyons, Harriet et Lyons Andrew
1985 "Return of the Ikoi-Koi": Manifestations of Liminality on Nigerian Television. Anthropologica 27(1-2):55-78.
Mandelbaum, David G.
1979 The Plains Cree. An Ethnographic, Historical and Comparative Study. Regina: University of Regina.
Preston, Richard J.
1985 Traditions musicales et culturelles chez les Cris de l'Est. Recherches amérindiennes au Québec 15(4):19-28.
Poirier, Sylvie
1996 Les jardins du nomade. Cosmologie, territoire et personne dans le désert occidental australien. Munster: Lit.
Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.
1940 On Joking Relationships. Africa 8:195–210.
1949 A Further Note on Joking Relationships. Africa 14:133–140.
Savard, Rémi
1977 Le rire précolombien dans le Québec d'aujourd'hui. Montréal: L'Hexagone/Parti pris.
Servais, Olivier
2005 Des jésuites chez les Amérindiens ojibwas : histoire et ethnologie d'une rencontre: XVII^{e}-XX^{e} siècles. Paris: Éditions Karthala.
Spielmann, Roger
1988 "You're So Fat!" Exploring Ojibwe Discourse. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Tanner, Adrian
1979 Bringing Home Animals. Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters. London : Hurst.
2004 The Cosmology of Nature, Cultural Divergence, and the Metaphysics of Community Healing. *Dans* Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations. John Clammer, Sylvie Poirier et Éric Schwimmer, dirs. Pp 189-222. Toronto, Buffalo et London: University of Toronto Press.
Taylor, Drew Hayden
1996 Funny. You Don't Look Like One : Observations from a Blue-eyed Ojibway. Penticton: Theytus Books.
Traversy, Diane
1998 Les rituels de la première fois dans la socialisation des enfants Cris de Chisasibi, Québec. Mémoire de maîtrise, Département d'anthropologie, Université Laval.
Turner, Victor W.
1969 The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure. London: Routledge.

Vaillancourt, Louis-Philippe
1975 Initiation chez les Indiens cris québécois. Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec 5(1):41-43.
Waldram, James B.
1997 The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
Welch, Christina
2002 Appropriating the Didgeridu and the Sweat Lodge : New Ages Baddies and Indigenous Victims? Journal of Contemporary Religion 17(1):21-38.

Articles

Digisex: Cell Phones, Barbadian Queens and Circuits of Desire in the Gay Caribbean

David A.B. Murray *York University*

Abstract: In this article, I present a short story in three acts about a group of Barbadian queens (effeminate gay men) and their romantic liaisons with a group of Jamaican men. I will argue that this small scale "drama" tells us a great deal about how intimacy, sexual relationships and a relatively new form of communications technology—the cell phone—are constituted and inter-related in the Anglo-Caribbean, which in turn speak to larger issues of same-sex sexual identity and desire, the role and significance of technology, and the complex relationship between globalization and local cultural practices.

Keywords: sexuality, technology, Caribbean, globalization

Résumé : Dans cet article, je présente une nouvelle en trois actes sur un groupe de « reines » (c.-à-d. d'hommes gais efféminés) barbadiennes et leurs liaisons amoureuses avec un groupe d'hommes jamaïcains. Je défendrai l'hypothèse que ce « drame » de petite échelle nous apprend beaucoup de choses sur comment l'intimité, les relations sexuelles et une forme relativement nouvelle de technologie des communications—le téléphone cellulaire—sont exprimées et interreliées chez les Caribéens anglophones, ce qui en retour est révélateur d'enjeux plus vastes comme l'identité et le désir homosexuel, le rôle et la signification de la technologie et les relations complexes entre la mondialisation et les pratiques culturelles locales.

Mots-clés : sexualité, technologie, Caraïbes, mondialisation

Act I: The Jamaican Invasion

One Sunday in January 2005, Cynthia, Fabric Land and Steven stopped by my apartment unannounced, "just to say hello." As usual, once we were sitting around the kitchen table sipping glasses of mauby (a local drink), talk turned to love lives, but this time, the conversation went in a very different direction from the usual complaints about "wuthless" (worthless) Barbadian men who couldn't be trusted and only exploited the queens. (A "queen" is a self-referential term used by individuals like Cynthia or Fabric Land to describe a certain type of homosexual male, primarily in terms effeminate behaviour).[1] *Cynthia informed me that since I had last seen them (about four weeks, prior to returning to Toronto for the Christmas holidays) all three of them had fallen in love with Jamaican men. What was unique about this situation was that only Fabric Land had actually met her man, Cedric, who had visited Barbados with his friend Meesha, a Jamaican drag queen, a couple of months before. Fabric Land and Cedric had been talking and texting "practically every night" on their Digicel cell phones, and Cedric had now linked up Cynthia and Steven with two Jamaican men "who are real sweet," according to Cynthia, even though they hadn't met them in person yet. Cynthia said that she, too, was talking to her man almost every night and she could tell he was good and faithful, and that he would be a perfect husband for her. Steven was also quite sure that he and his man would work out, as he had been slowly getting more personal. He said he didn't want to give his Jamaican man the wrong impression by asking intimate questions too early on, but he could tell his man was honest and romantic.*

Within two weeks, all three Jamaicans arrived in Barbados and moved in with their respective queens. Within four weeks, three more Jamaican men had been "linked" with Bajan (Barbadian) queens through Digicel phone calls and text messages and were soon on their way to Barbados.

In this article, I present a short story in three acts about a group of Bajan queens and their romantic liaisons with Jamaican men. In the analytical sections following each act, I will argue that this small scale "drama" (a term used by a number of these queens when describing these events) can tell us something about how intimacy, sexual relationships and a relatively new form of communications technology—the cell phone—are constituted and interrelated in the Anglo-Caribbean, which in turn speak to larger issues of same-sex sexual identity and desire, the role and significance of technology, and the complex relationship between "globalization" and local cultural identities and practices.

More specifically, I will engage with arguments about globalization's impact on intimacy and sexuality, in which new communications technologies are often identified as a primary source of cultural transformation and change (Appadurai 1996; Babb 2004; Horst 2006; Padilla et al. 2007). This story of the Bajan queens, their Jamaican boyfriends and cell phones both underscores and troubles arguments about the "transformative" potential of technology and the structure and movement of "globalizing" discourses, economies and values (Goggin 2007; Horst and Miller 2006; Miller and Slater 2000). Following Collier and Ong's (2005) conceptualizaton of "global assemblages," I will try to demonstrate how these technology-mediated relationships and their associated material, physical and sentimental exchanges simultaneously reflect and enhance particular Afro-Caribbean ideas about romance, sex and national difference (Kempadoo 2003, 2004; Puar 2001), which in turn allows me to argue that these new technologies, embedded in global capitalist flows, do not necessarily result in an inevitable movement of "Western," "northern," "developed" sexual knowledges, identities or values to "southern," "developing" peoples and places (Altman 2001; for critiques of Altman see Binnie 2004; Cruz-Malave and Manalansan 2002; Quiroga 2000). Rather, we see how these technologies are adapted to enhance, and, to a certain extent, transform regional circuits of mobility, pleasure and desire. These new and rapidly changing circuits of desire thus destabilize the fixed polarities (West–non-West, north–south or centre–periphery) of cultural models of globalization (Oswin 2006:779). In this particular case, we see the intensification of a particular Afro-Caribbean circuit of same-sex knowledge, sentiment and identity, in which ideas about sameness and difference across the Anglo-Caribbean region are created, re-inscribed and transformed.

Returning to the events noted above, we must first and foremost acknowledge the significance of the cell phone in fostering these new, long-distance romantic relationships. Horst and Miller's ethnographic study of the popularity of the cell phone in Jamaica (2006) provides some important background information on the marketing and, more importantly, local consumptive practices of this piece of technology, which help to explain its central role in this story.[2] Prior to 2001, Jamaica, like Barbados, had only one telephone company, Cable and Wireless. However, the Jamaican government's liberalization of the telecommunications industry allowed new companies, like the Ireland-based Digicel, to enter the Jamaican market. By 2004, it was estimated that 86% of Jamaicans over the age of 15 owned a cell phone and that of those who owned a phone, 70% used the Digicel network (Horst and Miller 2006:19, 29). Digicel's remarkable success was due in part to an aggressive marketing campaign which, among other things, lowered the cost of international calls by 30% and introduced extremely low cost texting (written messages sent from phone to phone) and chat-rooms, similar to those on the internet, that allowed subscribers to join particular themed "rooms" in which text messages could be sent and received (Horst and Miller 2006:25, 87, 72). In Barbados, the statistics are similar: there is close to one cell phone per person (Caribbean Telecommunciations Union 2007) and even though Digicel entered the cell phone market later (in 2004), at the time this article was written (2008) it enjoyed a similar dominance over Cable and Wireless (Digicel, personal communication 2008).

However, as Horst and Miller (2006) note, the popularity of the cell phone cannot be explained in terms of good marketing strategies alone. In other words, we must look into the ways in which cell phones enhance existing modes of connectivity and historically established desires. Horst and Miller's focus is on the working poor of Jamaica, where they observe how the cell phone contributes to the maintenance of a variety of often overlapping social networks (kin, friends, lovers, business associates) through the concept of the "link-up," in which regular, often short-length calls or texts are made to keep up contact with one's social networks (2006:89). Cell phone users also appreciate its ability to allow them to better manage social affairs by not restricting them to a particular place when needing to make or receive a call, and by allowing more privacy through the phone's portability and its texting functions (Horst and Miller 2006).

The daily conversations and text-message exchanges between Bajan queens and their Jamaican boyfriends most likely could not have existed prior to the arrival of Digicel in the Caribbean region, which has made inter-island communication more affordable through lower long-distance rates and texting. Most of the queens involved in these relationships were from working class neighbour-

hoods in Bridgetown, and, while most of them were employed in full or part-time work (ranging from gas-station cashiers to retail sales, hairdressing, dressmaking or sex work) and would tell me that they were proud to be "independent," their earnings often barely covered the costs of basic necessities like rent, food and transportation. However, everyone owned a cell phone, and justified its use to me in similar terms to the Jamaicans. Additionally, a number mentioned that they felt more secure with their cell phone—Fabric Land said that if she was walking down a street and felt unsafe, she could call up one of her sisters and know they would be there to "have my back'" in a few minutes.

It is important, however, to re-emphasize Horst and Miller's point that this particular telecommunications technology *enhances*, rather than "invents" or "creates" social practices and values (2006:5), when thinking about its significance in initiating these romantic liaisons. Remember that the initial contact between these two groups was through the visit of a drag queen and her friend from Jamaica. Regional migration and recreational travel is a longstanding feature of Caribbean societies: the working poor often seek employment in prosperous islands near and far; people make visits to family members working and living on other islands; both the working and middle classes vacation on other islands (Gmelch and Gmelch 1997:178). Of the eight queens that I knew well, seven had been off the island at some point (ranging from a brief trip to see family in nearby Grenada, to years of living and working in the U.S.), although I was told by Cynthia (one of the older queens who was in her 50s) that quite a few of the ones "working the street" had never travelled abroad. Thus initial contact between the Jamaicans and Bajans was made via a longstanding tradition of intra-Caribbean travel, and was then enhanced or intensified through the presence of cell phones which allowed for daily talk and texting across great distances that were previously prohibitively costly, resulting in the queens' belief that they were in love with these men because they had come to know them through intimate talk.

We might also note at this point that the queens' discourse of romantic love emerged at a very early stage of the relationships (prior to any face-to-face or physical contact), rendering it quite distinct from dominant Western gay discourses of romance. Whereas in most popular Western gay narratives, sexual compatibility is identified as the primary and often most critical component in determining whether or not two men will be romantically compatible, the queens assured me that they knew they were in love through their phone conversations with their Jamaican mates. Steven said he had been asking his man "personal" questions, which led him to believe that his man would be "faithful" and "honest," qualities which the other queens often repeated in their descriptions of what they found appealing in their men, and differentiated them from Barbadian men who "lie, cheat and steal," according to Fabric Land.

These queens' descriptions of perfect and imperfect male partners resonate with gendered romantic ideals and tensions circulating through heterosexual, Afro-Caribbean popular culture. In her study of how the cell phone has been incorporated into performances of sex and sexuality in Jamaica, Tanya Batson Savage notes that women and men in her study felt that the cell phone both aided and thwarted intimacy (2007). While both sexes enjoyed and appreciated the ways in which they could create and intensify their intimacy with each other (through more regular contact, romantic and sexually explicit text messages), they also noted how the cell phone could be used by the men to maintain multiple relationships and would therefore allow them to be more deceitful (Batson Savage 2007). This latter characteristic of men re-inscribes a long-established popular trope of masculinity in the Afro-Caribbean (Chevannes 2001; Kempadoo 2003), although it should be noted that the Bajan queens made a distinction between trustworthy Jamaican and untrustworthy Bajan men at this point in their relationships, thus potentially troubling these pan-Afro-Caribbean tropes of gendered identity and difference. We will see below how this theory of differentiated national masculinities held up after a few months.

Act II. Jamaica—Gay Central? The Formation of Local-Regional Sexual Subjectivities

Over the next few weeks, there were numerous gatherings at Fabric Land and Steven's apartment, Cynthia's small chattel home[3] *and my apartment. The mood was mostly festive, with lots of sly banter amongst the queens about their own and their friends' relationships, noting how, for example, Ryan and Leroy had no time for anyone but themselves and that they could hear wedding bells off in the distance. There was also much comparative talk about gay life in Barbados and Jamaica. The Bajan queens (and myself) were interested in what the Jamaicans had heard about Barbados prior to arriving here: Cedric said it was a destination that many of his gay friends wanted to visit as they had heard that Barbados had a reputation for being an island "full a chichi man" (a Jamaican term for homosexuals), and that gay life here was supposed to be more open and "tolerable."*

However, in the few weeks since he'd been here, he had decided this was an erroneous stereotype, and that in fact Barbados gay life was dull and boring. Errol also felt that, "Jamaicans will leave you alone more than Bajans; they don't gossip and 'stir up' as much." The queens and I found this hard to believe, but over the next few days, when I asked the other visiting Jamaicans to make the same comparison, they all agreed with Cedric and Errol's assessments. First of all, Errol said, don't believe all the reports published by the human rights organizations that gay Jamaicans are always threatened with violence and death. In fact, the "life" there is much more lively than in Barbados, and there are very few problems, as long as you "don't push it in other people's faces." Errol said that as long as you "managed yourself" by not being overly "showy," you'd be okay. He then got up and imitated a swishy walk (which to me resembled a female model on a fashion runway) saying this would attract trouble. Cedric said he's very private in his neighbourhood, and makes sure people who come over don't arouse suspicion. There's no problem with having men over most of the time, he said, as neighbours think they're just friends. Errol and Cedric lived in Montego Bay, which they said is very cool with gay people, and at the clubs they all mix, no problem. Cedric went on to say that it's easy to pick up men in Jamaica, and it's getting easier. He then stood up and announced that in five years homosexuality would be decriminalized. How could he say this, he asked rhetorically: "First of all," he went on, "the straight boys are now wearing the gay boys' outfits—they wear tight pants and shirts, which show off everything. There's less and less difference between straights and gays, and the old codes, (earring in one ear, ring on a thumb) don't mean a thing anymore." Byron, another Jamaican, added that it's easy to talk about men in public—he and his friend use code words to refer to hot guys, like "she is fab," meaning he is hot, or "look at she big breast," (look at his big dick), or "she awanna dem" (he's one of them, to confirm he's gay). "Furthermore," Cedric continued, "there are more men coming up and introducing themselves to me and my friends," or stating their interest in public. There are also more men in South Kingston who are willing to have sex with men for money. "No problem to get someone to suck your dick if you offer a few bucks," added one of the other Jamaicans. Errol said there are often guys who will insult him and be nasty when they're with their friends on the streets, but at night they'll come looking.

The Jamaicans agreed that cell phones had made a difference. As Errol said, "One of the main ways that guys are connecting with other guys in Jamaica now is through Digicel's text messaging chat rooms, where you can post messages, exchange phone numbers and other information. This is the main way to learn about where parties are, if someone's been hurt, and of course to meet other men." Errol continued by saying that when their cell phones ring they say its "Digisex" calling: "With Digisex, you could easily find a party to attend every weekend, and often there were multiple events happening on the same night." The Bajan queens were notably impressed by this, and hoped that Digicel would soon offer the same service in Barbados. As final proof of their argument, Errol went into his room and returned with a gay calendar produced in Jamaica, which, Cedric said, is hung in many offices and restaurants.

While I often wanted to question the rationale through which the Jamaicans evaluated their society as more gay positive, (i.e., the fact that "managing" oneself in public seemed to me to be more about learning how to perform heteronormative masculinity in a way that would not draw attention to one's same-sex sexual desires), more significant was the fact that the Bajan queens did not challenge or dispute the Jamaicans' evaluation of gay life in Barbados, and, by the end of some of these conversations, some said they were going to start planning a trip to Jamaica. However, I think the appeal of Jamaica, as represented through these men's presentations, is as much due to the ways in which it resonated similarity as much as difference to the Bajan queens, in that they could identify with the contours of gendered and sexual performativity and practice in Jamaica. When, in other interviews with queens and self-identified gay Bajans, I would ask them to describe the scene in Barbados, the portrait would be very similar, at least in terms of emphasizing the importance of "managing" one's gendered performances in public spaces. This was especially the case for queens who described themselves to me as "real women" because they lived their everyday lives dressing, acting and looking like women (as opposed to "butch queens" who would masquerade as men by wearing men's clothes when in public or at work but go in drag to the local bar or private parties), and in doing so, would attract negative attention: comments, taunts and ridicule were part of any expedition through public spaces like downtown streets, stores or government offices. However, it was not just the "effeminate" queens who explicitly challenged masculine performances in public and risked ridicule: Dwight, who self identified as "gay" and was "undercover" (his term for signalling that he was not out about his sexuality) at work and home, would often comment on my inappropriate clothing choices, saying that he was embarrassed to be seen with me wearing such "tight" shirts and "short"

shorts which totally surprised me, as in my opinion, I was wearing "conservative" looking clothing according to mainstream gay (white middle class) cultural norms (i.e., what I would term a loose fitting cotton t-shirt and baggy shorts that ended just above my knees).[4] Thus, whether one identified as a queen or "gay" male, the management of gendered performativity, particularly in relation to the perception of effeminacy, occupied a central role in the construction of a socio-sexual identity in Barbados. I would argue that as they listened to their boyfriends' stories of about life in Jamaica, the Bajans were attracted to a Jamaican "gendered sexscape" similar to their own; that is, a network of men, raced, gendered and sexed through similarly coded performances that operate just beneath or within everyday spaces of gendered heteronormativity, except that in Jamaica, the network connections appeared to be more frequent and accessible thanks to telecommunications technologies like Digicel's chat-rooms and the larger scale of Jamaican society in general (i.e., its larger geographic size and population, which appeared to provide more choices and relative anonymity).

However, while the question of whether Barbados's and Jamaica's gendered and sexual performances and practices are similar or different (and if so, then why) is an interesting one meriting further research, I think it is equally important to draw attention to how these conversations between Bajans and Jamaicans were productive in forming and exchanging knowledge about sexual and gendered identities and practices in everyday life across the Caribbean. Furthermore, when we keep in mind how these conversations came to pass in the first place—through the movement and circulation of, and communication between Afro-Caribbean subjects, and their use of particular technologies made available through neoliberal global economic policies that emphasize "free" trade and "open" competitive markets (albeit with the profits of these markets returning to European corporate headquarters of multinational corporations like Digicel)—we begin to see more clearly the complexities of globalization and its effects on local values and practices of sexuality, desire and intimacy.

Anthropologists have increasingly noted problems in theories of globalization, including the fact that these so-called "new" flows of capital, labour, and ideas across vast spaces are, in fact, deeply grounded in centuries of similar movements, a point that is particularly applicable to the Caribbean. Secondly, the assumption that there is a unidirectional flow of capital, ideas or policies from wealthy "developed" nation-states of the "West" or "north" to un-(der)developed nations and peoples of the "south" is very contestable: the landscape of political and economic power is uneven and always changing such that new centres of power are emerging as others decline, which challenges any model presupposed upon on a fixed geo-political framework for the organization and movement of power. Thirdly, the assumption that the end result of globalization is the gradual homogenization of culture in the mould of Western liberal democratic capitalism is also highly questionable (Thomas and Clarke 2006). In the field of sexuality studies, a similar discussion has emerged around the problem of trans-local sexual politics, identities and practices, where, once again, anthropological research has raised red flags when claims of the emergence of a universal "global gay" identity (Altman 2001) are made. While it is important to acknowledge the increased visibility and circulation of a particular formation of "gay" identity and desire that is racially, politically and economically structured through Euro-American, liberal democratic and political economic frameworks, the ways in which this particular formation is strategically adapted, (re)fused, transformed or mutated in various local contexts renders any reductionist or essentialist identity paradigm deeply problematic (see Binnie 2004; Boellstorff 2007; Cruz-Malave and Manalansan 2002; Manalansan 2003; Oswin 2006; Murray 2006). However, as Padilla et al. (2007) have noted, there continues to be a lack of ethnographic research identifying what local productions, displays and practices of desire and intimacy in a globalizing context look like: what are their operations, their discursive material or ideological effects? What are the microsociological interpersonal and emotional responses of individual actors to the broad changes that are occurring as a consequence of globalization? I would add to this the challenge of identifying global processes in terms of heterogeneous, contingent, partial and situational assemblages, which link individuals and groups into networks that traverse multiple geographic spaces or locations (Collier and Ong 2005). In other words, these global assemblages are not organized simply or only in terms of the movement of a "global" discourse or object into a "local" space, culture or social group, identity or movement; rather, they circulate in obtuse, refractory, non-linear networks which may be organized through parallel similarities or complementarities based on race, class, history, sexuality, or regional proximity. While I am in no way denying the hegemony of a global political-economic and cultural marketplace, I am trying to draw attention to the ways in which we can think about "alternative" or multiple globalizations occurring through parallel tropes or continuums other than or in addition to the "modern West vs. the rest."

Thus in the narratives of Jamaican versus Bajan gay life presented above, while not denying that a hegemonic Euro-American model of "gay" sexual identity may have influenced the Jamaicans' and Barbadians' sexual subjectivities, and that particular forms of global capitalism have precipitated the presence and use of new communication technologies and thus new kinds of relationships, I am arguing that it is equally important to think about how Anglo-Afro-Caribbean sexual knowledges are being created and circulated through these conversations. I think it is notable that in these conversations there was no explicit reference to any North American or European gay community, culture or identity. The primary comparative context through which understandings of socio-sexual life were produced was intra-Caribbean. The Jamaicans maintained that "gay life" was better in Jamaica, thus asserting difference between two Caribbean nation-states, although, as I have argued, their descriptions of socio-sexual life, gendered performativity and engagement with everyday heteronormativity were similar to the descriptions I heard from Bajans about life in Barbados. We might therefore be tempted think of these conversations as snapshots of "diaspora in the making" because they do not fit easily into a discrete sexual ("gay") racial–ethnic ("black," "afro") or class (working poor) model of diasporic identity—elements of all three co-exist simultaneously in these conversations.

Act III. The Jamaica-Barbados Accord Unravels

By the end of February, the Jamaica-Barbados relationships were fraying. Cedric and Fabric Land had a big fight on the street in front of Ronald's Bar, a local rum shop frequented by queens and gay men in the New Orleans neighbourhood of Bridgetown. I wasn't there that night, but the next morning I received a call from Cedric on his cell phone, informing me that they hadn't been speaking to each other all week: Cedric was tired of Fabric Land's "drama," i.e., turning everything into an argument (Fabric Land later informed me that she was tired of Cedric asking her for money all the time when she didn't have any). Things came to a head when Fabric Land saw Cedric talking to a good looking guy at Ronald's Bar, went up to them, and pushed the guy away from Cedric, saying "stay away from my man." Cedric was furious and started to yell at Fabric Land, saying he had a right to talk to whomever he wanted. Fabric Land accused him of flirting with numerous men and other queens since he had arrived in Barbados, and said that she wasn't going to put up with it any longer. This led to, as Fabric Land put it, the "bassa-bassa" (Bajan dialect for fight) on the street. Cedric was now sleeping in the living room of another queen who was paired with a Jamaican. He wanted to leave Barbados but didn't have the funds available to pay for changing his ticket.

Meanwhile, Errol was becoming stressed out by all the malicious gossip. He told me how, when he and Byron (another Jamaican) had walked into town together a few times, people had called Cynthia (Errol's mate) on their cell phones, saying they had just seen Errol together with another queen and wondering whether Cynthia knew about this. Even though Cynthia knew who Byron was, and said that she believed Errol when he assured her they were just friends, Errol felt that he was now under constant surveillance and that Cynthia became suspicious whenever he left the house without her, calling him constantly on his cell phone to ask what he was doing, who he was with and when he was returning home. Errol said he was purposely letting the credit on his phone run out so he would have an excuse for not answering it. Furthermore, he said, Cynthia had started to complain about how much money he asked her for, which he felt was unfair, because she knew he wasn't working in Jamaica when she invited him to Barbados, and she had assured him that she would look after everything and he would have nothing to worry about.

One night, while driving Latesha home from her weekly drag show at a West coast hotel, she mentioned to me how Cedric had been hitting on her constantly since he arrived in Barbados and had been calling her from his cell phone every day, but she wasn't interested in him or any of the Jamaicans. She believed that most of the Jamaicans came here because they knew that the queens were well off financially and they [the Jamaicans] could therefore live off them. Latesha said she was proud of what she's accomplished and of her financial independence. She lived in a very new looking flat in Brittons Hill with another queen, and was working as a manager at one of the call centres in Bridgetown in addition to doing the evening drag shows. She could easily find Cedric a job here, she went on, but she didn't trust him and would wait until she found a "real" man who could support her.

I didn't know who or what to believe anymore. The queens had a fairly consistent way of presenting their lives: in their narratives, it was usually others who initiated courtship and they almost always seemed to be the "innocent" recipients of this attention. They would tell me they were looking for men who were pure of intention but they knew that many would use them for financial support and would leave them when they found a "real" woman. Furthermore, there was envy and jealousy among the queens, I was often reminded. As one queen

said, they are each other's best friends and worst enemies and have the least trust in each other when it comes to gossiping about their men.

By early March, the Jamaican situation had become enough of an issue that it was raised at a monthly meeting of the United Gays and Lesbians Against Aids of Barbados (UGLAAB), a group primarily dedicated to providing support for people with HIV/AIDS. The group had been founded by one of the island's most famous queens, Darcy "Ma" Dear, and the current president was also a queen (the vice president was a gay man and the secretary was a lesbian). Most of the members of the group in attendance that night (12 including myself) were from working class neighbourhoods in and around Bridgetown, so it was not too surprising that there was knowledge of the Jamaicans' presence. Toward the end of this meeting, a member asked if the group should be concerned with this "Jamaican invasion," because some felt they were exploiting the queens, and furthermore, their health status was not known. Another member said he too had heard rumours that the queens flew the Jamaicans over; another member disagreed, saying he knew the queens and this was untrue; "In fact," he said, "some of the Jamaicans are now working here," but most members nodded their heads in agreement that the queens had a reputation for paying for their men.

By the end of March, about three months after the arrival of the first group of Jamaican boyfriends, Cedric and three other Jamaicans had left Barbados. Errol was still at Cynthia's house, but he assured me he would never return to Barbados. "Too vicious," he said. One other couple was still together, and remained so when I returned to Toronto a few months later.

Once again, the cell phone remains a central character in this final act of the Jamaican-Bajan drama, but its role and significance had changed from a technology that aids and abets desire and intimacy to one that threatens and thwarts them. The cell phone was now the primary means through which information about the movements and actions of the Jamaicans and queens was communicated, often instantly, such as when Cynthia received phone calls from acquaintances who, just moments ago, had spotted her man Errol with another queen on a Bridgetown street. Errol's decision not to buy more credit for his phone in order not to have to answer Cynthia's constant "surveillance" calls also illustrates the cell phone's negatively perceived presence. These patterns of practice and negative evaluations of the cell phone resonate once again with Horst and Miller's arguments pertaining to the dialectical relationships between new forms of technology and socio-cultural practice and change. Previously, I noted the how the cell phone had become significant and valued for the ways in which it contributed to creating and maintaining "link-ups" between the Jamaicans and Bajans, echoing Horst and Miller's observations on its use and value in working class communities in Jamaica. Similarly, these negative evaluations of the cell phone resonate closely with Horst and Miller's findings. Many of their Jamaican informants felt that cell phones enhanced an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust that already existed in many heterosexual relationships, where a presumption of deceit is pervasive. The cell phone made it easier to lie due to its mobility, inasmuch as the call recipient's location could not be easily traced (which had not been the case when only land-line phone calls were available) and callers were able to make calls or text a message from any location (i.e., outside their partner's home or in spaces where no familiar ears might overhear) (Horst and Miller 2006). Batson Savage's (2007) examination of the relationship between cell phones and (hetero)sexuality in Jamaican popular culture makes a similar argument about its ambiguous position: it both promotes and distils intimacy, in that as much as it is a tool for creating or intensifying intimacy, it is also a tool that can be used to maintain multiple relationships or to reveal duplicity (Batson-Savage provides the example of a partner who scrolls through recently made calls or address lists looking for suspicious names and numbers).

More generally, we might observe that the struggles and tensions in these queens' romantic-sexual liaisons mirror certain qualities of heterosexual relationships in the Afro-Caribbean noted by numerous scholars of the region (Barrow 1996; Chevannes 2001; Dann 1987; Kempadoo 2004). Not only do they seem to face similar challenges around issues of honesty and suspicion of a partner having outside sexual liaisons, which are exacerbated by the presence of the cell phone, they also manifest more generally tensions generated between the value of respectability, the importance of material and economic support and the ideal of romantic love. In Carla Freeman's analysis of discourses of marriage amongst middle class Barbadian entrepreneurs, she notes how heterosexual relations follow a general Afro-Caribbean pattern in which marriage and the nuclear family continue to be idealized concepts or aspirations of respectability, but that, in practice, there are a range of union formations in which matrifocal households predominate and marriage continues to be an option only exercised by a few (23% of the adult population were married according to the 2000 Barbados Census) (2007:7-8).[5] In the working class neighbourhoods where most of the queens involved in these relationships lived, most households followed a similar

pattern. While the queens' desired ideal in romantic-sexual relationships mirrored a highly gendered "women's" perspective on relationships (i.e., the search for "true love," emphasizing a search for a faithful, honest male mate with whom they could establish a long term secure and emotionally intimate relationship), their reputation for economically supporting their male mates disrupted the popular male perception of a woman's objectives in a heterosexual relationship (material and financial gain from their male mates) due to their economic power over their male partners. This economic independence (relatively speaking, in relation to male peers) has long been noted as a feature of working class Afro-Caribbean women (Barrow 1988; Freeman 2007; Mintz 1989; Reddock 1994), but in these queens' narratives, it appears to produce an ambiguous outcome, as the queens began to complain of having to support their Jamaican boyfriends, most of whom were unemployed or not able to work in Barbados. Latesha's narrative embodied these tensions as she told me how she was proud to be economically independent and was not going to start a relationship with any of the Jamaicans who were not working. However, her ideal mate was one who could support her, indicating a romantic ideal in which she, positioned as the woman in the relationship, would no longer have to work and could be financially and materially dependent on her man.

Contrary to much of the analysis of working class Afro-Caribbean relationships which dismisses "romantic" love as subordinate to material needs and economic survival, I would argue that individualized "Western romance" discourses are significant in the queens' beliefs (at least in the initial stages) about relationships, but these ideals are supplemented, supplanted and challenged by the pragmatics of economic and material circumstances in which the queen begins to occupy a role she perceives as "masculine," which in turn troubles the relationship. Trouble also comes in the form of suspicion and gossip about male partners cheating and lying, traits which are often explained as "natural" components of masculinity (Chevannes 2001). In sum, love and sex were constituted by the queens in ways that both re-inscribed and complicated tropes of heterosexual gendered relations in the Afro-Caribbean.

Conclusion

We see in the last chapter of this story, an undermining of the theory of distinct national masculinities that the queens presented to me at the outset of their contact with the Jamaicans when they noted that the latter appeared to be more honest, faithful and romantic than their Bajan counterparts, and yet three months later, were described as just as "wuthless" and troublesome. Thus the experiences of this group of marginalized sexual subjects, mediated through new communications technologies, relative mobility and (the queens') relative economic stability, produced knowledges about sex, gender and society that simultaneously enhanced and transformed existing circuits of desire, sexuality and identity in the Afro-Caribbean: one transformation occurred in the sense that both of these groups—the Jamaican men and the Bajan queens—had not known or met many of their sexual counterparts in person prior to these relationships, and through their experiences with each other, learned something new about themselves and each other's society. Yet, at the same time, we might argue that this experience enhanced or re-inscribed practices and knowledge about gender, sexuality and society already circulating throughout the Anglo-Caribbean: each group certainly knew about the other society and had perceptions of its culture and people which they initially believed to be distinct, but, by the end of their relationships, they had re-inscribed familiar tropes of gendered and sexual normativity in the sense that the Bajan queens now perceived the Jamaicans to be no different from Bajan men in terms of their unfaithful behaviour and financial mooching.[6]

A transformation could also be found in the ways in which intimacy and romance were created, maintained and broken through technology: cell phones, and in particular Digicel's aggressively competitive marketing strategies across the Anglo-Caribbean, lowered the cost of long distance communication and provided these couples with previously unaffordable and unavailable means (i.e., texting) of maintaining regular, intimate contact. However, the cell phone was also viewed as a technology which could be used to undermine relationships in ways that were not previously possible through its portability and technological capacities (for example, address lists and storage of previously dialled numbers that could be used to discover a partner's lies and deceitful behaviour). At the same time, this inter-island intimacy (and its attendant tensions) was not entirely new. Movement of Caribbean people across the region, whether in search of work, romance or play, is a long established practice, and so too, accordingly, is knowledge of other island societies and social practices. The cell phone thus facilitated and enhanced certain possibilities between these groups, who did not enjoy ease of communication and did not readily achieve sociality and a sentiment of community because of their marginality in their respective societies, but it would be problematic to claim that a singular technology "created" new social communities, practices or identities.

More generally, I think we can argue that both parties came away from this experience with their knowledge of

their own gendered and sexual behaviours and identities both challenged and re-inscribed, a point which complicates theories of globalization and its effects on local practices, subjectivities and identities. This story of romance and its entanglements reveals the influence of global capital and communications technologies in a particular region, but also reveals how these political, material and economic influences are mediated through other, already existing flows or circuits of knowledge and desire. These circuits do not move in a simple North-South direction, but rather circulate throughout and across a particular region long immersed in global flows, whose people share aspects of a colonial past and a political-economic present. At the same time, these regional flows are always articulated in some way with more hegemonic political and economic forces. The story of the Bajan queens and their Jamaican men shows us that these technology mediated engagements among the local, regional and global are simultaneously transformative and re-inscriptive in their effects on everyday productions of desire, romance and knowledge of the sexual self.

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

Notes

1 A queen is often, but not always, an anatomical male who enjoys performing in drag, at least on stage, and often in everyday life as well. Some queens are "trans-sexual" in the sense of undertaking practices to alter their physiological appearance (hormone therapy, castration), and will describe themselves as "trans," while others may simply dress in ways that are considered "androgynous" or non-masculine by local standards.

2 See Miller and Slater 2000 for a similar study of the use and significance of the internet in Trinidad.

3 A chattel home is a small, wood-framed structure, usually consisting of a living–dining room, kitchen and one or two bedrooms (however, many chattel homes may be smaller or larger). Chattel homes are considered to be the accommodation of "poor people" by many Barbadians; if one has the finances, one builds or buys a concrete home.

4 I suspect Dwight's sensitivity to my clothing choices was also heightened by the fact that he was being seen in public with a white male who looked like a tourist, a coupling which, I was told on other occasions, might signal to local Bajans a homosexual relationship because it was so rare to see black and white males socializing together in public venues like restaurants or shops.

5 Freeman's research goes on to interrogate the interesting question of why, amongst her middle-class informants, a much higher proportion—60%—are married.

6 I neglected to ask the Jamaicans whether or not there exists a similar category of "queens" in Jamaica, and if so, whether their behaviours and relationships were organized in a similar way to the Bajans.

References

Altman, Dennis.
2001 Global Sex. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Appadurai, Arjun
1996 Modernity at Large. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Babb, Florence.
2004 Sexual Cultures and Modernizing Projects. American Ethnologist 31(2):225-230.

Barrow, Christine
1988 Anthropology, the Family and Women in the Caribbean. *In* Gender in Caribbean Development. Patricia Mohammed and Catherine Shepherd, eds. Pp. 156-159. Mona, Jamaica: University of West Indies Women and Development Studies Project.
1996 Family in the Caribbean: Themes and Perspectives: Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Press.

Batson Savage, Tanya
2007 "Hol Awn Mek a Answer mi Cellular": Sex, Sexuality and the Cellular Phone in Urban Jamaica. Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies 21(2):239-251.

Binnie, Jon
2004 The Globalization of Sexuality. London: Sage.

Boellstorff, Tom
2007 Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology. Annual Review of Anthropology 36:17-35

Caribbean Telecommunications Union
2007 Electronic resource, http://www.ctu.int/ctu/AbouttheCTU/MemberStates/Barbados/tabid/93/Default.aspx, accessed 21 January 2008.

Chevannes, Barry
2001 Learning to Be a Man: Culture, Socialization and Gender Identity in Five Caribbean Communities. Kingston: University of West Indies Press.

Collier, Stephen J., and Aihwa. Ong
2005 Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics and Ethics as Anthropological Problems. Williston: Blackwell.

Dann, Graham
1987 The Barbadian Male: Sexual Attitudes and Practice. London: Macmillan Caribbean.

Cruz-Malave, Arnold, and Martin Manalansan
2002 Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism. New York: New York University Press.

Freeman, Carla
2007 Neoliberalism and the Marriage of Reputation and Respectability: Entrepreneurship and the Barbadian Middle Class. *In* Love and Globalization: Transformations of Intimacy in the Contemporary World. M. Padilla, J.S. Hirsch, M. Munoz-Laboy, R.E. Sember, and R.G. Parker, eds. Pp. 3-37. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Gmelch, George, and Sharon Gmelch
1997 The Parish Behind God's Back: The Changing Culture of Rural Barbados. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Goggin, Gerard
2007 Introduction: Mobile Phone Cultures. Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies 21(2):133-135.
Horst, Heather
2006 The Blessings and Burdens of Communication: Cell Phones in Jamaican Transnational Social Fields. Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs 6(2):142-160.
Horst, Heather, and Daniel Miller
2006 The Cell Phone: An Anthropology of Communication. Oxford: Berg
Kempadoo, Kamala
2003 Sexuality in the Caribbean: Theory and Research (With an Emphasis on the Anglophone Caribbean). Social and Economic Studies 52(3):59-88.
2004 Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race and Sexual Labor. New York: Routledge.
Manalansan, Martin.
2003 Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora. Durham: Duke University Press.
Miller, Daniel, and Don Slater
2000 The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach. Oxford: Berg
Mintz, Sidney
1989 Caribbean Transformations. New York: Columbia University Press.
Murray, David A.B.
2006 Who's Right? Human Rights, Sexual Rights and Social Change in Barbados. Culture Health and Sexuality 8(3):267-281.
Oswin, Neil
2006 De-Centring Queer Globalization: Diffusion and the Global Gay. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 24:777-790.
Padilla, Mark, Jennifer S. Hirsch, Miguel Munoz-Laboy,
Robert Sember and Richard G.Parker, eds.
2007 Love and Globalization: Transformations of Intimacy in the Contemporary World: Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
Puar, Jasbir Kaur
2001 Global Circuits: Transnational Sexualities and Trinidad. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 26(4):1039-1065.
Quiroga, Jose
2000 Tropics of Desire : Interventions from Queer Latino America. New York: New York University Press.
Reddock, Rhoda
1994 Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago: A History. London: Zed Books.
Thomas, Deborah, and Kamari Clarke
2006 Globalization and Race; Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness. Durham: Duke University Press.

Community: The Career of a Concept

Stanley R. Barrett *University of Guelph*

Abstract: From both an empirical and theoretical perspective, "community" has arguably become an obsolete concept in the social sciences. People in contemporary society supposedly have lost their sense of community and the specialized field of community studies has been subjected to sustained criticism. Yet people still live in villages, towns and neighbourhoods; moreover, some of the best social science produced over the decades has been our community studies. A historical overview of the genre suggests that the one approach that has stood the test of time—at least until recently—has been methodological: the small community has been the perfect vehicle for the ethnographic enterprise. New forms of community, however, appear to have undermined the traditional community and possibly the utility of the methodological perspective as well.

Keywords: community, ecology, symbolism, methodology

Résumé : Dans une perspective théorique comme empirique, le concept de « communauté » est sans doute devenu désuet pour les sciences sociales. Il apparaît que les citoyens de la société contemporaine ont perdu le sens de la communauté, tandis que le domaine spécialisé des « études communautaires » fait l'objet de critiques répétées. Pourtant les gens continuent de vivre dans des villages, des villes et des quartiers; qui plus est, parmi les meilleures productions des sciences sociales au cours des dernières décennies, il faut compter nos études communautaires. Un survol historique du genre suggère qu'une dimension qui a bien passé le test du temps – du moins jusqu'à récemment – est l'approche méthodologique : la petite communauté est le véhicule idéal pour l'entreprise ethnographique. Mais de nouvelles formes de communautés semblent en voie de saper la communauté traditionnelle et peut-être même l'utilité de la perspective méthodologique.

Mots-clés : communauté, écologie, symbolisme, méthodologie

Two statements:

1. Efforts to define community and to build a body of theory around the concept have been a dismal failure.
2. But, some of the best social science produced over the past decades has been our community studies.

My aim will be to explain this apparent contradiction. I shall begin with an overview of the shifting character of the topic over time, especially the almost total concentration of early community studies in the industrialized West, the eventual links among community, culture and ethnicity, the decline of community studies because of conceptual confusion and the impact of social change and recent efforts to rework the genre theoretically in order to resuscitate it.

I shall then turn to new forms of interaction, notably personal relationships based on shared interests rather than place of residence, and the dramatic impact of the Virtual Community. As I shall argue, before these new forms emerged, the crowning success of community studies had much less to do with theory than methodology: the small community was the perfect vehicle for the ethnographic enterprise. Whether that remains the case is open to debate.[1]

Community as a Western Phenomenon

Let me begin with a question: Why has community, and thus community studies, been a concern of sociologists but not anthropologists unless anthropologists worked at home? Furthermore, why should community studies be a focus at home, in Western society, but rarely in other cultures? My own experience in research exemplifies this pattern. In West Africa I conducted fieldwork (Barrett 1977) in a remote village in Nigeria's Niger Delta connected to the Aladura independent church movement (see Peel 1968). The village, built on stilts because the land was flooded during the wet season, had clear physical and geographical boundaries with nearby villages. It also more

than met the criterion of solidarity and identity usually associated with community. The members, who called themselves the Holy Apostles, embraced their own distinctive religion and believed that God had granted them immortality, not in Heaven but in this world; and inspired by a message from God, they had embraced communalism to the extent that no money was exchanged for goods and services, the family unit was banned and marriage too for brief periods (the village also achieved a remarkable degree of economic success with very little outside help). Despite all this, and the fact that the term *community* was part of the official name of the village (Aiyetoro Community), it never occurred to me, nor apparently to the many accomplished scholars who advised me, to conceptualize the project as a community study. Yet when I later turned to fieldwork in a village in Canada (Barrett 1994), I was moved to deal with questions about the definition and morphology of community, the rural–urban continuum, and the myriad criticisms that had accumulated around community studies.

Part of the explanation of why community studies have been associated with the industrialized West concerns their specialized character. In the U.S., where *Middletown* (Lynd and Lynd 1929) is sometimes pointed to as the beginning of the modern community study, relatively little early social science was done in the village or small town, and even more rare was the project that adopted "community" as the primary focus of investigation. Instead quantitative-oriented sociologists concentrated on the city and the nation in order to investigate broad processes such as industrialization and urbanization. Eventually, of course, the sub-discipline of rural sociology made its appearance, but it had to struggle long and hard for recognition and legitimacy. In this context, the ethnographic study of the small community was distinctive and deserved to be labelled as such. In contrast, there was nothing exceptional about the village focus of anthropologists abroad, at least until the end of the Second World War. Indeed, virtually all anthropological research took place in rural society—in villages, hamlets and neighbourhoods. To have placed a special label on something that everyone was doing would have been superfluous.[2]

It must be interjected that an important exception to the quantitative thrust and paucity of community studies in American sociology was the famous Chicago school of urban ethnography that flourished between 1915 and 1935 (see Bulmer 1984; Kurtz 1984). Under the guidance of Park and Burgess, the city of Chicago became the laboratory for a small but remarkably talented group of scholars who helped to convert sociology from a speculative to an empirical tradition. Their methodology was primarily qualitative: participant observation, interviewing, life histories and documents. They favoured an ecological perspective, gave priority to process over structure, and had strong applied interests as they attempted to understand and ameliorate the widespread social disorganization that appeared to accompany massive immigration and rapid urbanization (the city of Chicago had 10,000 inhabitants in 1860 and two million by 1910).

During this period, ethnographic studies were produced on a number of topics including the homeless (Anderson 1923), the ghetto (Wirth 1928), the black community (Frazier 1931), gangs (Thrasher 1927), the vice sector (Cressy 1932), the business community (Hughes 1931), and not least, immigration and ethnicity in the monumental work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918).

Bulmer (1984) has argued that too much prominence has been given to the qualitative tradition in the Chicago school, overlooking the quantitative interests of men such as Burgess and Ogburn. Yet the sheer number and high quality of the Chicago monographs can hardly be denied. It might be objected that only in a loose sense could these ethnographies be labelled "community studies." More appropriately, they might be regarded as studies of subcultures, districts or distinctive populations. In this context, Zorbaugh's observation (1929:vii) about the suitability of the community label for his comparative study of a wealthy district and a slum in Chicago's Lower North Side is pertinent: it may be more accurate, he suggested, to regard it as a study of a region.

A more serious objection is that because the focus of the Chicago school was the urban realm, rather than the more or less isolated village or town normally associated with community studies, it falls beyond the borders of the genre. Yet the loosely-defined community studies were a precocious example of the ethnographic works on urban neighbourhoods that began to emerge in the 1960s (Gans 1962, 1967). Moreover, the qualitative orientation of the Chicago school was not driven into the shadows as quantitative-oriented sociologists, in tune with the discipline's scientific ambitions, competed with theoreticians such as Talcott Parsons as its high priests. Indeed, out of the so-called second school of Chicago sociology after the Second World War emerged the influential, qualitative-driven theoretical perspective coined by Blumer (1969) as symbolic interactionism, its roots traced back through Mead, Cooley and Dewey.

Another part of the explanation for the Western focus of community studies, which would appear to apply as much to Europe as America, has to do with the basic concepts employed abroad and at home. Anthropologists dealt

with culture (sometimes called custom in the British school), sociologists with society. Culture was assumed to be something other people had. Of course, this was illogical. If culture exists anywhere in the world, it must exist everywhere. Nevertheless, culture was the concept tailor-made for "the other." Community, in contrast, represented the mainstream. Community was "us." When sociologists, and anthropologists who did research at home, focused on the small town or village, they were studying "themselves."[3]

The obvious criticism is that the scale of culture is so different from that of community that any comparison is flawed from the outset. Culture is the equivalent of society (or greater or less than society, depending upon one's academic politics), while community is merely a cog within society. However, it was not so long ago that community was regarded as a microcosm of the entire society. In other words, what was learned in the study of the small town could be generalized to the wider society. There was even an argument that community represented the heart of Western society, the "real" society, undefiled by urbanization and other aspects of social change. The implication was that community served as society's moral compass, and therefore had an impact much beyond its narrow boundaries. While most contemporary sociologists and anthropologists would correctly regard these arguments as merely amusing, the suggested distinction between "them" and "us" in terms of culture and community is, in my judgment, right on the money.

It may be thought that Miner's celebrated study of St. Denis in Québec (1939) contradicts the argument that when anthropologists and sociologists do fieldwork at home they in essence are studying themselves. This is dubious. *St. Denis* certainly qualified as a community study, but it was not one "at home." Influenced by Redfield, Miner classified the parish of St. Denis as a folk or peasant society, an aberration from the North American mainstream, its purported exotic features differing from conventional ethnographies abroad only to a matter of degree.[4]

Eventually another concept took firm hold in the social sciences in the process disturbing the distinction between "them" and "us." This was ethnicity. Like culture in the hands of Boas (1940, 1962), ethnicity in the hands of Montagu (1942, 1963) emerged as a foil to race in the biological sense. Ironically, while the concept originally served progressive ends, at least in America, by the 1970s (see Omi and Winant 1986) it had been claimed and depoliticized by neoconservatives, ending up as a means to avoid dealing with racism, especially "radical" explanations tied to capitalism and nationalism.

Another reason that ethnicity became a core concept was the realization that the phenomenon was alive and well in the Western world. This was significant because it demonstrated that extra-class sentiments had not been eclipsed by capitalism and urbanization. For sociologists not enamoured with the Marxian perspective, ethnicity was mana from heaven, even though it is probable that a class analysis was always relevant to ethnic studies.

Largely because of the politics of the postcolonial era, anthropologists too embraced the concept of ethnicity. For those who continued to work in the developing world, ethnic group became the politically correct replacement for terms such as tribe and primitive. For those who responded to the pressure to work at home, it was not social class—arguably the core of Western society—that drew their interest, but rather ethnic groups. To explain why this occurred requires a note of clarification about ethnicity. Earlier, it was remarked that if culture exists anywhere, it must exist everywhere—not just in the Orient. Similarly, if one human being is ethnic, all of us are ethnic. On what basis, then, are some groups labelled ethnic but not all groups? That label appears to be reserved for groups that are not part of the mainstream, and suffer accordingly in terms of power and reputation. The reason why Western anthropologists working in their own societies latched onto ethnic groups is that the latter were the new "other." While both sociological and anthropological research on ethnicity may have been inspired by a desire to reduce the plight of the underdog, the fact is that the focus on ethnicity allowed anthropologists to ply their trade as usual, and sociologists to discover the joys of the exotic.[5]

One final comment: it would appear that as ethnic studies soared, community studies floundered. Although it is hard to get a handle on the implied cause and effect, part of the explanation may be that community was transported to ethnicity, reflected in the expression ethnic communities. Eventually culture, supposedly the basis of ethnicity, was added to the mix, with the result that ethnic communities and cultural communities became interchangeable terms. The overlap among community, ethnicity and culture contained a certain logic. All three were counter-Enlightenment concepts bucking the trend, driven by capitalism, towards rationality, impersonality and universality.

The Decline of Community Studies

Community used to be a core course in many sociology and anthropology departments, but by the 1990s, it had begun to disappear from the curriculum, as happened at my own university. The explanation is two-fold, the first

part of which is so widely recognized that only a brief commentary is necessary. I am referring, of course, to the problems of defining community and specifying its morphological features in order to construct a theory of community. Half a century ago, Hillery (1955) famously compiled 94 definitions of community from the literature and concluded that the only thing they had in common was that they involved people. Actually, there is nothing particularly surprising about the ambiguity of the community concept. Place any major concept—culture, for example—under the microscope and it tends to crumble and scatter in front of one's eyes. Multiple, often contradictory, versions of concepts are the rule rather than the exception in the social sciences.

The conventional ecological approach to community contained two minimal elements: territory (geographical area and physical boundaries) and solidarity (shared values and feelings of identity and belonging). Related characteristics were equality, harmony, stability, simplicity and homogeneity. The discovery of village-type communities within the confines of the city, along with the recognition that conflict is as prevalent in the small community as solidarity, and that territory is a poor predictor of "ways of life," at least where technology has advanced beyond the rudimentary stage, cast serious doubt on the usefulness of the ecological model. In passing, it should be noted that culture, and arguably ethnic group as well, have been identified with the same attributes associated with community and subjected to the same criticisms (see Barrett 2002:2-8). This is hardly surprising given the anti-Enlightenment sentiments expressed by the three concepts.[6]

The other major reason that allegedly accounts for the decline of community studies is social change. Prominent throughout the history of the social sciences have been a series of overlapping typologies such as rural–urban, status–contract, mechanical–organic, folk–urban and gemeinschaft–gesellschaft. One criticism has been that the small community, usually identified with rurality and tradition, was little more than a residual category, the opposite of characteristics such as rationality, impersonality and functional specificity associated with the urban realm. What is quite remarkable, but little commented on, is just how quickly these grand typologies have faded into the background in recent years—the direct consequence of social change, principally capitalism, urbanization and globalization.

The upshot, arguably, has been the shrinking of differences between urban and rural society, or the city and the small town. There was a time in rural Ontario (Barrett 1994) when a school teacher who left the village on weekends was labelled a suitcase teacher, when the village's grocer or hardware man could automatically count on the commerce of his neighbours and when the local pastor, ensconced for most of his life in a house provided by the church, had to work into old age because he had built up little equity to do otherwise. Now teachers by preference in order to guard their privacy often live outside the community that employs them, villagers flock to the shopping malls in nearby urban centres, and the pastor owns his house and invests in the stock market.

All this suggests, as Dewey (1960-61) observed, that differences between rural and urban society may remain but they are relatively insignificant. Adding to this picture has been the changing manner in which the small community has been conceptualized in sociology and anthropology. By the 1960s and 1970s the literature had gone through three phases. In the first, the small community was regarded as isolated and self-sufficient. By phase two it was recognized that no community was completely shut off from the outside world, and that external forces impinging on it had to be taken into account. By phase three there was a subtle modification. Outside forces did not just intrude into the small community; they were an intrinsic part of the community, as central as the local council. In a sense then, the macro–micro problem, often thought to parallel the urban and rural realms, and to be particularly acute during phase two, no longer existed. Curiously, this should have meant that the criticism levelled against the tendency to generalize the dynamics of the small community to the wider society had been outpaced by history.

One final consequence of the impact of social change must be dealt with: the assumption that it has generated a host of new problems—notably class, ethnicity, gender and power—which have overwhelmed any lingering interest in community studies that we might harbour. This is a peculiar argument because community studies can accommodate all of these problems, and indeed long ago took the lead in the exploration of two of them: power and class. While anthropologists and sociologists have certainly contributed to our understanding of power at the community level (see for example, Gold 1975; Vidich and Bensman 1958), it was the work of the political scientists that paved the way. Floyd Hunter's *Community Power Structure* (1953) and Robert Dahl's *Who Governs?* (1961) launched a debate about whether elitism or democratic pluralism prevailed in America. While most commentators sided with Dahl's pluralist position, Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1963) criticized it for only focusing on one face of power: how decisions are made. Their argument was that there are actually two faces of power: decisions and non-decisions, the latter expressing the capacity to

prevent decisions from being made. Eventually Lukes (1974) theorized about a third face of power: structural power, the unintentional product of societal institutions. Although this body of literature was marred by considerable confusion, for our purposes what is important is that the debate itself took early shape in community studies.

Social class has figured prominently in several community studies (Dollard 1988; Hughes 1943; Williams 1969), perhaps most controversially in Warner's work (1942, 1949). Not only did he describe classes as empirically existing entities (rather than analytic tools) which varied in number from one small community to another, but he was also one of those writers who claimed that his findings could be legitimately generalized to the entire society. Critics (see Bell and Newby 1972; Kornhauser 1953) pounced on these claims, but it was Warner's confusion of class and status that drew most of the ire. The argument was that rather than probing social class in the small community, he simply described the status rankings of people. Even if we observe that the confusion between class and status is more often the rule than the exception in community studies, the fact remains that class has been one of their central foci.

The Symbolic Construction of Community

In the academic world a book or article is deemed to be significant if future researchers working in the same field or on the same topic cannot afford to ignore it. Cohen's *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1989) readily met this high standard. His aim was nothing less than to transform the field of community studies. Like writers before him, he criticized the long-accepted assumption that community was simple, egalitarian, homogeneous and harmonious, and could not exist beyond traditional society. He also dismissed the grand typologies of the past as being empirically unfounded and obfuscating. His theoretical approach, owing much to Weber, was phenomenological and interpretive. Meaning, talk and subjectivity trump structure, behaviour and objectivity. Cohen was not surprised that little progress over the decades had been made in terms of defining community and describing its morphology. These were positivistic dead-ends which fail to focus on the key to community: what people think and feel about it, how they experience it.

His symbolic approach to community focused on what it means to people, on values, norms and moral codes, and on the corresponding sense of identity and belonging. Community implies a group of people who feel they have something in common with each other which distinguishes them from other groups or communities. Without community consciousness community would not exist. Conversely, if people in a village or group no longer believe they share more with their neighbours than they do with outsiders, they no longer have a community. Cohen placed great importance on boundaries between communities, which may be physical, based on special properties such as ethnicity, or largely symbolic. This last case, he argues, is particularly potent under conditions of rapid social change. When the physical boundaries of community have become porous and fragile, people's sense of community—that is, their symbolic construction of community—becomes even more pronounced and salient. This is one reason that he contended that community (and thus community studies) retained its position of pride in sociological and anthropological investigation.

Cohen's conception of symbolism appears to be sophisticated. Symbols provide a focus for shared meaning and identity but they do not suppress individual variation. In other words, people relate to each other through the common symbols of community, but at the same time each individual also possesses his or her own interpretation of community. Presumably it is this distinction between collective identity and individual interpretation and choice that makes room at the level of behaviour for complexity, heterogeneity, hierarchy and conflict. As Cohen stated, "a society masks the differentiation within itself by using or imposing a common set of symbols" (1989:73). Of course, this is a variation on the old truism (see Murphy 1971) that belief systems or meaning systems are neat and orderly and disguise the complexity and disorder characteristic of actual behaviour. In other words, symbolic systems, like belief systems in general, promote the basic lie of the orderly universe.

A further comment on order is warranted. Following Lévi-Strauss (1966), one might locate the source of order in the inherent classificatory propensity of the human mind. Then there is Lévi-Strauss's assertion (1978) that life without order is life without meaning, which reinforces the emphasis Cohen placed on community symbolism. But in the anthropology of violence (see for example, Riches 1986; Stewart and Strathern 2002), order (reflecting elite interests) arguably equals legitimacy, and disorder (reflecting underdog resistance) illegitimacy. In this context, the order embedded in Cohen's symbolic perspective would appear to connote conservatism.

According to Cohen, symbols are devoid of intrinsic meaning; instead meaning is attached to them by thinking, feeling human beings. Similarly, "symbolic form only has a loose relation to content" (1989:91). What this implies is that the same symbolic form can have different meanings to people both within a community and from one com-

munity to another, or different symbolic forms across communities (even cultures) can mean much the same thing to everyone. In this context, Cohen emphasized the remarkable flexibility of symbolic systems, rendering them receptive to new meanings generated by social change. This characterization of symbols is interesting, but there is a familiar ring to it. Ironically, on a logical plane it resembles the manner in which functionalism used to be conceptualized, with its requisites, equivalents and alternatives.

These last comments open the door to a number of critical observations about Cohen's perspective. He purportedly was uninterested in the old concerns with the definition of community, but provided his own: community is a symbolic entity, a projection of individual attitudes and values into a unified system of meaning. He supposedly distanced himself from previous assumptions about consensus and harmony. Yet at the level of collective consciousness, where the symbolic construction of community is located, these elements are privileged over dissensus and conflict. Given the sense of belonging and identity, what other interpretation is possible?

It may be retorted that Cohen allowed for complexity and conflict at the level of everyday interaction. However, the dichotomy between culture and behaviour (the author referred to his symbolic approach as a cultural approach), raises more questions than it answers. This is not because it is dichotomous, which is a perfectly acceptable analytic procedure, but rather due to the vagueness of the dialectic links between the two levels of community. Consider the assertion that the symbols of community mask underlying complexity and disorder. Are the latter thereby neutralized, or is the symbolic community merely a flimsy conceptual backdrop, a pleasant diversion from the hard struggle of everyday existence?

The dialectic arrows, of course, also point in the other direction, from action to symbol, and it is precisely here where the inadequacy of Cohen's perspective is most apparent. All that he offered as an explanation of how the symbolic community is constructed was to state that each individual's thoughts and beliefs about community (somehow) are fused into an overarching coherent conceptual abstraction. In this respect, his study is much less satisfying and powerful than Barth's similar analysis of ethnicity. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), Barth shared Cohen's interpretive (Weberian) perspective in emphasizing the importance of self-identity and meaning. Barth also recognized the great variation of belief, action and structural form within a population; and not only did he highlight the critical role played by ethnic boundaries, but he also, like Cohen, contended that the symbolic meaning of these boundaries may intensify as their physical properties deteriorate.

But Barth did much more. He explained how, out of complexity and disorder, a viable ethnic identity is generated. Whereas Cohen equated culture and community, Barth separated culture and ethnicity. His argument was that ethnic groups only select a limited number of cultural features from the available repertoire. This is why he stated that one can not deduce the history of a culture from the history of an ethnic group. In general, these features, which in their totality are thought by members of each group to be unique, consist of overt signs such as dress and central values peculiar to a population. To give substance to his argument, Barth pointed out how a selected emphasis upon patrilineal descent, Islamic belief, and values such as male autonomy and aggressiveness generated a sense of ethnic identity and boundary among Pathans in Pakistan and Afghanistan despite enormous regional variation in both cultural practice and social organization.

In order to emphasize the continuing importance of community, Cohen placed considerable emphasis on localism. No doubt it can be reasonably argued that resistance at the local level to globalization has been noteworthy, but in *The Symbolic Construction of Community* there is a nostalgic, romantic appreciation for those who reject global change and capitalism, demonstrating that social class and power are not the only forces that drive contemporary society. Often Cohen shifted the focus from community to ethnic group and culture, the message being that all three are examples of meaning, identity and solidarity central to symbolism. Yet therein lies the problem. If there has been a single fundamental flaw shared by studies of community, ethnic group and culture, it has been their one-sided emphasis on the expressive dimension of human interaction.

Given Cohen's attraction to the work of Weber, it is ironic that in the latter's observations about community (see Neuwirth 1969), it was the instrumental dimension (rational calculation, behaviour, interests) rather than the expressive dimension (beliefs, attitudes, emotions) that dominated. Weber not only de-emphasized the ecological factor, but he also dissented from the popular view that communities were characterized by shared values, common interests and solidarity—all supposedly a "natural" product of ecological constraints. In Weberian theory, community emerges from competition for economic, political and social resources, and internal solidarity is always a function of conflict with competing groups or communities, rather than an expression of shared values generated by common residence in a given territory. Although

Cohen regarded communities as relational entities, and to that extent shared Weber's approach, it would appear that he failed to appreciate that in terms of community, it is Weber's political economy perspective, not his social action perspective, that carries the day.

Let me hasten to add that I do not deny that community may exist in people's minds. An apt example might be the propensity of anthropologists in a joint sociology and anthropology department to identify with each other and emphasize their differences from the sociologists, especially if the latter are more numerous. In this context, it could be said that the anthropologists have a "community." While such attitudes would appear to be harmless parochialism, at times they can swell into the driving force leading to the creation of an autonomous department. Whether or not this is the end result, however, depends on a host of additional (mostly instrumental) factors including bureaucratic policy, available resources and the attitudes and interests of the sociologists. This last factor reminds us that community is not solely constructed from the insider's point of view. We only have to consider the tendency of outsiders to refer to the Jewish community, the Black community or the Gay community, as if the individuals within them are uniform in interests and values, united by a common purpose. While I do not think that Cohen would deny that the projection of community properties onto minority groups is commonplace, he probably would argue that it counts for little when compared to the insider's perspective in which the sense of community that is fashioned is private, particular and potentially beyond the comprehension of anyone else.

Yet before writing off Cohen's study as a "brilliant failure," we must consider an aspect of his argument so far ignored. Early in his study, he stated

> Community is the entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship but more immediately than the abstraction we call "society." It is the arena in which people acquire their most fundamental and most substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home. [1989:15]

Later, on the same page, he adds "community, therefore, is where one learns and continues to practice how to be 'social.'" Although one might counter with the argument that school and work are equally or even more important in this regard than community, the implications of Cohen's statements are far-reaching. If he is correct, they provide a fresh explanation of why community has been a universal form of social organization, and why it survives whatever social change throws at it.[7]

From a purely theoretical perspective it would be difficult indeed to imagine human life without community if this meant solely atomistic individualism, nothing but conflict and anomie, entirely instrumental relations, and no sense of identity and belonging. Yet before reversing ourselves and elevating the symbolic perspective to the top of the chart, we should take note that the importance of community as a fundamental socializing agency, or simply as an essential dimension of human interaction, is valid or invalid regardless whether the approach is symbolic or ecological. In other words, it applies equally well, or equally poorly, to both.[8]

Community as Method

The ecological and symbolic perspectives, of course, have not been the only ones to have left their mark (see Dasgupta 1996, chapter 1, for an excellent overview of approaches to community which inexplicably omits the symbolic perspective). Arensberg (1954), echoed by Geertz (1973), remarked that anthropologists do not study communities—they study *in* communities. He regarded community study as a method, not a distinctive field of social behaviour. The small community constitutes a naturalistic experiment, life in the raw, in which analytic problems can be examined under manageable conditions. For example, community did not become a focus for the investigation of power because the latter was more prevalent or important there than anywhere else. Instead, it was because power could be explored up close as it was exercised.

An impressive example of the methodological utility of community studies is *Small Town in Mass Society* (1958) by Vidich and Bensman. This study is unusual in that there is no discussion of general theory, virtually no review of the literature, no hypotheses or footnotes, and not even any references or bibliography (there is an excellent index and the authors did publish conventional academic articles on the community elsewhere). It is equally unusual in terms of the depth of understanding and the many insights into life in a small town. In a subtle manner the authors integrated the macro and the micro, showing how outside bureaucracy penetrated the community. Their success in moving from the front to the back stage is reflected in their analysis of gossip. The public arena, they state, is confined to expressions of community ideals, such as the assertion that everyone is equal and harmony prevails. Gossip, however, exists as a separate and hidden layer. It is the vehicle for airing the negative aspects of small town life. But because it is covert and unofficial, it rarely dislodges the public ideology or adversely affects any individual. Gossip, they concluded, is only one of many

contradictions between the public and private spheres of existence.

The publication of *Small Town in Mass Society* generated an enormous amount of hostility among the town's residents (Vidich et al. 1964), which might well be interpreted as a back-handed compliment to the authors, reflecting their success in penetrating the back stage; of course, current anxieties about the rights of the subjects of research to control how they are represented hardly entered the picture in those days.

Vidich and Bensman displayed little interest in defining community or contributing to the (dubious) effort of building a theory of community. While they did not entirely ignore the symbolic dimension of town life, especially as regards religion, they certainly did not conceive community as a symbolic construction. Instead their interest in the small community was methodological. In their words (1958:ix) the small community represented "a limited and finite universe in which one can examine in detail some of the major issues of modern American society."

Arensberg's perspective throws into relief one of the flaws in Cohen's study: it does not advance the ethnographic enterprise. With or without the symbols of community, all the hard slogging involved in mapping social relationships, grasping the actor's point of view, coping with contradictory norms and coalitions and enmity, remains to be done. That is where Arensberg's approach excels. To repeat what was asserted at the outset, the small community is made to measure for the ethnographic enterprise.

In summary, the ecological model is contaminated by the assumption of harmony, consensus and solidarity. Yet that assumption is not carved in stone. It would be perfectly legitimate to fuse the territorial dimension to the concept of community without buying into the presumed related values. In this respect the ecological model is quite different from the symbolic model. In the latter, it is impossible to separate consensus, identity and solidarity from the symbolic community. The two dimensions are coterminous

Arensberg's approach to community is deceptively simple. All that it requires is that researchers abandon the quest for a theory of community and instead treat community as a manageable laboratory in which to investigate sociological problems. Of course like my earlier comment about the symbolic perspective, all the hard slogging of fieldwork remains to be done. The difference is that data collection oriented to selected problems is the central focus of the methodological perspective, not community as a sociological construct, type or object.

It might be thought that Arensberg's perspective is assumption-free or a blank slate in terms of the definitional issue. Yet that cannot be the case. Investigators who favour this approach could not identify their research sites unless they had at least an implicit definition. My guess is that the most common identifying tag is territory: the recognition of community in more or less bounded ecological space. It might also be assumed that the problems that interest the investigator dictate the choice of community. That too is improbable. The normal procedure in ethnographic work is to select the research site first, possibly because it pleases or intrigues the investigator, and then let the problems emerge inductively as fieldwork progresses. Finally, there can be little doubt that the problems that eventually shape a study in the Arensberg tradition often reflect the personal interests of the investigator. For example, a major focus in my study in rural Ontario was race relations. Other investigators may have ignored this focus and concentrated on sexual relations, oral tradition or some other issue. All this might suggest that community as method is a hit and miss affair. Yet one thing is clear: it is this approach, exemplified by *Small Town in Mass Society* (Vidich et al. 1964), that has accounted for the high reputation enjoyed by community studies, at least in the past. In recent decades social and technological change has generated new forms of community interaction that arguably have rendered the traditional community obsolete.

New Forms of Community

In two fundamental ways, community appears to have been transformed. One concerns changes within the traditional community itself; the other involves the emergence of a new type of community, notably Internet or online communities.

Almost half a century ago, Webber (1963) captured the essence of the first type of change with his memorable expression "community without propinquity." His basic argument was that as a result of modern communications and transportation, Americans no longer relied on the place where they lived, such as towns and city neighbourhoods, as the source of personal ties and intimate friendships. Instead they developed personal relationships with like-minded individuals throughout the urban setting. In the author's words, "Americans are becoming more closely tied to various interest communities than to place communities" (1963:29).

A decade later, Wellman (1996) mounted much the same argument. His main thesis was that personal relationships in urban society had become "despatialized." That is, neighbourhoods no longer were the main source of friendships; instead, personal ties were based on mutual

interests and were scattered throughout the city. In view of the dominating presence of what the author labelled "personal communities," the local neighbourhood as the basis of primary relationships arguably had become an anachronism. Like Webber, Wellman traced the source of change in the traditional neighbourhood to technology: the automobile, public transportation and the telephone.

While the overlapping arguments of these authors are intriguing and plausible, they give rise to several questions. How generalizable is the thesis? In Webber's case, it appears that he extended the thesis to all of America. This is because of his contention that rural society had been swamped by urbanization to the extent that the rural–urban divide no longer existed. Wellman, in contrast, appeared to have aimed the argument specifically at the metropolitan region. In Paradise, the pseudonym for the community that I investigated in rural Ontario (1994), there was ample evidence that something significant was happening to personal relationships. As residents there never tired of stating, people did not neighbour any more. They tended to keep to themselves and to foster interaction and friendships with individuals and relatives further afield. Yet Paradise was situated within easy driving distance to large urban centres, including Toronto, and its population had been swelled by newcomers from these urban centres, the majority of them commuters. It remains an open question whether the distinction between personal and place communities is applicable to more isolated rural towns and villages.

We might also ask whether the thesis holds throughout the class system or mainly for the middle class and professionals. It is easy to imagine that academics might have the means and mobility to foster personal communities. It is more difficult to imagine poor people or housewives stuck at home with the children doing the same thing.

Another question is whether the thesis implies an either–or situation. That is, are personal and place communities inimical, meaning that the latter have been outpaced by history? Webber's answer seems to be affirmative, but Wellman suggested not only that some personal ties still thrive in neighbourhoods, but also that neighbourhoods continued to serve important functions. For example, they provided a framework for the adaptation and integration of immigrants and for the socialization of children.

During the past couple of decades, the sociology of the community has been enriched or impoverished, depending upon one's viewpoint, by a number of new concepts: Virtual Community, Electronic Homesteading, Netville, Netizen, Cybertowns, Cyberspace Colonies and the expression IRL (in real life). The term *virtual community* was coined by Rheingold, who wrote: "Virtual communities are social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace" (1993:5).[9]

According to Rheingold, it was partly because the sense of community was diminishing in society (or IRL) that people were motivated to recreate it on the Net. He also drew attention to the similarity between the personal community as articulated by Webber and Wellman and the Virtual Community: both are based on common interests rather than geographical space. Rheingold presented a strong case for accepting online communities as real and genuine in their own right. While they are usually initially established by people seeking information about a common interest such as parenting issues or medical concerns, the consistent message in the literature is that people who participate in online communities eventually want more than information; they yearn for communication, interaction (albeit not face-to-face) and support—all defining elements in the traditional community. Rheingold pointed out that sometimes the gap between online interaction and real-life interaction is bridged. For example, in the San Francisco area in the 1980s, the participants of an online parenting conference, including Rheingold, eventually met face-to-face in a conventional conference.

In a new chapter entitled "Rethinking Virtual Communities" in a revised edition (2000) of his pioneering study, Rheingold appeared to be less certain about whether online communities actually exist, and whether, if they do, that is beneficial or detrimental to human society. He acknowledged the criticism that online interaction only constitutes an illusion of community, and that without face-to-face interaction, feelings of closeness and meaningful support may be stifled. Nor did he dismiss out of hand the argument that online activity may contribute to the decline of community because the time spent indoors alone at the computer screen may be alienating. As Rheingold pointed out, there is simply no agreement about these important issues. Although his confidence in his original thesis appears to have been shaken, it was not destroyed, because in the end he continued to express his faith in the reality of communities in cyberspace.

The same sociologist, Wellman, who helped us to understand the emerging distinction between personal communities and place communities, has also made a major contribution to the literature dealing with online communities. Like Rheingold, Wellman (1997) pointed out that the kinds of relationships found on the Internet

strongly resemble the personal communities that emerged in North America in the 1960s. Wellman's unique contribution was to advocate network analysis for the investigation of online relationships and to define them as social relationships embedded in social networks. Recognizing that scholarly opinion is sharply divided as to whether online communities can produce and sustain strong social ties, he wrote, "Many online ties are 'intimate-secondary relationships': moderately strong, informal, frequent and supportive ties that operate in only one specialized domain" (1997:198). This does not mean, he added, that such ties cannot sometimes strengthen into intimate-primary ones over time.

Wellman (1997) insisted that computer-supported social networks do much more than facilitate the exchange of information. They are a source of companionship and emotional support, and they enhance one's sense of belonging. With even more certitude than Rheingold, Wellman pronounced the reality and significance of online communities, or, more precisely, online social networks. Yet much to his credit, he concluded his paper with the candid admission that most of the key questions about computer-supported social networks have not yet been answered, indeed barely formulated. In this context, he introduced 18 such questions, the last being: "What is the context of online relationships in terms of supplying companionship, information, and various types of instrumental and effective support?" (1997:200).

Before leaving Wellman, some commentary on his social network approach is in order. In the revised version of Rheingold's book, he stated: "If I had encountered sociologist Barry Wellman and learned about social network analysis when I first wrote about cyberspace cultures, I could have saved us all a decade of debate by calling them 'online social networks' instead of 'virtual communities'" (2000:359). No doubt Wellman should be justifiably flattered by these words, but less so by the implication that "community" in the context of cyberspace is misleading. My own perspective on network analysis, pioneered by Bott (1957) in order to fill a gap formerly occupied by kinship analysis in a world where the family no longer dominated the entire social structure, and aimed at the social space between the individual's family and the state, is considerably less enthusiastic. In my judgment network analysis, at least in anthropology, has bogged fieldworkers down in technical detail, and conveyed the unfortunate implication that methodological rigour equals theoretical insight. It may well be that network analysis has a particular affinity to online communities, but my worry is that it will leave in the dark the fundamental forces in social science: differential power and institutionalized inequality expressed in class, gender and racial–ethnic relations, as well as perennial questions about who benefits and who loses.

In closing, I shall briefly entertain some additional controversies about the Internet. Some writers, like Rheingold, have regarded the Internet as an instrument for democracy. Yet in a recent newspaper article (*Globe and Mail*, 3 July 2009, p. A13), it was pointed out that Iranian authorities used eavesdropping technology to track the online dissent that emerged in the wake of the unpopular 2009 election results. It should also be pointed out that the early dream of cyberspace accessible to everyone and not controlled by anybody has been threatened not only by government regulation but also by efforts of Big Business to turn it into a commercial asset. To a considerable extent these efforts have been retarded by the unruly nature of online communication, which has caused commercial interests to think twice about the wisdom of exhibiting their brand names.

Scholarly research on the Net also comes with many problems. One concerns representativenesss. Apparently in most online communities (see Nielsen 2006), about 90% of users are lurkers who never contribute, 9% contribute occasionally and 1% essentially run the show. It follows that any attempt to tap into opinion on the Net is treacherous. Yet in a curious way, the risk is little different than in traditional fieldwork where investigators often based their ethnographic reports on two or three cooperative informants, such as their landladies and landlords.

Another problem concerns ethics. Researchers employing the Internet as their data base may be resented as just another type of lurker. Even if an investigator is sensitive to the ethical issue, how does one go about obtaining consent and assuring confidentiality? One suggestion is to draw a distinction between public and private online communities (see Eysenbach and Till 2001), yet not only is the line between them fuzzy, but it has also been argued that some online communities such as hate groups do not warrant privacy because of the perniciousness of their views and goals. Once again, there is a familiar ring to all this. The same ethical issues have dogged anthropology since time immemorial.

Conclusion

There is a constant lament that contemporary society has lost its sense of community. That is, individualism has smothered neighbourliness and people no longer care about each other, except perhaps during a crisis. Yet this portrait does not make room for the personal (or interest) communities described by Webber and Wellman or for online communities. The shifting nature of community

over the past half century, at least in North America, gives rise to two key questions. First, in view of these new forms of interaction, is the methodological perspective still useful? Second, are these new forms genuine communities?

People continue to dwell in villages, towns and urban neighbourhoods, which must have some impact on their lives. The implication is that the modified traditional (or place) community to some extent remains a convenient setting for the investigation of a range of sociological problems. Personal communities add complexity to the research endeavour but they do not transform its character. As face-to-face communities, they are as amenable to investigation by the Arensberg approach as are the traditional communities of the past. For example, on numerous occasions in my research in Paradise, I employed the snowball technique to identify, trace and interview individuals beyond the community who appeared to have meaningful relationships with residents. Some of these outsiders shared similar interests with the residents, while others were former residents or relatives.

The relevancy of the methodological perspective to online communities is more ambiguous. This is not because they exist by virtue of mutual interests—a feature which they appear to share with personal communities—but because they are not face-to-face communities. When one does research on the Internet, important data such as the interviewee's pregnant pause, raised eyebrow or change in tone are not generally recordable. Moreover, one's interaction, and presumably rapport, with online participants is similarily restricted. My criticisms of social network analysis notwithstanding, the Internet may be the one setting where it is especially appropriate, and perhaps content analysis as well.

Finally, I turn to the question about the reality of the new forms of community. There appears to be little doubt that personal ties based on mutual interests rather than residential location have become an important dimension of social interaction in Western society (whether this holds true for its hinterlands and the rest of the world is a different issue). Less clear is whether they warrant the term *community*. Small in scale, it might be more appropriate to describe them by terms dredged up from the past such as primary groups, cliques, solidarities, or simply as pals and buddies.

While online communities are often anything but small in scale, it is also debatable whether they can be considered genuine communities. This is not because interaction online is sometimes hostile: incipient friendships fray, aggressive or obsessive personalities prevail, and hierarchies and anti-social groups emerge. Indeed, all of the above apply equally well to the mythical traditional community, supposedly undifferentiated and eternally harmonious. Rather the doubt stems from the fact that they are not face-to-face communities and from their questionable capacity to achieve strong emotional ties characteristic of friendships.

Bailey (1977, 1983) has restricted community to interaction where emotion trumps rationality, people are treated as ends in themselves rather than as instruments, and the emphasis is on the whole person, the person "in the round" with both good and bad features. Bailey's conception of community may fit personal communities (or what I might refer to as cliques) but hardly computer-mediated ones. Does this mean that the latter are not communities at all? Not necessarily. Central to the notion of community is communication, which online interaction provides in spades. Recall, too, that people using the Net want more than information; they yearn for emotional contact and meaningful interaction. Then there is Wellman's striking phrase: intimate-secondary relationships. Such relationships probably predominate over intimate-primary ones even in the traditional community: acquaintances exchanging greetings on the street, and pausing to chat after church service. Given these factors, there appears to be little reason not to conclude that if online interaction fails to qualify as a genuine community, it only misses by a hair.

Stanley R. Barrett, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, 50 Stone Road East, Guelph, Ontario, N1G 2W1, Canada. E-mail: sbarrett@uoguelph.ca.

Notes

1 An earlier draft of this paper was prepared as the keynote address to a conference on community held at the University of Essex in England, May 2008, in celebration of the life work of Professor Paul Thompson on the occasion of his retirement. I acknowledge the helpful comments provided by him and Elaine Bauer. In addition, I am most grateful for the astute criticism offered by one of the external readers, prompting me to undertake substantial revision.

2 A notable exception was Redfield's (1973) focus on the tradition of the little community in peasant society.

3 Messerschmidt (1981:13) identifies three types of research within anthropology at home: insider anthropology, the term applied to anthropologists from dominant ethnic groups who do fieldwork at home; native anthropology, the term applied to anthropologists from ethnic minority groups who study their own people; and indigenous anthropology, the term for Third World anthropologists who do fieldwork in their own societies.

4 The folk or peasant image of rural Quebec eventually became a source of considerable controversy, particularly in the critical reaction of Garique (1962). In a foreward to a new edition of *St. Denis* (1963), Miner attempted to defend

himself by shifting responsibility for the folk or peasant image to Redfield's "Introduction" to the study.

5 This statement must be qualified. Many anthropologists and sociologists are members of the ethnic groups they study. As insiders, the notion of the "other" and the "exotic" is devoid of meaning.

6 According to Dasgupta (1996:16), there have been four distinct traditions of ecological studies: classical, neo-orthodox, sociocultural and social area. My concern here is mainly with the classical tradition represented by the Chicago school of urban ethnography. Promoted by both Park and Burgess (especially the latter's concept of concentric zones, later called Burgess Zones), the ecological perspective assumed that community life was shaped by the impersonal impact of its physical environment. This approach constituted an incipient conflict theory (which appears to have been ignored in later renditions of community studies) because of the argument that people in a given territory, such as a neighbourhood, are always in competition for resources (especially land) with those in adjoining neighbourhoods.

7 Redfield (1973) has argued that throughout history the predominate type of human association has been the small community.

8 This may be the place to state that I do not discount the significance of symbolism in human existence. To do so would be foolish. My preference, however, is for an eclectic approach that entertains symbolism as only one among many key social dimensions and draws from a range of theoretical perspectives, yet hovers close to what I consider to be the core dynamic of the social sciences: institutionalized inequality. Although I think that my criticisms of Cohen's study are sound, they undoubtedly are grounded in my own ideas about how to conduct sociological investigation, which themselves (almost inconceivably, of course!) are vulnerable to criticism. Perhaps Geertz was right when he quipped that over the long stretch of social scientific scholarship, we simply have learned how to vex each other more.

9 For an excellent overview of the virtual society on the Internet, see King et al. 1997.

References

Anderson, Nels
1923 The Hobo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Arensberg, Conrad
1954 The Community-Study Method. American Journal of Sociology 60:109-124.

Bachrach. Peter, and Morton S. Baratz
1962 Two Faces of Power. American Political Science Review 56:947-952.
1963 Decisions and Non-Decisions: An Analytic Framework. American Political Science Review 57:632-642.

Bailey, F.G.
1977 Morality and Expediency: The Folklore of Academic Politics. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
1983 The Tactical Uses of Passion: An Essay on Power, Reason and Reality. Ithica and London: Cornell University Press.

Barrett, Stanley R.
1977 The Rise and Fall of an African Utopia. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
1994 Paradise: Class, Commuters and Ethnicity in Rural Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
2002 Culture Meets Power. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Barth, Fredrik, ed.
1969 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Bell, Colin, and Howard Newby
1972 Community Studies. New York: Praeger.

Boas, Franz
1940 Race, Language and Culture. New York: Macmillan.
1962 [1928] Anthropology and Modern Life. New York: W.W. Norton.

Bott, Elizabeth
1957 Family and Social Network. London: Tavistock.

Blumer, Herbert
1969 Symbolic Interactionism. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bulmer, Martin
1984 The Chicago School of Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, Anthony P.
1989 [1985] The Symbolic Construction of Community. London: Routledge.

Cressy, Paul G.
1932 The Taxi Dance Hall. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dahl, Robert.
1961 Who Governs? New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dasgupta, Satagal, ed.
1996 The Community in Canada: Rural and Urban. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Dewey, J.
1960-61 The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant. American Sociological Review 66:60-66.

Dollard, John
1988 [1937] Caste and Class in a Southern Town. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Eysenbach, Gunther, and James Till
2001 Ethical Issues in Qualitative Research on Internet Communities. Electronic resource, http://www.bmj.com/cgi/eletters/323/7321/1103, accessed 6 June 2009.

Frazier, E. Franklin
1931 The Negro Family in Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gans, Herbert
1962 The Urban Villagers. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
1967 The Levittowners. New York: Random House.

Garique, Phillippe
1962 Organization sociale et valeurs culturelles canadiennes-françaises. Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 28:189-203.

Geertz, Clifford
1973 The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Gold, Gerald
1975 Saint-Pascal: Changing Leadership and Social Organization in a Quebec Town. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Hillery, George A.
1955 Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement. Rural Sociology 20:111-123.
Hughes, Everett C.
1931 The Growth of an Institution: The Chicago Real Estate Board. Chicago: Arno Press.
1943 French Canada in Transition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Hunter, Floyd
1953 Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
King, John, Rebecca E. Grinter and Jeanne M. Pickering
1997 The Rise and Fall of Netville. *In* Culture of the Internet. S. Kiesler, ed. Pp. 3-33. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Kornhauser, Ruth
1953 The Warner Approach to Social Stratification. *In* Class, Status and Power. R. Bendix and S. Lipset, eds. Pp. 224-255. Glencoe: Free Press.
Kurtz, Lester B.
1984 Evaluating Chicago Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lévi-Strauss, Claude.
1966 [1962] The Savage Mind. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
1978 Myth and Meaning. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Lukes, Steven
1974 Power: A Radical View. London: Macmillan.
Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd.
1929 Middletown. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
Messerschmidt, Donald A.
1981 Anthropology at Home in North America: Methods and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Miner, Horace
1939 St. Denis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1963 [1939] St. Denis. Phoenix Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Montagu, Ashley
1942 Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company.
1963 Race, Science and Humanity. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.
Murphy, Robert
1971 The Dialectics of Social Life. New York: Basic Books.
Nielsen, Jacob
2006 Participation Inequality: Encouraging More Users to Contribute. Electronic resource, http://www.useit.com/altertbox/participation_inequality.html, accessed 6 June 2009.
Neuwirth, Gertrude
1969 A Weberian Outline of a Theory of Community: Its Application to the "Dark Ghetto". British Journal of Sociology 20:148-163.
Omi, Michael and Howard Winant
1986 Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1980s. New York and London: Routledge.
Peel, J.D.Y.
1968 Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba. London: Oxford University Press.
Redfield, Robert
1973 [1960] The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rheingold, Howard
1993 The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
2000 [1993] The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Riches, David, ed.
1986 The Anthropology of Violence. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Stewart, Pamela J., and Andrew Strathern.
2002 Violence: Theory and Ethnography. London and New York: Continuum.
Thomas, William Isaac, and Florian Znaniecki
1918 The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. Boston: Richard G. Badger.
Thrasher, Frederick M.
1927 The Gang. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Vidich, Arthur J. and Joseph Bensman
1958 Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Vidich, Arthur J., Joseph Bensman and Maurice R. Stein
1964 Reflections on Community Studies. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
Warner, W. Lloyd and Paul S. Lunt
1942 The Status System of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Warner, W. Lloyd, M. Meeker and K. Eells
1949 Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Class. Chicago: Science Research Associates.
Webber, Melvin M.
1963 Order in Diversity: Community without Propinquity. *In* Cities and Space. L. Wingo, Jr., ed. Pp. 23-54. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
Wellman, Barry
1996 [1974] Who Needs Neighbourhoods?: *In* The Community in Canada. S. Dasgupta, ed. Pp. 347-352. Lanham, New York and London: University Press of America.
1997 An Electronic Group Is Virtually a Social Network. *In* Culture of the Internet. S. Kiesler, ed. Pp. 179-205. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Williams, William Morgan
1969 The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Wirth, Louis
1928 The Ghetto. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Zorbaugh, Harvey Warren
1929 Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

La dispute des forts : une anthropologie des combats de boxe ordinaires

Jérôme Beauchez *Laboratoire « Mondes et dynamiques des sociétés » CNRS*

Résumé : Le sens de la « dispute des forts », ou la signification sociale de l'expérience du ring vécue par les pugilistes ordinaires, constitue l'objet de cet article réalisé à partir de quatre années d'étude ethnographique des situations de combat. Observées entre la France, l'Allemagne et le Luxembourg, ces soirées pugilistiques éloignées de l'attention des médias nous inclinent dès lors à percevoir toute la densité des oppositions, qui dépassent les seuls corps des combattants pour s'étendre aux différents groupes qu'ils incarnent ou représentent.

Mots-clés : boxeurs ordinaires, anthropologie, description dense, soirées pugilistiques, corps, combats

Abstract: The objective of this article, based on four years of ethnographic studies of combat situations, is to relay the meaning behind the "forceful fight," or the social implication of life inside the boxing ring experienced by ordinary pugilists. My anthropological observations were made in France, Germany and Luxembourg while attending privately held (no media) boxing functions. In the results, there are an array of in-depth oppositions that extend far beyond the bodies of fighters alone.

Keywords: common boxers, anthropology, thick description, boxing functions, body, combat

Dudelange, Luxembourg, 26 février 2000. Ce soir, Mohand fait ses débuts de boxeur professionnel. Tandis qu'une musique tonitruante accompagne sa marche vers le ring, les premières manifestations d'hostilité commencent à émaner du public. En tant que français venu de Strasbourg affronter le jeune espoir local des poids welters (moins de 67 kg), Mohand a d'emblée le mauvais rôle. Qui plus est, sa qualité de boxeur extérieur l'incline à se présenter le premier entre les cordes. Le pugiliste luxembourgeois en profite donc pour le faire attendre, tout immergé dans l'inimitié de ce premier bain de foule. Puis les voix du public se font à nouveau plus fortes, leur tonalité change : l'adversaire de Mohand arrive sous les acclamations générales. Après les recommandations d'usage adressées par l'arbitre aux opposants, ce dernier place son bras entre les corps et ne le retirera que pour prononcer le commandement anglais traditionnellement réservé au déclenchement des duels. « Box ! » Mohand a déjà pris un direct en plein visage. Chuck, boxeur professionnel expérimenté et compagnon d'entraînement du premier, s'est tout simplement figé, le regard à la fois empreint de crainte et de gravité. Tout comme nous autres, ceux du gymnase strasbourgeois des Gants d'Or venus là pour supporter les efforts d'un membre de notre « corps », Chuck vit charnellement les émotions du combat, directement relié à elles par une sorte de mimétisme compassionnel. A chaque coup encaissé, son estomac semble faire un bond. Très nerveux, il tente de conseiller Mohand en couvrant d'une voix forte le brouhaha général. Ce dernier finit par trouver lentement ses marques : il bouge mieux et commence à faire mouche. Mohand enchaîne les séries et, soudainement, coupe son adversaire d'un poing sèchement asséné au plexus. L'autre souffre, il a mis un genou à terre et l'arbitre le compte. Il se relèvera. Immédiatement, Chuck en profite pour crier : « Calme ! Travaille maintenant ! Ne te jette pas ! »

Mohand ne suivra pas les conseils avisés de son aîné; contrôlant mal ses élans combatifs, il se rue sur son adver-

saire. Mais l'autre n'est pas dupe. Il a partiellement récupéré et décoche soudain un crochet magistral qui, s'écrasant sur la mâchoire du strasbourgeois, l'envoie au tapis. L'arbitre égrènera le compte jusqu'à neuf (dix signifiant l'arrêt imminent du combat par *Knock Out*). Mohand s'est relevé tant bien que mal; titubant, il n'est pas remis du choc. Par chance, le gong signale l'achèvement de la première reprise. Nous échangeons tous des regards inquiets. Deuxième round. Mohand a récupéré. Cette fois il travaille et touche à nouveau. Après quelques belles esquives, les enchaînements réalisés le conduisent à percuter une nouvelle fois le plexus encore sensible de son adversaire. Ce dernier, ne parvenant plus à respirer, ne reprendra pas le combat. La victoire ne souffre aucune discussion. Elle revient à Mohand. Le public, malgré cela, le huera.

Le spectacle des poings : méthode d'observation et enjeux pour l'anthropologie

Reproduite à partir des notes consignées dans mes carnets de terrain, la scène de ce combat qui montre les débuts d'un boxeur professionnel aux prises avec ses multiples adversaires – l'autre pugiliste bien sûr, mais aussi le public et une certaine « crainte du destin » (Goffman 1974:146) – dessine autant de données élémentaires de ce que l'on pourrait appeler le « spectacle des poings ». Données élémentaires, parce que c'est d'abord de leur interrelation que naissent le spectacle pugilistique et, partant, la configuration sociale du combat. Données élémentaires ensuite parce qu'ici, dans ce modeste gymnase luxembourgeois, nous restons bien loin des grandes rencontres de boxe dont traitent habituellement les médias.

De la façon à l'objet de l'étude

Issue de tels creusets d'affrontement, seule une infime minorité de boxeurs brillera au centre des écrans de télévision, tandis que tous les autres s'arrêteront là : aux scintillements périphériques des nombreuses soirées de gala qui, à l'instar de celle-ci, ponctuent les carrières luxembourgeoises, allemandes ou françaises de milliers de pugilistes ordinaires[1]. Peu doués aux mains senestres, et pourtant armés d'un courage carnassier, ou virtuoses du crochet un rien paresseux du jeu de jambes, pendant près de quatre années (1999-2002) je me suis appliqué à ethnographier leurs expériences du ring. Engagé dans une observation participante auprès d'un groupe de pugilistes de la banlieue de Strasbourg (une ville rhénane du Nord-est de la France, frontalière avec l'Allemagne), j'ai donc commencé par fréquenter les gymnases bas-rhinois, et particulièrement celui des Gants d'Or où je m'entraînais quotidiennement. De l'Amérique du Sud aux Antilles, en passant par les différentes latitudes africaines et l'île de la Réunion, ce petit monde de boxeurs se composait à la façon d'un corps-diaspora; un ensemble dont les diversités résonnaient des mêmes expériences. Celles des présences conjointes au gymnase, découpées sur le fond d'une « double absence » (Sayad 1999) vécue à l'entre-deux des quartiers populaires de l'exil strasbourgeois, où certains s'abîmaient dans la dureté d'*ici* et la perte de *là-bas* (Beauchez 2009). Articulé à ce corps de boxeurs comme l'un de ses membres, j'en ai donc peu à peu compris les tensions et les « raisons de faire ». Les unes comme les autres m'ont dès lors amené hors du gymnase : vers les scènes des combats en public qui confèrent un sens aux rudesses, ainsi qu'à tous les efforts consentis lors des entraînements[2].

Ce sens de la « dispute des forts », ou cette signification sociale de l'expérience du ring vécue du point de vue des pugilistes ordinaires, constitue l'objet de cet article appliqué à proposer une « explication interprétative » (Geertz 2002:30) de la situation de combat. C'est dire qu'à partir des dizaines de galas observés entre France, Allemagne ou Luxembourg, et des centaines d'oppositions qui s'y sont déroulées (en près de quatre années, j'ai vu une moyenne de dix galas par an, soit environ cinq cent quarante combats), le principal enjeu de ce travail consiste à saisir la part significative du regard que les boxeurs portent sur leurs affrontements. Selon une formule rendue célèbre par Clifford Geertz, il s'agira donc non seulement « d'entendre leurs entendements » (2002:10), mais encore de décrire toute la densité de leurs engagements, afin de comprendre comment la situation de combat peut se construire en tant qu'événement autour de cette configuration à la fois élémentaire et mouvante que forment deux pugilistes opposés sur la toile d'un ring. Mise en pratique dès l'introduction, cette méthode de la « description dense » (Geertz 1973:6-9) nous a du reste déjà inclinés à percevoir une part de la profondeur des oppositions, qui semblent bien échapper aux seuls corps de la dispute – les boxeurs et l'arbitre comme incarnations de l'institution pugilistique – pour étendre le jeu et les enjeux des poings à tout un ensemble de participants présents-absents du ring, à l'exemple du public et des boxeurs non-combattants venus au gala pour soutenir et conseiller l'un de leurs compagnons. Tous ces participants indirects aux oppositions – auxquels il convient d'ajouter les entraîneurs, les managers, les promoteurs et autres organisateurs dont les rôles seront précisés – trament une structure invisible d'interactions à laquelle s'articulent les figures bien visibles du corps à corps. En montrant comment opère cette articulation entre l'expérience vécue du ring et ses différents « cadres d'interprétation » (Geertz

1973 : 9), nous espérons densifier d'autant la description ethnographique des luttes. Ainsi formulée, cette hypothèse de la « profondeur du jeu » (Geertz 1973:432-442) nous invite dès lors à considérer l'événement du gala comme une totalisation, ou le moyen idoine d'analyser l'enchâssement des corps constitutifs d'un spectacle pugilistique surdéterminé par l'ensemble de ses acteurs. De là, il devient possible d'interroger à nouveaux frais le rôle spécifique des boxeurs, leur perception ainsi que leur pouvoir de définition des situations de combat.

Pour une anthropologie du corps combattant

A partir de cette construction liminaire de l'objet d'étude, les visées de celle-ci montrent deux orientations complémentaires. D'abord, il s'agit d'apporter des données empiriques concernant un monde social tout à fait méconnu : celui des boxeurs ordinaires qui, depuis les petits galas français, allemands ou luxembourgeois, construisent les réalités d'une pratique pour le moins éloignée des grands événements pugilistiques. Ensuite, partant de ses localisations européennes, cet article entend précisément renouveler les modèles d'analyse des combats de boxe ordinaires, jusqu'alors essentiellement produits par les sciences sociales en référence au cas étasunien (Sugden 1996:56-88; Wacquant 2000:149-230; Rotella 2003). Tandis que ces modèles seront mobilisés dans la perspective d'une première étude anthropologique des façons d'éprouver la situation de combat en France, au Luxembourg et en Allemagne, une certaine rupture épistémologique sera néanmoins marquée vis-à-vis d'autres travaux qui envisagent les affrontements pugilistiques comme autant de théâtres modernes de la « violence » (Rauch 1992; Sheard 1997). Si « une phénoménologie de la pratique montre son objet » (Rauch 1992:284), alors celui-ci ne saurait être d'emblée réduit à l'imposition d'une telle catégorie *a priori*. Conçue en amont de la recherche, elle n'exprime jamais que le pouvoir de celui qui nomme (l'historien, le sociologue) sur celui qui est nommé (le boxeur pris dans ses combats). Respecter le principe phénoménologique de la suspension de tout *a priori* dans un mouvement de retour aux choses mêmes (voir notamment Husserl 2001:35), reviendra donc ici à n'opérer aucune réduction de l'agir pugilistique à un quelconque concept projeté du dehors sur l'explication des combats. À l'inverse, ceux-ci seront décrits, puis expliqués de l'intérieur non comme la métaphore d'une sorte de malaise dans la civilisation (Sheard 1997:33-34) ou la culture (Rauch 1992:25-26), mais plutôt comme une manière privilégiée d'entrer dans l'organisation sociale des galas, au plus près des boxeurs ordinaires qui les animent en chair et en poings. Depuis les instants précédant les affrontements jusqu'au passage des pugilistes entre les cordes, pour finir face aux juges-arbitres et à l'énoncé de leurs verdicts, l'essentiel des attentions ethnographiques se concentrera par conséquent sur les gestes et le corps vécu des combattants. Sujets d'interprétations émiques dont nous entendons livrer le détail, l'intention fondamentale de ce texte reste ainsi de :

> préserver, à travers les transformations qu'effectue l'analyse scientifique, les propriétés que présentent les phénomènes dans le champ d'expérience où ils apparaissent [...], notamment leur configuration sensible, appréhendée du point de vue de la conduite, leur mode propre d'organisation, leur façon spécifique de s'agencer. [Quéré 2004:131]

A la manière d'Erving Goffman dans son introduction aux *Cadres de l'expérience* (1991:22), il faut donc humblement demander qu'il ne soit pas fait grief à un tel travail d'omettre d'aborder ce qu'il ne prétend explorer : la « violence » des combats, ou encore les relations de « genre », d'« ethnies » ou de « classes sociales » que la boxe est susceptible de mettre en scène parce qu'elle oppose le plus souvent des hommes – comme ceux des Gants d'Or – issus des minorités ethniques et des groupes sociaux les plus défavorisés[3]. Premières d'un certain point de vue étique, ces catégories d'analyse restent toutefois secondes à l'égard des logiques en actes et de l'expérience pratique du ring que vivent les boxeurs. Puisque ces dernières constituent le centre de nos intérêts, les saisir à l'état incorporé, dans le cadre des galas ordinaires, nous ramènera aux modalités les plus « somatiques » (au sens de Csordas 1993:138) de l'épreuve du combat. De la prise en compte des entrecroisements de gestes, d'émotions, d'appréciations et de jugements qu'elle suscite naît ainsi la possibilité d'une anthropologie du corps combattant, nourrie par une phénoménologie des luttes pugilistiques débutée en coulisse des galas : dans l'entre-soi des vestiaires, où l'imminence des affrontements, le stress et parfois la peur, agitent le corps des boxeurs ...

En coulisses des galas : préparer les forts

Neuenkirchen, Allemagne, 4 mars 2000. 17h30. La pesée a lieu dans une pièce exiguë; on y arrive après avoir franchi l'enfilade de vestiaires qui s'étire sur toute la longueur du grand gymnase municipal. Il y aura seize combats. Resserrés dans cet office borgne afin d'y être évalués par la masse, ça fait donc trente-deux corps entassés : tout un entrelacs de vie nues pressées autour d'un verdict énoncé au gramme près. D'ailleurs ces grammes, on les cherche du regard, on les jauge à vue pour en extraire la possibilité d'une incarnation de l'adversaire : serait-ce lui ? Ou peut-être cet autre là-bas, qui paraît ruminer on

ne sait quelle colère ? On verra bien… Vingt-six ans chacun, tous deux amateurs, Boris et Mehdi sont au poids : respectivement 57 et 75 kg. Ensemble, ils concentrent la Martinique et le Maroc version Gants d'Or sur ces deux corps officiellement déclarés prêts au combat.

Autour des boxeurs …

Il est un peu plus de 18h, et pendant deux heures encore seul le « premier monde » de la boxe – celui des pugilistes, des entraîneurs et des managers – peuplera les lieux. C'est le moment des tractations. On parle boutique, on s'échange des informations sur le milieu, on entrevoit des perspectives de combat; bref : on tisse les actes de la gazette pugilistique par le discours, avant qu'ils ne se réalisent sur le ring[4]. D'ailleurs voilà que Luis, l'entraîneur des Gants d'Or, appelle Mohand. Déjà, sa vive allure de guerrier inca arraché à ses mondes s'agite d'empressement (ancien professionnel des rings, Luis est né au Chili en 1953). Son boxeur est demandé par le manager luxembourgeois avec lequel il a l'habitude de traiter. En discussion : la perspective d'un combat qui donnera une suite rapide à la dernière victoire de Mohand. Alors que celui-ci se dirige promptement vers les deux bâtisseurs de sa carrière, Reiner S., l'entraîneur du Box-Club 1921 Neunkirchen, s'élance à sa rencontre. Lui aussi a été témoin de la récente performance luxembourgeoise du jeune boxeur; il en a apprécié la manière et l'en félicite chaleureusement. Bien que les deux hommes aient du mal à se comprendre par le biais du langage parlé, c'est par le corps qu'ils se manifestent une franche reconnaissance, s'empoignant et se donnant l'accolade. Avec déférence, Mohand refermera néanmoins cette parenthèse valorisante : les affaires l'appellent. S'il accepte la proposition de son manager, le strasbourgeois boxera à Lille la semaine suivante, dans un gala professionnel de bon niveau ; peu de temps pour réfléchir : l'aubaine se teinte de stress. En dernière instance, le boxeur reste seul face à ses choix de combat.

Les coulisses des galas de boxe sont partout émaillées de ce type de saynètes. Elles les remplissent de toute une vie pugilistique *de l'intérieur*, une vie des boxeurs qui tantôt s'agite dans quelque affairement et tantôt se tait, subitement figée par la sensation du combat à venir. Car c'est bien lui que tous attendent. Son imminence est d'ailleurs annoncée par l'arrivée du « deuxième monde » : le public. Avec celui-ci, c'est toute la région antérieure du gala qui vient se déposer sur les lieux à la manière d'une vague grossissante dotée d'un étrange pouvoir : au fur et à mesure de ses flux, les acteurs du « premier monde » se retirent dans la région postérieure des vestiaires, où ils se dérobent aux regards de l'Autre qui ne doit plus voir de soi que le combat, et certainement pas les actes de sa préparation, immanquablement confondus de stress, d'anxiété et d'instants de prostration[5]. La fatalité latente de la situation de combat engendre ainsi ce que nous avions appelé, avec Goffman, la « crainte du destin ». Celle-ci atteint son faîte dans les heures et, surtout, les minutes précédant l'entrée en scène. Une foule de défenses, personnelles et collectives, sont alors produites sous la forme de rituels destinés à conjurer la peur et l'angoisse dont on ne dit jamais le nom. Des propositions comme « je suis stressé », « c'est l'adrénaline », se substituent alors le plus souvent à un « j'ai peur » inavouable et synonyme de faiblesse[6].

… dissoudre la peur dans l'affairement

Nonobstant les effets paralysants du stress, bientôt membres et visages se ranimeront. Les différentes étapes de la préparation des corps engageront alors une activité constante autour de ceux qui s'apprêtent à combattre. Cette effervescence de choses à faire, de muscles à échauffer et de gestes à préparer éloigne l'anxiété en la dissolvant dans l'affairement. Ici, tandis que l'entraîneur répète pour la énième fois les dernières consignes à ce boxeur qui va rejoindre le ring, cet autre quelque peu figé par l'appréhension reçoit spontanément le soutien des siens, qui le lèvent de son banc et lui tendent leurs mains en manière de cibles afin qu'il puisse une fois encore répéter ses enchaînements. Droite – gauche – uppercut – crochet : alors que les coups sortent des corps, les esprits conçoivent les mouvements de l'adversaire. Pour sûr il est juste là, dans le vestiaire d'à-côté, répétant des gestes similaires, tous pris dans la gangue de la même anxiété. Et tandis que les combats d'amateurs se succèdent, que les nez rougis, les arcades bleuies et les pommettes enflées retournent se panser en coulisses, le moment des professionnels approche. Le second acte des galas leur est traditionnellement réservé. Exit les casques de sécurité absorbant la précipitation des poings; maintenant vient le tour des têtes et des torses nus où danse parfois l'encre d'un dessin qui représente, comme sur la poitrine de Chuck, quelque grand félin dont le boxeur espère acquérir le cœur, ainsi que les fougueuses dextérités.

Mais avant la tempête que l'on souhaite bien évidemment victorieuse, vient le calme concentré sur sa préparation minutieuse. Si, pour ce faire, les vestiaires des boxeurs professionnels ne sont pas individualisés – chose au demeurant assez fréquente dans l'organisation des galas ordinaires–, le moment liminaire où ils éprouvent toute la proximité de leurs affrontements s'entoure néanmoins d'une quiétude respectée par tous. De longs silences marquent cette forme particulière de soutien où seule importe la présence des proches; une présence *connaissante* : celle de ceux qui savent. Cette ambiance presque

feutrée fait alors contraste avec l'éclat sonore des combats, qui s'infiltre parfois par l'embrasure d'une porte aussitôt refermée. Là, avant même de répéter une dernière fois les enchaînements de coups et de disposer les musculatures à l'effort, ce sont les priorités d'une habileté tout à fait spécifique qui ne tarderont pas à s'exercer. Rituellement confiée aux mains expertes de Luis, elle consiste précisément à préparer celles de ses combattants dans une sorte d'alliage de la chair et de la pierre. En effet, si les boxeurs amateurs, avant de chausser leurs gants, enserrent simplement leurs poings de bandes de tissu similaires à celles usitées lors des entraînements, les professionnels combattent quant à eux avec les mains enveloppées dans de véritables plâtres dont la façon nécessite un minimum de quarante-cinq minutes de travail. Ils sont composés de différentes couches de gaze entremêlées de bandes et de scotches, le tout protégeant certes efficacement le poing des chocs, mais le transformant surtout en une masse ferme et d'autant plus redoutable. Les gants de combat étant de surcroît régulièrement plus fins en professionnel qu'en amateur, et si l'on ajoute à cela l'interdiction de porter un casque pour les premiers, on comprendra aisément que la maîtrise des esquives, blocages et autres accompagnements des coups, n'est pas un luxe dont cette catégorie de pugilistes peut aisément se passer. Preuve en est la mésaventure vécue par Mohand lors de ses débuts professionnels au Luxembourg, où un seul crochet encaissé sur l'arête de la mâchoire avait failli l'étendre pour le compte. Revenant sur l'épisode de cette subreptice malencontre, Chuck précisera : « ce sont les coups que tu vois pas qui font mal. Faut toujours regarder les coups; c'est logique : quand tu vois venir, tu peux esquiver, sinon … Les K.O., c'est toujours comme ça : c'est des coups que tu vois pas ! »

Le thème du K.O. était lancé. Épouvantail tragique qui s'agite dans toutes les pensées avant le combat, il effraie les consciences à la façon d'une malédiction à conjurer. Au-delà des ennuis de santé qu'il est susceptible d'occasionner, le K.O. représente surtout le summum de la dévalorisation dans la soumission brute et sans appel à la domination de l'autre, dont le coup fatal vole, sur un instant, les esprits mais aussi la dignité de celui qui l'encaisse. Tandis que l'on tente d'en chasser les images, pour quelques instants encore, les portes des vestiaires se referment.

Dans le public : assister au spectacle des corps

Alors même que les boxeurs se replient sur la préparation méthodique de leur tour de piste, joué comme l'instant d'une gladiature moderne, le public se dilate dans la salle. Au creux de la pénombre, quelques lumières jouent de leurs faisceaux colorés sur la toile du ring. Elles semblent s'accorder aux retentissements des épais systèmes de sonorisation qui crachent leurs premiers morceaux de musique dans un style balancé entre « rap », « R'n'B » et « dance ». Ici, pas de recherche d'originalité : on se contente de jouer les succès du moment. Ils seront matraqués avec une certaine obstination tout au long de la soirée. Au rythme tonitruant des couples basse-batterie, la buvette sert maintenant ses premiers verres; on vient s'accouder, quelques groupes se forment et se brassent parmi les effluves de bière. Dans la plupart des galas de boxe, hommes et femmes qui viennent composer le public affectent ainsi des mises en scène du « soi » dont les formes semblent se répondre à distance par un étrange jeu de l'identique. À la ritualisation d'une masculinité souvent mise sur un « 31 » très populaire – avec son élégance des torses entrevus au travers de quelque chemise satinée – correspond une manière socialement approuvée d'être femme, où celles qui l'incarnent exhibent généralement au plus court d'aucunes de leur dotations peu ou prou naturelles, dont elles figent l'exposition charnelle en restant postées à côté de leurs hommes agités par de vives discussions autour du sujet pugilistique. Toute cette matrice d'une hétérosexualité obligatoire se trouve d'ailleurs mise en abyme sur le ring dans l'idéalité du couple masculin/féminin symboliquement formé par l'union du boxeur, pourvu de sa puissante nudité phallique inondée de sueur, et de l'immanquable fille de ring, choisie pour les rebonds aguicheurs de sa plastique. Entre chaque reprise, sa mission consiste à brandir, sur un tour de toile bien déhanché, le panneau chiffré annonçant le round à venir. En Allemagne, au Luxembourg, en France ou ailleurs, toutes ces filles sont, si l'on en croit Baudrillard (1976:165-170), aussi phalliques que leurs homologues masculins; c'est-à-dire qu'elles sont toutes également siliconées, *utra-violisées*, puis finalement sifflées.

Et tandis que les stridences échauffent les bouches, celles-là ne tarderont pas à s'emplir de tout un ensemble de « politesses » vociférées à l'adresse des pugilistes. C'est là une autre constante que j'ai pu maintes fois observer : lorsqu'on vient au spectacle des poings mastiquer du direct et déguster du crochet, on finit par ruminer une façon de haine que l'on s'empresse de recracher aux *gueules combattantes* qui se font et se défont sur le ring. Ici, les tourmentes de maux ne laissent pas de produire d'autres mots : ceux de la vindicte du peuple des gradins, dont les « tue-le! », « frappe encore! », « casse-lui la tête! », « achève-le! », sonnent comme le glas d'un honneur du boxeur absenté de bien des regards[7]. De ceux-ci, il faudra certes retrancher le coup d'œil avisé des quelques initiés

capables d'appréhender les oppositions au travers d'une grille de lecture forgée par une longue expérience de la boxe. Mais pour la majorité du public qui se plaît à concevoir le charisme de ses « guerriers furieux » (Weber 1995:321) en le rapportant à l'indigence du corps de leurs victimes, l'issue de l'affrontement continue d'être réduite à une alternative brutalement jouée entre victoire et défaite; une alternative aux verdicts immédiatement binaires, et qui éclipsent, comme nous allons le voir, toute la subtilité des médiations interprétatives dont le résultat des combats fait l'objet du point de vue de ses principaux acteurs : les boxeurs.

Sur la scène du combat : une rythmique de la peau et des autres

Une vraie opposition...

Mehdi vient d'entrer sur le ring. Tout engoncé dans sa courte silhouette râblée, il semble caparaçonné dans une gangue de muscles et de concentration impossible à pénétrer. Son adversaire russe, dont l'expérience pugilistique s'étend à cent vingt-huit combats – contre à peine vingt pour Mehdi – entend pourtant bien s'en charger. Placidement, il écarte les cordes du ring et pénètre à son tour l'aire d'affrontement. Premier échange agonistique : Mehdi soutient le regard adverse sans effort. Les deux sont à présent face-à-face. « Box ! » Tout de suite, le Russe s'échappe. Plus grand que Mehdi, il maintient la distance et tente de l'attirer dans ses poings. Tel un torero à la geste cyrillique, il provoque son adversaire, cherchant à l'entraîner dans une charge désordonnée. Là, au cœur du *kairos* ainsi créé, il le surprendra par la soudaineté d'un contre destiné à placer en banderille quelque uppercut ou crochet meurtrier. Mais rien n'y fait. Mehdi voit clair dans son jeu. Depuis sa garde hermétiquement verrouillée, il se contente d'élancer de vives mais prudentes percées dans les nodosités pugilistiques tressées par le Russe. Les rares ouvertures laissées par Mehdi se referment alors aussitôt que les brèves séries de coups ont été dispensées. Puis l'étrange flamenco, riche et léger, reprend ses droits. Les minutes s'égrènent. Deux reprises passent et la stratégie du Russe s'essouffle face à l'entêtement tactique de Mehdi. Celui-ci prend d'ailleurs confiance en lui; une confiance qu'il semble retirer à l'autre, qui s'affadit. Ainsi Mehdi ose-t-il les coups, lâchant maintenant de très beaux enchaînements corps-face. Le Russe est malmené, mais l'audace du Français vient peut-être un peu tard pour emporter la décision. Fin de la troisième reprise; le combat est allé à son terme[8]. C'est le poing du Russe que l'arbitre lèvera. À cela, rien à redire. Luis comme Mehdi sont plutôt satisfaits : le combat s'est bien déroulé. En dépit de la défaite annoncée, il s'agirait même plutôt d'une victoire pour les Gants d'Or si l'on compare les « stocks de connaissances » (Berger et Luckmann 1996:61) et d'expérience pugilistiques des deux boxeurs. Mehdi s'est montré dur; il a résisté, incarnant le verbe comme une véritable devise du corps...

... et une fausse défaite qui font deux victoires

C'est au tour de Boris d'entrer en lice. Il arrive sur le ring le regard vide. Son appréhension est forte. Tout en déposant le tabouret de coin, Luis le scrute en biais. L'entraîneur semble inquiet; il connaît son boxeur. Par deux fois l'année passée, Boris a perdu des combats pourtant menés de bout en bout. Toujours le même scénario : avide d'issues expéditives, il fond sur son adversaire, lequel, dans la débâcle, élance ce que les boxeurs appellent un dernier contre « à l'agonie ». Ces coups chargés de l'énergie du désespoir, dopés par une ferme intention de survivre, sont aussi redoutables que redoutés. Ne visant précisément aucune cible repérée sur le corps de l'autre, ils commencent donc leur course à l'aveugle pour venir brutalement s'écraser sur un boxeur en plein élan de succès ... Les deux fois, Boris a ainsi été coupé net dans ses avancées : frappé de plein fouet, étendu pour le compte, K.O. Il veut donc à tout prix rétablir l'échange symbolique avec la soudaineté de cette mort métaphorique dans le sens de sa valeur confirmée, et non plus infirmée par quelque malheurt de boxeur. Il désire tant gagner qu'une fois encore Luis redoute l'ardeur de sa volonté. L'Allemand qui lui sera opposé semble d'ailleurs des plus rugueux. Taillé à la serpe dans une sorte de granit musculeux, l'effet de contraste avec la stature longiligne de Boris souligne d'autant sa sveltesse. Premier round. Boris prend des coups. Au bas du ring, Luis trépigne, se détourne, lance ses bras en l'air, puis revient percer la scène du combat d'un œil passionné. Boris se reprend. Il semble se diffuser tout entier dans son corps de boxeur qu'il anime maintenant de fort beaux enchaînements percutés entre le corps et le visage de son adversaire. Celui-ci accuse les coups. Soudain, et contre toute attente, Boris décide de se précipiter pour l'hallali ; c'est bien trop tôt ! L'Allemand a encore de la ressource : il contre brutalement. Boris est rudement touché. Tandis qu'il chancelle, Luis fulmine et ne résiste que difficilement à l'envie de briser le tabouret de ring qu'il vient de saisir entre ses mains. Gong.

> Mais putain, tu vas faire ce que je te dis ?! Arrête de te jeter ! Travaille ! Pourquoi tu le suis ? Tu le cadres, tu donnes ta série et tu sors ! Et encore, et encore : tu coupes la route et tu frappes ! Comme à la salle ! Le K.O. viendra s'il doit venir; mais si tu le cherches, c'est

toi qui seras couché … Tu le sais très bien ! Alors travaille, fais mal et te jette pas !

Luis appuie ses dernières injonctions d'un regard galvanisant. Boris est reparti à l'assaut de l'Allemand. Il mesure ses mouvements, applique les directives de l'entraîneur et touche durement. Pendant les deux rounds qui suivront, il sculptera ainsi une façon de nouveau portrait au jeune homme adverse. Ouvragé dans le genre boursouflé, Boris en poursuivra la correction par touches successives jusqu'à la fin du temps réglementaire, sans plus jamais se précipiter dans les périlleux desseins d'une victoire avant la limite. Luis est satisfait. Plutôt confiants, nous attendons le verdict. A la surprise générale, les juges décident de lever le bras de l'Allemand ! C'est un vol flagrant et toute la salle se met à huer le soi-disant vainqueur visiblement portraituré en perdant. Luis refuse de descendre du ring; il garde son boxeur à ses côtés. Les sifflets ne laissent pas de déchirer l'air. Soudain, le *speaker* annonce un changement de décision : Boris est déclaré vainqueur à l'unanimité des juges, qui ont refait leurs comptes … S'ils avaient tenté de favoriser leur compatriote, la victoire de Boris demeurait cependant si évidente aux yeux de tous que même le public germanique l'avait aisément reconnue et manifestée. Tel un quatrième homme sur le ring, il s'était alors emparé d'une décision qu'il venait de changer. À Boris de savourer la confirmation de sa valeur publiquement démontrée.

Verdicts : comment on négocie l'intelligibilité de la lutte

Les scènes de combat dont nous venons de livrer une description ethnographique détaillée illustrent, chacune à leur manière, deux aspects parmi les plus fondamentaux de l'intelligibilité des luttes pugilistiques observées dans le contexte des galas ordinaires. Alors que le premier situe cette intelligibilité du point de vue des boxeurs, il montre comment une défaite – en l'occurrence celle de Mehdi face à un adversaire plus expérimenté – peut être perçue par les pairs comme une façon de victoire, au regard des qualités de vaillance et d'intelligence stratégique manifestées dans l'adversité. Quant au second, il attire notre attention sur la facture du verdict en tant qu'elle échappe aux seules conséquences de l'action des boxeurs. En dehors du K.O. qui constitue une décision sans appel, c'est en effet aux juges officiels de statuer sur l'issue des combats à partir d'une évaluation raisonnée des productions gestuelles de chacun des combattants[9]. Cela dit, privilégier un boxeur plutôt qu'un autre en raison de son appartenance locale – comme dans le cas de Boris affrontant un Allemand en Allemagne –, puis mesurer l'issue finale du combat à l'aune des réactions du public, sont autant d'attitudes qui font contrechamp aux principes d'un choix rationnel du vainqueur, et inscrivent couramment le comportement des juges, de même que l'officialité de leurs décisions, dans la trame d'une négociation où l'agir des pugilistes sert de fond à toute une versatilité de figures empiriquement distribuées entre possibilités de victoire et éventualités de défaite. Comprendre les logiques sociales de cette distribution dans le « contexte de négociation » (Strauss 1992:260) que constituent les galas de boxe ordinaires fera donc tout l'objet de cette partie, où le point de vue des boxeurs sur l'issue des combats sera objectivement situé dans la hiérarchie des interprétations qui font et défont leurs carrières.

La valeur des combats

Mercredi 9 février 2000. Assis sur un banc de la salle, rompus par l'entraînement auquel nous venons de consentir, Nassim et moi conversons. À trente ans passés, le boxeur des Gants d'Or est doté d'une solide expérience pugilistique s'étendant à plus de quarante combats professionnels. Routier des rings, il peine cependant à faire décoller son nom des affiches locales pour l'élancer vers les hauteurs nationales qu'il espère tant. Il y a dix jours, lors d'un gala pugilistique à Saverne, Nassim a pourtant pris le meilleur sur le dernier finaliste du championnat de France ; une victoire importante, qui l'a opposé à un rude encaisseur. Face à cet inlassable matraqueur, Nassim a su danser, se faufiler et bloquer par de terribles uppercuts les avancées de ce corps conquérant qui ne laissait de vouloir fondre sur lui, impatient de l'absorber dans ses impétueuses grêles de coups. Nassim a donc « anguillé », frappant de brèves séries au passage, entre le dégagement et la rencontre des corps. Des séries de coups rapides et vives comme autant de décharges électriques, dont l'énergie a progressivement volé les forces de son adversaire peu à peu empierré dans sa « brutalité ». Le roc n'est pas tombé. Mais c'est bien le poing de Nassim que les juges ont levé. Après son combat, heureux comme un gosse, il a simplement lancé au journaliste qui l'interviewait : « Je suis très fier; mon objectif, cette année, est d'être champion de France ! » De retour à l'entraînement, si l'objectif est toujours là, pesant de toute sa présence, sa fiction s'est quant à elle repliée sur l'épreuve des inexorables duretés de la réalité pugilistique vécue à corps de boxeur. Ici, dans toute cette « mémoire du corps » dite par Nassim, ressurgissent les souvenirs des *gueules* écrasées ou sauvées, et puis, surtout, l'inscription charnelle d'une capacité qu'il veut à tout prix préserver : celle de « bien gagner » ou de « bien perdre »; en somme : la capacité à « faire honneur », c'est-à-dire à faire bonne figure.

> Nassim: Tu sais, la boxe c'est jugé, alors on peut te sortir n'importe quoi pour te dire que tu as perdu. Quand la décision se fait aux points [c'est-à-dire que le combat est allé à son terme, sans K.O.] et que tu es pas chez toi [i.e. dans la ville de l'adversaire], souvent tu te fais voler ! C'est le milieu de la boxe ça. Il faut y être pour comprendre.

Surpris, je demandais immédiatement à quel niveau de la compétition l'issue des combats pouvait ainsi être « arrangée » par la facture du jugement officiel ...

> N : Pas pour les professionnels de première série[10]. Là il y a des managers qui viennent te chercher, et c'est pas pareil. Mais avant, c'est des magouilles.
> Moi : Alors ça veut rien dire de monter en première série, puisque c'est des magouilles...
> N : Certains montent comme ça, oui, par les magouilles. Mais après, de toute façon, ils prennent une raclée puis tu les revois plus.

Là-dessus, Nassim me cite plusieurs exemples de pugilistes français aussi vite apparus que disparus de la scène publique, puis il ajoute :

> Moi, je préfère encore perdre sans prendre de mauvais coup tu vois, proprement, que de me faire détruire sur le ring et finalement être déclaré vainqueur. Ça arrive ça, tu sais ! A l'époque du CPS, y'avait des combats fous à Strasbourg[11]. Francesco N. [l'un des pugilistes vedettes du CPS], il est descendu du ring avec de ces gueules... Et toujours vainqueur hein ! Au CPS, ils en avaient rien à foutre : arcades pétées, la gueule en sang, tu devais rester debout ! Tu devais finir le combat parce qu'eux, ils payaient les arbitres ! Ils en avaient rien à foutre que tu crèves. Moi, je préfère encore me faire voler et perdre proprement, sans prendre de mauvais coup, que faire ça. Parce que Francesco, maintenant, il est amoché. Et ça lui a rien rapporté ! C'est sûr, tu peux arriver première série comme ça. Mais de toute façon, après, vraiment à haut niveau, tu te fais éclater. Tu fais un combat et c'est fini !

Dans la peinture de ces faces démantelées ou préservées s'esquissent bien tout le sens et la valeur prêtés par Nassim à ses combats ; une valeur du corps à corps, arrachée à l'épreuve de l'Autre, tantôt juge, arbitre, public ou adversaire. Une fois de plus, l'ensemble des personnages qu'il fait apparaître en arrière-fond du ring nous éloigne des grands galas médiatiques, avec leurs managers reconnus, leurs promoteurs célèbres et leurs champions emblématiques d'une boxe professionnelle teintée de « gros sous », dont on suppose le partage entre initiés. Ici, lorsqu'ils existent, les commerces interlopes semblent plutôt se jouer sur le versant ombragé de la « petite magouille », dans le négoce d'un maigre profit capitalisé entre anonymes sur la force de travail de quelques poings souvent mal payés de leurs efforts. Si bien qu'à l'instar de Nassim, ceux qui les animent se rétribuent à l'honneur comme principal salaire de leur peur. Une peur sublimée par les rituels du corps, et un honneur incarné dans les « rhétoriques corporelles » (Foucault 1975:159) que déploient les combattants comme autant de figures d'un discours dont seuls les pratiquants du ring maîtriseraient les codes en profondeur. C'est dire, après avoir maintes fois mis les déclarations de Nassim à l'épreuve du terrain, qu'en deçà du système de classement officiel, tel qu'il fixe les significations de la victoire et de la défaite pour les arbitres et les juges, subsiste un classement des boxeurs qui, à la façon d'un « système sémiologique second » (Barthes 1957:187), réévalue les décisions des premiers à l'aune de l'expérience du ring.

Expériences de boxeurs, regards officiels et enjeux d'organisateurs

Là, entre les cordes, la victoire reste bien une visée régulatrice pour tout pugiliste, puisqu'elle est ce qui permet de « monter » (c'est-à-dire, pour les professionnels surtout, de franchir les étapes susceptibles de leur permettre d'avoir une chance d'accès à la conquête d'un titre). Mais elle n'est cependant pas aussi importante que la vaillance et l'intelligence stratégique manifestées dans l'exercice. A l'appui de celles de Nassim, de nombreuses déclarations pourraient être citées montrant que les boxeurs font une différence claire entre « bien gagner », « bien perdre » et leurs contraires. De leur point de vue, la performance se situe avant tout dans la tenue de soi affichée sur le ring. Si l'on a fourni une belle boxe (i.e. une boxe activée aux antipodes de la rixe, techniquement dense) et que l'on s'est montré rude, acrimonieux, mais tout à la fois maître de soi dans la lutte, même en cas de défaite, la « face » est préservée. En revanche, si l'on a fait montre de pusillanimité, ou que l'on a brisé les cadres de la « déférence » implicitement exigée à l'égard de l'adversaire, en l'insultant voire en adoptant une attitude par trop provocatrice, la défaite ou la victoire sont entachées d'un manquement à l'honneur spécifique du combattant, lequel, au-delà de l'éventuelle sanction du public, reçoit celle, intraitable, du groupe de pairs[12]. Ainsi est-il arrivé à Luis de refuser qu'un boxeur des Gants d'Or monte dans sa voiture pour rentrer d'un gala où il avait manifestement démérité; cette mesure prophylactique apportant la preuve qu'au regard de l'entraîneur la « honte du corps » était dès lors partagée à la façon d'un mal dont il convenait d'éliminer la source.

Quant à la facture du jugement qui, au-delà des rhétoriques corporelles de l'honneur pugilistique, inscrit offi-

ciellement victoires et défaites au palmarès des boxeurs, elle indique l'existence de tout un réseau d'influences diversement exercées sur les arbitres et les juges[13]. Si l'on en croit l'enquête ethnographique qui a fait suite aux indications de Nassim, l'objectivité de ces derniers apparaît en effet comme socialement travaillée par différents types d'intérêts, depuis les leurs (globalement compris en termes de gains financiers et de notabilité) jusqu'à ceux des organisateurs de galas. Afin de bien comprendre comment la rencontre sociale des uns (les juges-arbitres) et des autres (les organisateurs de galas) constitue le maillage des pouvoirs au travers duquel se décide une part de l'identité des combattants victorieux, il faut donc commencer par garder à l'esprit que, dans le contexte des galas de boxe ordinaires, le corps des juges-arbitres se compose d'agents bénévoles. Ceux-ci sont généralement recrutés dans une aire géographique qui les place à proximité de l'endroit où ils doivent exercer. Pour une zone d'activité pugilistique donnée, on aura donc toutes les chances de retrouver très régulièrement les mêmes juges-arbitres officiant auprès des mêmes organisateurs de galas. S'ils ne perçoivent, au titre de traitement financier déclaré, que le remboursement de leurs frais de déplacement, ces officiels bien connus des organisateurs n'en sont pas moins dûment « accueillis » : c'est-à-dire qu'ils sont officieusement rémunérés par les seconds pour leurs prestations. Tandis que la moyenne des accords situe les gains pour une soirée à environ 400 euros (le règlement de ces sommes se faisant toujours en liquide et de la main à la main), un petit ajout à l'enveloppe initialement prévue, une chambre d'hôtel correcte et un bon dîner, sont alors autant de stratégies usuellement employées par certains organisateurs, impliqués dans la carrière de tel ou tel boxeur du cru, pour se garantir leurs faveurs.

Ainsi, les finances et la notabilité locale des officiels se trouvent-t-elles travaillées comme autant de « petites grandeurs » accordées aux gains d'importance sociale que visent les organisateurs de réunions. Concentrés sur leur « zone de manipulation » (Berger et Luckmann 1996:35-36), ces gains établissent localement leur réputation. C'est dire qu'elle les érige peu à peu en notables d'un monde pugilistique dont ils représentent les sociétés, tout en garantissant leur possibilité d'existence publique. Organiser un gala, lorsqu'on est à la tête d'un club, d'un comité départemental ou régional de boxe, c'est en effet constituer l'indispensable scène sur laquelle viendra se découper la possibilité d'un réseau de relations sociales. Depuis les sponsors que l'on trouve parmi les commerçants et les petits entrepreneurs locaux, jusqu'aux juges-arbitres qu'il faut recevoir et aux cadres de réunion que l'on se doit de fidéliser, c'est tout le réseau local d'une sorte d'aristocratie ouvrière intéressée à la « dispute des forts » qu'un bon organisateur de gala devra mobiliser. Par lui passeront divers ordres de pouvoirs spécifiques aux mondes de la boxe ordinaire. Des pouvoirs matériels et symboliques qui permettront aux organisateurs de se concilier les faveurs de tel juge-arbitre, voire de tel *speaker* ou journaliste sportif localement connu et reconnu. Des pouvoirs, aussi, comme celui de négocier auprès des managers les meilleurs adversaires pour ses pugilistes : c'est-à-dire les moins dangereux, parce qu'*a priori* moins bons, ou moins soutenus que le champion local. Si ce dernier représente l'accomplissement de sa société, il est par là même investi de toutes les attentes du réseau qui l'a produit. Il conviendra donc, autant que faire se peut, de réduire l'incertitude quant aux résultats de ses combats.

Pour autant, ces remarques ne tendent pas à affirmer que tous les affrontements sont joués d'avance; ce qui reviendrait à céder par trop facilement au mythe du combat truqué. Simplement, lors de cas litigieux, la balance du jugement penchera d'autant plus aisément en faveur du boxeur ainsi soutenu. Et c'est bien là que se situe tout l'art du négoce, puisqu'il s'agit bien, pour les organisateurs qui le pratiquent, de soutenir leur champion auprès des juges sans jamais franchir concrètement le pas de l'arrangement, lequel serait aussitôt dénié par tous, fût-ce dans le secret des conversations précédant les galas. Quant au pugiliste non soutenu, il lui reste bien une chance de l'emporter, mais elle est nettement plus maigre que celle de son concurrent. Ainsi pourrions-nous citer une foule de déclarations attestant de ces faits et marquant clairement la quasi impossibilité, pour un quelconque boxeur, de gagner « à l'extérieur » (i.e. chez son adversaire) à partir du moment où il ne parvient pas à « coucher » ce dernier (i.e. à le mettre K.O.)[14]. Dans ce cas, force est de constater que les dés paraissent quelque peu pipés et que les rhétoriques corporelles de l'honneur pugilistique semblent au moins malmenées. Là encore, nous retrouvons nos pistes d'explication concernant les différentes façons d'interpréter victoires et défaites, selon les positions occupées dans et en-dehors des rings. Pour les boxeurs, « bien perdre », lorsque de toute façon gagner était impossible, sera donc, selon les cas, synonyme de victoire tout au moins reconnue par les pairs. Des phrases telles que : « On a notre conscience pour nous : il sait et je sais très bien ce qui s'est passé [« il » étant bien sûr l'adversaire] » marquent alors le dépit du boxeur se sentant floué, ainsi que la position qu'occupent les combattants dans la lutte pour la définition légitime de la victoire, position dominée puisqu'elle échappe bien souvent à leurs codes. Tandis que ces derniers signifient l'interprétation des luttes par ceux qui les incarnent, leurs lec-

tures des affrontements données à la manière d'un verdict du corps senti n'ont en effet aucune valeur institutionnelle d'objectivité, puisqu'elles n'émanent jamais que des sujets du combat, ou des membres de leur corps : les entraîneurs et les autres boxeurs.

Conclusion : le clou du spectacle

En d'autres termes, si la construction de la réalité des luttes opérée par les pugilistes eux-mêmes a pour véritable empire le ring, où s'échafaude et s'exprime la « vérité » de leurs expériences, la construction sociale de la situation de combat les confronte quant à elle immanquablement – et au-delà de l'épreuve de l'affrontement – à d'autres façons et d'autres versions des réalités pugilistiques. Des façons et des versions ouvragées, cet article a tenté de le montrer dans le contexte des galas ordinaires, par différents acteurs du « monde de la boxe », lesquels participent de tout un ensemble d'espaces connexes à celui des boxeurs (l'espace des organisateurs, des officiels, des managers et ainsi de suite). À partir d'une description ethnographique de cas concrets, l'analyse a donc mis en évidence les logiques sociales qui président à l'articulation de ces espaces. Partie du corps des boxeurs pour aboutir aux cadres d'interprétation de leurs luttes, elle s'est ainsi efforcée d'en restituer l' « intelligibilité », c'est-à-dire la « densité » (Geertz 1973:14). Une densité d'acteurs, de cadres d'interprétation et de signes qui font les verdicts tout en inscrivant les gestes du combat, ou les rhétoriques corporelles de l'honneur pugilistique, dans les nécessités d'une expression publique dominée par les enjeux spécifiques à l'organisation des galas. Centre de toutes les attentions, les pugilistes, gonflés à bloc par l'envie de faire brasiller l'éclat des coups dans tous les regards, n'y sont jamais que le « clou » d'un spectacle qu'ils intègrent au fur et à mesure de leurs mises en scène. En clou *du* spectacle, ou en clou *de* spectacle, c'est selon, ils viennent là, le corps et la chair galvanisés, sachant bien qu'on leur tapera dessus. Poing par poing, ce sont d'ailleurs eux, les pugilistes, qui font tenir tout l'édifice de la boxe comme mise en scène publique, inexorablement rivetée à leurs corps combattants. Produits de ce long réglage des corps façonnés de toutes les patiences laborieuses qui font la boxe dans les salles d'entraînement, leurs habiletés s'abandonnent alors tout entières à l'issue d'un jugement dont chacun veut être le héros.

Partant, lorsque le verdict des juges supplante celui du ring et des corps sentis, il laisse parfois aux boxeurs – à l'instar de Boris engagé dans le combat contre son adversaire allemand – l'impression d'avoir été spoliés ou, selon leur propre expression, « volés ». De toute cette incertitude quant au verdict, dont nous avons détaillé les conditions d'élaboration, il reste donc que le seul espace peu ou prou maîtrisé, ou tout au moins décidé par les combattants est celui de l'échange symbolique avec cette mort métaphorique portée par l'Autre le plus significatif : l'adversaire. Par la dangereuse fougue de ses élans combatifs, ou la prudence de sa lutte face à un opposant bien plus expérimenté que lui, Mohand et Mehdi ont respectivement, et chacun à leur manière, montré comment tout geste exécuté sur le ring s'amplifie du risque de K.O., ce simulacre de mort prompt à surgir par le tranchant des coups de poing glissés par en bas, virevoltés par le dessus ou simplement assénés là, tout droit. Du point de vue des boxeurs, faire face à l'adversité en toute dignité, c'est alors accepter l'épreuve des corps adversaires et, si gagner s'avère impossible, être tout au moins capable de « bien perdre ». Ce qui signifie, comme Nassim nous l'a indiqué, retirer des risques assumés, des coups esquivés ou encaissés, le gain symbolique d'un renforcement social de son « charisme de guerrier » (Weber 1995:321), attesté devant le public et les pairs.

D'une telle « passion du risque », avec ses rituels ordaliques d'affrontement où l'on vient prouver sa légitimité d'exister en tant que boxeur (Le Breton 2000:53-61), nous avons voulu montrer l'épaisseur : le contexte social des galas, avec toute sa densité d'actions symboliques et d'acteurs. Cela dit cette épaisseur, gagnée dans les détails de l'événement, n'est jamais que celle d'un moment où les corps s'affrontent devant le public et les juges. En ce sens, elle ne permet pas d'interroger l'arrière-fond d'existences, ou les trajectoires de boxeurs qui, par tout l'entrelacement des expériences vécues sur les rings et ailleurs, mènent aux figures de la lutte (à ce sujet, voir notamment Beauchez 2010). Au-delà de cet article, compléter la « description dense » de l'expérience du ring vécue du point de vue des pugilistes ordinaires pourrait ainsi consister à saisir les biographies des combattants, afin de les mettre au miroir de leurs affrontements et de répondre plus pleinement à la question du « genre d'hommes » que sont les boxeurs. Une question qui croise nécessairement les perspectives et les catégories d'analyse – la description des situations de combat, la prise en compte des histoires de boxeurs, mais aussi le questionnement de leur statut au regard du groupe social d'appartenance et (ou) d'une certaine ritualisation agonistique de la masculinité – et dont les réponses constituent, selon Clifford Geertz (1973:16), les termes toujours pluriels de la recherche ethnographique.

Il n'en demeure pas moins que lorsqu'elle se consacre, comme dans le cas de cet article, à une anthropologie du corps combattant situé dans le champ phénoménal des luttes pugilistiques, une telle recherche rejoint à sa

manière l'une des questions fondatrices de nos disciplines : celle de la confrontation à l'Autre. Analyser les combats du point de vue de leurs acteurs, c'est en effet montrer qu'en boxe, l'adversaire, cet Autre auquel on s'affronte, comporte toujours une part de « soi ». Un « soi » d'abord affronté, Loïc Wacquant l'a bien vu (2000:68-69), aux duretés de la préparation du corps, avec tous les exercices, les régimes alimentaires, les fatigues et les privations qu'il faut endurer pour satisfaire à l'ascèse pugilistique exigée de tout prétendant au combat. Et un « soi » ensuite confronté, et ça Wacquant ne le dit pas, avec cet Autre spéculaire qui, sur le ring, en figure une façon de « part maudite ». Même poids, même nudité combattante, même tension vers la valorisation, mêmes expériences; souvent, c'est une inquiétante gémellité qui s'agite ainsi devant le pugiliste. Une gémellité non pas trait pour trait, mais ressentie en dedans, comme l'épreuve percutante du face-à-face. Tout se passe alors comme si, pour fonder sa propre valeur, il fallait, au moment décisif du combat, l'arracher aux ressemblances de l'Autre, dont le miroir devra être brisé. De là, Si René Girard a raison, et s'il existe bien un quelconque caractère anthropologique du « sujet » qui l'inclinerait à fonder son identité en la séparant d'abord d'une trop grande ressemblance sacrifiée sur l'autel du « nous » (1972:9-61), alors la boxe et ses vies nues agitent peut-être encore quelque chose de ce combat fondateur dont les sédimentations résonnent à nos chairs dès lors qu'une figure de la lutte vient les y rappeler. Une figure de la lutte, ou bien ses visages ordinaires ...

Jérôme Beauchez, Laboratoire « Mondes et dynamiques des sociétés », UMR 5264 CNRS/Lyon II/Saint-Etienne, 6 rue Basse des Rives – Bâtiment D – Etage R+1, 42023 Saint-Etienne, France. Courriel: jerome.beauchez@univ-st-etienne.fr.

Notes

1 Pour l'exemple français, sur les 5354 boxeurs qui composent l'espace pugilistique national (cf. les « statistiques annuelles des comités régionaux 2006/2007 » publiées par la Fédération Française de Boxe), moins de 5% des 317 professionnels peuvent espérer vivre des gains de leurs combats. Pour tous les autres, majoritairement ouvriers ou agents de services, la qualité de professionnel de la boxe doit donc se comprendre comme un « travail à-côté » (au sens de Florence Weber:1989). Payé entre 80 et 150 euros le round, selon l'expérience du boxeur et l'enjeu du combat, ce salaire d'appoint agrémente tout au plus leur quotidien.

2 Plus que d'une sociologie des boxeurs réalisée à partir de questionnaires et d'entretiens (Weinberg & Arond 1952; Sheard 1997), ma démarche s'inspire donc des travaux d'ethnographie des pugilistes initiés par John Sugden dès 1979 (à ce propos, voir Sugden 1996:2-3), puis développés par Loïc Wacquant sur le terrain chicagoan où il est lui-même devenu boxeur parmi les boxeurs. Commencé en 1988, son recueil de données sur le quotidien des pugilistes a donné lieu à l'écriture d'une dizaine d'articles, dont les principaux ont contribué à la composition d'un ouvrage qui fait aujourd'hui référence (2000). Comparée aux nombreux travaux d'histoire sociale et aux *cultural studies* replaçant les grands événements pugilistiques dans la perspective des changements sociopolitiques dont ils constitueraient autant d'expressions (voir notamment Sammons 1990; Rauch 1992; Early 1994 et Rotella 2003), l'observation directe des rituels de l'entraînement et du combat, telle qu'elle a été pratiquée par Sugden et Wacquant hors de la minorité médiatisée des grands champions, manque encore d'émules. Sauf ignorance de ma part, à ce jour seuls trois ethnographes continuent en effet de s'intéresser aux pratiquants de boxe anglaise. Tandis que deux d'entre eux les observent sans s'impliquer corporellement dans la pratique (Heiskanen 2005; Woodward 2007), un seul – l'auteur de ces lignes – étudie un espace européen en utilisant l'incorporation de la boxe comme ressource compréhensive et comme mode de relation aux autres boxeurs.

3 Concernant ce point de morphologie sociale des pugilistes, voir par exemple Sammons (1990:236-237) pour le cas étasunien, et Laé (1989) qui recense nombre d'exemples européens. Cette expérience d'une certaine disqualification sociale, commune à la majorité des boxeurs, est d'ailleurs ce qui fait fond aux ethnographies du ring présentées par John Sugden, Loïc Wacquant ou Benita Heiskanen. Quant à Kath Woodward, quatrième ethnographe dont nous avons mentionné les travaux, elle s'applique plutôt à comprendre la boxe en termes de construction agonistique de l' « identité masculine ».

4 Dans leur article fondateur d'une sociologie de la condition de boxeur aux États-Unis, les chicagoans S. Kirson Weinberg et Henry Arond proposent une description des rôles assumés par les entraîneurs, les managers et les promoteurs de combats en fonction de leur proximité ou de leur distance vis-à-vis des pugilistes (1952:465-468). Ici, l'entraîneur apparaît comme la figure du proche par excellence : chaque jour au gymnase, il prépare ses combattants tant physiquement que moralement. Plus à distance, intervient la figure du manager. En charge de gérer la carrière des pugilistes, il tente de convertir leurs qualités en possibilités de combats, avec le souci d'obtenir les meilleurs gains stratégiques et financiers pour lui et ses boxeurs. Quant aux promoteurs, les pugilistes ne les rencontrent que rarement. Ce sont essentiellement des hommes d'affaires qui, au contact des managers, gèrent des flux de combattants qu'ils convertissent en affiches de soirées censées garantir le meilleur du spectacle et des recettes. Dans l'espace européen des galas de boxe ordinaires, les promoteurs n'apparaissent pas physiquement. Seuls quelques managers viennent là glaner l'espoir d'un futur champion, et suivre les carrières des pugilistes de leur écurie. Quoi qu'il en soit, chacun de ces intermédiaires présents, ou présents-absents des scènes de combat, se réserve le droit de prélever en moyenne 10% des gains touchés par son boxeur, soit au final environ 30% du montant de sa bourse.

5 Ce langage en termes de « région postérieure » (les coulisses de l'action) et de « région antérieure » (les scènes de

l'agir) s'inspire de la microsociologie d'Erving Goffman (1973:105-113).

6 Des constats homologues sur la dissimulation rituelle de la peur qu'éprouvent les combattants avant les rencontres sont faits par Loïc Wacquant (2000:189-190).

7 Dans « La Lutte est-elle intelligible ? » (1985:11-197), un essai où Jean-Paul Sartre se sert de l'exemple pugilistique comme d'un paradigme empirique du conflit réduit à son expression intersubjective (13-60), le philosophe propose de concevoir les commentaires très souvent agressifs des spectateurs de boxe comme l'expression d'une « violence fondamentale » qui trouve à s'incarner dans les boxeurs (36-37). Pour Sartre, la « violence-événement » se situe donc moins dans le corps à corps technicisé des pugilistes que dans les projections auxquelles il donne lieu du côté des spectateurs (39-41).

8 Au moment de l'enquête, la plupart des combats amateurs étaient encore disputés en trois reprises de trois minutes (3x3). Une évolution du « code sportif de la boxe amateur style olympique » fixe désormais leur durée réglementaire à quatre reprises de deux minutes (4x2). En comparaison, les boxeurs professionnels s'affrontent en 4x3 pour les débutants, 6x3 ou 8x3 pour la plupart des combats de gala hors compétition officielle, et enfin 10x3 ou 12x3 pour les rencontres de haut niveau national ou international.

9 Concrètement, cette évaluation s'effectue au moyen d'un système de points, distribués aux boxeurs en fin de reprise et consignés par les juges sur leurs bulletins de pointage. En boxe professionnelle, tandis que le vainqueur de chaque round se voit attribuer la note maximale de 10, son opposant reçoit une évaluation dont l'infériorité est indexée à l'ampleur de la domination subie au cours de la reprise. Si cette dernière a été âprement disputée, la note du perdant sera donc proche de celle du vainqueur, et inversement. En boxe amateur, le principe de la note maximale attribuée au meilleur boxeur en fin de reprise demeure, mais celle-ci est calculée sur 20 points et selon des critères qui diffèrent de ceux employés pour juger la boxe professionnelle. Ici, le nombre de coups portés prime sur leur efficacité constatée, si bien que le boxeur amateur distribuant le plus de coups réguliers remportera le combat en dépit de la potentielle inefficience de ses attaques.

10 Selon le « code sportif » publié en France par la Ligue Nationale de Boxe Professionnelle, les pugilistes rattachés à cette organisation sont classés en quatre groupes de valeur : A, B, C et D. A chacun de ces groupes correspond une compétition. Tandis que les professionnels débutants du groupe D disputent le « critérium des espoirs », leurs confrères du groupe C s'affrontent dans le « tournoi de France », ceux du groupe B pour la « coupe de la Ligue », et ceux du groupe A pour le titre de « champion de France ». Un système de points distribués selon les victoires, les défaites et les matchs nuls permet aux pugilistes de s'élever dans la hiérarchie des groupes.

11 Au cours des années 1980, le Cercle Pugilistique Strasbourgeois (CPS) fut non seulement le principal club de boxe de la ville, mais aussi l'incontournable organisateur de galas pour le département. L'influence de ses dirigeants auprès des juges et du corps arbitral était alors connue de tous.

12 Telles qu'elles apparaissent dans ces analyses, la « préservation de la face » et la « tenue de la déférence » sont des notions empruntées au lexique d'Erving Goffman (1974 : 9-42 et 43-85).

13 Tandis que les arbitres opèrent sur le ring, les juges évaluent les affrontements depuis les tables placées autour de l'aire de combat. Ils constituent un jury qui pourra être diversement composé. Les configurations les plus fréquemment observées s'alternent dès lors comme suit : soit un juge-arbitre assisté de deux juges au bas du ring (les trois prenant part à la décision finale), soit un arbitre-directeur de combat assisté de trois juges chargés de rendre seuls leur verdict.

14 Cette façon particulière de rendre les décisions en faveur du combattant local est à ce point classique dans le monde pugilistique qu'on la connaît aux Etats-Unis sous l'appellation de « *hometown decision* » ; à ce propos, voir notamment Sugden 1996:83; Wacquant 2000:190-192 et aussi Rotella 2003:53-65.

Références

Barthes, Roland
1957 Mythologies. Paris: Seuil.

Baudrillard, Jean
1976 L'échange symbolique et la mort. Paris: Gallimard.

Beauchez, Jérôme
2009 Dans l'éclat de l'autre : boxer comme on éprouve son étrangeté. Revue des Sciences Sociales 42:80-87.
À paraître Le sens des coups : du corps à la chair des boxeurs. Anthropologie et sociétés.

Berger, Peter et Thomas Luckmann
1996 [1966] La construction sociale de la réalité. Paris: Masson/Armand Colin.

Csordas, Thomas
1993 Somatic Modes of Attention. Cultural Anthropology 8(2):135-156.

Early, Gerald
1994 The Culture of Bruising. Essays on Prizefighting, Literature, and Modern American Culture. Hopewell: The Ecco Press.

Foucault, Michel
1975 Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison. Paris: Gallimard.

Geertz, Clifford
1973 The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.
2002 [1983] Savoir local, savoir global. Les lieux du savoir. Paris: PUF.

Girard, René
1972 La violence et le sacré. Paris: Grasset.

Goffman, Erving
1973 [1959] La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne, vol. 1: La présentation de soi. Paris: Minuit.
1974 [1967] Les rites d'interaction. Paris: Minuit.
1991 [1974] Les cadres de l'expérience. Paris: Minuit.

Heiskanen, Benita
2005 The Latinization of Boxing: A Texas Case-Study. Journal of Sport History 32(1):45-66.

Husserl, Edmund
2001 [1931] Méditations cartésiennes. Introduction à la phénoménologie. Paris: Vrin.

Laé, Jean-François
1989 Chausser les gants pour s'en sortir. Les temps modernes 521:126-138.
Le Breton, David
2000 [1991] Passions du risque. Paris: Métailié.
Quéré, Louis
2004 Pour une sociologie qui « sauve les phénomènes ». Revue du M.A.U.S.S. 24(2):127-145.
Rauch, André
1992 Boxe, violence du XX^{ème} siècle. Paris: Aubier.
Rotella, Carlo
2003 Cut Time. An Education at the Fights. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Sammons, Jeffrey
1990 [1988] Beyond the Ring. The Role of Boxing in American Society. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
Sartre, Jean-Paul
1985 [1958, inachevé] Critique de la raison dialectique, vol. 2: L'intelligibilité de l'histoire. Paris: Gallimard.
Sayad, Abdelmalek
1999 La double absence. Des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré. Paris: Seuil.
Sheard, Kenneth
1997 Aspects of Boxing in the Western "Civilizing Process." International Review for the Sociology of Sport 32:31-57.
Strauss, Anselm (textes réunis et présentés par Isabelle Baszanger)
1992 La trame de la négociation. Sociologie qualitative et interactionnisme. Paris: L'Harmattan.
Sugden, John
1996 Boxing and Society. An International Analysis. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Wacquant, Loïc
2000 Corps et âme. Carnets ethnographiques d'un apprenti boxeur. Marseille: Agone.
Weber, Florence
1989 Le travail à-côté. Étude d'ethnographie ouvrière. Paris: INRA/EHESS.
Weber, Max
1995 [1956] Économie et société, vol. 1: Les catégories de la sociologie. Paris: Plon.
Weinberg, S. Kirson, et Henry Arond
1952 The Occupational Culture of the Boxer. American Journal of Sociology 57(5):460-469.
Woodward, Kath
2007 Boxing, Masculinity and Identity: The "I" of the Tiger. London: Routledge.

"Every Place Has Roads in the Plains": Public Spaces and Private Markets in Arguments for Development and Inclusion in South India

Elizabeth Finnis *University of Guelph*

Abstract: In this article, I examine the connections among roads, development and notions of inclusion. How might local people understand a road as having the potential to bring a stronger sense of inclusion and belonging to peripheral communities? How is this related to specific ideas of the meanings of development and prosperity? Using the example of actions in four villages in the Kolli Hills, Tamil Nadu, India, I argue that demands for the construction of a new road to the lowlands reflect farmers' assertions of their desire for greater inclusion through the extension of the public space that constitutes a road. I examine the ways that public transportation spaces intersect with consumption practices and access to the private, market-oriented sector. This reflects specific notions about livelihoods, social identities and the meanings of development held by small farmers living in the case study area.

Keywords: development, transportation infrastructure, markets, identity, south India

Résumé : Dans cet article, je m'intéresse aux liens entre les routes, le développement et les notions d'inclusion. Comment les résidants locaux comprennent-ils qu'une route a le potentiel de renforcer les sentiments d'inclusion et d'appartenance au sein de communautés périphériques? Comment cela est-il lié à des idées spécifiques relatives aux significations du développement et de la prospérité? En prenant comme exemples des actions intervenues dans quatre villages des collines Kolli au Tamil Nadu en Inde, je formule l'hypothèse que des demandes pour la construction d'une nouvelle route en direction des basses terres reflètent l'affirmation par les fermiers de leur désir d'une meilleure inclusion, par l'extension de l'espace public que constitue une route. J'examine comment les espaces de transport public recoupent les pratiques de consommation et l'accès au secteur privé, axé sur le marché. Cela reflète des notions spécifiques relatives aux moyens de subsistance, aux identités sociales et aux significations du développement partagées par les petits fermiers dans la région à l'étude.

Mots-clés : développement, infrastructures de transport, marché, identité, Inde du Sud

In this article, I examine the connections among roads, development and notions of inclusion. How might local people understand a road as having the potential to bring a stronger sense of inclusion and belonging to peripheral communities? How is this in turn related to specific, locally-constructed ideas of the meanings of development and prosperity? Using examples from four villages in the Kolli Hills, Tamil Nadu, India, I argue that demands for the construction of a new road to the lowlands are not simply demands for access to transportation. Rather, farmers are asserting their desire for greater inclusion through the extension of the public space that constitutes a road. District-wide attempts to get government approval for the construction of this road represent a claim for greater inclusion in the social fabric of the nation and are an assertion of a more engaged form of citizenship.

Issues of belonging and inclusion in India have been explored through analyses of the imagined nation (Chatterjee 1993), ethnicity (Baruah 2003), religious tensions (Pandey 1999; Zacharias 2004), media (Manekekar 1993; Zacharias 2001) and language (LaDousa 2005), gender and the body (Chatterjee 1989; Hancock 1995; Ramaswamy 1998), local development (Isaac and Franke 2002) and empowerment (Sharma 2006), public spaces and education (Lukose 2005), indigenous knowledge and education (Sundar 2002), political struggle and caste (Kunnath 2006), and resource control and development (Agrawal 2005; Sivaramakrishnan 2000; Subramanian 2003). Much of this research considers experiences of inclusion in terms of national projects, policies, tensions and images, while some of the work focuses on localized understandings of what it means to be a citizen in India. Subramanian's (2003) work in villages in Tamil Nadu, for example, draws connections between resource-management, local belonging and citizenship. In making my argument, I expand on Subramanian's approach to questioning village–nation relationships; that is, I build on understandings of how

experiences of belonging and inclusion are articulated at the local, grassroots level.

Discourses of access to public spaces such as roads are one way that groups and individuals may define themselves and their degree of integration and inclusion. Such discourses can intersect with other conceptualizations of identity, including notions of degrees of being "developed." Geographic isolation tends to go hand-in-hand with distance from product markets, which affects income, economic opportunities and labour markets (Blank 2005; Partridge and Rickman 2007). Moreover, without access to public, state institutions, whether they regulate education, social order, health care or transportation, people may feel that they are being left behind and overlooked (Goldstein 2003). Using data from ethnographic fieldwork, I examine the ways that public spaces intersect with consumption practices and access to the private, market-oriented sector. This reflects specific notions about livelihoods, social identities and the specific meanings of development held by farmers living in the case study area.

Background and Methodology

Covering an area of 282 square kilometres (Kumaran et al. 1998), Tamil Nadu's Kolli Hills support a population of approximately 37,000 Malaiyali small farmers. The Hills are accessible via a single paved road from the lowlands, as well as various unpaved walking paths. This road has been extended to many districts within the Hills themselves; some districts, however, continue to be without road access. Electricity and telephone access are also very limited in some areas.

This article is based on fieldwork examining issues of agricultural and dietary transitions, development and environmental change. Field visits during 2003, 2004 and 2006 lasted between two-and-a-half and six months. I worked with four adjoining communities in Thakkali Nadu district in the Kolli Hills.[1] Each community has a population of less than 250. Villagers are Malaiyali, a designated government Scheduled Tribe, and the primary livelihood in the area is farming. Although there is some economic differentiation within and between communities, for the most part, research participants owned and farmed less than five acres of land. Markers of relatively limited economic differentiation include the ownership of televisions or motorcycles, tile instead of thatch on house roofs and children who continue in their schooling to higher grades. Only three participants did not own land, working instead as agricultural labourers or renting land from others in the area. Sweet cassava, a cash crop used in the lowland sago-starch agroindustry, is the main agricultural product in Thakkali Nadu. Some households also grow small amounts of rice and mixed vegetables for home use. Sweet cassava, locally referred to as tapioca, became a viable crop approximately 18 years ago when a road into the district was completed.

Research methods included participant observation, focus group activities and the creation of conceptual land-use maps to demonstrate land-use changes and priorities. The body of the research was conducted through semi-structured interviews. In total, 107 villagers from four villages were interviewed. Seventy-eight of the interviewees were women, the remainder men. The ages of interviewees ranged from 18 to 85 years old. Most interviewees, however, were in their late 20s to early 50s. Many participants were interviewed on multiple occasions, depending on themes and issues raised in earlier interviews and on whether they had the time.

My discussion focuses on qualitative analysis, on the meanings and experiences of marginalization in these particular communities. I am not attempting to make statistically-informed arguments. Random sampling, for example, was not used to contact potential participants as this may have given villagers the very problematic impression that they had no choice but to participate. Rather, in the early stages of the research, households and agricultural fields were visited and villagers were asked if they would be interested in participating in the research. Due to a 2002 preliminary visit in which I discussed with groups of farmers the possibility of my coming to their community, many people in the district already had a sense of why I was in the area. Upon arriving and making arrangements to stay in one of the research communities for an extended period of time, I began to explain my research questions and methods in more detail. During the early days, research questions were refined and refocused to better address issues of interest and relevance to community members.

Perceptions and Experiences of Marginalization

In the Indian context, Agrawal has noted that there is a tendency in ethnographic writing to construct Indian villages as though they are "independent centres of civic and political life" (2005:110). This is problematic since any village, or series of adjacent villages, is inevitably embedded in political, environmental and economic contexts that can play key roles in the shaping of identity. These villages may not be part of the image of the core or urban nation, but they are nevertheless affected by decisions, actions and practices that are undertaken in and emerge from lowland and urban areas. They may also be defined in opposition to urban centres, both by the self-defined main-

stream citizen, and by marginalized villagers themselves. This is certainly the case in Thakkali Nadu, where cultural identities, geographical location and economic options emerge as key identifiers of what it means to live in this rural district, rather than in an urban, lowland setting.

The Malaiyali are a designated Scheduled Tribe. Although the term *adivasi* is more popularly and academically used to refer to tribal people in India, in this paper I use the terms *Scheduled Tribe* and *tribal* in order to reflect the language used by research participants. *Adivasi* is not a term that is used locally; rather, small farmers more typically use the term *tribal* in their discussions of life in the Kolli Hills; less frequently, *Scheduled Tribe* is used, particularly when farmers discuss government policies, projects and concessions.

The position of indigenous people in India, as in much of the world, is highly variable. In the Northeast, for example, Scheduled Tribes are the majority, and special provisions ensure that they control most of the state governments (Baruah 2003). In other areas, tribal groups maybe viewed as easily relocated or displaced in the name of development programs. This has been demonstrated in the struggles around the Narmada Valley hydroelectric and irrigation dams, a series of projects that primarily affects tribal people in terms of displacement and loss of land (Baviskar 2003; Kapur 1993; Kurian 2000). Popular, academic and governance constructions of tribal people might hinge on notions of backwardness and "primitive" practices, positioning tribal peoples as in need of both protection and surveillance (Basu 1996; Das 2000; Naik 2000). Thus, indigenous populations in India can be understood as special kinds of citizens, which by the nature of their so-called backward state, are carefully provisioned for through state programs, but are nevertheless marginalized. In Tamil Nadu, for example, special provisions include girls' hostels at educational facilities, access to certain economic schemes such as sericulture and seed programs and access to health care assistance (Gopaluni 2002). However, Suguna (2002:9) has suggested that participation in these kinds schemes may be "make believe stories" promoted by various governments, while Menon (2004) notes that the principles set out for tribal governance and development are not necessarily reflected in policies and realities. Tribal people may be provisioned for but they may also be positioned as outside of full participation in state affairs, at least, beyond the special provisions for legislature inclusion. Baruah (2003:45) calls this "protective discrimination," a term that reflects the notion that tribal people require special care.[2]

In the case of the Kolli Hills Malaiyali, particularly in more isolated districts, such special provisions do not compensate for the multiple kinds of marginalization experienced. Many areas continue to lack access to reliable electricity and drinking water, roads, education and telephones. Where road access is limited or non-existent, Hill inhabitants may have a difficult time getting to markets to purchase necessary food and other goods. This is particularly the case during rainy seasons, when heavy rains can make walking paths to the lowlands impassable.

Thakkali Nadu is one of the more geographically isolated areas in the Hills. Although it is accessible by road, the trip is long and slow. Inhabitants are dependent on the government bus service, which only passes through the area twice a day. The area is located several hours from the central administrative centre of the Hills, which contains a number of important services including a hospital, a bank, the local electricity offices, access to the only road leading to the lowlands, and a major market for both buying foodstuffs and other goods and selling various kinds of fruit and vegetable produce. The distance from the administrative and market centre of the Hills is problematic in two ways. First, reliance on the limited bus transportation schedule makes it impractical for villagers to purchase food products in the market areas. Instead, most households take walking paths to the lowlands where they purchase basic supplies for a one- or two-week period. Second, the distance from this central area affects the transportation costs of tapioca harvests. Farmers in Thakkali Nadu must contract with truck owners to transport their harvests to lowland mills. Distance compounds the cost.

Distance from the lowlands also means that farmers face other disadvantages when engaging with the market economy. In particular, they are dependent on lowland tapioca mill owners and have little in the way of negotiating power for crop prices. Once farmers harvest and transport their tapioca to the lowlands, it is impractical and financially impossible for them to return it to Thakkali Nadu should they encounter sale difficulties. As one 29-year-old farmer pointed out, "they [lowland mill owners] decide the rate, and we have to take it. Even if [the rate] is low, we can't bring [it] back here, so we must sell it." A 37-year-old man further highlighted market disadvantages when he said, "if we sell it to the mill owners, we will be cheated. They will say [it] is not good, and give us less ... and we will not be able to get the money on the same day. They will say to come after some time, and they will say we did not bring the tapioca." Profit, therefore, depends on more than simply favourable growth conditions. The unreliability of mill owners means that many households sell their tapioca through a broker who is preferably local. They pay a fee for this service, but feel

that this is more reliable than accompanying a crop to a lowland mill. Tapioca cultivation is, therefore, a potentially risky economic activity. Yet, there are few other economic options, a situation that is at least partially perceived as a consequence of the district's relative isolation. As one 27-year-old farmer said, "here we don't have any other work choice, like a factory. We work in our land only." This lack of options speaks of economic marginalization that leaves people dependent on the land.

Geographical location also means that Thakkali Nadu inhabitants have limited access to many goods and services including household items, health care and education. In contrast, many villagers feel that lowlanders have relatively easy access to these and other services. This is reflected in discussions of what it means to have a Malaiyali tribal identity. Thus, living in the Hills is constantly contrasted with living in the lowlands. If it is difficult to buy fresh milk and vegetables in Thakkali Nadu, the lowlands are conceptualized as a place where such products are readily and easily available. Or, as one 40-year-old man illustrated, if getting to a hospital is problematic in Thakkali Nadu, particularly during emergencies, then lowland communities, even small villages, are viewed in terms of having easy access to many doctors, "near Rasipuram [a lowland town], there is one place called Pattai [a lowland village]. There are five or six doctors there. But here in this village there is no one. If we want to go to the doctor, we have to go by the two-wheeler [motorcycle] or bus, a long distance."

While such constructions are highly idealized in that they do not recognize the economic, social and other factors that can realistically restrict lowlander access to such desired goods and services, they nevertheless are a powerful indicator of the ways that farmers in Thakkali Nadu perceive and experience various forms of marginalization. In particular, life in Thakkali Nadu tends to be conceptualized in part in terms of what villagers feel they do not have—access to desired services and goods that are conceptually linked with specific ideas about development. This lack of access to such items signals exclusion from desired forms of development. For many research participants, the proposed new road functions as a symbol of their hopes for economic and social development and future prosperity; in so doing, it also functions as a symbol of inclusion and voice.

Signs of Development and Governance

Gupta (1995) notes that local-level institutions can be the most immediate way to encounter the state in rural areas. Indeed, despite local concerns about access to goods and government-provided services like education, the area is not devoid of visible signs of government social services and development initiatives. In Thakkali Nadu, the elected panchayat president is well known, as are former presidents, and in 2006, houses still sported graphics representing the three candidates for the 2005 panchayat elections. In 2006, the palm-print sign of the national Congress Party was ubiquitous, reflecting positions in the national election campaign that had been held in 2004. The Tamil Nadu government provides and runs schools, *balwaadis* (child-care centres) and a Primary Health Centre. In late 2004, a Tamil Nadu government-funded public toilet facility was in the process of being constructed, a first for the area; it was completed in 2005. There are electricity lines and government-funded lights in public areas. There are also new, well-paved roads between the villages in the district. Moreover, the workings of the Tamil Nadu government services are visible through signs announcing information such as village boundaries and statistics and in annual, well-organized and well-attended polio vaccination campaigns.

The nature of these services speaks to specific state–village–individual relationships. These are relationships that are defined by periodic encounters with health, educational, and other service institutions and by feelings of frustration on the part of the villagers. There may be annual polio vaccination campaigns for individual young children but the Primary Health Centre is not staffed, partially due the difficulty finding someone willing to stay in the relatively isolated district. There may be schools but these schools are chronically understaffed and students may arrive to find that they are without teachers for the day. Government-financed roads between villages in the district may help with local transportation between individual households, but to get to the lowlands, villagers must continue to take a long, inconvenient route or are otherwise relegated to using walking paths. Even the public toilets, an initiative that was welcomed as an important infrastructure development, were constructed too close to a public well, leaving many villagers concerned with the possibility of drinking water contamination. The toilets remain locked and unused.

These experiences point to a complex and haphazard relationship with the mechanisms of state-determined development-oriented services, in which these services are provided in a limited way, often with good intentions, but not necessarily based on local development priorities and concerns. They signify a disparity between government and local perceptions of specific, precise development needs and expectations (see Sivaramakrishnan 2000). Current services in Thakkali Nadu only partially engage with the priorities and concerns of local people,

positioning them in terms of recipients of projects, rather than as active participants in determining the shape and nature of initiatives.

The Road to Development?

At this point, I turn to my discussion of the local struggle for a new road to the lowlands. If the above markers of government-identified development priorities only partially reflect local development goals, then a new road to the lowlands, in contrast, is an initiative that locals conceptually link with real implications for positive change and economic prosperity. In Thakkali Nadu, farmers have attempted to increase their engagement with the state and with private sectors by pushing for the improvement of state-controlled transportation infrastructure. There are other examples that demonstrate attempts to more fully engage with inadequate state structures, including a movement to improve the quality of education in village schools by hiring private teachers to supplement state government employees.[3] However, it is the road that best demonstrates perceptions of marginalization, concrete, material notions of what development means, and local agency.

First, however, it is necessary to point out that the complexity of communities means that inhabitants may be divided both about projects and the means to undertake these projects (see for example, Goldstein 2003). In Thakkali Nadu, some villagers do not wish to participate in the struggle for the road, feeling that it is the sole responsibility of government agencies to undertake these projects. Moreover, a few of the villagers I worked with expressed concerns about the potential negative effects of the road, including concerns about women's safety should more strangers begin to travel through the area, or the need to watch children more closely should large trucks frequently start driving along the narrow roads between and within villages. Nevertheless, the ways that research participants spoke about the proposed road—both privately and in groups—was typically highly positive. Thus, when asked about the potential good and bad implications of a new road, responses included statements such as, "for us, the road is only good" (47-year-old man), and, "the road brings only good things ... the transport charge [for tapioca] is very high this way ... if it comes this way, the charge will be less...If the bus comes [on the new road], we can sell the fruit and come on the next bus. And the body can relax, instead of getting up early and walking [down to a lowland market]" (woman in her late 30s).

Moreover, the road is conceived as something that would be a step toward economic security and development options. What are some of the predominant ways that small farmers in Thakkali Nadu conceptualize "development"? Development in these communities takes on specific materialities, as well as more abstract notions. This is not uncommon in South Asia. Pigg (1992, 1996) for example, has demonstrated that in rural Nepal, being "developed" has many connotations for villagers, some of which imply ideas of modernization through improved access to certain economic opportunities and commodities. Development can also take on connotations of access to education and a decrease in the amount of hard, physical labour necessary in daily life. Klenk (2004) has found that women in parts of Northern India associate development with intangibles such as empowerment, political voice and self-confidence. Organizations like SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) have development goals that focus on promoting the self-reliance of women through the provision of small loans and the organizing of women into collectives and trade organizations (Chen and Snodgrass 2001).

As alluded to above, in Thakkali Nadu, development is typically associated with structures and opportunities available in the lowlands. These lowland development advantages are both material and intangible, and include better food diversity, a greater range of employment and livelihood options, increased financial stability, access to hospitals and doctors, and access to reliable schools and other state services.[4] Having access to these services, as well as household goods and economic options, was often discussed as living a more developed or "civilized" lifestyle. Such beliefs were exemplified by one 30-year-old woman, who stated,

> I feel that we don't have the same lifestyle as in Salem and Namakkal [lowland city and town]. We are always in the field from morning to evening...the standard of living is different. I feel we need a lot of development to become like people down [in the lowlands]. Because they are living in towns and nearby towns, so they have more chances to make a living.

While a 40-year-old man stated,

> When we compare to the plains people, the Kollimalai [Kolli Hills] wants to be developed somewhat. Every place has roads in the plains. There are different kinds of shops like bookstores, hotels. If they want it, they can get it, but here it is difficult. Same with hospitals...if any relation came, they can go and get milk and vegetables in the shop itself. But here we go once a week to the markets.

Yet, if development takes on specific material connotations for many, it can also be thought of in intangible

ways; it is not simply understood as infrastructural modernization and efficiency in accessing goods and services. Rather, it is also articulated as a process of ongoing social change. One young woman spoke spontaneously and passionately about the road in terms of women and empowerment. Although the term *empowerment* was not specifically used, she conceptualized the road as bringing opportunities for women and girls to better see and experience the range of options that are available to their counterparts in the lowlands. Having spent time in the lowlands finishing a post-graduate certificate program, she was aware of the opportunities available, and articulated the ways she believes a new, direct road to the lowlands could improve the lives of women. Although she spoke of the road and development in terms of similar material notions used by other villagers, she moved back and forth between such perspectives and notions of isolation as a barrier to both innovation and women's development:

> Town places are nice to live in. They can get water. There are nearby shops. And we can mingle with different kinds of people. Here it is the same caste people and same relations. So we cannot get good, new ideas and changes from them. New things cannot be done here ... Nowadays people are carrying jackfruit by their heads only. If the road came they could send by bus. And they could sell vegetables ... Here the women are not developed. But if the road comes, the women will see other women working in different jobs. Here the women are not like that. But seeing it, the ladies will become interested ... And ladies can go alone outside. Now some ladies are too shy to go alone [without husbands]. If they want to go outside and the husband is not there, they are shy. But if the bus came, two or three times they could go and not be shy any more.

In this way, the new road is sometimes discussed in terms of continuing a process that began with the construction of the old road; a process that, for example, brought new information and new styles of dressing to Thakkali Nadu. Thus, one mother of four speaks of the old road as beginning this process, stating, "we get more information and our knowledge is better. By mingling with the outside people. After the road came, there were some changes in the village and people by going and seeing the outside places. And their ways of dressing. Before we didn't wear nighties. Only saris or half saris."[5]

At the same time, others view these changes as partial and inevitably stalled without a direct, short road to the lowlands. Thus, another 30-year-old woman highlighted the changes that she experienced, and her hope for new changes that she associated with a new road:

> There are some changes in the people since electricity and roads came. Now more children are going to school. The way of dressing is different. Fewer dirty clothes, more than two or three dresses. When we are going outside, we wear neat dresses. If the [new] road were finished, there would be a lot of changes. It would be easier to buy what we need. There would be lifestyle changes. We would see more the townspeople and their behaviours.

Thakkali Nadu residents have proposed a new ten-kilometre road that would bring them and their agricultural goods to the lowlands in under an hour. This is in contrast to the current road, on which it may take up to a day, with bus connections, to get to the lowlands. Should the new road be constructed, villagers argue that it will bring some of the diversity of experience and lifeways that they see outside of the Hills. For example, many anticipate that if it were easier to get to their district, businesses might be encouraged to set up in the area. Professionals such as doctors might be willing to open offices, or make weekly trips. Moreover, there would be the opportunity to open roadside shops and stalls to cater to the new traffic that would begin to come through the area.

Requests for this proposed ten-kilometre road have so far met with little success. The struggle goes back to the mid-1970s, a time when some local politicians were able to convince the District Collector, the key Tamil Nadu state official for the geographical area that included the Kolli Hills, to walk the hill paths from the lowlands to their *nadu* (a local-level political unit). Although this tactic is understood as playing a key role in the decision to extend the current road into the district, it did not result in the construction of a more direct route.[6]

More recently, villagers have restarted the push for the new road, which can be traced back to the shift to growing the cash crop tapioca in the 1990s. With the increasing conversion of land to tapioca fields, households began to have more consistent access to a regular, unprecedented cash income. One consequence of this was that many households began to contribute to a common fund used to pay for political actions and agitations regarding the proposed road. While some resent contributing money to the common road fund, and others cannot afford to make contributions due to poor landholdings or limited tapioca profits, this is in other cases referred to as working together for the "common good" of the completion of the new road. As one 30-year-old woman put it, "people are getting together to work for the common good. A committee has been formed to work for that [the road] and to send petitions. They collect signatures from people and send the petition. They also collect money."

As a result of these kinds of collective actions and funds, farmers have been able to organize and pay for road-related actions. These include letter-writing campaigns from individuals and women's self-help groups, printing and posting of posters and signs around the Kolli Hills, articulating reasons why a new road is necessary, and the organizing of district-wide rallies in places where state politicians appear. This last tactic is particularly dependent on collective funds and household economics, since it requires the hiring of trucks to transport people to these locales, and also requires that farmers are able to take a day away from working in the fields. Although a few key organizers for these events have been particularly committed to organizing and maintaining the struggle, the creation of community common funds means that these tactics have increasingly become the purview of numerous households, rather than simply being confined to the wealthier or more politically powerful households (see Finnis 2006 for more details on this process). Moreover, it is important to note that although some of the key organizers have been involved in formal local politics, others have not been formally politically active; rather, they have operated from the belief that the road will improve everyday life in their communities.

On one level, an analysis of the desire for the new road suggests that it is viewed in terms of local economies. A shorter road means paying less to get tapioca to market; it also means that people will pay lower premiums to bring heavy commodity goods such as building materials, televisions and metal clothes bureaus into the district. It will be easier and less expensive, to access a range of food items, and it may lead to new economic opportunities that farmers increasingly feel are important. This is particularly the case since farmers increasingly view tapioca cultivation as unsustainable. Problems with soil quality and pests are contributing to decreased yields and ongoing agricultural concerns. This focus on economics and economic opportunities points to the ways that the public space of a road is conceptually linked with access to and inclusion in private, market locales.

Public Roads, Private Markets

Conceptualizations of development that focus on access to goods, services and economic diversity, demonstrate a specific economic materiality to collective identity formation that has implications for development strategies (Medina 1997), and also point to perceptions of consumption–citizenship relationships. The rise of consumption in India has been proposed as a "new terrain" for considering the mechanisms of inclusion in the nation (Lukose 2005:508-509). That is, an examination of the links between private markets and public spaces demonstrates the ways that local understandings of inclusion intersect with experiences of what it means to be a citizen in a pro-consumption state. In Thakkali Nadu, by drawing on specific ideas of what development means, villagers are employing a discourse of equal access to public spaces and institutions. However, they are not arguing for equality in terms of more traditional issues such as the ability to participate politically. Technically, they already have this kind of equality. Rather, they are arguing for equality in terms of access to the market and the means of consumption—those opportunities that are primarily reserved for lowlanders and city dwellers, at least as socially imagined by Thakkali Nadu inhabitants (see Guano 2004). They want the material objects and lifeways that they associate with the lowlands. These materialities hinge on well-developed and well-connected roads. The lack of a direct road to the lowlands is one way that Thakkali Nadu villagers articulate internalized perceptions of exclusion (Bartolomei et al. 2003), in that "every place has roads in the plains."

Thus, the physical spaces occupied by roads can be conceptualized as a reflection of unequal social relations (DeVerteuil 2000). Roads are everywhere in the plains, they lead to everywhere important, and lowlanders are imagined and discussed as ready consumers, due to their access to the public spaces of state-maintained roads.[7] Yet, in Thakkali Nadu, the roads are few and only lead to other places in the Hills. This lack of road infrastructure clashes badly with local expectations and also with neoliberal economic practices that are now central to India's development and business realms. In neoliberal states, where citizenship, economic opportunities and development are inevitably rhetorically and practically linked (Lazar 2004), the problem of the lack of roads also necessarily limits participation in other state mechanisms, including those private mechanisms that are supported by state policies. The limiting of such state-provided, public spaces (see Lukose 2005) also contributes to limited participation in other public realms, particularly the educational realm.

As noted, the current road into the district is credited as starting the path to becoming more "developed," and in the process, allowing farmers in Thakkali Nadu to become more like people living in the lowlands. In particular, it opened the district to a much more intensive relationship with the market economy through the introduction of the cash crop sweet tapioca.[8] The resulting income, although fluctuating from year to year, has enabled households to access a number of consumer goods and services, including electricity connections, more changes of clothes, motorcycles, televisions, and in some

cases, access to lowland, English-language schools for children.[9] However, these changes are understood as only partial, just a step towards becoming truly "developed." A more direct road would improve access to goods and services. It is this kind of access that is understood as the *essence* of development. Thus, one 23-year-old woman argued that, "only one fourth of the people [in this area] are more developed ... After the road comes, there will be some changes."

One anticipated potential change is the opening of factories that would provide people with a weekly wage. While villagers may be unclear about the nature of these potential factories and what exactly they would manufacture or process, the appeal of a weekly wage is strong. This was clearly articulated by a middle-aged man who contrasted the income earned by agricultural labour with other kinds of work. If agriculture as a primary livelihood strategy is understood as risky and does not promise a regular wage, this is not how people imagine factory work:

> If there is a big factory, giving work to more people, it will be useful. We can get daily money and buy vegetables. But in the field only sometimes there will be work. But if there is any factory, throughout the year we will be working in the factory itself. And we will get a good amount of money.

This sentiment was echoed by members of his family, including his young daughter who understands factory work as a key identifier of life in the lowlands. The economics of such potential factories would, in part, hinge on fast, accessible and inexpensive transportation to markets in the lowlands; such conditions are not possible without the new road.

Li (2005) has suggested that marginalized populations may be particularly interested in notions of state and state power and thus may work to develop strategies that allow for greater access to the core. I would argue that the focus on building a new road to the lowlands is an example of such strategizing. However, rather than simply attempting to position themselves closer to state-sponsored amenities, this is also a process of making themselves visible to the private sector. Certainly, villagers suggest that government teachers and doctors might be more likely to come to Thakkali Nadu if there were a more direct road. A greater concern, though, is the current lack of diverse economic opportunities in the area and the expectation that this will change if a new road allowed businesses and private individuals to enter the area.

At the same time, this road is not only conceived of in strictly financial terms or as a means to access private markets. If a new road were to be constructed, after so many years, it would also symbolize government recognition of local development concerns; this, in turn, would mean that local voices were being considered in the decision-making processes that shape life in Thakkali Nadu. Villagers feel that the primary problem with road development is that for years they have been caught by political processes that they could not control. Specifically, the Tamil Nadu state All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) party, ruling the state from 1991-96 and 2001-6, was viewed as having little concern for tribal well-being. In 2006, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party, leading the Democratic Progressive Alliance coalition of political parties, came to power in Tamil Nadu, and this, coupled with the 2004 national election of the Congress party, was viewed with optimism. The importance of national and state politics plays out with regards to the road because the state is responsible for approving and undertaking road works, but in the case of the proposed Thakkali Nadu road, the national government must give permission to construct the road through protected forest areas. The new political landscape is important, since villagers tend to consider the DMK and the Congress parties to be friendlier to Scheduled Tribe communities and those who were neglected by the AIADMK. This, in part, reflects the DMK's election manifesto (2006), which promised specific considerations and programs for Scheduled Tribes and also included a number of projects aimed at marginal farmers, the landless and rural inhabitants. These included promises to decrease the price of ration shop rice from Rs.3.5/kilogram to Rs.2/kilogram, a promise to supply a free colour television to poor households that did not already own one, and the announcement of a planned six month maternity allowance of Rs.1000/month for poor women. Moreover, farmers frequently described the DMK and Congress has having a good relationship, or a "nice link." This is reflected by DMK support of the national Congress party during the 2004 elections and the inclusion of the state Congress party in the DMK's Democratic Progressive Alliance. This relationship, villagers said, has the potential to ease the various levels of permission and funding needed to finally get the road constructed. It is these political tensions that farmers identified as the central permission problem, not any concern with issues such as forest biodiversity and forest commercial value. Indeed, one young woman stated that the land through which the proposed road would be built is mostly covered by "small plants" and bush, not commercially viable sandalwood or other species.

At the same time, local actions were still seen as necessary to continue the momentum for the road. As one man in his mid-forties said, prior actions have made a dif-

ference, "now the government has changed, so now they are ready to put the road. They are making those plans. We are writing many letters and planning ... They show more interest in the road ... Before, the government did not show any interest." Nevertheless, a woman in her mid-forties, speaking with regards to the women's self-help group to which she belongs, stressed the importance of ongoing planning when she stated, "we have planned to fight the government for the road at any time if they call by the self-help groups' committees. If after one to two years the road does not come, we will do some severe action for it...if we struggle, only then will the government listen."

Conclusion

The struggle for a new road and the associations of development and inclusion that are attached to it, are examples of local action, priorities and experiences intersecting with currently salient questions of globalization, development and the roles of large-scale versus small-scale institutions. How do we account for communities that are actively attempting to become more embedded in larger processes when these larger processes may be problematic?

Recently, Attwood (2005) pointed out that small-scale and localized development foci may be seen as a panacea to the inefficiencies of large-scale national institutions and the forces of development globalization. That is, local action may be understood as both simpler and more efficient when it comes to development. And yet, this perspective must be balanced by the recognition that large-scale institutions, whether they be economic, infrastructural or otherwise, are now central to many aspects of day-to-day survival (Attwood 2005). This recognition raises questions of how to integrate small-scale, locally efficient practices in large-scale, national development contexts. Agrawal (2005), in his analysis of forestry management in Kumaon, North India, has demonstrated how people may be drawn into government projects and policies even when those projects do not reflect local priorities. As local people reluctantly become involved, they may subsequently reshape government institutions. Through this reshaping of state programs, villagers and grassroots actors articulate certain visions of active citizenship and their place in the nation.

A similar argument can be made regarding Thakkali Nadu, although in this case, villagers are actively attempting to position themselves within state networks, not simply coping with being absorbed. This makes an important point about local perceptions of advantageous social positioning. Thakkali Nadu villagers want to be drawn out of their geographically and conceptually peripheral location. They are not resisting resource management initiatives or encroachment by large-scale institutions and external forces. Rather, they are actively inviting certain kinds of so-called encroachments, attempting to make them viable through improving state-sponsored transportation infrastructure.

It might be tempting to argue that political agitation for a more direct road to the lowlands is actually poorly thought through, as it would further situate Thakkali Nadu in an economic context that is systematically disadvantageous. That is, it may continue a current district-wide trend toward monocropping and deforestation (Finnis 2006), which in turn has longer-term implications for local economic stability. Moreover, it might contribute to land encroachment from lowland populations, even though some farmers argue that this will not be the case. While these are valid concerns, these outcomes do not have to be inevitable. Monocultures, deforestation and encroachment possibilities could be mitigated in part by integrating road construction and increased district accessibility with programs that allow small-scale farmers to take advantage of the economic and environmental benefits of mixed cropping. Such programs do exist in other parts of the Hills, including an ongoing minor millet project aimed at increasing agricultural biodiversity, conserving millet landraces and creating a viable market for millets (Gruere et al. 2009; King et al. 2008).

Further market integration certainly has implications both for short- and long-term food (Bohle 1992) and biodiversity problems (Kumaran et al. 1998). Nevertheless, these emerging problems (Finnis 2006, 2007) do not diminish the importance of this road for local people. The struggle for the road is about consciously becoming more embedded in larger public structures and private market institutions. In Thakkali Nadu, farmers are fully aware of the importance that the structures of the market play in India.

While the celebration of cultural and practical difference might be used in some contexts to counteract large-scale, globalizing structures (Bond et al. 2003), villagers display little interest in attempting to differentiate themselves from lowlanders in economic and livelihood terms. Moreover, a cost-benefit tension regarding the proposed road highlights a way in which large-scale institutions can be both inefficient *and* essential for livelihoods (see Attwood 2005). The current road into Thakkali Nadu can certainly be viewed this way. On the one hand, the old road allows for tapioca cultivation, an important economic practice that has allowed household electricity and other benefits to enter the district. On the other, it is an ineffi-

cient means of transportation, both for harvest yields and for people who wish to access goods and services. In undertaking a struggle for a more direct road, Thakkali Nadu inhabitants are attempting to reduce such inefficiency (see Attwood 2005) even as they further embed their households and their communities in the market economy. This example of grassroots action merges the power of small-scale, local institutions with globalizing trends, demonstrating how development depends both on local attention to social problems and on connecting more efficiently with large-scale public and private institutions like roads and markets. In making these connections, villagers are articulating demands for the recognition that they are active subjects with voices that need to be heard. In particular, they are claiming equal access to crucial public spaces that allow for market integration. A road is the first step to being able to access hospitals and educational facilities. Perhaps more importantly at this point in time, the road also signifies equal access to the private, capitalist spaces that make up the national market economy.

Experiences of inclusion and exclusion can be demonstrated through a number of possible practices (Gupta 1995), services and spaces. In the case of Thakkali Nadu, roads both literally and symbolically connect farmers both to other large-scale public and private institutions and to other people. A lack of efficient transportation in Thakkali Nadu is thus perceived as more than simply limiting physical accessibility. It also signifies individual, community and group economic and social marginalization, reinforcing a minority identity that stands in contrast to the ways in which lowlanders are constructed. The Thakkali Nadu struggle for transportation infrastructure development emerges from a pervasive sense of being left out, coupled with specific visions of the future, both in terms of household economic security and in terms of the images villagers have for the future of their communities. No community presents a universally accepted, uncontested vision of future aspirations and goals; in Thakkali Nadu, there is some dissent about what the road will do for people and how it might change the sense of personal security and safety that villagers currently experience. Nevertheless, a new road is almost always discussed in positive development, economic and social terms. The completion of this road is part of a local vision of district development, a vision that highlights the importance of consumer practices in notions of inclusion and the meaning of development. Consumption, through better access to the market economy, is a key aspect of villagers' perceptions of what it means to be "developed," a category that they assign to lowlanders who are constructed as having state and private resources at their fingertips.

By undertaking a movement to build this road, small farmers in Thakkali Nadu are pushing the boundaries of the Scheduled Tribe status, a status that positions them as subjects in need of protective discrimination. While there is no explicit rejection of the Scheduled Tribe status (and indeed, there would be little advantage in that), villagers are also positioning themselves as citizens who are active in forming the economic and social shape of the nation.

Villagers are also articulating their ideas of what development means. Turner (1995) has noted that one of the continuing sites of conflict in development discourse and practices is the frequent disjuncture between community aspirations and government priorities. In Thakkali Nadu, this disjuncture plays a key role in community mobilization, thus demonstrating that government-sponsored development does not necessarily correspond to small farmers' visions and hopes for prosperity in the future. Villagers are well aware that they would have easier access to markers of development and inclusion if they left the Hills. Some families have done so; others periodically migrate between the lowlands and the Hills to take advantages of different opportunities. However, still others do not wish to shift localities in order to access all the perceived opportunities of the lowlands; they do not want to move into cities to become developed. Ultimately, they wish for lowland transportation infrastructure, goods, services and economic options to come to them. This is about reshaping communities and furthering specific, local images of villages that are more viable for the future. As one woman said, somewhat wistfully, "if the road comes, we will be like the plains people only, not like hill people."

Elizabeth Finnis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, N1G 2W1 Canada. E-mail: efinnis@uoguelph.ca.

Acknowledgments

This work would not have been possible without the support of the villagers of Thakkali Nadu, Dr. Tina Moffat, Dr. T. Vasantha Kumaran, Sister Francina, Ms. N. Annammadevi, Ms. A. Chitra, Ms. Gracie Sevariammal and Ms. Vimala Mathew. I would like to thank Lisa Kowalchuk for her thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of the paper, as well as the three anonymous *Anthropologica* reviewers for their constructive critiques of the manuscript. Research funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada), the International Development Research Centre (Canada), the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Canadian Anthropology Society is gratefully acknowledged.

Notes

1 The name of this district is a pseudonym.

2 A large body of literature addresses issues of marginalization and citizenship in non-Indian contexts. Recent work includes considerations of policy (Kohl 2003; Mariner 2003), language and cultural politics (Linke 2004), the shaping of "responsible" citizens through non-government organizations (Ilcan and Basok 2004), refugee camps and gender (Bartolomei et al. 2003), race and national imagery (Neal 2002), the middle-class and social imaginary (Guano 2004), clandestinity (Coutin 1999), civic institutions and health care (Horton 2004), routine civic and everyday duties (Sykes 2001), and development and indigeneity (Belausteguigoitia 2004). Moreover, the themes of state surveillance and protectionist attitudes that minimize the recognition of broadly-defined indigenous agency are not limited to India, either in contemporary or historical contexts (Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Cairns 2003; Huayhua 1999; Phelps 1985; Mackey 2005; Mercer 2003; Miller 2000; Ramos 2003; Short 2003; Siddle 2003; Wilson 2004).

3 A private teacher was hired and is paid through an arrangement that each child attending the school contributes Rs.25/month towards the salary. This amount is less than the daily wage earned by a woman undertaking paid labour in another's field.

4 This is a highly idealized view of the reality of life in the lowland areas surrounding the Kolli Hills.

5 Nighties are ankle-length, cotton dresses popular in lowland areas for wearing around the house. They allow for ease of movement when doing chores. I first noticed nighties being regularly and widely worn, both around the house and for field labour, in 2006. Prior to this, nighties were rare; seeing women wear them on a daily basis was an immediately noticeable change when I arrived in 2006.

6 At the time, the Kolli Hills belonged to the district of Salem. However, the boundaries have since been redrawn, and the Kolli Hills now belongs to Namakkal District, which also includes Namakkal, the largest lowland town in the district. Actions undertaken in the 1970s may not necessarily have contributed to the decision to extend the current road to Thakkali Nadu district. The timing is questionable, since the current road was not extended until the late 1980s.

7 Informal discussions that I have had with villagers living in other parts of the Kolli Hills suggest that these perceptions of lowland versus Hill lifeways were not limited to Thakkali Nadu alone.

8 Cassava fields dominate the area and households that continue to own some uncultivated land often have plans to clear the land for crop cultivation. This expansion is explained in terms of the soil "losing strength" after too many years of cultivation. Some villagers are concerned about deforestation. Farmers associate their dependence on this crop to district isolation and articulations for a new road.

9 English reading and speaking skills are understood as important to getting a good job later in life. Villagers in Thakkali Nadu do not feel that teaching English as a separate class (as is done in Tamil-language schools) will make their children fluent. Similar perspectives have been found elsewhere in India (see La Dousa 2005).

References

Agrawal, Arun
2005 Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects. Durham: Duke University Press.

Alfred, Taiaiake, and Jeff Corntassel
2005 Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism. Government and Opposition 40(4): 597-614.

Attwood, Donald W.
2005 Big Is Ugly? How Large-scale Institutions Prevent Famines in Western India. World Development 33(12):2067-2083.

Baruah, Sanjib
2003 Citizens and Denizens: Ethnicity, Homelands, and the Crisis of Displacement in Northeast India. Journal of Refugee Studies 16(1):44-66.

Bartolomei, Linda, Eileen Pittaway and Emma Elizabeth Pittaway
2003 Who Am I? Identity and Citizenship in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Northern Kenya. Development 46(3):87-93.

Basu, Salil
1996 Need for Action Research for Health Development among Tribal Communities of India. South Asian Anthropologist 17(1):73-80.

Baviskar, Amrita
2003 Tribal Politics and Discourses of Indian Environmentalism. *In* Nature in the Global South: Environmental Projects in South and Southeast Asia. Paul Greenaugh and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, eds. Pp. 289-319. Durham: Duke University Press.

Belausteguigoitia, Marisa
2004 Naming the Cinderellas of Development: Violence and Women's Autonomy in Mexico. Development 47(1):64-72.

Blank, Rebecca M.
2005 Poverty, Policy, and Place: How Poverty and Policies to Alleviate Poverty are Shaped by Local Characteristics. International Regional Science Review 28(4):441-464.

Bohle, Hans G.
1992 Disintegration of Traditional Food Systems as a Challenge to Food Security: A Case Study of Kollimalai Hills in South India. *In* Development and Ecology. Mehdi Raza, ed. Pp. 139-146. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Bond, Ross, David McCrone and Alice Brown
2003 National Identity and Economic Development: Reinteration, Recapture, Reinterpretation and Repudiation. Nations and Nationalism 9(3):371-391.

Cairns, Alan
2003 Afterword: International Dimensions of the Citizen Issue for Indigenous Peoples/Nations. Citizenship Studies 7(4):497-512.

Chatterjee, Partha
1989 Colonialism, Nationalism and Colonized Women: The Contest in India. American Ethnologist 16(4):622-633.
1993 The Nation and Its Fragments. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chen, Martha A., and Donald Snodgrass
2001 Managing Resources, Activities, and Risk in Urban India: The Impact of SEWA Bank. Assessing the Impact of Microenterprise Services (AIMS). Washington DC: Management Systems International.
Coutin, Susan Bibler
1999 Citizenship and Clandestinity among Salvadoran Immigrants. PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review 22(2):53-63.
Das, T.C.
2000 A Scheme for Tribal Welfare. *In* Applied Anthropology in India. L.P. Vidyarthi, ed. Pp. 129-147. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal.
DeVerteuil, Geoffrey
2000 Reconsidering the Legacy of Urban Public Facility Location Theory in Human Geography. Progress in Human Geography 24:47-69.
Dravidia Munnetra Kazhagam
2006 DMK Election Manifesto. Electronic document, http://www.dmk.in/e2006/emeng.pdf, accessed 24 July 2008.
Finnis, Elizabeth
2006 Why Grow Cash Crops? Environmental Uncertainty and Economic Aspiration in the Kolli Hills, South India. American Anthropologist 108(2):363-369.
2007 The Political Ecology of Dietary Transitions: Agricultural Change, Environment and Economics in the Kolli Hills, India. Agriculture and Human Values 24:343-353.
Goldstein, Daniel M.
2003 "In Our Own Hands": Lynching, Justice and the Law in Bolivia. American Ethnologist 30(1):22-43.
Gopaluni, Jaysree
2002 The Impact of Development Programmes on the Malayali of Javadhu Hills, Tamil Nadu. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Madras.
Gruere, Guillaume, Latha Nagarajan and E.D.I. Oliver King
2009 The Role of Collective Action in the Marketing of Underutilized Plant Species: Lessons from a Case Study on Minor Millets in South India. Food Policy 24:39-45.
Guano, Emanuela
2004 The Denial of Citizenship: "Barbaric" Buenos Aires and the Middle-Class Imaginary. City and Society 16(1):69-97.
Gupta, Akhil
1995 Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics and the Imagined State. American Ethnologist 22(2):375-402.
Hancock, Mary
1995 Hindu Culture for an Indian Nation: Gender, Politics and Elite Identity in Urban South India. American Ethnologist 22(4):907-926.
Horton, Sarah
2004 Differing Subjects: The Health Care System's Participation in the Differential Construction of the Cultural Citizenship of Cuban Refugees and Mexican Immigrants. Medical Anthropology Quarterly 18(4): 472-489.
Huayhua, Margarit
1999 La Exclusion del Runa Como Sujeto de Derechos en el Peru. Bulletin Institute fr. Etudes Andines 28(3): 521-533.
Ilcan, Suzan, and Tanya Basok
2004 Community Government: Voluntary Agencies, Social Justice and the Responsibilization of Citizens. Citizenship Studies 8(2):129-144.
Isaac, T.M. Thomas, and Richard Franke
2002 Local Democracy and Development: The Kerala People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
Kapur, Ratna
1993 Damming Women's Rights: Gender and the Narmada Valley Projects. Canadian Woman Studies 13(3):60-64.
King, E.D. Israel Oliver, V. Arivudai Nambi and
Latha Nagarajan
2008 Integrated Approaches in Small Millets Conservation—A Case from Kolli Hills, India. Presentation at the International Symposium on Underutilized Plant Species for Food, Nutrition, Income and Sustainable Development, Arusha, Tanzania, 4 March 2008.
Klenk, Rebecca
2004 "Who Is the Developed Woman?": Women as a Category of Development Discourse, Kumaon, India. Development and Change 35(1):57-78.
Kohl, Benjamin
2003 Restructuring Citizenship in Bolivia: El Plan de Todos. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 27(2):337-351.
Kumaran, T. Vasantha, R. Jaganathan and N. Anbazhahan.
1998 Indigenous or Local Knowledge for Sustainable Bio-Diversity and Food Security in the Tribal Kollihills. South Indian Folklorist 2(1):7-25.
Kunnath, George J.
2006 Becoming a Naxalite in Rural Bihar: Class Struggle and Its Contradictions. The Journal of Peasant Studies 33(1):89-123.
Kurian, Priya A.
2000 Generating Power: Gender, Ethnicity and Empowerment in India's Narmada Valley. Ethnic and Racial Studies 23(5):842-856.
LaDousa, Chaise
2005 Disparate Markets: Language, Nation and Education in North India. American Ethnologist 32(3):460-478.
Lazar, Sian
2004 Education for Credit: Development as Citizenship Project in Bolivia. Critique of Anthropology 24(3):301-319.
Li, Tania Murray
2005 Beyond "the State" and Failed Schemes. American Anthropologist 107(3):383-394.
Linke, Uli
2004 Ethnolinguistic Racism: The Predicaments of Sovereignty and Nationhood under Global Capitalism. Anthropological Theory 4(2):205-228.
Lukose, Ritty
2005 Empty Citizenship: Protesting Politics in the Era of Globalization. Cultural Anthropology 20(4):506-533.

Mackey, Eva
2005 "Backlash" and "Benevolent Resistance" to Indigenous Land Rights. Anthropology Today 21(2):14-20.
Mankekar, Purnima
1993 National Texts and Gendered Lives: An Ethnography of Television Viewers in a North Indian City. American Ethnologist 20(3):543-563.
Mariner, Joanne
2003 Racism, Citizenship and National Identity, Development 46(3):64-70.
Medina, Laurie Kroshus
1997 Development Policies and Identity Politics: Class and Collectivity in Belize. American Ethnologist 24(1): 148-169.
Menon, Ajit
2004 Colonial Construction of "Agrarian Fields" and "Forests" in the Kolli Hills. The Indian Economic and Social History Review 41(3):315-337.
Mercer, David
2003 "Citizen Minus"?: Indigenous Australians and the Citizenship Question. Citizenship Studies 7(4):412-445.
Miller, Pavla
2000 Inventing Mastery: Patriarchal Precedents and the Legal Status of Indigenous People in Australia. Journal of Historical Sociology 13(3):264-288.
Naik, T.B.
2000 What Is a Tribe: Conflicting Definitions. *In* Applied Anthropology in India. L.P. Vidyarthi, ed. Pp. 69-80. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal.
Neal, Sarah
2002 Rural Landscapes, Representations and Racism: Examining Multicultural Citizenship and Policy-making in the English Countryside. Ethnic and Racial Studies 25(3):442-461.
Pandey, Gyanendra
1999 Can a Muslim Be an Indian? Society for Comparative Study of Society and History 41(4):608-629.
Partridge, Mark D., and Dan S. Rickman
2007 Persistent Rural Poverty: Is It Simply Remoteness and Scale? Review of Agricultural Economics 29(3): 430-436.
Phelps, Glenn A.
1985 Representation without Taxation: Citizenship and suffrage in Indian Country. American Indian Quarterly 9(2):135-148.
Pigg, Stacy Leigh
1992 Inventing Social Categories through Place: Social Representations and Development in Nepal. Comparative Studies in Society and History 34(3):491-513.
1996 The Credible and the Credulous: The Question of "Villagers' Beliefs" in Nepal. Cultural Anthropology 11(2):160-201.
Ramaswamy, Sumathi
1998 Body Language: The Somatics of Nationalism in Tamil Nadu. Gender and History 10(1):78-109.
Ramos, Alcida Rita
2003 The Special (or Specious?) Status of Brazilian Indians. Citizenship Studies 7(4):401-420.
Sharma, Aradhana
2006 Crossbreeding Institutions, Breeding Struggle: Women's Empowerment, Neoliberal Governmentality and State (Re)Formation in India. Cultural Anthropology 21(1):60-95.
Short, Damien
2003 Australian "Aboriginal" Reconciliation: The Latest Phase in the Colonial Project. Citizenship Studies 7(3):291-312.
Siddle, Richard
2003 The Limits to Citizenship in Japan: Multiculturalism, Indigenous Rights and the Ainu. Citizenship Studies 7(4):447-462.
Sivaramakrishnan, K.
2000 Crafting the Public Sphere in the Forests of West Bengal: Democracy, Development and Political Action. American Ethnologist 27(2):431-461.
Subramanian, Ajantha
2003 Modernity from Below: Local Citizenship on the South Indian Coast. International Social Science Journal 55(175):135-144.
Suguna, B.
2002 Tribal Welfare and Development Policies: A Critical Analysis. Vanyajati (April) 5(2):9-12.
Sundar, Nandini
2002 "Indigenize, Nationalize and Spiritualize"—An Agenda for Education? International Social Science Journal 54(173):373-383.
Sykes, Karen
2001 Paying a School Fee Is a Father's Duty: Critical Citizenship in Central New Ireland. American Ethnologist 28(1):5-31.
Turner, Terrence
1995 The Cultural Environment of Development: Commentary. NAPA Bulletin 15:88-95.
Wilson, Fiona
2004 Indian Citizenship and the Discourse of Hygiene/Disease in Nineteenth-Century Peru. Bulletin of Latin American Research 23(2):165-180.
Zacharias, Usha
2001 Trial by Fire: Gender, Power and Citizenship in Narratives of the Nation. Social Text 69 19(4):29-51.
2004 Intelligible Violence: Media Scripts, Hindu/Muslim Women, and the Battle for Citizenship in Kerala. Cultural Dynamics 16(2/3):169-192.

Design Anthropology Meets Marketing

Gray Graffam *University of Waterloo*

Abstract: Since the appearance of "Ethnography in the Field of Design" in *Human Organization* eight years ago (Wasson 2000), anthropological research has increasingly been regarded as an asset to design innovation. Yet, the use of an anthropological approach for the design of things has recently posed a challenge to many current, leading businesses. Anthropological research, with its focus on understanding human behaviour, often does not integrate easily with abstract marketing segmentation models that are based loosely on factors thought to influence consumer purchasing. Many practicing design anthropologists have had to face the challenge individually with their companies and clients of how to make anthropological research results meaningful to marketers and business people. A central goal of this article is to present the groundwork for meeting such a challenge both to those who are working in design anthropology and to those who are building academic programs in applied anthropology with an eye toward making valuable contributions to this area.

Keywords: design and business anthropology, marketing, market ethnography, applied anthropology

Résumé : Depuis la parution de l'article « Ethnography in the Field of Design » dans *Human Organization* il y a huit ans (Wasson 2000), on a de plus en plus considéré la recherche anthropologique comme un apport valable pour l'innovation en matière de design. Pourtant, le recours à l'approche anthropologique pour le design des objets a commencé récemment à poser un défi à plusieurs grandes entreprises en position dominante dans leurs marchés respectifs. La recherche anthropologique, avec son objectif de comprendre le comportement humain, a souvent de la difficulté à s'intégrer dans des modèles abstraits de segmentation aux fins de marketing, qui s'appuient sans beaucoup de rigueur sur des facteurs qu'on croit susceptibles d'influencer les achats des consommateurs. Plusieurs anthropologues du design en exercice ont eu à faire face individuellement aux défis posés par leurs entreprises et clients lorsque se pose la question de rendre les résultats de recherches anthropologiques significatifs pour les gens d'affaires et de marketing. Un des objectifs centraux de cet article est d'établir des fondations en vue de répondre à ce défi, pour les anthropologues actifs dans le domaine du design et pour ceux qui construisent des programmes académiques en anthropologie appliquée avec la visée de produire des contributions valables dans ce domaine.

Mots-clés : anthropologie du design et des affaires, marketing, ethnographie des marchés, anthropologie appliquée

Design Anthropology in Context

Over the past several decades, there has been a growing interest in what has become known as "design anthropology"—the use of anthropological method and theory in the field of design research and the making of things (Blomberg et al. 1993; Blomberg et al. 2002; Button 2000; Buur and Sitorus 2007; Cohen 2005; Grudin and Grinter 1994; Jordan 2003; Kingery 2001; Louridas 1999; Pfaffenberger 1992; Plowman 2003, 2005; Schiffer 2001; Tunstall 2008; Wasson 2000). Anthropological research provides a superb foundation for investigating the role of technology in society, and as such, it constitutes a valuable component of design research.

Design anthropology itself emerged over the past few decades as an innovative subfield of applied anthropology, referring to what W. David Kingery (2001) once described as anthropology's role in visualizing technological change as part of the design process, and to what Christina Wasson (2000) described as the role of ethnography in the field of design. It is a primary subject area of business anthropology with deep roots in design innovation (Jordan 2003; Wasson 2000), and it ties to themes in the design literature that had appeared since the early 1990s (Blomberg et al. 1993; Blomberg et al. 2002; Collins 2003; Julier 2000; Katz 1997, 2006; Louridas 1999; Pfaffenberger 1992; Schuler and Namioka 1993). According to these authors, design anthropology plays a valuable role in the innovation of things precisely because it probes the social and cultural context of how they work, for whom, when and why. It helps designers understand the underlying motivations that govern how people use technology and the shape of technological innovation (Tunstall 2008).

In recent years, design anthropologists have been employed in the design and making of things, most commonly in projects dealing with what designers call divergence and convergence—the understanding of new problem space and the prototyping of improved design solutions respectively. Job postings for design anthropologists, many

of which call for expertise in human-computer interaction, industrial and product design, usability studies, instructional design and software design, are themselves quite revealing. While these terms are less descriptive of the design process per se, they indicate that a prime area of current employment lies in the development and refinement of new technologies, for example, crafting web utilities and digital interfaces from everything from music players to electronic newspapers (Callahan 2006; Ito 1996; Marcus 2005; Tunstall 2008). Not surprisingly, Microsoft, AT&T and MSN have all taken lead positions in this area of late, employing full time design anthropologists as a part of their overall research team. But design anthropologists have also been employed for many years in the study of non-digital things, helping businesses understand a wide range of consumer and user behaviours (Plowman 2003; Sunderland and Denny 2007). For those who have been calling for an anthropology of technology, this has been a welcome and promising trend (Pfaffenberger 1992; Schiffer 2001).

Design anthropologists have also been pushing the envelope recently on design theory itself. Notably, they have challenged the view that design anthropology is merely an avenue toward accessing user opinions and ethnographic insight and have positioned the field as an essential component of design strategy, design thinking and what may generally be referred to as design theory. University faculties that have played (and continue to play) an important role in building the theoretical foundation of design anthropology include, inter alia, the Mads Clausen Institute, part of the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Southern Denmark, the Institute for Information Technology and Culture at Wayne State University, the Center for Ethnography at the University of California, Irvine and the Anthropology Department at the University of Northern Texas. Faculty members at these institutions, and elsewhere, have been active in promoting the role of contemporary anthropology in modern society, and specifically building a role for design anthropology. Together, they have built the view that contemporary anthropology is a means of contributing valued, provocative insight in the theoretical realm of design, and not merely a means of collecting ethnographic data for designers. Similar points have been raised by a number of anthropologists elsewhere as well, much of which has been published as part of the Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference Proceedings from 2005 on (see inter alia, Anderson-Kempe 2007; Baba and Pawlowski 2001; Bell et al. 2006; Cohen 2005; Pierson and Lieven 2005; Plowman 2005; Zafiroglu and Asokan 2006). As anthropologists bring a greater theoretical understanding to the context of design, technology has come to be understood in a broader anthropological context—one that includes the study of cultural change, community, diaspora, globalization, social networking, race, poverty, gender and activism. Of particular importance is the emerging view that design anthropology constitutes more than simply a series of methodological steps or simply the use of ethnographic methods to gather observational data. Current proponents of design anthropology point to anthropological theory and its relationship to social and cultural theory in particular. They point to anthropological work as providing an interpretative framework for assessing the role of technology in society, where interpretations of modernity and morality affect how things function in an ever evolving social context (Katz 1997, 2006; Plowman 2005; Schiffer 2001).

Overall, developments in design anthropology draw support from other trends in anthropology, as well as those in marketing, where related research has proposed comparable ideas within separate theoretical spheres. In terms of anthropology, such research has included the study of things in their social context (Appadurai 1986a, 1986b, 1991), and a growing interest in the study of technology as a component of consumer research, globalization and media communications (Arnould 1998; Ferguson 1988; Ginsburg et al. 2002; Jordan 2003; Miller 1987, 1995; Ogburn 1997; Pfaffenberger 1992; Rowntree et al. 2007; Schwimmer 1996; Sunderland and Denny 2007; Wilson and Peterson 2002). From the standpoint of business, similar works have focused on market ethnography, which has positioned ethnography as an excellent approach to understanding products within a consumer landscape (Christensen 1997; Christensen and Raynor 2003; Christensen et al. 2007; Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003; Mariampolski 2006; Salvador et al. 1999; Vinck 2003).

In addition, over the past 20 years there has been a major business contribution to the study of design, known as *persona research* (Barlow-Busch 2006; Cooper 1999; Cooper et al. 2007; Manning 2004; Pruitt and Adlin 2006). This contribution underscores the importance of ethnography for revealing motivational behaviours, and promotes a specific set of methods for design research. Most prominent is the use of fictional, representational characters—personas—for sharing analytical results (Cooper 1999; Cooper et al. 2007). This trend has also lent support to the field of design anthropology, where persona research can be included as part of an overall approach and where the delivery of ethnographic results to businesses is a primary goal.

Despite the importance of these trends, a growing gap has emerged in recent years where a number of

businesses have either failed to undertake anthropological study or have failed to act on anthropological findings and recommendations as part of their design research. This topic is the central theme of this paper. How can an anthropological approach be ignored given its prominence and success?

One primary reason, which I examine below, is the role marketers have come to play in the overall design process. Today, marketers have a strong voice in shaping innovation and they often play a lead role throughout all stages of research and subsequent marketing efforts. Hence there has been a growing need for design anthropologists to work effectively with marketers in the identification and definition of product space.

Design anthropology faces a critical challenge today. There is a need to develop appropriate theory and methodological approaches that can facilitate the integration of anthropological research with modern design strategy. Furthermore, there is a need to develop means of communication with marketers—particularly in terms of how anthropological studies can intersect with market segmentation models and standard business approaches.

Design Anthropology Meets Marketing

> The [web] program is easy to use...but I wish it were smarter. For example, I sometimes need to go back to what I had last week ... or even earlier, and it doesn't do that! [Comment by an end user about a specific web-based utility]
>
> I wish there were a way to [download and] save a phone message. My nephew died...had a car accident a few days later, you know ... [tearing up]. I kept going in every few days to keep [resave] the message ... up to five days or whatever it was ... but then I forgot. And now it's gone. I wish I had it, so I could just hear his voice again. [Comment by an end user about a phone message of "happy birthday" from her nephew][1]

If there is a central axiom in design theory, it is that great design comes about by designing for people. This may seem self-evident, certainly at first blush, but it is worth reiterating. Great design does not, for example, come about by designing for market segments, demographics, psychographics or any number of tools that are used in the business world to organize business and marketing efforts. Great design only comes about by designing for people and specifically, for those people who are the intended users and beneficiaries of a given thing.

It is therefore not surprising to find that anthropologists are particularly well suited to aiding design research and technological innovation. In the context of design research, anthropologists examine how people use technology to achieve certain ends. They look at how people interface with technology and they collect stories and make observations about how people use objects, tools, technologies and engage in a general struggle with things. Such research can prove vitally important for understanding people's needs and underlying motivations, especially with reference to technology. Ethnography places design anthropologists in a privileged position to gain an unparalleled insight into motivational behaviour and the central issues that constitute design success.

For example, today we are witnessing a revolution in text messaging. What had been a casual usage alongside instant messaging, chat and email has exploded in just a few years. Teens and young adults are texting in huge volumes and 1,000 messages per month is now considered a modest use. Many of these text messages undoubtedly fall under the category that Miller and Slater (2000) label *mundane*. They simply serve to touch base and bolster a relationship. Others would fall under what I call private broadcasting, where status and availability are central themes of the communication. But there are other common uses of texting that quickly move well beyond the mundane. Texting is now used as a common means of getting stories straight (after the fact), of making deals (legal and illegal), of calling up instant parties, of sending notifications, of hooking up, and of receiving various *hidden* communications. Texting has challenged notions of privacy and modernity, and it has especially placed parents and teens (as well as a great many others) in a struggle over what constitutes acceptable and moral behaviour. Understanding the motivations behind texting is one of the key issues that emerges from anthropological research, (for example, the desire for parents to protect their children, the desire for teens to maintain their own identity and privacy, etc). It is this type of struggle that design anthropologists uncover when examining the motivations behind uses of technology.

So why is it that anthropological insights may be ignored by businesses, if such insights are truly beneficial to the making of things and crafting design in general? One answer to this lies in the fact that many business professionals—notably marketers—are much more geared toward dealing with *market segments*, than they are toward dealing with real people. For some, this means that they routinely do not fully grasp why *people* use certain products and services, and cannot really fathom why such items may be flawed or failing in the marketplace. Some find it difficult to move from concepts of *consumer universe* and *market segments* to *people* when making decisions on product development. Moreover, they tend to

confuse features and functions of technology with motivations themselves. Therein lies the problem. Either business professionals need to move away from working with abstractions like market segmentation when considering design, or design anthropologists need to be able to relate real world observations to how business people think. Until then, there will remain an untapped potential for how anthropological insights can contribute real, substantive impacts on design innovation.

Returning to the issue of texting for a moment, how can an anthropological insight on texting change how a technology is perceived or marketed? Let us consider ring tones and text messaging and the idea of marketing a service where personalized ring tones attach to text messages (i.e., a distinctive ring tone will ring depending on who it is from, similar to current options for personalization on incoming calls to cell phones). Specifically, would parents like this function if it were provided to their teens? Would they buy it? Answer: probably not. In my household, my son will often duck a phone call from me when he is out with his friends for a wide variety of reasons, but he will hardly ever fail to answer a text message. He does not perceive texting as invasive or threatening to his privacy, his actions or his modern sense of self identity and image. When texting back, his friends are none the wiser as to whom he is replying, as it could just as easily be another friend. It is a matter of perception and privacy. In comparing notes with others during ethnographic fieldwork, this sort of behaviour appears common. So, now if one were to market a service that would identify me as the sender, would such a service be welcomed? You would find that my son's messaging behaviour might change rather dramatically, as would that of his friends and other teens. Separate ring tones for text messages is likely to be a feature that would be very unpopular with parents (often the paying partner) and would not sell well to them once they realized what it meant.

In design theory, it is generally held that the better you understand the problem needing to be solved, the more likely you are to find the right solution. This is also a central theoretical precept in design anthropology. Understanding how people use things, or how they use a specific thing to solve a specific problem, contributes significantly to design recommendations.

Today, more than ever, there is an attempt to guarantee, as near as possible, that a new product or service will be profitable from the start. Of course, part of the pressure on designers is that they will *get it right* from the beginning, and that any new product or service will have a market potential that promises an excellent return on investment. Hence, there is a need to address marketing concerns virtually hand-in-hand with design innovation and research every step of the way. Design thinking is therefore not very far removed from marketing initiatives and as a result, innovation is often hampered.

It is not uncommon for design anthropologists to come face to face with marketers early on in a project. There is often a need to incorporate marketers into a research approach at the outset, and a need to address central marketing concerns (for example, how many prospective buyers might there be for this product, where might it sell best, to which market segments, etc). These, of course, are important business decisions, but most naturally they sit outside the comfort zone of most design anthropologists.

There are at least two ways to address this situation with positive results. The first is to ask that design anthropologists develop marketing expertise, at least to the point that they can communicate effectively with marketers. The second is that design anthropologists develop tools that are sufficiently robust and theoretically and methodologically sound so as to enable anthropological research to be viewed within a marketing frame of reference. Both of these approaches are touched on in the research examples that follow.

Participatory Design with a Twist

Participatory design is a recognized approach in design research that emerged more than 50 years ago and reached maturity during the 1980s and onwards (Kensing and Blomberg 1998). It derives its name from the inclusion of end users—participants—in the design phase where opinions and feedback provide insight throughout the design process. Goals for this kind of research most often centre on a product's usability, and whether a design will effectively meet the needs of its intended end users. This is a particularly effective strategy for designing small, well-targetted products (for example, digital interfaces of software utilities, specialized equipment, etc).

Design anthropologists over the past decade have played a prominent role in this type of research. Observations of how a thing is used, along with follow-up interviews, have revealed how a design can be improved prior to its initial, formal release or further development. A new twist has been added to this kind of approach, however, over the past several years—namely, a measure of marketability as part of the design research phase itself. The example below is a case in point.

Between 2003 and 2005, I was hired by Eighty20 Group, Inc. to redesign its content management system, a set of web publishing utilities.[2] The company had been competing against a number of larger companies with

very substantial offerings, and it was now facing a critical decision: tailor its software to a specific set of users—develop a niche market offering—or abandon software development altogether. It was hoped that by hiring me, a direction could be found for redesigning the company's software, and that I would be able to identify a profitable niche market.

Of course, there is no manual that sets out just how an anthropologist can go about doing this with any real guarantee of success. Business literature tends to attack the problem from a marketing perspective, and from that standpoint, much depends on the nature of the business idea. Luck is often cited as an added asset for success, if not an actual pre-requisite, along with timing, degree of dedication, availability of capital financing, et cetera. But one pertinent area of business literature that is becoming more and more useful for design anthropology is market ethnography (Mariampolski 2006).[3]

My job was to conduct research that could guide development, both in terms of helping to identify a potential niche market, and also in terms of helping to shape the product to meet the needs of newly identified end users. In evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of Eighty20's software, I met with various stakeholders in the project as part of an initial review. This step included meetings with the senior management team, the sales team, and the product development and design team, as well as others actively involved in maintaining the software. I began by asking for *stories* surrounding the software and its use, as well as the *culture* of the company overall. The telling of these stories painted a picture of the values of the company, and the strength of its offerings. What was needed was a firm direction. Everyone wanted to know who to design for because everyone recognized that once you move beyond the basics, *excellence in software innovation stems from designing with a specific set of users in mind*—a well-established maxim of the design world.

The step of identifying creative opportunities and unique advantages is not an easy one. In the business world, it generally depends on competitive analysis and the experience or connectedness a company may have with a particular business sector. In this instance, probing Eighty20's expertise, and asking its owners and senior management about key experiences, was a critical part of my evaluation. You must first know a company before undertaking market research to guide any product design. In the business world, this is often referred to as "stakeholder interviewing" and information gained from such research is often vital for measuring avenues for success. My interviews established that Eighty20 was primarily in the business of communications and that its owners were dedicated believers in quality education. The company had worked closely with independent schools in the past, with great success, and this emerged as a primary avenue for business development.

It was at this point that ethnographic input became crucial. It would have been risky if Eighty20 had reached any decision in a vacuum without end user input. Such feedback was vital for recognizing design opportunities. I met with Eighty20's clients who had been using the company's software for communications. I asked them why they valued the software, how they found it worked for them, areas they found frustrating and, in general, what they primarily used it for. In addition, I watched them perform a variety of core tasks—both those that they said they did regularly and those that I asked them to do as part of a general usability study. These are typical questions a design anthropologist might ask, but I also included questions that were aimed at measuring marketability, competitiveness and perception of value—participatory design with a twist.

What emerged from this study was the recognition that fundraisers and communication coordinators in independent schools were ideal users of Eighty20's software. They had a keen awareness of how Eighty20's product helped them in their job, and an appreciation of how it made a difference to them professionally.

The solution for Eighty20 was then strikingly simple. Redesign the software to excel at the specific job tasks of professional fundraisers and communication coordinators at independent schools—and rebrand the software with this in mind. I worked closely with four key participants in a complete breakdown of all features and actions of the software, a thorough review of all interfaces and the work flow they enabled, and a testing of the software for its intended end use. Armed with this information, Eighty20 seized a key market opportunity and within a year, the company emerged as a leader in the industry with a focus on communications for independent schools.

The key observation to take away from this is that market analysis often plays a primary role, in conjunction with research, in design. This is especially the case when an existing product needs to go through extensive redesign. Design anthropology can play a key role in this.

Persona Research

Persona research is a recognized best practice in the study of design (Cooper et al. 2007; Manning 2004; Pruitt and Adlin 2006). It is the method of using crafted, fictional biographies—personas—to present results from qualitative, ethnographic research. Personas are textual descriptions that describe behavioural motivations rather than

actual biographies per se. They constitute a valuable research tool specifically because they breathe life into what would otherwise be a set of abstract conceptualizations. They allow design teams to come to grips with ethnographic research in a meaningful way and they facilitate dialogue between designers, programmers, marketers and managers.

Patterning in the qualitative data forms a backdrop for each individual persona—literally giving a face and name to significant ethnographic observations. For example, in a hypothetical case of ethnographic research on TV viewing habits, a persona—Kate, aged 24—may be presented as catching her favourite TV show online every Thursday night and also subsequently buying DVD sets of those very same episodes for subsequent viewing. In this instance, the online viewing is more about staying up with the content of the show while the DVDs are more about the relationship she has with the show and its characters and the ability to watch reruns whenever she wants. The information is used to build Kate's persona profile. It presents the tendency for these two observed media behaviours to form a significant association. Presented in this way, ethnographic motivations that explain observed patterns of behaviour are easily understood, much like developing familiarity with strong, fictional characters. The end result will be a presentation with a photo, name and detailed text that discusses why this persona chooses to behave the way they do (i.e., specific motivations). It is a method of data presentation that is meant to stimulate creative thinking in a decision-making process.

Persona research works best when the range of behaviour itself is well focused and the intended end users of a product are well defined. The tighter the focus and definition, the greater the likelihood that ethnographic observations will be insightful. It helps to have a specific research scope in mind so that ethnographic observations can lead to identifying the *differences that make a difference*—the compelling needs that reverberate in the marketplace and which will make all the difference to the success of product (or service) design.

The underlying foundation of persona research is ethnography, which means that both the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research accompany this kind of study. Persona research has recently come under criticism, not so much for its failure to contribute insight but for its lack of quantitative rigour (Chapman and Milham 2006). It is important to keep in mind that all qualitative research can be strengthened by a component of quantitative measure and that anthropological research embraces both means of study.

In 2005, I was hired as a design anthropologist by Quarry Integrated Communications, who were under contract with a leading telephony firm. Specifically, I was asked to examine the realm of messaging (as in message services, not text messaging), particularly as it pertained to home telephony. The company was on board with the idea that an ethnographic approach would reveal key insights into the marketplace and it was also hoping that the approach known as persona research would facilitate communication among their design team, managers and marketers in the design of a new service offering.

The central aim of the research was to uncover key motivations that explain messaging behaviours. Hence, in this project, trying to understand *why* someone might choose a network messaging service, a home messaging machine or none of the above, was an important point. My goal was to gain insight into both landline and wireless telephony, and to distil the motivations that governed why people chose specific messaging behaviours.

A total of 64 home interviews were conducted. The presence or absence of broadband connectivity was anticipated to be of some importance to end results, as was the presence of a land line, mobile phone or both, and the overall size of the household. Recruitment took these matters into account directly. In addition, in an effort to build as broad a representation as possible, recruitment also attempted to include, to the extent possible, a wide variety of other factors, such as different community types, age groups, family types and ethnic backgrounds (see Figure 1).

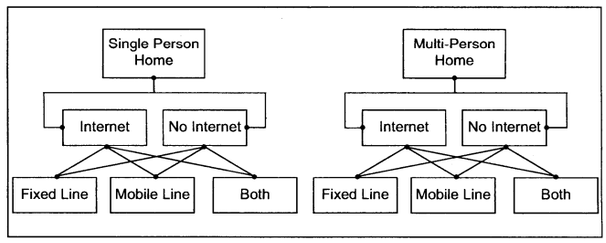

Figure 1: Recruitment Matrix for Telephony Messaging Study

During the interviews, questions were asked concerning messaging activities and what the person valued most about messaging per se: the checking and forwarding of messages, the ability to access them easily from a variety of devices, scanning calls, preferred ways of messaging, et cetera. As part of our research, we also observed what happened when we unsuspectingly rang the participant's phone during our interview. Was the call screened, ducked, picked up or ignored and let go to a message

machine? This was used to verify stated behaviours and preferences.

This research formed the basis for identifying dimensions—types of behaviour expressed as a range, such as the desire to screen phone calls or the desire to check messages routinely throughout the day, et cetera. Individuals would score differently on each of these dimensions, and as is typical of methods in persona research, each individual interview was plotted on a single relative scale. What was of particular note was that clustering in one dimension often tended to coincide with clustering in another, indicating that motivations in one area were associated with motivations in other areas to some degree. The research revealed key types of telephony users.

The problem at this point was to relate these ethnographic findings to the end client's market segmentation schema. There was a need to understand whether it made business sense to develop a new service for a key set of telephony users. In other words, with the ethnographic analysis in hand, we needed to determine just how many telephony users would be potential customers of a new service if a major investment in product development was to be forthcoming. If one type of user represented 0.1% of the population or 20.0% of the population, this would make a huge difference in terms of the market potential of a new service offering. Such concerns over representation are typical of qualitative research and they argue for the inclusion of a quantitative phase of research and analysis (Bernard 2006; Ireland 2004).

What we devised was a simple and highly effective method for integrating the data in a way that made sense for the end client. We conducted a quantitative survey of each of the client's key market segments, wherein a simple questionnaire would quickly establish what type of telephony user they were. A total of 2,000 surveys were completed as a sample of Canadian consumer households (roughly 0.02%). It was around these motivational insights and quantitative analyses that we focused our report and its key recommendations for telephony service.

Based on our results, we estimated that a significant market existed for a new messaging service—at least sufficient to proceed towards further design considerations and development of a prototype. We note that ethnographic results alone would have been insufficient to persuade our client to make a major investment; a business case had to be presented that included quantitative analysis. These results paved the way for the eventual release of a new messaging service, which was based, in part, on our results and recommendations. While the full results of the work remain confidential, both our client and its competitors have since released products that reflect the motivations and types of telephony users we found: Bell Canada's Call Answer Message Manager™, Rogers' Home and Away Voicemail™, Aliant's Call Answer/Message Manager™, and AT&T's Unified Messaging™.

Design Anthropology: Meeting Today's Challenge

Design anthropologists and designers strongly agree that design strategy benefits from a modern ethnographic approach (Mariampolski 2006; Wasson 2000). Participant observation constitutes a fundamental method in this study, especially when used to explore how people use things to achieve definable end goals. Indeed, this is a cornerstone of design anthropology. As pointed out by Collins (2003), technology is much more than a mere set of tools; it is a context in which things enable and constrain individual and group behaviours. Design anthropologists and designers have recognized the contribution of anthropological study for a number of years and have come to view ethnographic insight as a valuable, often vital, contribution to design thinking (Katz 1997; Plowman 2003, 2005; Schiffer 2001). Moreover, as stated above, design anthropologists have made significant strides in recent years towards making substantive contributions in the realm of design itself, where anthropological theory has led to greater awareness in design innovation.

The challenge to design anthropology is not in terms of its ethnographic insight; the challenge lies in how such insight best fits with business and marketing approaches in the study of design and in how it best affects making sound business decisions.

Businesses typically employ standard marketing procedures, such as segmentation models, to categorize customers. These are based on demographics, psychographics, geography, employment, education and other similar proxy data (Leeflang et al. 2000; McDonald and Dunbar 2004; Wedel and Kamakura 1999). Such models are based on dividing a market into individual segments, which are defined as mutually exclusive groups of people sharing similarities in their background and composition *and their product needs*. Considerable effort is made to understand the existing customer base, especially which *types* of customers are most likely to buy products and services in the future. Segmentation models aim to understand current buying trends (i.e., the *status quo* of a company's customer base) in order to predict future trends and success—the who, what, when and where of future sales.

Yet, using standard segmentation models to predict consumer behaviour can be a very dicey business. One major problem with any standard segmentation model is that it only works on a gross level of *how many*, for

example, one in 75 of this market segment will likely buy your product or service. It tells a company little about *why* someone is likely to value a product or service. Drawing insight from Miller (1987), Christensen et al. (2007), and Mariampolski (2006), it would be incorrect to assume that what a company thinks forms a value is the same as what its customers perceive. Analyses drawn from standard segmentation models yield predictive numbers but they leave marketers in the dark about just what is going on in the market and why customers are buying—or perhaps more urgently, not buying—a particular product or offering.

Current trends in marketing are looking at ways in which ethnographic research can dovetail with more traditional marketing and segmentation schemes. The benefit of such an approach is that it offers the potential to understand consumer behaviours and motivations, in particular as they pertain to a given product or service. It offers insight on *how* and *why* customers value a particular thing. Such information is valuable on two fronts: it helps a company know if a product design is on the mark or if changes are needed, and it helps them to know best how to communicate with customers in a manner that will convey value.

Not infrequently, business embraces ethnography as a way to gain insight in the marketplace. Often, they acknowledge the professionalism of the approach and the validity of the results. The problem is not the insight itself, which seems quite straightforward, but more about just how pressing a demand it reveals. How many people will want to use a specific product or service? How marketable is a given idea or technology?

As design anthropologists, we must recognize that market segmentation is the primary marketing tool and that our results need to speak to business strategy. As mentioned in the cases above, market approaches and market segmentation are vital considerations for making design decisions. This may be as simple as needing to validate ethnographic observations via a small, well-targetted quantitative survey, or as complex as integrating ethnographic analyses within more complicated design modelling exercises. We need a means by which we can relate our real world results to how marketers dissect and comprehend a consumer universe. Specifically, we need to develop tools that will enable us to relate anthropological insights into human behaviour to the business world of market segmentation. If we do develop such tools, there is the very real possibility that design anthropology itself will flourish.

As design anthropology continues to grow, it must benefit from research that attempts to bridge the study of design with growing trends in business theory, as well as anthropological approaches to social and cultural theory. It is only when design anthropology reaches the point of leveraging its methods for understanding human behaviour that it will reach its full potential as a partner in the world of design.

Gray Graffam, Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo, 200 University Avenue West, Waterloo, ON N2L 3G1. E-mail: ggraffam@uwaterloo.ca.

Notes

1 These two quotes were collected in the course of my fieldwork over the past eight years. I selected them primarily because they constitute excellent examples of how stories can reveal flawed design.

2 Technically, my title was Vice President. As it was a small company, I also managed its creative, web design and programming staff. It was only later that I realized that my success in technology design had to do with my training in anthropology.

3 I wish to acknowledge the entirety of the team in helping uncover and set Eighty20's direction, especially Karim Ismail, President, Narmin Ismail, Vice President, Galib Riyani, Vice President, Phil Lameira, Web Programmer, and David Zhu Wei, Programmer and Database Developer.

References

Anderson-Kempe, Elizabeth
2007 Engaged Clients: Stories of Collaboration: EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) Proceedings 2007:210-213.

Appadurai, Arjun
1986a Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. *In* The Social Life of Things. Arjun Appadurai, ed. Pp. 3-63. London, UK: Cambridge University Press.
1986b The Social Life of Things. Arjun Appadurai, ed. London, UK: Cambridge University Press.
1991 Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology. *In* Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. Richard G. Fox, ed. Pp. 191-210. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Arnould, Eric J.
1998 Daring Consumer-Oriented Ethnography. *In* Representing Consumers: Voices, Views, and Visions. Barbara Stern, ed. Pp. 85-126. London, UK: Routledge.

Baba, Marietta L., and Diane Pawlowski
2001 Creating Culture Change: Ethnographic Approach to the Transformation of Engineering Education. Paper presented at the International Conference on Engineering Education, Oslo. Electronic resource, http://www.ineer.org/Events/ICE2001/Proceedings/papers/542.pdf, accessed 1 July 2009.

Barlow-Busch, Robert
2006 Marketing versus Design Personas. *In* The Persona Lifecycle: Keeping People in Mind Throughout Product Design. John Pruitt and Tamara Adlin, eds. Pp. 556-601. San Francisco, CA: Elsevier, Inc.
Bell, Genevieve, Jeanette Blomberg, Timothy Malefyt and Rick E. Robinson
2006 Considering Ethnography in Various Business Settings: What Is Success? EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) Proceedings 2006:76-81.
Bernard, H. Russell
2006 Research Methods in Anthropology. 4th edition. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.
Blomberg, Jeanette, Jean Giacomi, Andrea Mosher and Pat Swenton-Wall
1993 Ethnographic Field Methods and Their Relation to Design. *In* Participatory Design: Principles and Practices. Douglas Schuler and Aki Namioka, eds. Pp. 123-156. Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates.
Blomberg, Jeanette, Mark Burrell and Greg Guest
2002 An Ethnographic Approach to Design. *In* The Human-Computer Interaction Handbook: Fundamentals, Evolving Technologies, and Emerging Applications. Julie A. Jacko and Andrew Sears, eds. Pp. 964-986. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
Buur, Jacob, and Larisa Sitorus
2007 Ethnography as Design Provocation. EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) Proceedings 2007:146-157.
Button, Graham
2000 The Ethnographic Tradition and Design. Design Studies 21(4):319-332.
Callahan, Ewa
2006 Interface Design and Culture. Annual Review of Information Science and Technology 39(1):255-310.
Chapman, Christopher N., and Russell P. Milham
2006 The Personas' New Clothes: Methodological and Practical Arguments against a Popular Method. Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society 50 (Computer Systems):634-636.
Christensen, Clayton M.
1997 The Innovator's Dilemma: When New Technologies Cause Great Firms to Fail. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press.
Christensen, Clayton M., and Michael E. Raynor
2003 The Innovator's Solution: Creating and Sustaining Successful Growth. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press.
Christensen, Clayton M., Scott D. Anthony, Gerald Berstell and Denise Nitterhouse
2007 Finding the Right Job for Your Product. MIT Sloan Management Review 48(3):38-47.
Cohen, Kris R.
2005 Who We Talk About When We Talk About Users. EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) Proceedings 2005:9-30.
Collins, Shawn
2003 Using Ethnography to Identify Cultural Domains within a Systems Engineering Organization. Bulletin of Science, Technology, & Society 23(4):246-255.
Cooper, Alan
1999 The Inmates Are Running the Asylum: Why High Tech Products Drive Us Crazy and How to Restore the Sanity. New York: MacMillan, SAMS.
Cooper, Alan, Robert Reimann and Dave Cronin
2007 About Face 3: The Essentials of Interaction Design. Indianapolis: Wiley Publishing.
Elliot, Richard, and Nick Jankel-Elliot
2003 Using Ethnography in Strategic Consumer Research. Qualitative Market Research 6(4):215-223.
Ferguson, James
1988 Cultural Exchange: New Developments in the Anthropology of Commodities. Cultural Anthropology 3(4):488-513.
Ginsburg Faye, Lila Abu-Lughod and Brian Larkin, eds.
2002 Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Grudin, Jonathan, and Rebecca Grinter
1994 Ethnography and Design. Computer Supported Cooperative Work 3(1):55-59.
Ireland, Christopher
2004 Qualitative Methods: From Boring to Brilliant. *In* Design Research: Methods and Perspectives. Brenda Laurel, ed. Pp. 23-29. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Ito, Mizuko
1996 Theory, Method, and Design in Anthropologies of the Internet. Social Science Computer Review 14(1):24-26.
Jordan, Ann T.
2003 Business Anthropology. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
Julier, Guy
2000 The Culture of Design. London: Sage.
Katz, Barry M.
1997 Technology and Design—A New Agenda. Technology and Culture 38(2):452-466.
2006 Intelligent Design. Technology and Culture 47(2):381-390.
Kensing, Finn, and Jeanette Blomberg
1998 Participatory Design: Issues and Concerns. Computer Supported Cooperative Work 7(4):167-185.
Kingery, W. David
2001 The Design Process as a Critical Component of the Anthropology of Technology. *In* Anthropological Perspectives on Technology. Michael B. Schiffer, ed. Pp. 123-138. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Leeflang, Peter S.H., Dick R. Wittink, Michel Wedel and Phillipe A. Naert
2000 Building Models for Market Decisions. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Louridas, Panagiotis
1999 Design as Bricolage: Anthropology Meets Design Thinking. Design Studies 20(5):517-535.
Manning, Harley
2004 Persona Best Practices: Developing Your Customer Research Plan. Electronic document, http://www.forrester.com/Research/Document/Excerpt/0,7211,35482,00.html, accessed 10 June 2005.

Marcus, Aaron
2005 User Interface Design and Culture. *In* Usability and Internationalization of Information Technology. Nuray Aykin, ed. Pp. 51-78. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
Mariampolski, Hy
2006 Ethnography for Marketers: A Guide to Consumer Immersion. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
McDonald, Malcolm, and Ian Dunbar
2004 Market Segmentation: How to Do It, How to Profit from It. Oxford, UK: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
Miller, Daniel
1987 Material Culture and Mass Consumption. Oxford: Blackwell.
1995 Consumption and Commodities. Annual Review of Anthropology 24:141-161.
Miller, Daniel, and Don Slater
2000 The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach. Oxford: Berg.
Ogburn, Joyce L.
1997 On Anthropology and the Internet. Current Anthropology 38(2):286-287.
Pfaffenberger, Bryan
1992 Social Anthropology of Technology. Annual Review of Anthropology 21:491-516.
Pierson Jo, and Bram Lieven
2005 Configuring Living Labs for a "Thick" Understanding of Innovation. EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) Proceedings 2005:114-127.
Plowman, Tim
2003 Ethnography and Critical Design Practice. *In* Design Research: Methods and Perspectives. Brenda Laurel, ed. Pp. 30-38. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
2005 Ethnography, Operations, and Objectual Practice. EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) Proceedings 2005:53-66.
Pruitt, John, and Tamara Adlin
2006 The Persona Lifecycle: Keeping People in Mind Throughout Product Design. San Francisco: Elsevier, Inc.
Reinertsen, Donald G.
1997 Managing the Design Factory. New York: The Free Press.
Rowntree, Lester, Martin Lewis, Marie Price and William Wyckoff
2007 Globalization and Diversity: Geography of a Changing World. 2nd edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
Salvador, Tony, Genevieve Bell and Ken Anderson
1999 Design Ethnography. Design Management Journal 10(4):35-41.
Schiffer, Michael B.
2001 Toward an Anthropology of Technology. *In* Anthropological Perspectives on Technology. Michael B. Schiffer, ed. Pp. 1-16. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Schuler, Douglas, and Aki Namioka, eds.
1993 Participatory Design: Principles and Practices. Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
Sunderland, Patricia L., and Rita M. Denny
2007 Doing Anthropology in Consumer Research. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
Schwimmer, Brian
1996 Anthropology on the Internet: A Review and Evaluation of Networked Resources. Current Anthropology 37(3):561-568.
Tunstall, Elizabeth
2008 Design Anthropology: What Can It Add to Your Design Practice? Adobe Think Tank. Electronic document, http://www.adobe.com/designcenter/thinktank/tt_tunstall.html, accessed 6 June 2008.
Vinck Dominique
2003 Everyday Engineering: An Ethnography of Design and Innovation. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Wasson, Christina
2000 Ethnography in the Field of Design. Human Organization 59(4):377-388.
Wedel, Michel, and Wagner A. Kamakura
1999 Market Segmentation: Conceptual and Methodological Foundations. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Wilson, Samuel M., and Leighton C. Peterson
2002 The Anthropology of Online Communities. Annual Review of Anthropology 31:449-467.
Zafiroglu, Alexandra, and Ashwini Asokan
2006 At Home in the Field: From Objects to Lifecycles. EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) Proceedings 2006:138-143.

Ideas / Idées

The State (or *Overstated*)

Gavin Smith *University of Toronto*

> If the state is so difficult to think, it is because we are the state's thinkers, and because the state is in the head of the thinkers. —Pierre Bourdieu 1990
>
> A "protected democracy" is not a democracy at all. —Giorgio Agamben 1998

"This melody you will hear follows me everywhere I go. I hear it when I am sad and especially when I am glad. It seems to mock me for my past sins. It taunts me and it is driving me crazy." Anthropologists could be forgiven for sharing Edith Piaf's thoughts as they broach yet another ethnography or edited volume that can neither leave the state alone nor decide whether it really has any more substance than the Little Sparrow's melody.

It is of course essential to reflect on the nature of the state that envelops the "site" of one's fieldwork and possibly even think about how its workings, over the centuries, have played themselves out in the case of the people one is interested in. But recently anthropologists have been tempted to actually try to fill the state with so much theory and magical power that it threatens to break its moorings and float off in the prevailing winds. Heads raised skywards, their fascination with this hot air contraption means they see, hear or think about very little else. It is the state, it turns out, or its *effects* that constitute everything from everyday life, to intimate forms of subjectivity, to "identity," to bare life itself—in the words of Sharma and Gupta (2006:9) it is "the supreme authority that manages all other institutional forms that social relations take." It is a wonder anybody could figure out anything about such things in anthropologists' Edenic days before they bit on the apple of the state and were entered by the serpent of theory. It taunts me and it is driving me crazy.

What I want to write about here is the subtle turn this preoccupation has taken. Ferguson and Gupta (2002:995) remark that were we to reread the ethnographic record with a view to exploring the multiple ways

in which the state works its way into everyday life, "the data might well be too thin in many cases to carry out such a project." And indeed it is true that anthropologists made a significant move once they recognized that "the state," or "colonialism," was not something one attended to by simply adding a final chapter to an ethnographic study otherwise devoted to local cultural processes of what today we might call subject formation. It was a move made notably in that area of anthropology known as "political economy." Perhaps a key text here was Joseph and Nugent's (1994) *Everyday Forms of State Formation* because it straddled an old divide that had always made anthropologists uneasy—macro formations and everyday experiences, the large and structured, the intimate and affectual. The book itself was strongly influenced by another, Corrigan and Sayer's *The Great Arch* (1985), and this in turn was the product of rebellious but respectful students of Philip Abrams (1988) whose seminal "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State" made the argument that the apparent materiality and visibility of the state was itself the result of a sleight of hand—or at least a long-term historical process that produced the modern state. The state, he noted with a healthy absence of neutrality, "is a bid to elicit the support for or tolerance of the insupportable, and intolerable by presenting them as something other than themselves namely, legitimate, disinterested domination" (1988:76).

The subtitle of Corrigan and Sayer's book was *English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*. Anthropologists were no doubt comforted by the presence there of their favourite word "culture," celebrated for its fuzziness yet undoubted pervasiveness through every aspect of human conduct,[1] though the cultural revolution the authors had in mind was of a quite different order. Not only did this allow anthropologists to play the cultural card, trumping the political state, the *kapitalogik* state and so on; but it also helped clarify what part of the beast they could safely bite off for themselves, while leaving the rest for the likes of political theorists, sociologists and so on.

Nonetheless, in the work that came out during the 1990s, it would be true to say that there was an understanding of cultural aspects of the state in terms of a series of other elements such as its role as a site of struggle, as a key player in the international arena, and as a regulator for capitalism. It seems to me now, however, that we have lost that balance. We have ceased to understand the state, much perhaps as Catholics puzzled over "the Church" (as much a material institution as a set of beliefs and practices); instead the analogy now should be to God almighty.

> Anthropology may not find the state ready-made and waiting for our ethnographic gaze in the known sites of national government. Government institutions and practices are to be studied, of course, and we can deplore that anthropology has not contributed enough to their study. However, anthropologists are best suited to study the state from below through ethnographies that centre on the subjects produced by state effects and processes. [Trouillot 2003:93]

Trouillot's essay, an otherwise astute and wide-ranging agenda for studying the state "in an age of globalization," exhibits an uncomfortable tension between the encultured political economy approaches of the 1990s and the post-Foucauldian approaches in the first decade of this century. Two things exhibit the "turn" I am alluding to.[2] One has to do with a rather silent, taken-for-granted professionalization which assumes that there is agreement about what anthropologists do; the other has to do with a changing ontology of the state. Why does Trouillot think that "anthropologists are best suited to study the state" by focusing on subjects? What are the divisions of labour that are assumed by this statement? And then it turns out that these subjects are "produced by state effects and processes."[3] This latter has become such a widespread assumption that one seems churlish if, in a seminar or at a professional meeting, one asks (1) if there might not be other elements that produce subjects; (2) whether it is in fact the rather vast task of anthropology to discover how "subjects" are produced (is this professional hubris a result of inter-disciplinary status wars perhaps?); and (3) how would one distinguish between what was a state effect and an effect of something else or, put another way, is it not possible, even tempting, to find that everything is ultimately a state effect? If one believes in God, then surely everything is a God-effect. Once E.P. Thompson (1961) chastised his colleague Raymond Williams for making his definition of "culture" so broad that it would be hard to imagine anything that was not culture. Could we not say the same thing now about "state effects"?

In a recent book, Etienne Balibar (2002) noted, following Marx, that "politics" is not an autonomous, transhistorical concept, but is constituted by something else which he calls (borrowing now from Freud) "the other scene." What we see to constitute our politics depends on what we take that other scene to be—production relations, gender relations et cetera. The same could be said about the state (an expression after all of politics). There is an uneasy tension between a historical realist understanding of the constitution of the state (and the state as constituent) on the one hand, and an essentially for-

malist understanding of the state as discursively constituted and constituting. Both configurations may wish to explore the pervasiveness of the state into everything from everyday to bare life, but their understandings of what "pervasiveness" means and how it might be assessed are strikingly different as we move from the original Joseph and Nugent collection (1994) to recent anthropological interventions.

But this purely intellectual distinction disguises another—one that would explain the shift in tone if not perhaps argument—and has to do with the uncontested dominance of U.S. academic institutions as the sites for the production of authorized anthropological knowledge. For there is surely a yawning gap between the long-standing U.S. American pervasive hatred of "the state" combined with highly romantic and often untested notions of a form of political life without it, and a left socialist tradition which wrestles with the problem of the state as a crystallization (and necessarily therefore mystification) of popular sovereignty.

Taken together these different intellectual and attitudinal orientations produce two views of the state and "subjects" that are inversions of one another. Put schematically and perhaps too bluntly: one sees subjects as the result of the state, while the other sees the state as the outcome of struggles by people that have subject-inflecting effects. We can see this especially clearly if we juxtapose two quite different reflections on the state. Writing of Foucault, Das and Poole note,

> His meticulous description of the impact of statistics and the invention of the population as an object of knowledge and regulation on changing notions of sovereignty has led to important ways of reconceptualising the state, especially in shifting the emphasis from territorial jurisdictions to the management of life.[4] [2004:26]

We might usefully set this alongside a comment by Gramsci:

> A revolution is a genuine revolution and not just empty, swollen demagoguery, only when it is embedded in some kind of State, only when it becomes an organized system of power. Society can only exist in the form of a State, which is the source and the end of all rights and duties. [1993:97]

If the relationship between these two configurations took the form of a lively conversation (which unfortunately it does not), we might imagine the one participant, in a rather patronizing way, regarding the other as remarkably naïve. Here, after all is Gramsci talking of revolution and of the state in terms of rights and duties, when surely we know that revolutions are things of the past and states now operate with remarkable autonomy from a peopled "society." On the other hand, here are the governmentality types asking us to close off all enquiries into any form of subject-making that does not go along with contemporary forms of state-like disciplining, while not asking at all how the state comes to be a condensation of such things as class, national popular and international practices. I am arguing that we need to make ourselves aware of the implications of this crucial shift (exemplified in the tensions in Trouillot's article) from the former to the latter.

In what remains of this intervention I want to talk of the implications of these two gazes for the way we might think about contemporary states and subjects. I will begin with the governmental gaze and then shift to the popular gaze and I will argue that both depend on an unvoiced state of exception, one having to do with *state* sovereignty, the other having to do with *popular* sovereignty.

Exception and the Working of Power

When understandings of the power of states move along a logical progression from Foucault to Agamben, two things happen. One is a genre shift. Foucault habitually accumulates micro-histories while Agamben, a professor of Aesthetics, makes a formal argument and uses highly attenuated and selective historical "cases" (see especially 2005). Hence for Foucault the value of the intervention appears to emerge from the archaeology, while Agamben's value, in the hands of the anthropologist, lies in applying the pre-existing argument (about the state of exception) to an ethnographic case hitherto unexplored in these terms, to reveal what would otherwise escape analysis.

The other has to do with the source of power. Both make a radical critique of liberalism in terms of the essence of power in the relationship between the governor and the populace. For Foucault, this is an emergent property arising in the form of power/knowledge, while for Agamben the first concern is how sovereign power is first *constituted* and then maintained. Anthropologists' employment of Agamben represents an extreme case of the "overstated" because, through him, they advance from the effects of governmentality (through biopolitics) on populations to the effects of government biopolitics on different conceptions of life itself. (You cannot get much more invasive than that—though I am not holding my breath). I will take two anthropological employments of Agamben to make my argument: Hansen and Stepputat (2006) and Das and Poole (2004).

Hansen and Stepputat are driven from the rhizomic power of Foucault to questions of the state and sovereignty by what they call an impasse produced by the ethnographic work of various authors:

> If power is dispersed throughout society, in institutions, disciplines and rituals of self-making, how do we...account for the proliferation of legal discourse premised on the widespread popular idea of the state as a centre of society, a central legislator and adjudicator? [2006:296]

For them "the origin of sovereign power is the state of exception...fundamentally premised on the capacity and the will to decide on life and death, the capacity to visit excessive violence on those declared enemies or undesirables" (2006:301).

By making the shift from state-like spaces to de facto sovereignty "as a form of authority grounded in violence...from the neighbourhood to the state," they are able to propose that the authority of a community is based on who controls bare life, i.e., the site of the body as the object of sovereign power: the included body and the biological body. Under colonialism different kinds of sovereignty understood in this way coexisted and overlapped, as it was distributed often informally to local authorities. So, while in Foucault-like fashion we have micro sites of discipline, it is the colonial state which conditions the possibilities of subordinate forms of sovereignty (assuming that subordinate sovereignty is not a contradiction in terms). So they interpret Agamben in such a way as to suggest articulated or overlapping political rationalities:

> Sovereign power exists in modern states alongside and intertwined with, bio-political rationalities aiming at reproducing lives and societies as an ever-present possibility of losing one's citizenship and rights and becoming reduced to a purely biological form. [Hansen and Stepputat 2006:304]

Das and Poole (2004) cover similar ground and actually distinguish between what they call two modalities of rule deriving from Agamben's distinction between included lives and bare life. One has to do with classification of spaces and what they call rather elusively "figures" (presumably a term that allows us to include what we like—people, subjects, animals [Abraham's goat for example] and of course bodies), as "instantiations of how bare life is embodied and acted upon in modern forms of statehood" (2004:13). And, as with Hansen and Stepputat above, the other has to do not with actions but with possibilities: "as a threat held in abeyance and a state into which any citizen could fall" (2004:13). Unlike Hansen and Stepputat, however, who speak of non-state sites of sovereignty (permitted by the colonial state, for example), for them every practice imaginable can be understood as the result of the state or its "effects": from the *gamonales*[5] living "in the margins of the state" in highland Peru, who they describe as "figures of local authority [who] represent both highly personalized forms of private power *and* the supposedly impersonal or neutral authority of the state" (2004:14), to the informal economies on the physical borders of west African states where "the state exerts its own seemingly arbitrary claims to sovereignty over territories that it clearly cannot control" (2004:18).

While *any* relatively systematic exercise of power in modern societies can in some way be traced back to the state, it seems to me that here the hot air balloon, be it the state or Agamben himself, distracts more than it reveals. Except for somebody intent on seeing the state precisely at the moment of its exception, it is hard to see why one would have to think these conditions as anything to do with state regulation. And in both cases, one wants to ask if some other insight might come if, for example, we thought of gamonales less in terms of the state, and more in terms of the peculiar features of class in the highly disarticulated Peruvian political economy (Nugent 2008); or of different sectors of an informal economy operating in the spaces between formally recognized states not in terms of justice meted out by the state so as to draw attention to its laws, but rather in terms of entirely different forms of social regulation in such spaces (see for example, Heyman and Smart 1999; Lins Ribeiro 2007; Narotzky and Smith 2006; Smith 2007)

While Hansen and Stepputat seem much more cautious in this regard one is nevertheless struck by the way in which these views of the state, inspired by an extension of post-structuralism, have the effect of carving the state and its forms of governance off from the political economy in which it is embedded. The result is to foreclose any need to understand the specificities of different states, except insofar as they exhibit different "state effects" in the multiplicity of ethnographic sites where anthropologists work. If one were to hypothesize (for the sake of argument) that what we are seeing today in a variety of forms is a crisis of the relationship between changing capitalist relations of production and a crisis of the liberal democratic state, approaches driven by the gaze of state power would not help us to explore it.

This is especially striking in an article on the spatializing characteristics of states by Ferguson and Gupta (2002) which, one suspects, had some influence on the formulations of the above two interventions. There, after a selective review of the mistaken (spatial) views of the state

and civil society that makes no reference to Marx or Gramsci (thereby allowing civil society to survive in a vacuum innocent of capital or the market), the authors draw up a comparison between what they call the "strong state" of India with the weak states of "Africa" [*sic*], which in some cases they feel are hardly states at all, but instead are at the receiving end of new forms of transnational governmentality (2002:991, 989). The kind of thing one finds in the latter case is described as follows: "The role played by NGOs in helping Western *development agencies* to get around uncooperative national governments sheds a great deal of light on the current disdain for the state and celebration of civil society that one finds in both the academic and the development literature right now" (2002:993 emphasis added). While of course I am delighted that these authors share with me a certain nervousness about the (American) academic disdain for the state, the myopia vis-à-vis current forms of capitalism means that they find the practices of *development agencies* vis-à-vis African states more worthy of note than those of capitalist firms. Meanwhile the celebration of "civil society" that troubles them does not derive from any sense that the character of civil society and the reproduction of capital are dialectically related.[6] Yet, rather than the distinction between the strong state of India and the weaker ones of "Africa," surely an heuristically far more useful optic would be to explore the complex relationships between regional, national and international capitalist blocs and political society in different settings. Indeed, were one not now entirely habituated to these kinds of explanations in current anthropology, one might be rendered breathless by the thought of a discussion of the spatiality of the Indian state with no reference at all to the peculiar strengths and uneven regional concentrations of *Indian* capitalism.

The forward march of the *overstated*, that I have identified with a turn some time around the beginning of the new century, may seem unstoppable, providing as it does, endless amounts of cultural capital in the academic symbolic economy. But its refusal to engage with the complexities of political economy prevents it from being able to link the forces of counter-tendency necessary for a politics of praxis to the strategic moments of conjunctural possibility.

Undermining States

If *this* were the litmus test giving or denying value to a scholarly intervention how then might a critical analysis of a state be shaped? Two dimensions seem fundamental: immanent critique and history. The two call for different forms of attention, different ways of configuring the dynamics of social reality. The first insists, with Marx, that a critical perspective on current reality cannot be simply driven by moral indignation, or even astute assessments of the present—"criticism knows only how to...condemn the present, but not how to comprehend it" (1976:361). Rather it must seek to deconstruct the process of a social formation in such a way that it reveals its immanent tendencies—toward enhancement, failure or untroubled reproduction. It must move "from negating a reality in the name of an ideal to seeking within reality itself forces for further development and motion" (Rubin 1973:57). This is one dimension; the other works against it. It requires inspecting the contingencies of history: the way the present is the outcome of open-ended conflicts of forces and counter-forces over the mastery of the future. Despite the apparent incompatibility between immanence and contingency, it was Gramsci's point that what distinguished mere wilfulness from what he called "*organic* ideology" was the achievement of praxis through the tying of the two together.

If we are to re-approach the state in the spirit of critique as I am defining it here, then we need to set the present within the multiple experienced histories of the working out of the relationship between what Rancière (2006) calls "police" and "politics." The former involves social regulation by designated stewards claiming their legitimacy through the language of representation.[7] The latter is *always* to do with the autonomous agency of those denied representation or refusing to be represented. The contradiction between representation and democratic sovereignty then, formed the immanent critique of liberal democracy, in other words the tension between democratic sovereignty and a state claiming legitimacy through *representing* that sovereignty. Subsequent history shifted this problem of immanent contradiction from struggles over *politics* understood as an autonomous realm to *political economy* which understood politics to be constituted by something other than itself, especially by capitalism. Capital takes its place alongside the populace as a constituent of state representation to the point at which legitimacy is based as much on productivity as democratic representation (Lefebvre 1977). This in turn has produced different understandings of the relationship between police and politics—between the dominant bloc and people's lives included in the juridical order entirely in the form of their exclusion, in Agamben's (1998) terms.

What precisely is the nature of this change? Again, seen from the point of view of politics rather than governance, it is a change in what the project of praxis might be: from a politics of emancipation to a politics of transformation. The question of exclusion *from the juridical order* that Agamben raises here was the focus of an eman-

cipatory politics born out of the tension between ancien régime "estates" and bourgeois "universal" rights. As Balibar puts it,

> Autonomy becomes a politics when it turns out that a "part" of society is excluded—legally or not—from the universal right to politics (if only in the form of a mere opposition between "active" and "passive" citizens—which already says it all—or, in other words, between responsible, adult citizens and "minors"). [2002:6]

The crucial point about what he calls the autonomy of politics here is that, logically, insofar as "the unfolding of self-determination of the people" *by definition* cannot be granted (by somebody else), so it is therefore the people's own responsibility to win their liberty—it cannot be delegated to them by others. No one can be elevated to a position of equality, or be emancipated, by an external decision or by higher grace. "In this way we move from the self-determination of the people to the autonomy of politics itself" (Balibar 2002:4).

Thus the "granting" of human rights to various kinds of subaltern people excluded because of their state of being (their "race," their indigeneity, their gender, etc.) is part of police work, not of politics understood as autonomous practice. If we accept fully the notion of *egaliberté* (to use Balibar's expression), then how would equality result from some steward or other bestowing such a thing on an Other as a kind of gift? And how would the result be the transformation from passive to active citizenship? Hence emancipatory politics alone—i.e., politics that makes simply the claim to what the representatives of the people say should be the case (quite apart from transformative ambitions) cannot be about more or less enlightened forms of governance, but only about more or less effective forms of praxis.

Transformative politics, the politics most associated with Marx but by no means exclusively with him, was born out of the recognition that politics was not autonomous in this way, however. Rather it was constituted by political economy, in other words the remaining "have-nots" recognize that the achievement of égaliberté will not occur through access to existing *political* institutions alone. Thus Rancière here speaks not of one thing but of two: the enlargement through politics of the public sphere,

> has historically signified two things: the recognition,...as political subjects, of those that have been relegated by State law to the private life of inferior beings; *and the recognition of the public character of types of spaces and relations that were left to the discretion of the power of wealth.* [Ranciere 2006:55, emphasis added]

Rancière here notes that the space of public politics—of "police"—is not confined to an autonomous politics but includes the power of capital. Under consumer capitalism, both the state and capital make claims to the popular that are belied by the essential character of the state and of capital. Thus these spheres of police claim to speak for popular sovereignty both through "representative democracy" and also by claiming that popular sovereignty is expressed through consumption via the market. Insofar as both are moves by dominant blocs to be the stewards of legitimate public expression while nonetheless relying on this absence of the political (in Rancière's sense), they are always faced with the potential countertendency of the demos of real politics.

Praxis, as autonomous agency directed against the given-ness of the present, gives rise to a dialectic, what Rancière calls "the opposed logics of police and politics" (2006:55). The prefacing of "government" with the ameliorating adjective "democratic" obliges governments to dress the logic of power immanent in their reproduction in the cloak of "the common community." So, the "natural life" of government, which is to shrink this public sphere, is met by collective democratic struggles to expand the public sphere of politics. Meanwhile the promise of consumer capitalism is that it will provide for the needs of all through their effective capacity in the market. What makes politics transformative is when it is expressed as a radical negativity—that is the rejection of these kinds of liberal democracy and consumer capitalism through the use of key notions that seize the imagination of those, in fact, excluded from them. The historical expression of this in the West was a response to exclusive control over political capacity by *the citizens* in 1789, and to owners' claims to the right to control productive capacity by *the proletariat* thereafter.

What about the present distinguishes it from that history? It would seem that the *naming* of the excluded—the terms by which exclusion is legitimized—has changed, but what they are being excluded from remains pretty much the same: political capacity and control over their livelihoods. So where does that place the project of a radical anthropology?

To some extent this is to ask a counterfactual question of anthropology. The tradition that produced the generation of the 1990s had itself been powerfully influenced by a series of key works of a previous generation that took as their point of departure an enquiry into the possibilities for a transformative politics.[8] Though, after 1989, the younger generation were to inflect their enquiries differently, they retained its politics. How then might things have been had anthropology remained a wallflower hidden

from the strobe lights of the latest academic dance-style and unseduced by the flatteries of post-structuralism?[9]

We might begin by asserting that liberal democratic states were from the outset a project for a designated elite that was only moved from this path at moments of collective democratic struggle by the exceptions, the excluded, the minors and so on. It is a remarkable fantasy of so-called progressive intellectuals to believe that social democracy is the solution to this dilemma or that, given a chance, it *could* have the potential of resolving it. Moreover, like all fantasies, it is a mystifying one—precisely because of its refusal to recognize the tension between government and praxis, police and politics, order and history. An alternate agenda would invert the priorities of research from that which occurred after the turn. For it is in the way *overstatement* has met post-coloniality to configure in victimhood and marginality not so much a potentially *active historical agent* as a form of *being in the world* that is privileged in its exemplary immunity to intellectual rationality—and indeed to politics as well.

If we begin our enquiries then with the injunction that subalternity is a condition *to be changed* instead of a "resistant presence" *tout court*, then the limitations of overstatement become immediately apparent. Instead of the subject understood as a condition of *being* (or barely being) that results from state effects, we have the much more challenging engagement of our intervention in forms of political *doing* that begin with practising subjects and move on to emergent subjects arising out of practice itself. It is a move that will not be easy, for it not only holds no current academic street creds; it also moves us out of the comfort zone of the governmental gaze and away from the moral high-ground of post-coloniality where one pauses for a respectful bending of the knee toward the authenticity of the excluded before boarding the plane for a seminar in Chicago.

We do not live in an era that makes any answer to the questions thrown up by such an approach obvious. Nonetheless the point is to suggest that a perspective of this kind generates a quite different way of thinking about the relationship between the historically formed subject–agent and current forms of the state than those that understand the state in terms of a discursive play upon the body, the figure or bare life.

Gavin Smith, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, 19 Russell Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2S2, Canada. E-mail: gavin.gav@gmail.com.

Notes

1 For the way this led to an especially culturally inflected understanding of hegemony, see Smith 2004a and 2004b.

2 I take this use of the expression "turn" from Eric Wolf's discussion of "contested concepts" in his *Envisioning Power* (1999:21-67). It is used in an especially argumentative form by Brennan (2006).

3 Similarly for Sharma and Gupta (2006:11), an anthropological perspective deals with "how people perceive the state"—the cultural constitution of states—in just two spheres: everyday practices and representations.

4 It is important I think to note that Foucault himself was usually much more careful about the role of the state in the production of subjectivities. Thus he notes that there are in fact three types of struggles: against forms of domination, against forms of exploitation, and against "that which ties the individual to himself." As he saw it, in history they were mixed together though "one of them most of the time prevails" (2003:130).

5 The gamonal is a much discussed figure in Andean anthropology. Broadly speaking it refers to the landlord or political boss. But the gamonal is also a member of the dominant classes claiming access to and interpretation of indigeneity (Krupa 2007:369-370).

6 This usage would appear to make the word "civil" as a modifier for society especially inept.

7 Thus Bourdieu (1990:139): "[T]he leader of a trade union or of a political party, the civil servant or the expert invested with state authority, all are so many personifications of a social fiction to which they give life, in and through their very being, and from which they receive in return their power."

8 See Hobsbawm (1959), Wolf (1969), Thompson (1968), Huizer (1973) and Paige (1975).

9 I acknowledge that the turn toward post-structuralism in anthropology was originally motivated by a desire to continue the spirit of critique evidenced in earlier flirtations with Marx. My point is that these early good intentions have been diverted by the hypnotic songs of overstatement.

References

Abrams, Philip
1988 Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State. Journal of Historical Sociology 1(1):58-89.

Agamben, Giorgio
1998 Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
2005 State of Exception. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Balibar, Etienne
2002 Politics and the Other Scene. London: Verso.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1990 In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Brennen, Timothy
2006 Wars of Position: The Cultural Politics of Left and Right. New York: Columbia University Press.

Corrigan, Philip, and Derek Sayer
1985 The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution. Oxford: Blackwell.

Das, Veena, and Deborah Poole, eds.
2004 Anthropology in the Margins of the State. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
Ferguson, James, and Akhil Gupta
2002 Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality. American Ethnologist 29(4):981-1002.
Foucault, Michel
2003 The Essential Foucault. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, eds. New York and London: New Press.
Gramsci, Antonio
1993 Antonio Gramsci: Pre-Prison Writings (Selections). Richard Bellamy, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Finn Stepputat
2006 Sovereignty Revisited. Annual Review of Anthropology 35:295-315.
Heyman, Josiah, and Alan Smart
1999 States and Illegal Practices: An Overview. *In* States and Illegal Practices. Josiah Heyman, ed. Pp. 1-24. Oxford: Berg.
Hobsbawm, E.J.
1959 Primitive Rebels: Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Boston: Beacon Press.
Huizer, Gerrit
1973 Peasant Rebellion in Latin America. London: Penguin Books.
Joseph, Gilbert M., and Daniel Nugent, eds.
1994 Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Krupa, Christopher
2005 State by Proxy: Race Politics, Labor, and the Shifting Morphology of Governance in Highland Ecuador. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.
Lefebvre, Henri
1977 De l'État: le Mode de Production Étatique, vol. 3. Paris: Union Générale d'Editions.
Lins Ribeiro, Gustavo
2007 El Sistema Mundial No-hegemónico y la Globalización Popular. Série Antropología: Universidade da Brasilia.
Marx, Karl
1976 Capital, vol. I. Ben Fowkes, trans. London: Penguin Books.
Narotzky, Susana, and Gavin Smith
2006 Immediate Struggles: People, Power and Place in Rural Spain. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Nugent, David
2008 Democracy Otherwise: Struggles over Popular Rule in the Northern Peruvian Andes. *In* Toward an Anthropology of Democracy. Julia Paley, ed. Pp. 21-62. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research.
Paige, Jeffrey.
1975 Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World. New York: Free Press
Rancière, Jacques
2006 Hatred of Democracy. London: Verso.
Ross, Kristin
2002 May '68 and Its Afterlives. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rubin, I.I.
1973 Essays on Marx's Theory of Value. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
Sharma, Aradhana, and Akhil Gupta
2006 Introduction: Rethinking Theories of the State in an Age of Globalization. *In* The Anthropology of the State: A Reader. Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta, eds. Pp. 1-42. Oxford: Blackwell.
Smith, Gavin
2004a Hegemony: Critical Interpretations in Anthropology and Beyond. Focaal: Journal of European Anthropology 43:99-120.
2004b Hegemony. *In* A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics. David Nugent and Joan Vincent, eds. Pp. 216-230. Oxford: Blackwell.
2007 Informal Economy. *In* International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 2nd edition. William A. Darity, ed. Pp. 6-28. New York: MacMillan Reference.
Thompson, Edward P.
1961 *Review of* The Long Revolution. New Left Review 9:24-33; 10:34-39.
1968 The Making of the English Working Class. London: Penguin Books.
Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
2003 [2001] Global Transformations. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Wolf, Eric R.
1969 Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century. New York: Harper & Row.
1999 Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Commentaire sur The State (or Overstated)

Claude Bariteau *Université Laval*

Se démarquant avec élégance des thèses récentes d'anthropologues culturalistes sur l'État (Sharma et Gupta 2006) et la souveraineté (Hansen et Stepputat 2006), Gavin Smith plaide ici en faveur d'un regard différent posé sur la relation entre l'acteur et le sujet comme sur les formes actuelles des États souverains existants. Si je partage ses réticences à l'égard de conceptions du politique qui rationalisent à l'excès les dynamiques de la gouvernance ou en culturalisent, aussi à l'excès, les pratiques, j'ai quelques hésitations à partager dans sa totalité l'approche qu'il suggère d'adopter pour que l'étude du politique et de l'État ne se résume pas à de simples propos moraux ou à des apologies superficielles des pratiques gouvernementales.

Mes commentaires porteront donc sur trois points avec lesquels je me sens en affinité et ceux, au nombre de deux, qu'il m'est difficile de concilier avec ma lecture du politique et de l'État, car ils renvoient à une conception des transformations du pouvoir et des États qui s'inscrit dans une philosophie révolutionnaire marxiste-léniniste. J'aborde ces cinq points dans cet ordre avec, en arrière plan, l'idée de suggérer une perspective différente pour penser et, surtout, analyser les luttes en cours, dont certaines sont flamboyantes et de portée révolutionnaire et d'autres différentes, au sein des États souverains contemporains sans pour autant verser dans un obscurantisme culturel ou une banalisation des acteurs. On comprendra, d'entrée de jeu, que mes suggestions s'inscrivent à l'intérieur d'un cadrage analytique, propre à l'anthropologie sociale, qui met l'accent sur les forces sociales et les luttes qu'elles déploient en relation avec l'État et le pouvoir.

1. Dans les premières pages de son texte, Gavin Smith, faisant écho aux phases récentes qui ont marqué les travaux en anthropologie traitant de l'État et du pouvoir, signale qu'elles témoignent d'un glissement découlant d'une propension à lire l'État et le politique à l'aide des lunettes de la culture ou, comme le suggère Rolph Trouillot (2003), en ciblant les sujets, qu'ils soient construits par l'État ou des dérivés actifs de cette construction, donc de simples individus robotisés. S'agissant des lectures culturelles, Smith décèle même une tendance forte à l'autonomisation de l'État et du politique, ce qui conduit à voir ces objets indépendamment des contingences (histoire, luttes, rapports de classes, guerres, etc.) qui leur sont intrinsèquement associées. Quant aux travaux axés sur les sujets, qui seraient pour la plupart inspirés des thèses de Michel Foucault, il y voit une production axée sur leur gestion dont la particularité est de fournir principalement des lectures fines des pratiques de contrôle avec, pour résultante, de présenter l'État tel un moteur institutionnel hyper-déterminé.

À juste titre, Smith récuse le caractère simpliste des lectures culturelles et les biais inhérents à une analyse axée uniquement sur la gestion du politique. Si son point de vue est convaincant, je ne partage pas pour autant ses critiques à l'égard de Foucault ni celles envers Agamben dont il affirme, à l'aide de textes édités par Das et Poole (2004) et ceux par Hansen et Stepputat (2006), que les thèses de cet auteur conduisent à surévaluer l'État. Concernant Foucault, ses engagements et ses écrits sur le « souci de soi » révèlent qu'il n'a pas pensé le sujet comme simple produit de l'individualisation. Il en fit plutôt un moteur du changement comme il fit des formes politiques, fussent-elles révolutionnaires, des moments marquants de l'histoire, mais aucunement des fins en soi ou des modèles historiques à imiter. Quant à Agamben, il n'a pas fait de la souveraineté un concept extrait des aléas du pouvoir et de l'exercice de l'autorité. Au contraire, il a inscrit la souveraineté dans l'exercice de l'autorité. Cela étant, chez Foucault et Agamben, il y a une explication des changements. Leur particularité est de se manifester dans le renversement du pouvoir et de l'autorité sous l'effet de sujets véhiculant une autre subjectivité ou étant activés par une autre subjectivité que celle inscrite dans l'État et le pouvoir.

2. Les biais de l'anthropologie culturelle, qu'endossent une majorité d'anthropologues nord-américains, sont, hélas, peu souvent dénoncés tellement sont puissants à la fois les paramètres qui encadrent la formation de ces derniers et les financements qui supportent leurs recherches et leurs publications. En ciblant la production de cette anthropologie culturelle traitant du politique et de l'État, Gavin Smith attaque en fait son mythe fondateur découlant du lien édifié entre les concepts de culture, de relativisme et d'universalisme. Lorsque des changements majeurs ont cours sur la scène internationale, ces trois concepts refont toujours surface pour suggérer un décodage à l'américaine qui s'agence assez bien avec le néolibéralisme et l'empire décadent des États-Unis d'Amérique. Ce décodage est connu. Il valorise les quêtes identitaires et les revendications culturelles, deux tendances qui ciblent, pour les amocher, les construits politiques qui privilégient des programmes sociaux et une intégration sociétale basée sur un partage de valeurs sociales communes.

Alors que cette poussée de fièvre culturaliste se répandait dans le sillage de la fin de la Guerre froide, James P. Boggs (2004) a proposé de remplacer l'ordre mondial issu

des Traités de Westphalie en 1648 par sa reconstruction avec, pour assise, une théorie scientifique de la culture issue de l'anthropologie. On voit ici vers quoi peut déboucher le fixisme culturel en anthropologie, soit l'éradication des États souverains qui ont eu le malheur de se distancer du modèle étatique promu par Johann Gottfried von Herder, le père du relativisme culturel. Sous l'effet de cette théorie, on se retrouverait en présence d'une pléthore d'États culturellement constitués. Cette thèse, par chance, n'est pas partagée par tous les anthropologues culturels. Par contre, lorsque je lis de tels propos, je me dis qu'Adam Kuper (1999) avait plus que raison de s'inquiéter des banalisations du social auxquelles conduisent les travaux des anthropologues culturalistes. Sous cet angle, je préfère de loin l'approche de Clifford Geertz (2004) qui, au crépuscule de sa vie, invita les anthropologues à contribuer à refaçonner les États souverains, dont plusieurs du Tiers-monde, mais pas les seuls, sont devenus avec le temps d'innombrables « lieux complexes » assaillis par un trop plein de cultures qui mine l'espace public et les valeurs à la base des liens sociaux.

3. Mon troisième point d'affinité avec Gavin Smith est sa critique des propos de Das et Poole (2004), deux auteurs qui, apparemment inspirés par le concept d'État d'exception remis à jour par Agamben (2005), voient des souverainetés là où il n'y a pas effectivement d'État ou là où un État, qui s'affiche comme tel sur un territoire, n'exerce sur celui-ci et les populations qui l'habitent qu'un contrôle partiel à l'aide d'intermédiaires ou, tout simplement, parce que l'État souverain reconnu tel sur la scène internationale tolère, et parfois supporte, les pratiques qui s'y déploient. Fredrik Barth (1969) et Richard F. Salisbury (1984) ont bien expliqué comment des populations peuvent échapper au contrôle de l'État au sein duquel elles s'activent. Puis Éric Schwimmer, notamment en 1972 mais aussi à plusieurs occasions (voir le numéro d'Anthropologica en son honneur, vol. 50 (1) 2008), a révélé avec minutie comment certaines populations, incluses au sein d'États souverains, parviennent à composer avec des procédés, notamment ceux propres à l'*indirect rule*, qui visent à les maintenir dans une position de dominées.

Récemment (Bariteau, 2008), j'ai signalé que ce sont là des expressions différentes de formes de gestion de populations présentes au sein d'États souverains, les premières témoignant d'une frontière politique interne à l'intérieur d'un État officiellement reconnu, les secondes de l'expression d'une opposition idéologique dont la visée est de créer une pression constante sur la relation critique issue d'un encadrement politique. Aussi, suis-je enclin à partager la lecture critique que fait Gavin Smith des propos de Das et Poole (2004). Ces populations ne sont pas souveraines au sens d'État souverain reconnu tel et n'échappe que partiellement aux modalités de la régulation sous contrôle de l'État souverain qui les englobe. Toutefois, je ne vois pas en quoi ces cas, y compris ceux auxquels réfèrent Das et Poole (2004), puissent être qualifiés d'État d'exception au sens défini par Agamben. Au contraire, ce concept réfère à l'autorité qu'exerce un État souverain et cette autorité ne s'exerce pas à l'exclusion d'une autorité, qu'elle soit locale ou autrement définie, car, tout compte fait, elle permet l'expression d'une autorité subjuguée.

4. Si, à deux reprises, j'ai pris mes distances à l'égard de la lecture que fait Gavin Smith des thèses d'Agamben, je tiens à signaler que le livre de ce dernier, *State of Exception*, en particulier les chapitres 1 et 6, a enrichi ma compréhension de l'exercice de l'autorité au sein des États souverains actuels reconnus et du renvoi fréquent, à l'occasion de cet exercice, au mythe qui légitime leur autorité au-delà des lois et des règles étatiques principalement lorsqu'il s'agit d'insurrection, de guerre civile ou de résistance. Depuis, je me sens davantage conforté à concevoir que seul le renversement de l'autorité particulière à un État souverain puisse déboucher sur l'expression d'un nouveau type d'autorité au sein d'un tel État. Inspiré par cette lecture, j'en conclus que si tel est le cas, il en est de même de l'expression de l'autorité au sein d'une société subjuguée. Là aussi, seul son renversement peut générer l'affirmation d'une autre autorité qui, par définition, demeurera subjuguée à moins 1) que l'affirmation de la nouvelle autorité soit celle de l'État souverain, ce qui pourrait conduire, comme au Tibet, à l'éradication de la population subjuguée ou 2) que cette affirmation ait pour objectif d'annihiler le lien de subjugation, ce qui peut déboucher sur la naissance d'un nouvel État souverain selon, bien sûr, les règles de reconnaissance en cours sur la scène internationale auxquelles réfère Daniel Philpott (1999).

Dans ces cas de figure, nous sommes en présence de deux processus. Un premier, interne à tout État souverain, auquel réfère Gavin Smith en rappelant les cas de la révolution française de 1789 et de la révolution russe de 1917 bien que ce processus, à mes yeux, ne se limite ni à ces cas ni aux moyens qui y ont conduit, car il englobe tous les cas de transformations des rapports internes de pouvoir. Un deuxième, propre aux sociétés subjuguées, exprimant tantôt un réajustement interne, tantôt leur possible éradication, tantôt la transgression par celles-ci du lien de dépendance. Avec ces processus, l'expression de l'autorité et du pouvoir prend ultimement des formes différentes. Il en est de même des mythes fondateurs, qui se retrouvent autant chez les États souverains existants que chez les populations qui constituent, au sein d'États sou-

verains, des sociétés distinctes. Les travaux de Maurice Godelier (2007) auprès des Baruya de Nouvelle-Guinée en témoignent. Ils montrent, de plus, que les sociétés, fussent-elles soumises à un État souverain, ont une organisation interne qui repose, non sur la famille, la langue ou la parenté, mais sur des institutions qui, au travers d'un mythe fondateur, servent d'assises à l'exercice d'une certaine souveraineté sur un territoire circonscrit. À mes yeux, les thèses d'Agamben s'inscrivent dans un tel cadre et, l'étant, permettent d'analyser les transformations des États souverains comme des sociétés qu'ils subjuguent, ce que ne semblent pas avoir compris Das et Poole (2004).

5. Ces cas de figure révèlent, somme toute, que l'étude de l'exercice de l'autorité ne peut se faire sans une prise en compte de la nature des États en cause, des institutions qui les caractérisent et des mythes que ces États s'octroient et qui définissent en quelque sorte le cadre de l'exercice de leur autorité. Ces éléments constitutifs du pouvoir et de l'État renvoient constamment aux luttes qui s'expriment au sein des sociétés et des États souverains. Si on fait l'économie de tout cela, il y a des risques, l'un d'eux étant d'ouvrir la porte à des interprétations surprenantes. Je signale ce point parce que je veux témoigner de mon étonnement à la lecture des dernières pages du texte de Gavin Smith. Recourant à Jacques Rancière, philosophe critique des haines que suscite la démocratie, Smith rappelle que l'élargissement de la sphère publique a conduit à la reconnaissance 1) de sujets politiques égaux à ceux que la loi rejetait et 2) du caractère public de types d'espaces et de relations laissés à la discrétion du pouvoir de la richesse. Après avoir signalé cela, il avance que la révolution française de 1789 exprime historiquement la reconnaissance des droits des citoyens tandis que la révolution russe de 1917, celle du contrôle des moyens de production. Puis, soulignant qu'il ne voit rien qui distingue les luttes actuelles de ces luttes passées, il propose de faire de ces deux expressions historiques l'armature fondant une anthropologie radicale et fustige, comme l'a fait Lénine en son temps, toute dérive social-démocrate inspirée des thèses d'Eduard Bernstein.

Que Gavin Smith trouve que l'anthropologie de l'État et du pouvoir ne puisse exclure cette façon de lire le politique est concevable. J'aurais par contre souhaité qu'il le dise sans recourir à Rancière, car ce dernier, dans *La haine de la démocratie*, plaide plutôt en faveur de la démocratie, voyant toutefois en elle rien qui, institutionnellement, garantit ses fondements puisqu'elle « n'est confiée qu'à la constance de ses propres actes » (Rancière 2005: 106), ce qui suscite peur et haine chez ceux habitués à diriger les pensées. Or, c'est précisément la mise en tutelle de la démocratie par Lénine qu'ont critiqué certains marxistes, dont Rosa Luxembourg (1971) qui préconisa, à l'encontre de la dictature d'une poignée de politiciens russes, une démocratie plus large et plus illimitée, quelque chose, je pense, qui s'apparente plus aux propos de Rancière qu'aux gestes posés par Lénine en octobre 1917. Voilà pourquoi je fus étonné du contenu de ces pages. J'ai relu ce texte plus d'une fois. J'ai alors découvert que les critiques de Gavin Smith à l'égard de Foucault et d'Agamben ne sont pas indépendantes de cette finale, y compris sa façon d'utiliser Rancière, auteur qui, au demeurant, partage avec Foucault le caractère indéterminé des formes que prendront les États de demain. Il en a découlé que l'alternative que présente Gavin Smith à la lecture culturaliste de l'État et du pouvoir m'est apparue plutôt campée à l'intérieur d'une philosophie sociale marxiste-léniniste plutôt que d'une anthropologie sociale.

Conclusion

En écrivant le précédent paragraphe, j'ai imaginé Gavin Smith me signaler à juste titre que l'erreur de Lénine fut d'enfermer la révolution prolétarienne en Russie. J'en conviens. Mais une telle remarque s'inscrit, à mon avis, dans le cadre d'un débat politique plutôt qu'à l'intérieur d'un débat académique nourri par une anthropologie sociale de l'État et du pouvoir. À l'intérieur d'une anthropologie de la sorte, une telle remarque consisterait à privilégier une posture politique qui affirme l'incontournable dictature du prolétariat comme seule façon de pouvoir transformer l'ordre capitaliste du monde. À mes yeux, il s'agit, grosso modo, d'une position analogue à celle de James P. Boggs (2004). Ce dernier voit les anthropologues, armés d'une théorie de la culture, proposer rien de moins que le renversement de l'ordre politique institué dans le sillage des Traités de Westphalie alors que Gavin Smith voit ces derniers, armés de la lecture léniniste, s'investir dans la transformation du capitalisme. Dans les deux cas, le politique, celui qui renvoie à des entités repérables au sein desquelles s'activent des sujets, est masqué et, l'étant, disparaît de l'analyse à la faveur de conceptions du monde qui l'excluent.

Alors, comment faire pour que des anthropologues, qui pratiquent cette discipline, puissent faire des lectures signifiantes de l'État et du pouvoir ? Je ne vois pas comment sans qu'ils cherchent d'abord à décoder l'ordonnancement politique du monde actuel pour mieux en comprendre les luttes et les forces sociales en présence, dont les assises sont multiples, tant sur la scène internationale qu'au sein des États souverains actuels. De là ressortira probablement que l'effondrement du bloc communiste fut la source, mais pas la seule, de l'irradiation de formes capitalistes variées provoquant néanmoins partout une expansion des inégalités, ici des flambées de violence

comme des percées fondamentalistes, là des intrusions inédites dans le tissu social et des bouleversements porteurs de quêtes identitaires, nationalitaires ou indépendantistes, ce qui, au total, conduisit, comme le rappelle Rancière (2005), au renforcement des États nationaux qui servent le pouvoir du capital et, par ricochet, à l'évincement comme au blocage des politiques sociales au sein de ces États et des entités qu'ils subjuguent. Les anthropologues qui s'adonneront à ces analyses mettront ainsi à nu les figures contemporaines des États souverains et révéleront comment et pour quels groupes d'intérêts ils gouvernent, contribuant le cas échéant à la revitalisation de la démocratie sans investir celle-ci d'une finalité autre que celle que mettront en place ceux qui l'activent.

Claude Bariteau, Département d'anthropologie, Université Laval, Québec, G1V 0A6, Canada. Courriel : Claude.bariteau @ant.ulaval.ca.

Références

Agamben, Giorgio
2005 State of Exception. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bariteau, Claude
2008 Minorités et frontières politiques. Essai en hommage au professeur Éric Schwimmer. Anthropologica 50(1):121-134.

Barth, Fredrik
1969 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference. Bergen, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Boggs, James P.
2004 The Culture Concept as Theory, in Context. Current Anthropology 45(2):187-216.

Das, Veena, et Deborah Poole, dirs.
2004 Anthropology in the Margins of the State. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Godelier, Maurice
2007 Au fondement des sociétés humaines. Paris: Albin Michel.

Geertz, Clifford
2004 What Is a State if It Is Not a Sovereign? Current Anthropology 45(5):577-593.

Hansen, Thomas, Blom et Finn Stepputat
2006 Sovereignty Revisited. Annual Review of Anthropology 35:295-315.

Kuper, Adam
1999 Culture: The Anthropologists' Account. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Luxembourg, Rosa
1971 Oeuvres II: Écrits politiques 1917-1918. Paris: Maspero.

Philpott, Daniel
1999 Westphalia, Authority and International Society. *Dans* Sovereignty at the Millennium. Robert Jackson, dir. Pp. 144-167. Malden: Blackwell.

Rancière, Jacques
2005 La haine de la démocratie. Paris: La Fabrique éditions.

Salisbury, Richard F., et Elizabeth Tooker, dirs.
1984 Affluence and Cultural Survival. Washington: American Ethnological Society. Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society 1981.

Schwimmer, Éric
1972 Symbolic Competition. Anthropologica NS XIV(2): 117-155.

Trouillot, Rolph
2003 Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World. New York: Palgrave.

Sharma, Aradhana, et Akhil Gupta, dirs.
2006 Introduction: Rethinking Theories of the State in an Age of Globalization. *Dans* The Anthropology of the State. Aradhana Sharma et Akhil Gupta, dirs. Pp. 1-48. Oxford: Blackwell.

Commentaires sur The State (or Overstated)

Bernard Bernier *Université de Montréal*

Je suis d'accord avec Gavin Smith quand il propose de réintroduire l'économie politique dans l'analyse de l'État contemporain, et en particulier de tenir compte des classes sociales. J'approuve aussi sa suggestion de se placer du point de vue de l'agent, donc de la pratique, plutôt que de celui du sujet, dans l'effort pour transformer la situation actuelle. Je pense avec lui qu'il faut à la fois une critique du fonctionnement interne de l'État et des formations sociales, dans le contexte du capitalisme actuel, et une approche historique. Cette combinaison de l'analyse critique et d'une approche historique est présente dans l'œuvre de Marx (ainsi que dans celle de Max Weber, mais alliée à un projet politique bien différent), dans celle de Gramsci et, plus récemment, dans celle de Immanuel Wallerstein (1985) et de David Harvey (2003, 2005). Il me semble qu'une vision plus réaliste, mais aussi plus efficace de l'État actuel doit passer par une telle approche double. Je voudrais ici pousser plus loin dans cette direction, pour tenter de clarifier des aspects relatifs à l'État mentionnés dans le texte de Gavin Smith.

Je me suis toujours intéressé à la façon dont historiquement les structures existantes se sont constituées. Comme Marx et d'autres, je conçois les structures présentes comme historiques, et donc transitoires. Le capitalisme est une forme historique et, comme toute forme historique, il finira par disparaître. Mais ce qui le remplacera dépendra de ce que les humains en feront collectivement. À ce sujet, je suis d'accord avec Marx sur les

points suivants. Premièrement, la construction collective de la réalité sociale, économique et politique se fonde sur des oppositions et des luttes, mais contrairement à plusieurs textes de Marx, je pense que l'issue de ces luttes n'est pas déterminée d'avance. Le résultat se construit à mesure, dans la lutte elle-même. Deuxièmement, l'État est fondamentalement un outil de classe, donc un outil de domination, même si cette domination passe par l'assentiment des personnes (de là tout de même l'importance théorique de Foucault et de Bourdieu qui, à travers des notions comme le biopouvoir et l'habitus, ont souligné les processus d'acceptation de la domination par les dominés; mais soulignons aussi sur ce point l'œuvre de Gramsci), et même si l'État se donne d'autres attributions (comme l'administration, ou une certaine redistribution de la richesse dans le Welfare State). Troisièmement, la domination de l'État se fonde dans le capitalisme sur son lien au capital, donc sur le fait que l'État est fondamentalement l'État du capital, même si, dans l'histoire, ce lien s'est manifesté de différentes façons.

À cela, il faut ajouter d'autres aspects, certains soulignés justement par Gavin Smith. L'un d'eux fait référence aux espaces laissés à l'opposition dans les structures existantes. Si je comprends bien l'idée de l'*overstate*, elle fait référence à cette omniprésence de l'État telle que présentée dans plusieurs textes récents. Cette vision totalitariste de l'État ignore les espaces de résistance, mais aussi les espaces d'expérimentation d'autres formes de relations sociales et d'organisation du pouvoir (comme l'économie dite informelle, ou divers arrangements des relations interpersonnelles considérés comme hors norme mais qui finissent par imposer leur propre légitimité). Il faut aussi souligner les contradictions internes au fonctionnement de l'État, surtout dans sa volonté de règlementer divers aspects de la vie sociale. En effet, les États ne cessent d'imposer de nouvelles lois pour tenter vainement d'éliminer les incohérences entre les divers aspects des codes juridiques. En outre, les prérogatives que l'État s'est données dans un domaine, par exemple la politique familiale, entrent en contradiction avec le fonctionnement d'autres champs, notamment, dans le cas de la famille, avec le marché du travail capitaliste, un fonctionnement protégé par l'État. Il est clair que, dans l'analyse de l'État actuel, une approche d'économie politique qui inclut une analyse du fonctionnement du capitalisme s'impose.

Mais revenons plus spécifiquement à l'État dans le capitalisme actuel, celui de la globalisation. Il est paradoxal de voir que, si certains auteurs hypostasient le rôle de l'État comme organe central dans la production des sujets, d'autres, comme Appadurai (1996), soulignent la perte de contrôle et de pouvoir par l'État. Appadurai insiste sur la puissance grandissante des forces mondiales, que ce soit les firmes transnationales ou les organisations internationales, et sur la montée des régionalismes, deux processus qui mineraient la puissance de l'État national. Ces deux positions extrêmes me semblent faibles, chacune de leur côté. On a vu plus haut (et encore plus dans l'article de Gavin Smith) certaines faiblesses de la première position, celle de l'*overstate*. Dans le cas de la position contraire, celle de l'affaiblissement de l'État dans la période actuelle, les problèmes viennent, d'une part, de la subsomption de tous les États actuels sous une même catégorie et, d'autre part, de l'ignorance des pratiques économiques des États contemporains.

Au sujet des divergences dans le fonctionnement des États actuels, il serait erroné, me semble-t-il, de faire équivaloir la situation de l'État roumain, par exemple, avec celle de l'État américain ou avec celle de l'État chinois. Je vais dans le sens de Gavin Smith en soulignant la diversité des États actuels. L'État américain, par exemple, a fortement augmenté ses capacités répressives après le 11 septembre. Quant à l'État chinois, il a maintenu son contrôle sur le pays, tout en réorientant sa politique économique. Tous les États n'ont pas pu maintenir leurs pouvoirs aussi fortement.

Quant aux fonctions contemporaines de l'État, je pense qu'il faut les concevoir dans le cadre du réaménagement du capitalisme actuel. Comme l'a si bien souligné David Harvey (2003, 2005), la sortie de la crise du capitalisme mondial des années 1970 est passée par une réorganisation des mécanismes de l'accumulation. D'un côté, inspirés par les expériences japonaises (voir Bernier 2009), les pays occidentaux, avec à leur tête l'Angleterre de Thatcher et les États-Unis de Reagan, ont adopté une politique anti-syndicale visant à affaiblir les organisations de défense des droits des travailleurs et à assurer une plus grande flexibilité, tout en réduisant les salaires. Entre autres, l'État a aidé les entreprises à se défaire de la rigidité associée à la sécurité d'emploi, ce qui a entraîné une expansion du travail précaire. De l'autre côté, ces États ont mis en place des politiques de diminution des politiques de redistribution de la richesse, donc des politique sociales, tout en adoptant des mesures pour favoriser encore plus l'accumulation, comme des subventions directes ou indirectes aux entreprises, des baisses d'impôts sur les profits et dividendes ou le développement des infrastructures de communication (dont l'internet). Par ailleurs, le gouvernement américain a fait tout en son pouvoir pour ouvrir de nouveaux marchés, comme la Chine ou l'Inde, et pour faire en sorte que plusieurs de ces marchés soient à la merci du capital occidental. À cette fin, le contrôle de l'État américain sur des organismes interna-

tionaux comme la Banque mondiale et surtout sur le FMI ont facilité sa tâche. Dans le cas du FMI, l'imposition des aménagements structurels, avec la baisse des programmes sociaux et la privatisation forcée, à rabais, des entreprises d'État dans plusieurs pays, a ouvert la voie au capital international, surtout américain, dans son contrôle des activités dans ces pays.

Cette réorganisation du capitalisme mondial a renforcé le capital financier au détriment du capital industriel. Ce n'est pas que l'industrie a régressé, du moins au niveau mondial. Mais un déplacement géographique de grande envergure est survenu, avec la délocalisation de pans entiers de l'industrie vers la Chine ou les pays d'Asie du Sud-est. Dans ces pays, comme Castells (1998) l'a souligné, la production industrielle a connu une expansion fulgurante, à mesure que les pays occidentaux et le Japon se désindustrialisaient et se tournaient vers la spéculation financière, facilitée par les transactions en temps réel. Ce réaménagement a entraîné, d'une part, une polarisation accrue de la richesse, les opérations financières permettant aux capitalistes d'accumuler encore plus, et, d'autre part, l'enrichissement de classes dominantes locales dans les pays non occidentaux.

Il ne fait pas de doute que, dans ces processus, les États nationaux n'ont pas tous eu la même latitude et la même efficacité. L'État américain peut être vu comme une sorte d'exception. Mais tous les États des pays occidentaux ont pris le même type de mesure, avec des résultats qui ont cependant divergé. De son côté, le gouvernement du Japon, pris dans une crise économique durant les années 1990-2003, causée par l'intense spéculation des années 1990, n'a pas pu intervenir aussi efficacement, la plupart de ses mesures, fondées sur les dépenses de l'État dans le but de relancer l'économie, donc sur l'endettement public, allant à l'encontre des politiques adoptées de gré ou de force par à peu près tous les États. La reprise après 2003 a vu l'État japonais submergé sous une dette accumulée qui dépasse 190 % de son PIB annuel, limitant ainsi sa marge de manœuvre.

Ce que j'ai voulu démontrer ici, dans la lignée du texte de Gavin Smith, c'est la nécessité de tenir compte de l'économie politique dans la compréhension de l'État actuel, et donc dans les tentatives de mettre en place des solutions de rechange au capitalisme et au fonctionnement politique actuel. Ces solutions de rechange se formeront à mesure des mouvements historiques, il n'y a pas de recette prédéterminée. Mais il est urgent de proposer des voies de développement hors du marasme actuel, qui ne profite qu'à une petite minorité, protégée par les États nationaux.

Bernard Bernier, Département d'anthropologie, Université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, succursale Centre-ville, Montréal, Québec, H3C 3J7, Canada. Courriel : bernard.bernier@umontreal.ca.

Références

Appadurai, Arjun
1996 Modernity at Large. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Bernier, Bernard
2009 L'expansion du travail précaire, conséquence du système japonais de production flexible. Anthropologie et sociétés 33(1):229-244.

Castells, Manuel
1998 La société en réseau. Paris : Fayard.

Harvey, David
2003 The New Imperialism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, David
2005 A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel
1985 Le capitalisme historique. Paris : La découverte.

"Overstated" Objections?

Akhil Gupta *University of California, Los Angeles*

I presume the editors solicited my input concerning Gavin Smith's provocative essay because they expect me to defend myself against some of his charges. However, what I wish to do here is to broaden debate about the multiple, varied and interesting questions that he raises.

Because the tenor of Smith's essay is so much against extensions of post-structuralism, let me make a post-structuralist point that he would perhaps appreciate. Because I take it as a dictum that all readings are mis-readings, I will not focus on places where I feel he has misread my work or that of other scholars. Instead, I take his misreadings as symptomatic of a tension in his own essay between the need to recover a (largely unreconstructed) left-socialist tradition and the desire to address the current crisis of global capitalism, with its attendant new forms of the management of life and death, and the colonization of the life-world.

Smith thinks "we have lost the balance" between cultural aspects of the state, and its role as a site for political struggle, as a regulator for capitalism, and as a key player in the international arena. He offers a number of arguments about how the state has been understood. He accuses anthropologists of playing the cultural card and of leaving those aspects of the state that deal with capi-

talism and politics to disciplines like sociology and political science. There is no doubt some truth to that, but would he have it otherwise? Very few anthropologists for example have the technical knowledge to write about the transformation of value into price. I agree with Smith that anthropologists ignore economic and political processes involving the state at their own peril. However, the question that needs to be asked is whether scholarship is best advanced by repeating what others have said about fields in which you have lesser expertise or by making original arguments in the area in which you are most qualified.

Smith does contrast the approach he favours, which he labels an encultured political economy and whose flowering he locates in the mid-1990s, to what he dislikes, the post-Foucauldian approaches that have made the production of subjects by state effects their chief preoccupation. He raises a trenchant objection to the idea of state effects, arguing that it constitutes a theory with an unbounded domain ("if one believes in God, then surely everything is a God-effect"). I am sympathetic to Smith's frustration with this line of reasoning. However, from Althusser (whose absence in Smith's essay is curious), one could take the central idea of articulation, and the failure to think about articulation and overdetermination is perhaps where Smith's impressive array of opposites appears least persuasive.

Surely the point is not, as Smith argues, that one can contrast the creation of subjects as the result of the state to the state as the outcome of struggles by people. However much Smith would like to pigeon-hole the post-Foucauldian approaches to the former position, he would find few takers for his formulation among post-structuralists. When Das and Poole (2004) praise Foucault for his attention to statistics and the management of the population, they do so because they find that paying attention to institutional practices gives you better insights into why subjects act the way they do, what forms their praxis takes, and where its direction and limits might lie. If you do not pay attention to the fact that the state is now more involved with the management of life, then it becomes hard to make sense of everything from legal and legislative (state) battles over abortion, debates over stem-cell research, the executive, legislative and military (state) actions of extraordinary rendition, and the legislative (state) changes from welfare to workfare, among many other things happening in the world today.

Smith finds two additional contrasts in understandings of the state: one between a formalist, culturalist perspective versus a historical realist tradition; and the other between a U.S.-centric suspicion and hatred of the state and the left socialist tradition (rendered in the singular) which sees the state as a "crystallization of popular sovereignty." He positions the formalist understanding of the state as "discursively constituted and constituting" in opposition to an approach in which the state is seen in its relation to other social formations such as production relations, gender relations, et cetera. He does not explain why he thinks an understanding of the state that focuses on its discursive constitution is not about production relations or gender relations. Only a very formal understanding of "the discursive" would see it in opposition to "real" relations, rather than as a material practice in itself that had material effects on material agents in the material world.[1]

Smith outlines four sets of divisions: between culturological, anthropological approaches to the state versus the insights of sociologists and political scientists; between post-Foucauldianism and political economy; between formalism and historical realist understandings; and between a U.S.-centric populist hatred of the state and the left-socialist embrace of its centrality to popular sovereignty. However, in Smith's hands, the anthropological and post-Foucauldian approaches are elided with formalism and the hegemonic U.S. suspicion of the state, yielding only two stances for a politics of the state.

I see no clear, logical reason why Smith ignores the other possible positions that could emerge from his own analysis. Where would Smith fit the political scientist James C. Scott, who practices encultured political economy and deals with the discursive construction of the state (1998) as much as the flow of surplus value (1985), but is suspicious of the left socialist tradition? What about the Comaroffs, who are anthropologists in the encultured political economy tradition and share a broadly left socialist orientation, but whose historical realism does not exclude discussion of discursive practices?

Smith's suspicion of the new approaches to the state that focus on the constitutive role of culture and to those positions that he broadly labels as "post-Foucauldian," leads him to disregard some of the most important changes happening in the current global (dis)order. He suggests that the post-Foucauldian emphasis on forms of governance in Hansen and Stepputat (2006) carves off such forms from the political economy in which they are embedded, but it is not clear if this is seen as a *necessary* consequence of post-Foucauldian analytics or whether he thinks that this is an unfortunate lapse on the part of the authors. If the former, then I am afraid that I fail to see why this is the case, although one could equally ask if political economy is not embedded in forms of governance.

Smith criticizes Das and Poole (2004) for asserting that *gamonales* (rural bosses) in Peru live in the margins of the state. Instead, he wishes to locate them within a

"highly disarticulated Peruvian political economy" or in terms of "an informal economy operating in the spaces between formally recognized states." If we pause a little over the concept, "informal economy," we can see that it is a statist concept: it defines activities that are framed in terms of what they are not, namely, as part of the formal economy. Smith might wish to argue that to understand why gamonales live on the margins of the state, Das and Poole necessarily have to speak of the gamonales' position in a highly disarticulated political economy, but, instead, he offers these as competing and mutually exclusive positions.

Although Smith approves of encultured political economy, he sees the cultural and the political-economic at odds with each other, implying that the cultural is somehow less important in the last instance than the economic. His notion of transformative politics is presented without cultural and contingent specification. For example, in referring to the crisis of the liberal democratic state, he never specifies where in the world he is talking about, thus smuggling in "the West" as the subject of history at the very time that he is criticizing others for ignoring the specificities of different states. In what follows, I will elaborate on why my understanding of politics is necessarily cultural and why I argue that efforts to remake the state are necessarily cultural struggles.

But first, we need to begin with the category of "the state" itself, which is used extensively in Smith's article. All claims about "the state" should be countered with the question, "which state?" When analysts refer to "the state," do they mean the state at the federal level, at the regional level or the local level? Which branch of "the state" are they studying—the administrative, legislative or judicial? Which bureau are they focusing on: the police, the revenue department, the education department, the bureau of worker safety, the electricity department, et cetera? What geographical area is being studied? What policies, programs and people do they see as constituting "the state"? When we are faced with claims about "the state," we need to ask whether such claims are true of *all* levels, departments, functions, and programs of the state. My point is that any understanding of "the state" is a form of misrecognition. Rather than see this as a problem, however, I argue that we should accept the partiality of our vision as a necessary starting point for analysis. Yet, the real danger lies less in the fact that our understanding of the state is located and partial than in the illegitimate claims to completeness and holism often made by analysts about "the state."

Scholars, no less than policy makers, are prone to make authoritative pronouncements about the nature of the state, its constitution, its intentions, its capacities and its abilities (or lack thereof) to deliver on its promises, and so forth. I think of such claims to knowledge as illegitimate, not because they intentionally set out to reify the state, but because they do so by default. The indiscriminate use of the term *the state* is problematic because it unwittingly draws the analyst into projects employed by dominant groups and classes to bolster their own rule. Reifying the state is an important means of rule and of obtaining consent for rule, which consists of representing that reification as reality. Using "the state" as a generic analytic category may thus unintentionally co-opt the analyst into the political task of supporting the status quo. Not representing the state as singular may expose a reality that elites have an interest in concealing, namely that, as Gramsci taught us, their control of the state apparatus is historically contingent, incomplete and perhaps even tenuous. Such an acknowledgment opens up new avenues for subaltern politics.

The state is an important object of sociological inquiry precisely because it is a significant and highly consequential social phenomenon: politicians, citizens, courts, bureaucrats, militaries and legislative bodies might use it to justify their decisions and actions. On occasions, different branches and levels of "the state" may act cohesively. Leaving aside extraordinary events, the boundary between state and society may actually be constructed through the everyday practices of state offices and representations created by officials (Mitchell 1991). The commonly held notion of "the state," as Mitchell suggests, may be the *effect* of thousands of humdrum, routinized practices rather than the result of some grand illusion, act of magic or even a collective national fantasy. Indeed, we ought to think of the manner in which routinized practices enable such phantasms to be created, sustained and resisted.

Given that "the state" is really a congeries of institutions, agencies and agendas at different levels that are not necessarily well connected with each other, the important question to ask is the following: when is the attempt to *represent* these disparate, conflicting, pluri-centred, and multi-levelled sets of institutions as singular and coherent *actually successful*? What are the conditions that allow or enable "the state" to appear as a commonsensical entity? Particular branches of the bureaucracy may rely on the notion of a unified state in their practices, politicians may invoke the image of a singular state, and judicial decisions may both illustrate and depend upon the stature of a unified state for their effectiveness. Everyday actions of different bureaus, to the extent that they

(implicitly) invoke a singular state, all help officials and citizens imagine such an entity. "The state," therefore, can be seen as a social imaginary that comes into being through practices and discourses.

Once we see that it is often small but powerful groups whose interests are served by reifying "the state," we can acknowledge that not all attempts to represent the state as cohesive are successful. To the contrary, we must recognize that it is most often political leaders and economic elites who attempt to represent the state as purposive, unitary, and cohesive despite the fact that such a condition is rarely realized. The effort to represent the state as a unified actor both to members of the public and to themselves involves a constant ideological struggle. However, it is not only state officials who have an interest in representing the state in this manner. Poor people may also represent "the state" as singular at particular sociohistorical conjunctures. There are times when groups of citizens may represent the state as unified in order to organize in opposition to particular policies or regimes, to make certain claims, or to argue for limits to government intervention. Political and economic elites may not be united in the project of reifying the state and different fractions of capital or the political class may have an interest in representing "the state" as fractured and split rather than united and cohesive. When I say that these groups most often have an interest in a stable and unified state, I am referring to periods of relatively settled hegemony rather than periods of disruption and change. In such periods of relative stability, preserving the status quo ("the rule of law," "law and order," "a predictable business climate") is usually tied to tightening the hegemonic hold of elite groups.

This approach has several advantages. First, it does not presume the existence of "the state" as a unified actor and purposive organization. Rather than take the existence of the unified state for granted, it takes the articulations of such a state as a "social fact" that requires anthropological investigation. Second, it draws attention to the fact that a great deal of cultural and political work goes into any successful effort to represent a state as singular. Third, it brings issues of representation into the foreground, particularly representations engendered *through* those routinized and repetitive practices that constitute the inner workings of everyday bureaucratic activity. Finally, such signifying practices raise the critical question of the audience for whom such significations are intended to make sense. How representations of the state are understood, by whom, and to what ends, are critical issues that must be attended to in any theory of "the state."

Questions of representation have not been central to theories of the state; this is especially true when we think of policy areas such as poverty and development. Yet, what I am suggesting here is that any discussion of "the state" must consider the articulation of representations with political economy, institutional design, social structure and everyday practices.

My argument emphasizes less the traditional area where scholars tend to look for representations (that is, the public sphere and the media), and instead focuses more on the everyday practices of state agencies. The routine operations of bureaucratic agencies have very important signifying functions and their representational effects should be taken seriously. Such practices, which mediate citizens' contact with state officials and bureaus, may have a greater impact on engendering particular representations of "the state" than any explicit statement circulating in the public sphere. Poor people in rural India encounter state officials in a number of contexts in the course of their daily life—"the state" is neither remote nor unapproachable. I contend that the representational efficacy of these encounters in constructing an image of "the state" far outweighs spectacles and exceptional events. Thus, as Gramsci underlined in his work, a tremendous amount of cultural work goes into representing "the state" *as if* it were a singular and purposive entity rather than a set of disparate and only loosely connected agencies and bureaus at various locations. But, *to whom* are these representational practices addressed and, specifically, how do they address heterogeneous groups of poor people?

The approach I take to the state complicates the dichotomies Smith makes between approaches that focus on the constitution of subjects and those that see subjects as agents creating history, including the state. In a forthcoming book (Gupta In press), I use Agamben (2005) and Foucault to inform the analysis of an eminently political economic question, the relation between poverty and "the state." One can write about liberal states, ignoring *State of Exception*, of course, but why would one *not* want to be challenged by that depressing and exceptionally insightful book? My own position is that even if one wishes to centre an analysis of "the state" in 1990s-encultured political economy, one would be well served by incorporating the insights of Foucault and post-Foucauldian thinkers like Agamben to deepen such an analysis.

Akhil Gupta, Department of Anthropology, UCLA, 375 Portola Plaza, 341 Haines Hall, Box 951553, Los Angeles, CA, U.S.A.
E-mail: akgupta@anthro.ucla.edu.

Note

1 Readers will recognize this sentence's origin in Althusser's (1971) germinal essay on the state.

References

Agamben, Giorgio
2005 State of Exception. Kevin Attell, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Althusser, Louis
1971 Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards and Investigation). *In* Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. Pp. 127-186. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Das, Veena, and Deborah Poole, eds.
2004 Anthropology in the Margins of the State. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Gupta, Akhil
In press Red Tape. Durham: Duke University Press.

Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Finn Stepputat
2006 Sovereignty Revisited. Annual Review of Anthropology 35:295-315.

Mitchell, Timothy
1991 The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics. American Political Science Review 85(1):77-96.

Scott, James C.
1985 Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1998 Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Where Failure Is Not an Option, Just a Bad Choice: A Comment on the (Over)stated

Hermann Rebel *Professor Emeritus, University of Arizona*

During the mid-1980s one could no longer avoid the change in discourse at North American and EU academies. Accompanying the increased pace of deal-making among university governments, corporations, state agencies and the physical sciences and engineering faculties, there were also leaders in the so-called policy sciences, with economics out front, to furnish paradigms and projected outcomes for these new bloc formations. Many of us working in such "helping" sciences as anthropology, psychology, geography or history found ourselves increasingly having futile conversations with colleagues, often claiming the space of a Left-after-1989, falling in line to espouse circular notions of agency, identity, diversity, memory, choice, "culture," et cetera, as the new bankable languages for managing post-Cold War capitalist globalization. To this day, anyone who speaks in terms of class, structure, political economy, power, hegemony, et cetera, is, by this dispensation, deemed out of touch with the unavoidable "necessities" of current developments.

One focus for this moment of academic perestroika was, and still is, "the state." The new kid on the bloc was something called "the strong state," a tricky formula that, by claiming roots in Hobbes, Machiavelli, the neo-Stoics, Locke, Bentham, et al., and in "culture" (Britishness for example) had crossover appeal among neo-conservative, neoliberal and left academics. Promising to transcend obsolete Cold War divisions, the "strong state" actually provided a paradigm for the conservative-revolutionary Reagan-Thatcher-Kohl agenda and was eventually bought into by New Labour and Democratic politicians to survive well into the fatal Blair-Bush conjuncture. It was a sly move by which heads of state could promise "to get government off our backs" while simultaneously expanding executive and military bureaucracies (hence the "strong" state) to purge "markets" and the attendant political processes of allegedly unsustainable labour and welfare "interferences" (Gamble 1988; Panitch and Leys 1997; for a prefiguration see Donzelot 1979).

Gavin Smith's fatigue with the quality of the attention being paid to the state in related current formulations is understandable given the contortions and shadow boxing required to distract from this reactionary modernist foundation. The fact is that the historical roots of strong state conceptions are in the corporatist-absolute states of early modern Europe (Lüdtke 1990) which are now almost universally celebrated as historically necessary agents for a "disciplining for modernity" (Oestreich 1982; Raeff 1983) and the line taken by Foucault since his epistemological break in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) was very much in accord with a widespread "disciplining" perspective on the state among historians. This paradigm was never brought under sustained critical scrutiny and instead became part of strong state discourses on "governmentality" and was incorporated into very suspect and yet politically resonant models for integrating the private or local experiences of purportedly empowered and "entrepreneurial" selves into public and global action (Rose 1989).

I share Smith's frustration with what he perceives as the limited gains of such a turn compared to what has to be the more satisfying and deeper understanding offered by a sustained political economy perspective—as when the latter at least gives us an opening *to weigh analytically* what happens to people, or for that matter to "fledgling democracies," who play by governmentality rules only to find that they were set up for a confidence game

that traps them in debts they can never repay, and with fewer chairs at the table each time the music stops. At the same time, I have to say that it is not an either/or proposition and I have found that the "disciplining" and biopolitical dimensions of early modern states can be brought fully into a political economy analysis, albeit with a different outcome (Rebel 1991, 1993). It is a historical devolution that can provide insights into and cogent responses to the new normality of the current corporatist-absolutist restructurings by states everywhere. One can argue, for example, that there are interesting linkages between histories of disciplining-for-modernity and the perpetration of genocides. Having been told, after the 1980s sea change, that the Nazi Holocaust was no longer a subject for reasoned histories and was in effect outside of history (Rebel 2001), we can now be encouraged to tune out and ignore the several genocides in progress from the decades after 1945 on up to this moment. The horrors of Indonesia, Timor, the Balkans, Burundi and Rwanda, West and South Sudan to name only a few, are publicly atoned for at "after the fact" occasions when heads of states get to put on their best sad faces so that the rest of the self-disciplined gym-goers, displaying their "govern-mental" commitment for competition, personal success and longevity, are free to stay focused and "agentic" under all circumstances, secure in the knowledge, after all, that death just "happens" (Ortner 1997, 2006).

The governmentality paradigm is flawed not only in its regression to a one-dimensional methodological individualism but also in that it is a clear case of a fallacy of composition by which "the whole" is presumed to be in order as long as individual parts are in order. Neither anthropologists nor historians can be served in their field or archival work nor in their synthetic formulations by such an error. Speaking from my own perspective, I teach the state as, among several other things, the means by which aristocratic family corporations outsource their inheritance management to unburden their dynastic treasuries. I also teach it, following North and Thomas (1973), as an institutionalized quality of transaction and risk management. It is interesting to point out as an aside that in North and Thomas it is precisely the governmentality-driven absolute tribute states (France, Habsburg Spain and Austria) that fail to grasp competitive modernity. This opens up a line of argument that might actually help us get a handle on a possibly "testable" empirical formulation of the "economic" as the "last instance."

States are present in the experiences of an analyst's host people in ways often disconnected from prior theorizing. Where states, transnational corporations, development agencies or NGOs may *intend and declare* governmentality, the people living with such regimes invariably find themselves engaged in brutal struggles against forced resettlements, forced expropriations, forced loans, forced labour and, above all, looting everywhere. It is their struggles that demand analytical attention. Smith's turn away from "state culture," "production of subjects" and "mentality" perspectives is well justified, if only because these conceptions fail to appreciate people's capacities as *readers* of the states that they have to deal with.

Notable also about Smith's critique is his direct challenge to notions of a so-called "state of exception." This latter derives from a response by the German legal theorist, Carl Schmitt, to a projected condition of "ungovernability" in the revolutionary turmoil after the First World War. It is well known that Schmitt served for a time near the top of the Nazi party's legal apparatus, especially at the time of the "seizure of power" and the SA (*Sturmabteilung*) murders, so how are we to read his resurrection as part of the "strong state" solution to the threatening ungovernabilities of global capitalism? It was Schmitt who rewrote the notion of sovereignty in the framework of what he termed Decisionism, a conceptualization that requires, at the heart of a sovereign state a person who is "the Decider," who embodies the paradox of a sovereign power simultaneously within the state, and yet also above the law and, indeed, outside the state, and whose sole call it is to suspend indefinitely the constitution in face of a threatening ungovernability. This allows him an identification of enemies, both within and without, for exclusion from the human community and for active destruction (Schmitt 1923).

I again find myself agreeing with Smith when he sees hot air balloons rising in efforts by Hansen and Stepputat (2006) and Das and Poole (2004), to combine Foucauldian biopolitics with Schmittian exclusionism-to-the-death. Their conclusions about the articulations of spaces of power and projections of sovereignty—much of it to explain layered colonial relationships—do indeed disconnect power, authority and sovereignty from the political economies in which they are entwined, leaving us without means to connect a multitude of relationships and forms tangential but not necessarily central to "the state." Smith also objects when Ferguson and Gupta (2002) see "strong states" capable of managing their own "governmentality" and evading the fate of weak states who are subverted by development agencies' insertion of *their* governmentality regimes. Such a view obscures what a political economy perspective recognizes as a more fruitful investigation into the role played by transnational corporations in imposing, especially on "strong states," their terms of governmentality.

Where these approaches claim connections to aesthetic philosopher Giorgio Agamben, Smith rejects the latter in favour of the other chic aesthetician, Jacques Rancière, whose juxtaposition of "police" and "politics" intends to disclose areas where the managerial governmentality agencies of states and capitalism, citing market and other "realities," invade and absorb public politics and in the process exclude from collective political self-determination increasing numbers of people. Rancière's is perhaps an elegant way of saying something that has been said elsewhere but what Smith likes about it is that it offers a way to identify a present battle line for an engagement, beyond illusions of "liberation" or authenticity, with "politics of transformation," with the "political doing" of the people encountered in the field. But if Rancière's model depends on praxis seen "as autonomous agency directed against the given-ness of the present" (Smith), then one is left wondering not only where autonomous agency may be found outside of some metaphysics but also what qualities of recognition of present "given-ness" this model offers. The excluded here are not those who have been reduced to "bare life." They are now instead the "have-nots," a vaguely boundaried group of merely "inferior beings." Moreover, capitalism is now always "consumer" capitalism and finance capitalism has disappeared from the political economy.

This leads Smith to a weaker position about what might be done. He asserts the present is not much different from historical experiences, since 1789, of citizens and proletarians fighting against exclusion from "political capacity and control over their livelihoods." But in the present "given-ness," literally millions of people are being excluded not just from control over livelihoods but from livelihood as such. While the class struggle in the classical sense continues inside the reigning consumer stupor, there is something else going on as well; namely, people are caught up everywhere, from the Middle East to New Orleans' ninth ward, in accelerating rounds of primary accumulation processes that require mass expropriations to the point of annihilation.

When the hegemonic discourses for post-1989 global engagement were being theorized during the early 1990s—with Rwandan corpses clogging lake outflows—genocides were seen as inevitable, worthy only of minimal attention and presented invariably as "ethnic conflict." The message was clear: they had to run their course but could not be allowed to cross borders. Clean-up was to be left in the hands of NGOs and missionaries (Nolan et al. 1994). "Strong states" and their "disciplined" populations have the new task of containing and managing the genocidal primary accumulation necessary for global markets in real estate, oil and minerals, and other securitizable assets. That confronts us with scientific-analytical, to say nothing of "activist," tasks few are prepared for. Perhaps that is what Sydney Mintz was talking about several years ago in his keynote address at the American Anthropological Association meetings where he counselled us to "count the babies, count the flies."

Agamben's examination of the "state of exception" is worth a longer look because in the present "given-ness" he identifies what are arguably new obstacles to a "transformative" historical anthropology. Not only does he perceive, following Walter Benjamin, a problem with the simultaneously internal and external position of the sovereign Decider who declares a state of exception only to become enmeshed in the ungovernable consequences of his own making, in a spiralling into the unlivable solecism of a "state of exception" that can never end. Agamben also holds up to us the condition of those who have been identified either for direct extermination or for less visible erosion out of the system. The *homo sacer* figure, the one summarily excluded from human life, is an outlaw marked for death but this exclusion remains, in a second solecism, *within* the state's order. It is here where governmentality and genocide meet: those who fail to live by the terms of requisite self-discipline, who choose not to be served by the expert advice which is all the state is prepared to give, can, in good conscience, be let go to erode out, but their going must be contained, managed, kept from disturbing the performance of those next door who are governmentally adequate and being all they can be.

There is much more to say but I am beyond my allotted space. Agamben helps to open possible agendas for both research and active engagement past counting babies and flies or, for that matter, past studying the unrelenting production of "subjects" *willing* to ignore the babies and the flies. We need effective analyses of everyday forms of states (our own included) to discover those hegemonically simultaneous economic, social, narrative and, yes, figural formations that hold together such states where a class of *necessarily* dehumanized citizens is part of a normalized "state of exception," the latter requiring a perpetual moral hardening against those deemed incapable of or injurious to the life permitted by such states' obviously pathological and finally self-destructive power projections. We may be (over)stated , wishing to be done with "the state," but the latter is evidently far from done with us.

Hermann Rebel, University of Arizona. E-mail: hrebel@u.arizona.edu

References

Das, Veena, and Deborah Poole, eds.
2004 Anthropology in the Margins of the State. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Donzelot, Jacques
1979 The Policing of Families. New York: Pantheon.

Ferguson, James, and Akhil Gupta
2002 Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality. American Ethnologist 29(4):981-1002.

Foucault, Michel
1977 Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Pantheon Books.

Gamble, Andrew
1988 The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Finn Stepputat
2006 Sovereignty Revisited. Annual Review of Anthropology 35:295-315.

Lüdtke, Alf
1990 Der Starke Staat. *In* Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland. Lutz Niethammer, ed. Pp. 166-179. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer.

Nolan, Janne E., John D. Steinbruner, Kenneth Flamm, Steven E. Miller, David Mussington, William J. Perry and Ashton B. Carter
1994 Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

North, Douglass C., and Robert Thomas
1973 The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oestreich, Gerhard
1982 Neostoicism and the Early Modern State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ortner, Sherry
1997 Thick Resistance: Death and the Cultural Construction of Agency in Himalayan Mountaineering. Representations 54:135-162.
2006 Anthropology and Social Theory. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Panitch, Leo, and Colin Leys
1997 The End of Parliamentary Socialism: From New Left to New Labour. London: Verso.

Raeff, Marc
1983 The Well Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rebel, Hermann
1991 Reimagining the *Oikos*: Austrian Cameralism in Its Social Formation. *In* Golden Ages. Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History. Jay O'Brien and William Roseberry, eds. Pp. 48-80. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1993 Peasants Against the State in the Body of Anna Maria Wagner. An Austrian Infanticide in 1834. Journal of Historical Sociology 6(1):15-27.
2001 Dark Events and Lynching Scenes in the Collective Memory: A Dispossession Narrative about Austria's Descent into Holocaust. *In* Agrarian Studies: Synthetic Work at the Cutting Edge. James C. Scott and Nina Bhatt, eds. Pp. 44-65. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rose, Nicholas
1989 Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self: London: Routledge.

Schmitt, Carl
1923 Soziologie des Souveränitätsbegriffes und Politische Theologie. *In* Hauptprobleme der Soziologie: Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber. Melchior Palyi, ed. Pp. 3-35. Munich: Duncker und Humblot.

Reply to Respondents

Gavin Smith *University of Toronto*

Les commentaires des quatre répondants sont énormément plus perspicaces que ma provocation originale et, en conséquence, elles augmenteront la compréhension de l'état de la question à propos les études de l'état. Malheureusement, en raison d'une série de malentendus, je crois qu'il faut modifier le format normal de la section Ideas/Idées *afin de clarifier mon intervention originale avec une courte réponse.*

As I wrote the original piece, I suppose I was saying to myself, "the world we live in is facing an acute crisis. My question is, are our current approaches an adequate response to that crisis?" For me that crisis is directly a result of the kind of society in which we live, one in which "daily life depends on commodities whose production and circulation are achieved through the normatively sanctioned pursuit of profit through capital" (Harvey 2001:312). Some of my students would call this "(largely unreconstructed) left-social[ism]." Be that as it may, since I wrote, the tragedy has turned to farce (Zizek 2009) in a way that would seem to me to be not entirely disconnected from the essential features to which Harvey refers.

Responding, I think, to the same sense of crisis that motivated my piece, a number of writers have sought to push us to defamiliarize the normative world associated with capitalist liberal democracy (Agamben 2005; Brown 2006; Butler 2009). These are framed around what Butler calls "norms of recognisability" (2009:7). Meanwhile, in the past year, a vast array of books and articles have surfaced dealing with what Zizek calls "the farce," some by anthropologists (Ho 2009; Tett 2009; Wade 2009; see also Zaloom 2006). Though there is some talk of "moral hazard" in these pieces, generally no link is made between

the two crises. Yet I believe (with Zizek) that it is our responsibility to make such a link.

The gist of my intervention was that when we explore "the state as a phenomenological reality" (Aretxaga 2003:398)—"as a social imaginary that comes into being through practices and discourses" (Gupta, this volume)—we need to do so while persistently understanding such imaginaries alongside another moment or level of reality that is not obviously accessible through the lens of current practice or discourse. Anthropologists have tended to call this second lens (mistakenly I think) the realm of "political economy" and in the hands of its major practitioners it has involved the careful characterization of fields of force and articulated relations *in their historical and geographical specificity* (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Mintz 1985; Roseberry 1989; Sider 2003; Wolf 2001). (Sadly) two things need to be said about this: (1) neither these studies, nor my own, denigrate or leave out the notion "culture," though they may understand it in terms unconducive to those more reconstructed in their ways; and (2) the reason why this work is exhaustive is at least in part to do with the extensive range of features that the authors consider crucial in conditioning possibility. Though such an understanding of "reality" may sit in tense relationship to approaches that stress the way in which discursive regimes and social imaginaries produce and condition possibilities, the two are not inimical as Rebel notes and as his and the work of Bariteau and Bernier make clear.

If the goals of a revindicative politics[1] are well served by anthropologists limiting their expertise to the confines of "culture" to which Parsons relegated them, then we have no problem. But surely events of the last year alone require that we cannot confine ourselves to these limits of naïveté (Gluckman 1964) without occluding crucial elements of reality. Specifically, we cannot hope to grasp what the role of the state (in any of its multiple scales and manifestations) is vis-à-vis the populace without taking into account its relation to national and global capitalism. Writers usually well respected by anthropologists have recently made interventions that surely we neglect at our peril (Grandin 2007; Harvey 2003; Patnaik 2005). In the past 12 months, even for those hitherto disinclined to concern themselves with such things, it has become strikingly obvious that the state's "articulation" with monopoly finance capitalism has made it what one old Canadian called "a predator state" (Galbraith 2008). But why employ abstractions? We are talking about the political class servicing finance capitalists (and vice versa), and though this might be especially obvious in the core states it is no less true of sundry capitalist class fractions across a broad spectrum of state forms.

And yet, there is a crucial tension here. "There is no question that the legitimacy of the modern state is now clearly and firmly grounded in a concept of popular sovereignty ... Autocrats, military dictatorships, one-party regimes—all rule, or so they must say, on behalf of the people" (Chatterjee 2004:27). So we can quite reasonably note, as the various authors I cited do, that the sites where many anthropologists work are ones where the state plays a significant part in everyday life in terms both of survival and terror and that, because it is simultaneously remote and ubiquitous, ordinary people endow it with coherence and mystique.[2] But, having said this, should we not also explore the implications of the reverse: the fact that states are reliant on a similar mystification of "the people." And if intellectuals should be cautious about colluding with their informants in speaking of "the state" should they not also be cautious about colluding with the state in references to "the people" or "the poor." Though now, two years later, I would modify my use of Rancière, the gist of my argument is that a possible intervention towards a revindicative politics may lie in breaking with this homogenizing of the popular.

I suspect that if we do this, we will discover that it is not those who are prepared to negotiate with the dominant bloc within the terms of their own hegemony that offer the crucial lever—not the "New Social Movements," civil society or what Chatterjee (2008) calls "political society"—but rather those who lie outside a hegemonic project that is necessarily *selective* in view of the capital concentrating strategies of dominant blocs. It is a population that is both normatively and relative to the needs of the productivist state (Lefebvre 1977) *surplus* (Smith In press). *Les anthropologues ont fait quelque chose d'une carrière d'être les intellectuels qui étudient le subalterne : mais des quels de nos outils avons-nous qui pourraient nous aider à engager avec* « le compte des incomptés » (the part of those who have no part) (Rancière 1999:121)?

Notes

1 I realize that "revindicative" is not to be found in the English dictionary, but I use the term here because it captures an element of the dialectics of politics that I cannot find in another word in English. I take it from the Spanish *reivindicar*.

2 Though it has to be said that at either end of the spectrum of rich and poor, it is scarcely mentioned in everyday life—if "everyday life" is a useful term for either context.

References

Agamben, Giorgio
2005 State of Exception. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Aretxaga, Begoña
2003 Maddening States. Annual Review of Anthropology 32:393-410.
Brown, Wendy
2006 Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire. New Haven: Princeton University Press.
Butler, Judith
2009 Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable? New York: Verso.
Chatterjee, Partha
2004 The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Political Society in Most of the World. Irvington, NY: Columbia University Press.
2008 Democracy and Economic Transformation in India. Economic and Political Weekly 19(April):53-62.
Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff
1991 Of Revelation and Revolution. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
Galbraith, J.K.
2008 The Predator State. New York: Free Press.
Gluckman, Max, ed.
1964 Closed Systems and Open Minds: The Limits of Naivety in Social Anthropology. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.
Grandin, Greg
2007 Empire's Workshop: Latin America and the Rise of the New Imperialism. New York: Metropolitan Books.
Harvey, David
2001 Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
2003 The New Imperialism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ho, Karen
2009 Liquidated: An Ethnography of Wall Street. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Lefebvre, Henri
1977 De l'État: le Mode de Production Étatique, vol. 3. Paris: Union Générale d'Editions.
Mintz, Sidney
1985 Sweetness and Power. New York: Viking.
Patnaik, Partha
2005 The Economic of the New Phase of Imperialism. Electronic document, http://scholar.google.ca/scholar?hl=en&q=Economic+of+the+new+phase+of+imperialism&btnG=Search&as_ylo=&as_vis=0, accessed 21 May 2008.
Rancière, Jacques
1999 Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy. Julie Rose, trans. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis.
Roseberry, William
1989 Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History and Political Economy. London: Rutgers University Press.
Sider, Gerald
2003 Between History and Tomorrow: The Making and Breaking of Everyday Life in Rural Newfoundland. 2nd edition. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
Smith, Gavin
In press Hegemony and Surplus Population: Conceptual Limits to the Anthropology of Political Movements. Identities.
Tett, Gillian
2009 Fool's Gold. London: Little, Brown.
Wade, Robert
2009 Beware What You Wish For: Lessons for International Political Economy from the Transformation of Economics. Review of International Political Economy 16(1):106-121.
Wolf, Eric
2001 Pathways of Power. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Zaloom, Caitlin
2006 Out of the Pits: Traders and Technology from Chicago to London. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
Zizek, Slavoj
2009 First as Tragedy, Then as Farce. New York: Verso.

Anthropological Reflections / Réflexions anthropologiques

Some Remarks on a New Series and on Bruner's "Remembering My Jewish Father"

Jasmin Habib *University of Waterloo*

We all enter society in the middle.
—Ed Bruner

Ed Bruner's "Remembering My Jewish Father" is the first of what we hope will be an engaging series of "Anthropological Reflections." What do we mean by "reflections"? We shall welcome autobiographical and autoethnographic pieces, photo-essays, poetry, travelogues and experimental writing. The point of our efforts is to broaden the scope of our anthropological writing, publishing and reception.

It seems more than appropriate then that the first piece in a series that focuses on creative endeavours is by Ed Bruner. Bruner's life-long interest in storytelling, narrativity and performance (see selection below) has helped to shape contemporary anthropological writing—its reflexive as well as its more experimental forms.

In a way that is excruciatingly painful and alarming, Bruner writes not only about his relationship to his father but also about the very backdrop that informed his experiences with the man: U.S. anti-Semitism. In revealing his father's identification with German Jewry and its historically elitist relationship to his mother's "Eastern" heritage, Bruner also extends our understanding of the complicated nature of Jewish identification and culture in mid-20th-century America. The narrative arc of the piece takes us through Bruner's identification with his mother—who also loved but feared his father—to the loss he suffered when his father married for a second time.

As Andy Mousley pointed out:

> The value of autobiography and biography, according to the criterion of "experience" is that they are forms of history-writing which give us more than "dry facts" or a description of faceless social forces. Autobiography instead puts human flesh on the bones of historical narrative, it gives us the sensuously lived experience, the embodied reality, and all that goes with embodied reality in terms of recognizable human emo-

> tions ... History filtered through autobiography gives us precisely this sense of human engagement and existential import. [2009:268-269]

In this autobiographical reflection, Bruner has alerted us to the dangers of ahistorical understandings of "Jewishness" and anti-Semitism, while also helping us to appreciate the personal ramifications at the centre of such experiences.

Jasmin Habib, Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1, Canada. Email: jhabib@uwaterloo.ca.

References

Mousley, Andy
2009 Early Modern Autobiography, History and Human Testimony. Textual Practice. 23(2):267-287.

Selected Texts by Ed Bruner

Editor
1984 Text, Play and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society. 1983 Proceedings, American Ethnological Society. Washington DC: American Anthropological Association. Pp. 364. Reissued 1988. Chicago: Waveland Press.

Editor, with Victor Turner
1986 The Anthropology of Experience. Urbana: University of Illinois.

Author
1990 Introduction: Experiments in Ethnographic Writing. Theme issue, "Conversations in Anthropology: Anthropology and Literature," Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society 17(1):1-19.
1999 Deconstructing the Role of the Discussant. Theme issue, "Subject to Writing: The Victor Turner Prize and the Anthropological Text," Anthropology and Humanism 24(2):129-133.
2005 Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Remembering My Jewish Father

Edward M. Bruner *University of Illinois*

I

While growing up as a Jew in New York City in the 1930s, I learned that Jews were not only different but were spatially and spiritually segregated. Most obviously one could see this in the physical layout of the city, in the landscape and social demography. The upper west side of Manhattan, where we lived, was a Jewish neighbourhood, the upper east side was for Gentiles, and African Americans lived in Harlem. In Rockaway, a seaside resort where we spent the summers, a stroll along the ocean front would take you from the Jewish neighbourhood, to the Irish one, the Italian one, the African American one, and beyond that, past 130th Street, to the area where no Jews were allowed. I don't know what that neighbuorhood was like, as I never went there, but in my mind, it was elite, upper class, fancy and somehow populated by people who were different from us. Just walking about the city or along the oceanfront confirmed and constructed these ethnic differences.

Born in 1896 in New York, my father was a German Jew and told me stories of how his family was related to the Guggenheims, although I never met a Guggenheim or saw any evidence of such a connection. He worked as a dress salesman in the garment district and he deprecated the East European Jews who he said were too Jewish, even though many of them owned their own businesses and were more successful and affluent than he was. Such feelings were commonplace at that time among Jewish populations in the United States, Canada, Britain and Central Europe. The problem in our family was that my mother was an East European Jew and every time there was a quarrel my father would call my mother a kike and denigrate her for being the wrong kind of Jew. Thus there was a hierarchy, from Gentiles to German Jews, and then East European Jews like my mother. It left me in a quandary, as I was from the body of my father and the body of my mother, so what was I? Where did I fit? Of course, these days such distinctions seem so remote, but

when I grew up in the 1920s and 1930s in New York and within our family, they were critical. My father was a self-hating, anti-Semitic Jew.

My father always reminded me that I had to watch my manners, especially at the dinner table, and I had to learn not to make noise when I ate, or to bend over the plate, or to eat too voraciously, because the Gentiles might be watching. I had to set a good example at meal time and at other times, otherwise I would be labelled a kike, and rightly so, by some alert Gentile. My father seemed to live in deadly fear of this accusation. As a young child, most of my learning situations were accompanied not simply by a routine correction but with the threat of being exposed, publicly and disgracefully, as a Jew. Thus I lived my early life, and sadly part of my adult life, with the image in mind of the accusing Gentiles. I never found myself in a situation of being labelled a Jew because of my manners, but this didn't seem to change my perception. My father had, in my young mind, just enough credibility so that one never knew if he might be right.

I do know that in 1954, then 30 years old, when I returned to the east coast to take up my first teaching job in New Haven, I thought then of my father's fears and those early years. After all, at Yale I was in the midst of the Gentiles, all of whom probably lived way beyond 130th Street on the seashore in Rockaway Park—or on other shores beyond my imagination. Those Yalies were indeed the Other, and I was sure they could tell I was a Jew by my table manners—which by then actually were perfected beyond reproach—and in all sorts of subtle ways, by my dress, demeanour, gestures and speech. They knew, and even though I never denied being a Jew, I didn't advertise it either. That the Yalies were not so secure either, or that the institution truly welcomed a bright young scholar, whatever his origin, or that I myself never experienced anti-Semitism at Yale didn't seem to penetrate my consciousness or affect my feelings about myself.

Of course, I had evidence early in life to support my father's beliefs. During my senior year in Stuyvesant High School, the 1941-42 academic year, I applied to a number of colleges including Columbia. I will always remember my interview at Columbia. I went there with high hopes. Stuyvesant was one of the best schools in New York, one of the few public schools that required a test for admission. I had done well there and especially on my New York State Regents examinations. Armed with a score of 98 on my Regents history exam, a 96 in English, and comparable scores in other fields, I was confident. Further, in Stuyvesant I had been placed in the advanced math class for the bright kids. That was something, to be placed in the bright group in a bright school. I mention this not to be boastful, but to explain why I expected to be accepted at Columbia. Besides the scores on exams, I was an intellectual kid. Never very good at sports, though no sissy, I identified myself as an intellectual. The interview at Columbia did go beautifully, or so I thought. The interviewer and I spent much of the time discussing Dostoyevsky, for I had just read *Crime and Punishment* and was into *The Brothers Karamazov*. Imagine my surprise then, when in the mail, I received notice that at Columbia I had been placed in Category 3. Category 1 was immediate admission, Category 5 was rejection and Category 3, I understood, was for the Jewish kids who were placed in a pool from whom some would be selected up to the limits of the Jewish quota. These quotas at Columbia, Yale and other Ivy League schools were not lifted until the 1960s and the anti-Semitism in New York and in America during my formative years was arguably the most severe in American history.

I wasn't actively seeking to fight anti-Semitism in my youth, but one of the fights I did get into was, ironically, one of the events that elicited the most joy and respect from my father. I was with my father on a Sunday in Central Park at the handball courts. A boy of approximately my own age, about 12 or 13, had called me a kike with no provocation as far as I was aware. He just passed by, looked me in the eye, and rather loudly said "kike." It was too much, and I immediately grabbed him by the arm, spun him around, and said, "take that back." He refused, of course, and we began to fight. Neither of us was very skilled and the combat was rather slow paced with much circling around. He would hit me, I would hit him, and we circled some more. The fight was like an avant garde novel, with no closure, or clear-cut ending, or even dramatic action. But in this slow waltz of the Christian and the Jew, the two combatants gathered around them quite a crowd on that Sunday afternoon. Play stopped on the handball courts as everyone, including my father, formed a large moving circle around the fighters, making remarks, commenting on the event and encouraging their favourite. The audience on that Sunday afternoon was less concerned with the anti-Semitic rationale of the conflict than in the action of the fighting itself, such as it was. After a while the fighting was stopped, for everyone had enough, both the fighters and the audience. What I recall most about that incident was my father's pride. He praised me more for that fight than for my highest academic achievements or later, my score on any New York State Regents examinations. He was so proud that he took me home in a taxi, an unprecedented event for a Sunday afternoon. He related every detail and movement of the fight to my mother and he talked about it for days. I didn't real-

T

ize it then, but I believe now that I was the combatant in the fight my father never fought. Or maybe the anti-Semitic boy, who called me a kike, as my father called my mother a kike, became merged in my young mind. Possibly in fighting that boy I was fighting my father and defending my mother.

Institutional anti-Semitism in the Ivy Leagues continued through the 1950s. Charles Osgood took me to lunch at the Yale Graduate Club and informed me that about 1939, Edward Sapir, the great poet, anthropologist and linguist, had been denied admission to the Club because he was Jewish. It was a story about the past but I was eating my lunch in that club and for me it had immediate resonance. It was a crushing blow to Sapir, said Osgood, who admired him greatly. In New Haven in the 1950s, there were two swimming and tennis clubs, one that did admit Jews and another club that had the policy of "no Jews allowed." I was accustomed to that kind of segregation and it didn't particularly disturb me, but what was bothersome was that some faculty members in my college, some supposedly liberal academics, belonged to the other club, the one that didn't admit Jews. I never said anything about it, and I didn't even react when some of my colleagues made a point of telling me that the other club, the one that denied me admission, had better tennis courts, which they said is why they had joined it. Maybe that club did have better facilities, I don't know, as I never went there. Or maybe my father was correct after all, that the Gentiles were out there waiting for us Jews to make a social blunder or to be too pushy, waiting to denounce and expose us. While at Yale I never discussed my thoughts with other Jews, with students, faculty or people in the community, although I could have. I kept my feelings secret.

II

My father never went to high school but he read voraciously and regularly completed the crossword puzzles in the *New York Herald Tribune*. He always enjoyed a good drink and a lively party and he had a lovely baritone voice and a violent temper. The thing about my father's temper is that it was so unpredictable. Something would set him off and he would rant and rave, break dishes, scream and wave his fists. My mother and I were afraid of him.

After my father retired as a salesman my parents moved to California. My mother was delighted to leave New York and excited at the prospect of growing her own flowers in front of their garden apartment in a retirement community in Orange County. When my mother died in 1971, I immediately left for California from Illinois where I was teaching to attend the funeral and to spend time with my father. The ceremony was to be performed by the American Legion, as my father was a World War I veteran, and neither of my parents wanted a religious funeral. As my father explained, he and my mother had made plans before she died that they would be cremated and their remains deposited together in a mausoleum in San Diego reserved for veterans of the armed forces and their spouses. My father noted further that the burial arrangements were a veteran's benefit, provided free of charge by the government, and both he and my mother took advantage of it. I was slightly uneasy about my mother, a gentle woman, in a military mausoleum, but after all, it was her wish and I knew she always loved a bargain. The plan was that after my father died, he too would be cremated and his remains would join my mother's in San Diego.

Shortly after my mother's death my father met Blossom, an attractive Catholic widow in her 60s. They married, he converted to Catholicism, joined the local Catholic Church and sang hymns in the choir. Previously in New York, my father had never practiced Judaism, nor had our family affiliated with a Jewish temple. I was sent to a temple Sunday School at the urging of the extended family but dropped out after one semester, much to my parents' relief. I did not have a bar mitzvah and Jewish rituals were never performed in our home, nor were Jewish holidays observed.

I was happy that my father had found a new life in California after my mother had passed away. Why should he not enjoy life in his declining years? They were, however, tumultuous years for my father and Blossom. They would fight, separate, reunite and then declare their everlasting love. They eventually divorced after my father found that Blossom had thrown all his clothes and belongings out into the street. But they still saw each other, for according to Blossom, they might have been divorced but they were still married in the eyes of the Church. As my father put it, they were working out their relationship. I never understood it all but it was not my place to judge. Personally, I did not especially like Blossom and I too had constant conflicts with my father.

My father died at the age of 81 and I went out west to make the funeral arrangements and to take care of the estate, although that was minimal. There I learned from Blossom that she and my father had made new burial plans. My father was to have a Catholic funeral, and was to be buried in a Catholic cemetery in Los Angeles in a plot reserved for Blossom's family. It was my father's wish, said Blossom, that she and my father were to be buried in adjacent plots, "so that they could be together for all eternity." "But what about my mother," I cried as I thought of

her in San Diego, cremated, by herself, with all those cremated military families. In reassuring tones, Blossom said that she and my father had thought of that. They had made arrangements that my mother's remains, her ashes in an urn, were to be placed in my father's coffin.

It took me some time to appreciate the predicament in which my mother would find herself. She would be with her husband, in his coffin, at his feet, she still Jewish, he Catholic, with Blossom's deceased husband on one side of Blossom and my father in his plot on the other. Blossom had surrounded herself with her former husbands. My mother would be next to the woman who had replaced her as my father's wife. My father had broken his sacred trust with my mother and he too had managed to have his two spouses next to him, one at his feet, reduced to ashes, and the other as skeleton in the adjacent plot by his side. What a cruel fate for my gentle mother and "for all eternity." My mother's relationship with my father was not that much different in death than in life, for he had always belittled and humiliated her. If she had known, maybe she would have preferred to have remained in San Diego.

III

In 1980, I joined a subsidized B'nai B'rith Hillel tour for Jewish academics who had never been to Israel, designed to induce the participants to become more educated about Israel and hopefully more involved in Jewish life at their home universities. After my parents had passed away, I had become more interested in Jewish things and in Israel, although initially my commitment was very tentative. The tour included a trip to Masada, which I found to be a deeply moving experience. At first I saw myself in romantic terms as a Jewish pilgrim, as a pleasure seeking tourist, as a fantasy adventurer, and sometimes as an ethnographer. I later wrote a professional article about Masada that dealt with the narrative of Jewish resistance against the Romans. My paper focused on alternative ways of being Jewish—to fight at Masada, to accommodate to the Romans, to become a Roman, to retreat into Jewish tradition as did Rabbi Johanan ben Zakki, or to lose oneself in the Diaspora. Although I may not have been conscious of it at the time, the paper I wrote on ways of being Jewish was the problem that I had struggled with all my life, and the options were entwined and entangled with my relationship with my father. My anthropological article on dialogic narration at Masada was indeed a superb sublimation for someone who couldn't face the reality of his own situation. The options available to the Jews 2,000 years ago were essentially the same options available to me. But in the Masada article I said nothing about the personal meanings of Jewishness, even though my paper appeared in the same volume as Renato Rosaldo's now famous paper on "Grief and the Headhunter's Rage," in which Renato expressed his deepest feelings over his wife's death. Why did I silence myself then? Maybe at that time, I was not yet emotionally or psychologically ready.

I purchased some ancient coins from the First Jewish Revolt in 70-73 A.D., the time Masada was occupied by the zealots who had resisted the Romans. I had one coin made into a pendant which I wore as a necklace around my neck. After my second trip to Masada in 1984 with Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett as faculty in a student abroad program, I purchased additional coins from both the first and the second Jewish Wars, adding to my collection of coins of Jewish resistance. It was a circuitous route and it took me some years to realize it, but I had chosen, at least then, symbolically, the route of the zealots—resistance.

In 1984, I had a second pendant made from a coin from the period of the Bar Kochba revolt, the second war of 132-135 A.D., which became a significant symbol not only of my identification with Jewish resistance but also a marker of my own childhood. That coin, somehow, represented my way of dealing with the anti-Semitism I grew up with during the 1930s in New York City. It brought back memories of the period in the late 1930s walking on my way home from Stuyvesant High School on 17th Street to our apartment, then in Greenwich Village. I would pass through Union Square, a public meeting place, where every school day, one could hear fascist diatribes against the Jews. That coin evoked remembrances of the time in Central Park when I got into a fist fight with the boy who had called me a kike. During that childhood fight, I fought to defend my Jewishness, in opposition to my father. My father was ashamed of being a Jew, but also ambivalent, as indicated by his pride in my having fought the anti-Semitic boy, which was not just my fight but his as well.

I am wearing that second pendant from the Bar Kochba revolt as I write these words. It is special. It is a silver tetrachaderm (or sela) from the third year of the second Jewish war, probably 134 A.D. During that period the Jews took Roman coins and re-struck them with Jewish designs representing the new Jewish state, as they did not have their own mint. The coins were originally Roman with the figure of an emperor—Nero, Vespasian or Titus. The Bar Kochba minters, with a hammer, obliterated the face of the Roman emperor and substituted an image of the facade of the second Temple on one side, which they hoped to rebuild, and on the other side, in ancient Hebrew writing, the words *For the Freedom of Jerusalem*. On my particular coin, however, and the rea-

son I bought it, was that the hammering was shallow, it didn't go deep enough, because the shadowy face of the Roman emperor Vespasian could still be seen, peaking out from behind the edge of the Jewish temple. As a symbolic anthropologist, I could not resist purchasing that coin and wearing it as a pendant where it could be seen. The coin at the time may have been simply another in my collection, but now that coin means to me that my own Jewishness has been re-stamped over the image of the oppressive emperor, my anti-Semitic father. *Freud, schmoid.* Just as Vespasian was there lurking behind the second Jewish temple, so too my father was there lurking within my psyche and my soul, and neither could be stamped out with even the heaviest of hammers. The image of Vespasian was a physical residue; the image of my father was not corporeal but a psychological residue. Little did I realize what a tourist journey to Masada would come to signify.

Jewish travel and the souvenirs of a journey had come to take on the most deeply personal meanings going to the very core of my being—meanings that, like culture, are contested, ambiguous, sometimes unconscious, retrospectively interpreted and reinterpreted and that construct and reconstruct the self. Telling stories about a journey, about Jewish travel, helps me to make sense of it all. The constitutive power of a story is less in the telling and more in the continual retellings, which in turn transform the "memory" of the original experience. These retellings help me to feel more comfortable with myself. I used to think, as I wrote in another article on narrative, that stories have clear beginnings, middles and endings. Some do, but not always. Sometimes, beginnings are obscure, middles are inchoate and endings never really end. Roman emperors and anti-Semitic fathers, to fight or retreat, Masada or conciliation, Israel or America, how to live as a secular Jew in the Diaspora. I am still working on it, but it all is becoming clearer.

Edward M. Bruner, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois, 109 Davenport Hall, 607 S. Mathews Ave., Urbana IL, 61801, U.S.A. E-mail: ebruner@illinois.edu.

Art and Museum Review / Compte rendu d'exposition

Review of the African Gallery at the ROM

Reviewer: *Shelley Ruth Butler*
McGill University

At last the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto has a permanent gallery for exhibiting African material culture. *The Shreyas and Mina Ajmera Gallery of Africa, the Americas and Asia-Pacific* opened in April of 2008. It is housed in the Michael Lee-Chin Crystal, which is the centrepiece of the "ROM Renaissance," an expansion project guided by architect Daniel Libeskind. A permanent African gallery was never established in the ROM's nearly 100-year history, despite the institution's status as a universal museum and the fact that it holds approximately 6,000-8,000 African objects, not including the significant Egyptian and Nubian archaeological collections. This absence was acutely felt by the public and museologists when a temporary exhibition called *Into the Heart of Africa* caused deep controversy at the ROM in 1989 and 1990. Indeed, while the new gallery can be assessed in terms of current trends in displaying Africa in other major museums, it must also be read as a specific response to the legacy of *Into the Heart of Africa.*

The new gallery includes about 400 objects, which are displayed in four large, deep cases (compare this to the Sainsbury African Galleries in the British Museum, which show about 600 objects in four rooms). The ROM's installation is framed by a notion of celebrating diversity, but the more subtle subtext is a plea for visitors to imagine the power and presence of aesthetic objects in everyday life in Africa, both historically and at the current moment. In this, the exhibit is gently reflexive, recognizing the alienating effects of museum conventions. But the exhibit is also authoritative, providing clear ethnographic information about material culture and creativity, visual power, architecture, spiritual life, everyday objects and community. Visitors will recognize some objects from *Into the Heart of Africa*, but gone is that exhibit's flawed attempt at representing voices of collectors and missionaries. Only one of the main labels (for an Igbo deity figure) refers to a collector. The labels are dense and small, so some visitors peer purposefully to read texts. The gallery does not create the sense of surprise and beauty that the new installation of dinosaurs does on a lower level of the Crystal. It does create a foundation—a sort of scaffolding—from which the ROM can potentially do more with African material culture and communities.

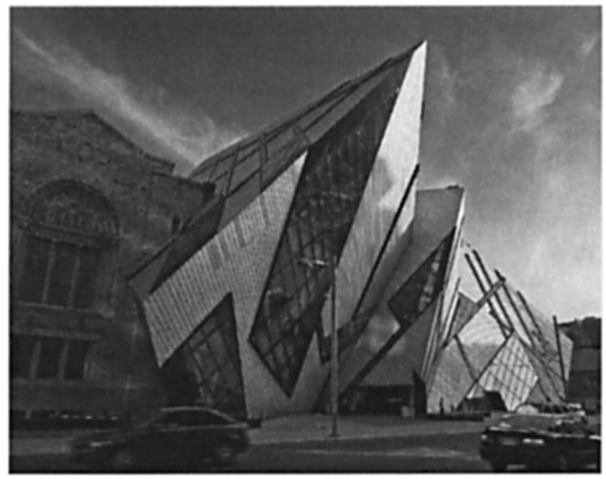

Photo 1: Royal Ontario Museum Michael Lee-Chin Crystal. © Royal Ontario Museum. All rights reserved.

I would hope that more personal and less abstract language can be eventually added to the display, even as a temporary intervention. For instance, what difference might it make if parts of the display were narrated from the point of view of African women? The gallery is the result of over two year's work, with anthropologist Michael Levin serving as an academic advisor and collaborating with an advisory committee made up of people with disaporic links to Africa, as well as ROM staff. Unfortunately, this process is not acknowledged in the exhibition (though it is in the press package). Compare this anonymity with a display in the First Nations Gallery in which members of the exhibition's advisory committee present and comment on artefacts that they have chosen. The new Africa gallery eschews the curatorial strategy of multivocality, which has been used effectively in African exhibits at the Horniman in the UK and the Smithsonian in Washington. The ROM's gallery was prepared with a (perhaps unconscious) feeling of caution: "there is no experimenting," said one person associated with exhibit, half-jokingly. But now that the scaffolding is in place, will there be room (and a budget) to play, build and tinker? The immediate

Photo 2: Africa, the Americas and Asia-Pacific Gallery, Royal Ontario Museum. © Royal Ontario Museum. All rights reserved.

curatorial goal of Silvia Forni to contextualize the artifacts with vibrant contemporary photographs and art is a step in the right direction.

A Conversation with Silvia Forni, Curator of the Royal Ontario Museum's First Permanent African Gallery

In April 2008, on the eve of the opening of the Shreyas and Mina Ajmera Gallery of Africa, the Americas and Asia Pacific at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, I interviewed Silvia Forni, Associate Curator in the Anthropology Section of the Department of World Cultures. Dr. Forni joined the ROM in early 2008 and prepared the labels for the museum's new African gallery.

Shelley Butler: How did you become interested in African art and objects?

Silvia Forni: As an anthropology student in Turin I read ethnographies on Africa and that fuelled my interest. For my *laurea* degree I wrote on Tuareg jewellery, combining my interest in social relations, objects and aesthetics. I did my Masters at Indiana University, focusing on anthropology and African art. For my doctoral research, I studied pottery in the Grassfields of Cameroon.

SB: In your writing, you are sensitive to how pottery mediates relations between women and men, and between domestic and public spheres.

SF: Pots are objects that are very "good to think with" in social terms. They are used in a variety of daily and ritual functions. Pottery is a creative activity open to women in the domestic sphere and pots are important in the political, official arena dominated by men. They are objects of tradition, but they are a fundamental means of livelihood, thus open to market influence and change.

SB: What did you do following your academic training?

SF: I worked as a researcher, a consultant and taught cultural anthropology and the anthropology of art at the University of Turin.

SB: You were also a curator for a missionary museum in Italy.

SF: Yes, this museum was near Turin, in Asti, one of the main centres of the Catholic religious order called the Salesians. They started their missions in South America in 1875 and built them halfway around the world. The museum was the result of this missionary expansion and collecting. Before I arrived, curators internal to the religious order had put the biographies of missionaries along the perimeter of the exhibition. This was the physical space upon which we could not intervene. It was such an uneven museum that the history of collecting had to be part of our display. But we also tried to introduce descriptions of local uses and meanings.

SB: Do missionaries still come to this museum?

SF: Sure, it's an important pilgrimage site. We also did programming with local schools.

SB: What are your plans for the ROM's African collection and the new gallery?

SF: I'm interested in building up the collection by identifying a specific area where there is an interesting contemporary production or by collecting thematically.

SB: As opposed to collecting geographically?

SF: Yes, because it is virtually impossible to aspire to cover the entire continent. There are so many things we cannot acquire today.

SB: So you're not acquiring masterpieces?

SF: Exactly. I don't think it makes much sense to spend a million dollars on one African object. Mind you, if the opportunity presents itself, I am not going to refuse it. If objects are beautiful and compelling they are more likely to engage the public. However, in this museum it's important to build collections that are well documented from the anthropological point of view.

The committee that developed the permanent display chose to display as many objects, stories and meanings as possible, rather than highlight a few beautiful objects. It is a very classic ethnographic display, yet it aspires to introduce elements of contemporaneity and change. I'm interested in building the collection by adding art and objects that reflect contemporary developments.

SB: Does the ROM have contemporary or older pots from Cameroon?

SF: No, there are very few pots. My first collection trip to Senegal will be to collect pots produced by Casamance villagers as well as the work of an internationally known clay artist, Seni Camara, who creates large sculptural figures using traditional techniques.

SB: At the missionary museum your constituency was not local. How will you work with the African and diasporic community that is based in Toronto?

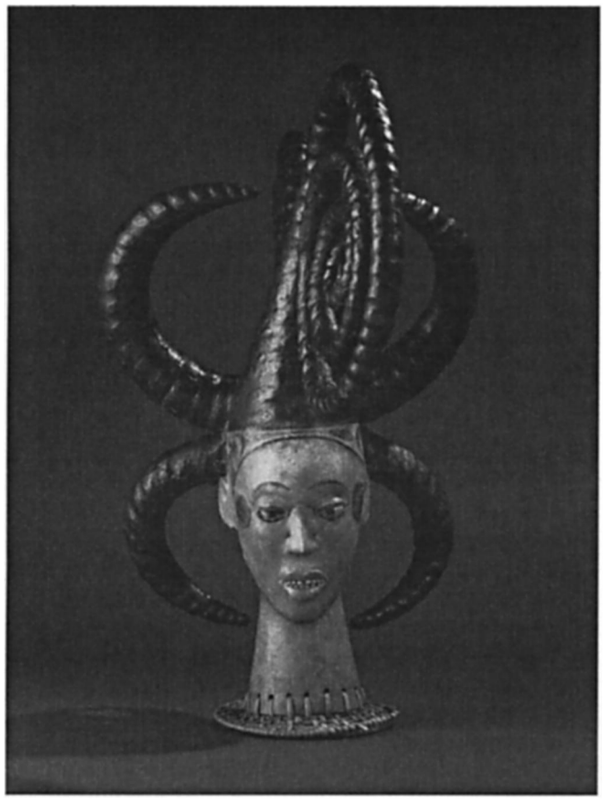

Photo 3: Headdress Ejagham, Ekoi, Nigeria: wood, antelope skin, pigment, bone, 19th–early 20th century. © Royal Ontario Museum. All rights reserved.

SF: I hope to engage these communities through exhibitions and programming. I hope that once the AGO (Art Gallery of Ontario) has their own Africa gallery we can coordinate programming so that Africa and the African diaspora become a consistent element of the city's cultural offerings—because you can only go so far with exhibitions. Museum shows take a long time to plan and they are expensive.

It would be great if the community forms a Friends of Africa group. This works well for other departments at the ROM. One challenge with the African community is that it's really African communities. These communities have different agendas, ideas and perceptions. I hope we can gather all these people together and think of possibilities.

SB: Programming initiatives can enliven an exhibition. Yet, programming sometimes does not work, as you noted in your review of *Africa: Capolavori da un continente* (Africa: Masterpieces from a Continent), which showed in Turin in 2003.

SF: Yes, the problem was that the main exhibit and programming initiatives were not fully integrated. The Africa exhibit was in an old format which presented the objects as masterpieces conceived in Western terms. The objects were in a dark environment with very little contextual information. A section on primitivism and modern art was the only room in which the walls were painted white.

SB: So the exhibit echoed MOMA's *Primitivism and Modern Art* exhibition from 1984 without taking into account the criticisms of that show?

SF: Yes, there was no awareness. And the media touted this as a show that finally portrayed African art. Yes, it was nice, but it missed an opportunity to say something new about Africa. The exhibition was powerful and other voices that wanted to present different issues connected to Africa were not as powerful. Certainly local African communities were not involved in the planning and I don't know if community members even saw the show.

SB: Tell me about the ROM's African collection and how it is displayed in the new gallery. Does the ROM hold many pre-colonial objects?

SF: We do have a number of pre-colonial objects and this is something journalists always ask about, but this is not the majority of our holdings.

SB: I'm sorry to repeat that predictable fascination with the pre-colonial!

SF: The earlier objects were acquired before the foundation of the museum or bought from traders in its early years. Many important collections were compiled in the colonial period from missionaries or officers. Strengths of the collection are in central and west Africa, even with later acquisitions from individual collectors and travellers. In the permanent gallery we also have a section on South African Ndebele beadwork, which is a recent acquisition.

SB: Does this highlight a new strength in the collection?

SF: Yes, the South African collection allows us to present the history, use, techniques and the cultural meanings of a specific art form. These are objects that are related to gender, to age, that change in response to markets, and they are beautiful.

SB: Are there pieces that could be in an art gallery?

SF: There are some very nice pieces. I wouldn't call them masterpieces as I don't like that term. But they are meaningful and beautiful. The new gallery is a good permanent display in that it features many important creative traditions of the African continent. But this is really an ethnographic collection. We have daily objects that show different facets of traditions and practices. For example, we have lots of weapons, shields, metal currency and objects of wealth and power.

SB: And these were prominent in *Into the Heart of Africa*, the controversial exhibition that the ROM showed in 1989 and 1990.

SF: Yes and they're still part of the display. But we display them taking into consideration the concerns of our advisory group. One issue that came up was how the image of warrior-hood was represented in a display of currency. The advisory group didn't like one historical photograph

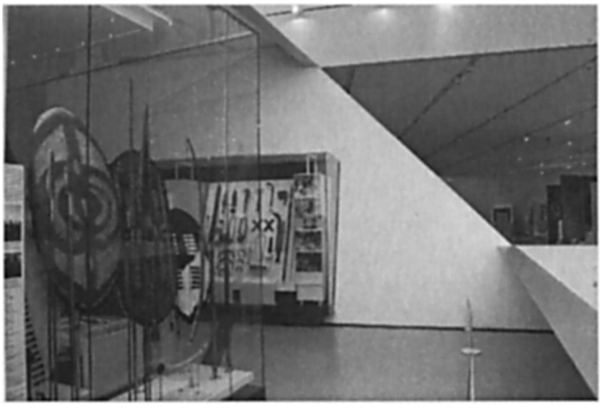

Photo 4: Display Cases in the Africa, the Americas and Asia-Pacific Gallery, Royal Ontario Museum. © Royal Ontario Museum. All rights reserved.

of a large liganda blade—which is a large non-functional currency blade used mostly as bridewealth—because according to them it showed Africans as savage warriors. So I found different images for the currency display. In the end, we found a solution.

But I wanted to address the idea of the warrior as part of current public and ceremonial displays of manhood. The display includes images of contemporary performances. You find doctors and lawyers who, when they go back to the village, participate in local ceremonies in warrior attire.

SB: Do the slanted walls and lighting of the new gallery provide challenges?

SF: Yes, the slanted walls and layers of light make it difficult to make objects visible in deep cases. But it is good that the African gallery is located in the new Crystal. It is part of a new beginning and this is significant because of the *Into the Heart of Africa* controversy. Displays create and present objects. I believe this display is going to have agency here in Toronto. Recently I was interviewed for French radio by an immigrant from Ivory Coast who was proud to see the African objects at the ROM displayed alongside treasures from all over the world.

SB: Is reflexive museology included in the new gallery?

SF: Reflexivity was a component in the development of the gallery though it is not directly addressed in the display. Because reflexivity is about ourselves so if you're presenting a museum of world cultures with limited gallery space, it is difficult to articulate a reflexive approach and at the same time say something about the objects and cultures.

SB: Is the new gallery multivocal?

SF: No, you need to be set up for it to do it well and I don't know if it was possible here. This could be an interesting strategy to adopt through programming. But to do a multivocal permanent display is a huge mission. Multivocal permanent displays are more successful in settings where the public can approach a topic from different perspectives in different institutions, like Washington or London.

SB: Can you influence publicity? I ask because the promotion for *Into the Heart of Africa* was so problematic as it undermined the exhibition's critical intent.

SF: Overall we have good communication, but sometimes it takes some effort to find common ground. Our publicists ask us for "highlights" since that is what the media want. But highlights don't make sense in a gallery like this.

SB: Can Africa be displayed in other parts of the ROM?

SF: I hope so. The ROM has a large temporary exhibition hall that can host shows on Africa and then there is the Institute of Contemporary Culture that can be a venue for African artists. And, there are the education programs and the outreach exhibits that hopefully will make Africa an important presence.

SB: Thank-you and good luck with your future endeavours.

Further Reading

Butler, Shelley Ruth
2008 Contested Representations: Revisiting into the Heart of Africa. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Forni, Silvia
2003 Africa: Capolavori da un continente. African Arts 36(4):82-84.
2008 Containers of Life: Pottery and Social Relations in the Grassfields (Cameroon). African Arts 40(1):42-54.

Websites

ROM African Gallery: www.rom.on.ca/exhibitions/wculture/americas.php.

Art Gallery of Ontario, African and Oceanic Collection (opened 14 November 2008): www.ago.net/african-oceanic-collection.

ROM Institute for Contemporary Culture: www.rom.on.ca/icc/index.php.

Review Forum / Regards croisés sur un livre

Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008, 330 pages.

Distorting the Aboriginal Industry: Widdowson, Howard, and Their Disputants

Reviewer: *Clinton N. Westman*
University of Saskatchewan

Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard's book, a flawed analysis of Aboriginal politics via sundry issues, is getting more attention than it deserves. In spite of its hidebound theorizing and offensive stereotyping, the book has been boosted in conservative press organs as exposing the myopic political correctness of academics. Indeed, progressive scholars have played their part in fulfilling this stereotype by attacking the book and its authors in strong terms, which do not always bring credit on the reviewers themselves. As such I am reluctant to fan the flames. Nevertheless, I believe that the inadequacies of this work deserve to be refuted publicly; equally, some of the comments of its reviewers should also be critically evaluated, as I do in this review essay.

Widdowson and Howard uncritically present a caricatured Marxist, cultural evolutionist approach in framing Aboriginal people's supposed inability to deal with modernity. Through this dated and offensive lens the authors analyze education, language, justice, abuse, governance and (most significantly) environmental management, to expose problems they suggest are inherent in Aboriginal communities due to a cultural gap. A central trope of the book is the idea that its authors are uttering truths that no one else dares speak. Nevertheless, as Widdowson and Howard acknowledge, the idea that Aboriginal negotiations, administration and litigation constitute an industry—while not accepted in all quarters—is actually not particularly new or radical. Indeed, one can see the outlines of such an analysis in many anthropologists' work over the past 30 years—Sally Weaver's being but the foremost example, though she and others may not use the term "industry." Even so, the precise configuration of this industry or policy community remains to be sketched out and more carefully defined. A comprehensive analysis of the Aboriginal industry thus could be a valuable work: demanding sophistication, tact, balance, reflexivity and humility from its authors. *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry* is not that book. To understand, then, what the book would look like that would address these issues more fully and fairly, let us attend to the various critiques of Widdowson and Howard's book as a starting point.

As of November 2009, few reviews of *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry* have appeared in academic journals. Indeed, I was only able to find two such reviews, by Raynald Lemelin and Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux. These authors offer cogent, balanced scholarly critiques that point to the book's few successes (like its willingness to look hard at abuses of power within Aboriginal communities) and its many missed possibilities (including the authors' failure to provide critical discussion of central concepts such as cultural evolution, ironically extending to their failure to extensively discuss the Aboriginal industry as such). I commend Lemelin and Wesley-Esquimaux for taking the high road and attempting to salvage something from a reading experience that one other reviewer (Kulchyski 2009) likened to being "slimed." Right-wing analysts too have been forced to parse out the bits they do not like (Marxism) from those they do like (assimilationism) in their analyses of the book. This is distinct from the strategy of some left-radical scholars, such as Taiaiake Alfred and Peter Kulchyski, who, as I shall show, have attacked the book and its authors with less reserve. Their reaction has the potential of compounding the book's impacts, I submit, by riling up the free speech crowd.

I do not propose an extensive quantitative or content analysis of the media coverage or scholarly reviews to date of Widdowson and Howard's book, though I do consider some reviews in detail. Suffice it to say that one conservative columnist in a national newspaper stated:

> I don't usually use this space to praise the work of Marxists. But in the case of Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard, I'll make an exception. *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry* ... is the most important Canadian policy book I've read in the last decade. [Kay 2009]

On the other hand, one academic wrote the following, while speculating about MQUP's motivations in publishing this book:

> It is unacceptable in this day and age to print such provocative and demeaning texts for public consumption.

> A book of this nature throws the possibility of informed discourse out the proverbial window and allows something akin to a litany of hatred and conjecture to re-enter the doors of tolerance and respect. The book is a sad commentary on where we have arrived as a society in the twenty-first century, and an even sadder reflection on what can still be identified as acceptable Canadian academic literature. [Wesley-Esquimaux 2009]

So these are the poles of the discussion; I find myself more in agreement with the latter statement.

It is not for me to defend the honour of this terrible book, its overweening authors, or their careless publisher from attacks, which are the inevitable result of this bottom-feeding scholarly discourse. Rather, in reviewing the reviews, what I think is most useful is to briefly discuss themes and tactics used by those (broadly on the right) to endorse the book's assimilationist assumptions in spite of its old-school Marxism, and correspondingly by those (broadly on the left) to discredit the authors and their claims to be politically progressive, field-seasoned researchers. Strategically, one hopes, that upon considering this entire ugly spectacle, those concerned with pragmatic politics can then respond decisively to Widdowson and Howard's scholarly attempts to weaken Aboriginal people in a manner that does not provide further ammunition to reactionary media apologists. Indeed, while Wesley-Esquimaux says she regrets reading the book, she also points out that it is critical for scholars to carefully consider its importance and its potential impacts before responding to it in a hasty manner.

In light of the controversy Widdowson and Howard create through their use of offensive language and personal attacks, I find it significant that many of the scholars reviewing the book also drop the gloves and produce work that does not meet one's expectations of a scholarly book review. As an example, in his blog, Taiaiake Alfred (2009) does not bring credit on himself when he comments on Widdowson and Howard's career success, social standing, sexuality and physical appearance for his "book review." Widdowson seems to be Alfred's main target, with Howard referred to (in terms that are arguably sexist) as "her husband." Notably, Alfred has previously used profanity, vulgarity, blanket generalizations, sexist or heterosexist terms and personal attacks as rhetorical strategies to attack Aboriginal persons. He covered all these bases in one brief article when he slammed "Indian Affairs Indians" (2001), then described them (and government employees generally) as "ass-grabbing" traitors. This offhand comment resembles a drive-by smearing of a group who are significant within the policy community and who thus have some capacity to act as catalysts for progressive change or action learning.

Another academic, Peter Kulchyski, complains about being "forced" to read the book at a moment when he had a lot of demands on his time. Kulchyski then made the point—still quite early in his review—that the authors *have worked for government on Aboriginal files*. Kulchyski considers that such associations with colonialism are nothing to be proud of. Tarring those with public sector experience on their résumé based on generalizations (as Alfred also has done [2001, 2009]) is not necessary here, as Widdowson and Howard's book itself provides ample opportunities for ridicule on its own terms. Moreover, this divisive approach on the part of reviewers has the potential to fracture what ought to be a widespread rejection of this book by knowledgeable people, including Aboriginal people and others working within the industry.

I suggest that problems are bound to arise when authors who are unfavourably cited in a given book (as are Alfred and Kulchyski in this case [p. 74]) subsequently become reviewers of that book. Thus, while I agree with many of the substantive points raised by both Alfred and Kulchyski (mainly those involving Widdowson and Howard's use of racist language and obsolete theory), I find their tone somewhat unhelpful and their positionality predictable in light of Widdowson and Howard's attacks on their scholarship.

One of the reasons for this set-to is the degree to which Widdowson and Howard's book has moved out of the academic market into broader public and political discourse. Specifically, the authors have provided intellectual and political cover for discussions of Aboriginal policy regularly served up by right-wing press organs such as *Maclean's* (see for example, Shimo 2009) and the *National Post* (see for example, Foster 2009; Kay 2009; Libin 2009). What has compounded this feeding frenzy is the idea that the scholars condemning Widdowson and Howard are themselves using political correctness to trump academic freedom.

Shimo (2009) reports that another scholar asked Widdowson to "take it outside" during an academic colloquium, and that Widdowson's career and her person are supposedly threatened by such reactions. Moreover, Shimo turns to Kiera Ladner, an Aboriginal academic whose work is ridiculed by Widdowson and Howard (p. 73), for her predictable denunciation of their work. There is no disclosure that Ladner is one of the book's targets. Again, I suggest that for academics that are attacked in the book to add to its hype and controversy is playing into the hands of Widdowson, Howard, and their allies in the corporate media.

Turning to the *National Post*'s coverage of the book and its ensuing conflict, most salient are columnists' (Kay 2009; Foster 2009) attempts to separate the assimilationist wheat from the Marxist chaff in Widdowson and Howard's arguments. Kay implies the authors are anthropologists who have conducted years of fieldwork. Also, in news coverage, a loaded story on sentencing circles is bolstered by Widdowson's expert remarks in favour of our objective justice system. (Yes, this is a self-proclaimed Marxist, making the case for respecting the blind and objective justice system currently operating in our capitalist society.) Clearly visible is an attempt by media producers to position these Marxists as fellow travellers on Aboriginal issues. As Kay states, socialists and anthropologists, like Widdowson and Howard, cannot be accused of racism or reaction as easily as right-wing newspaper columnists can, and so their work may help build political support for policy options such as assimilation.

In *Inventing Tax Rage: Misinformation in the National Post* (2004), Larry Patriquin documents how news producers systematically used misinformation in 1998-99 to create the illusion of an unsustainable tax system lacking public support. Patriquin argues that "there can be no doubt that the *Post* was a major spur behind ... alterations to Canada's fiscal policy" (2004:2) in 2000. I will leave it to the reader to draw conclusions about the relevance for Canadian Aboriginal policy of this statement, noting only that Aboriginal and taxation issues are linked in popular discourse. Overall, I suggest that academics should take seriously the power of right-wing media outlets such as *Maclean's* and the *Post* to influence policy. In any case, for progressives to decisively influence public opinion in this context will require diverse strategies, one of which should be to remain above personal attack so as to diminish the possibility of our messages being distorted by the media.

Another academic with media connections who promotes Widdowson and Howard (on the back of their book and in his own writings) is Thomas Flanagan. The relationship between Flanagan, Widdowson, and Howard is a complicated one. In some ways, Flanagan's *First Nations? Second Thoughts* (2008) is a counterpart to Widdowson and Howard's book, and shares many of its problems. Yet Flanagan has a more coherent argument, is more respectful of opposing viewpoints, takes greater notice of anthropology and archaeology, and generally avoids the harsh tone and personal attacks that Widdowson and Howard favour. The first edition of Flanagan's book (published in 2000) is therefore a key source for Widdowson and Howard, notwithstanding their attempts to parse out the small differences in their positions, such as disputing Flanagan's contention that Indian Reserves are socialist. Flanagan returns the favour in the 2008 edition, giving Widdowson and Howard notice in advance of their book. Like Kay and Foster, Flanagan clearly attempts to use Widdowson and Howard's Marxism to demonstrate cross-partisan support for an assimilationist policy agenda.

It is significant that Flanagan, Widdowson and Howard have in common a shared body of secondary source material. Apart from openly conservative sources such as Calvin Helin (an Aboriginal entrepreneur) and Mel Smith (former constitutional advisor to British Columbia), the authors also share reliance on anthropologically oriented researchers such as Jared Diamond (a biologist), Bruce Trigger and Alexander von Gernet, to support highly debatable assertions about Aboriginal people. Interestingly, the latter two are generally identified as anthropologists rather than archaeologists. Each of these sources could be interrogated to weaken Flanagan's, Widdowson's and Howard's arguments.

To take the example of von Gernet, he is an expert paid to discredit Aboriginal oral history in court cases. The critical analysis that exists to date on von Gernet's work is not mentioned by Flanagan, Widdowson or Howard. In the same manner, it ought to be possible to refute many if not most of the scientific or anthropological sources used by Flanagan, Widdowson and Howard. Breaking up this intellectual conclave would be a worthwhile undertaking as a clearly interlocking body of literature is forming, which is based on anthropological theories. This body of literature has political import as well as potential for media uptake, and thus should be systematically refuted, not through the application of personal attacks and generalizations, but through argument.

As I have described, a body of literature targetting Aboriginal people and their cultures is now clearly visible in academic writing, trade publishing and the media. This literature has the potential to support conservative political formations and to alter national consensus on Aboriginal policies. As such, it clearly deserves a thoughtful response. With this in mind, I now turn to a refutation of Widdowson and Howard's book itself. I aspire to discuss their work with as little rancour as possible, in the hopes that my critique may be more effective and adroit than some I have quoted above. Thus, I hope to avoid the traps set by media gadflies to catch politically correct academics who might condemn Widdowson and Howard in grosser terms.

Witnessing a disrobing can sometimes be a disappointing event, and this flabby book is no different. Rather than an exposé of the Aboriginal industry, much of *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry* is actually dedicated to a critique of contemporary anthropology, cultural relativism and all forms of difference. Admittedly, the authors also seek to discredit Aboriginal land claims, education programs, rights, oral history and traditional knowledge. Yet all the while they maintain that Aboriginal social problems are due not to colonialism, but rather to an evolutionary gap between neolithic and capitalist societies. This theoretical stance is backed up with an appeal to the "scientific" anthropology of L.H. Morgan and E.B. Tylor, among others, as against the "postmodern" (p. 60) anthropology of *Franz Boas* and his school. (Richard Lee and Marshall Sahlins are also called postmodernists.)

The authors consistently confuse postmodernism with relativism and other distinct theoretical trends. To prove that Boas was the first postmodernist, based on his adoption of cultural relativism, would be a significant scholarly contribution. This proof would require primary data on Boas himself, as well as a sophisticated discussion of the relations between modernism and postmodernism, science and social science. Of course, Widdowson and Howard show no such support for their otherwise very silly statement about a major scientist. By contrast, the evolutionist anthropology of Tylor, whom the authors promote, cannot be called scientific, since it does not rely on systematic fieldwork or data collection. Furthermore, as Robert Lowie pointed out, even Morgan (who did conduct fieldwork) was largely unaware of, or mistaken about, other relevant data that had been collected in North America and elsewhere. Yet Morgan, a 19th-century amateur, is said to be at the high point of anthropological research. Such distortions of social science itself should be a warning to those who would take other aspects of this book seriously.

Apropos of race and science, Widdowson and Howard maintain that racial deficiency does not enter into their analysis.

This defense rings somewhat hollow, since race actually does not exist among humans in biological terms. Yet we know that *racism* (assigning characteristics to members of an ethnic group) does exist. The authors defend themselves from charges of racism on the most technical grounds: the evolutionary gap they are positing is cultural, not racial. As such, charges of racism from many quarters against the authors are likely justified.

On a related note, one of the more surprising points about this book is that it generally does not take racism in Canadian society seriously as a factor in setting Aboriginal people's status. The authors repeatedly state, without documentation, that Canadians as a whole are favourably inclined towards Aboriginal people and wish to support their cultures. I suggest that this view is optimistic in the extreme. Not only do the authors soft-pedal the importance of racism, they perpetuate racist stereotypes themselves, for instance discussing the "cultural" inability of Indians to govern themselves, manage wildlife or even show up for work on time. Meanwhile, Indians themselves are accused of racism for wanting their own institutions!

Although the authors quote right-wing figures more than leftists, the book is supposedly written from a classical Marxist perspective. The authors say that the reason for their neglect of left sources is because the left has been blinded or paid off by the Aboriginal industry. Howard Adams is one of the few contemporary authors with a left-wing approach whose arguments the authors accept and develop and one of the few Aboriginal scholars whom they appear to view favourably.

Interestingly, Widdowson and Howard do not seriously discuss previous Canadian works analyzing Aboriginal politics from a Marxist perspective. Furthermore, there is no mention of the large body of Latin American literature on indigenous peoples and revolutionary movements, or even of late Soviet or post-Soviet ethnographies of Siberian people. Rather, Widdowson and Howard adopt the doctrinal approach of early Soviet ethnology. For example, Leon Trotsky is cited, apparently seriously, as a key authority on social evolution supposedly based on his experience in organizing the Red Army. Friedrich Engels is cited opportunistically early in the book, but not later when the authors attempt to refute his proposal—critical to Engels' materialist conception of history—that hunting people were the first socialists.

Just as the authors' attempts to further Marxist theory actually make a mess of it, most contemporary anthropologists will not recognize Widdowson and Howard's discussion of our discipline at the turn of the 21st century. The authors quote major figures only to damn them and rely to a great extent on relatively minor anthropologists, such as James Clifton and Morton Fried, to support their arguments. Their reading of Canadian history is also highly impressionistic: they posit direct causative connections between fur traders, missionaries and the contemporary Aboriginal industry. Widdowson and Howard, in their accustomed style, provide scant documentation of this historical missing link or of people's lived experience during these transitions within the industry.

The authors generally avoid discussing their actual activities in the industry they are supposed to be attacking, and in which Howard is still employed as a consultant (according to the book jacket). This is not surprising as their discussion of the industry in general is wholly inadequate by scholarly standards. Issues such as the federal government's conflict of interest in land claim negotiations deserves serious exploration, as do management in Aboriginal organizations and the welfare of Aboriginal children. Instead, the authors provide a series of flat, deductive case studies that mix crassness with pedantry. Their strong secondary research in some areas is mired by blatantly inadequate scholarship in other sections of the book. While appearing to mix research methods, the authors present virtually no new useful data. Furthermore, they combine this slapdash approach to empirical research with an avowedly arrogant rationalist analysis, which, in itself, devalues systematic data collection and iterative learning.

Widdowson and Howard make a number of memorable points; occasionally they are dead-on. Such acuity is mired by omissions, distortions, errors and luridness (particularly when discussing crime and alcohol), as well as a meandering style, reflexive pieces showing a remarkable lack of reflection and a series of shallow analogies to popular culture.

Potentially important contributions, such as documenting the problem of abuse committed by political leaders, are besmirched as the authors use offensive language and appear to tar all leaders with the same brush. To explore sensitive issues like spousal abuse, sexual assault and environmental devastation, the authors present largely inadequate data mainly from the internet, newspapers or public meetings. Analysis is one-sided, based on their presentation of Aboriginal people's remarks (some elicited by the authors themselves), which are then used as the basis for ad hominem attacks on the speakers. There is no discussion of ethical research practices on the authors' part and no indication that the relevant speech or web chat data was collected under an REB framework or comparable structure. Graphic information about sexual assault is provided in a manner that does not respect survivors or the victims' families. No information is provided about how the identity of such potentially vulnerable persons is being protected by the authors.

The authors misidentify key players in Aboriginal politics such as former Indian Affairs minister, Bill McKnight (not Bill Knight as he is identified on p. 80 and in the book's index). As a more serious example of a factual error at the book's core, the authors state with no documentation that Canada's land claims policy was a gift to Aboriginal leaders to create the Aboriginal industry. A fuller analysis would call the inauguration of land claims a legal–strategic victory won by Aboriginal people (not bestowed by outsiders) after decades of struggle against strong government resistance that still continues in the negotiation and implementation of claims. Many misunderstandings and false conclusions flow out of this distortion in the book's core argument. Indeed, the authors demonstrate

little understanding of the crucial Trudeau Era or more recent developments. There is virtually no new analysis of how the Aboriginal industry began growing in the late 1960s and early 1970s, nor any serious discussion of relevant policies, funding agreements and organizations in existence today. One does not expect ethnographic technicolor from a political scientist and a consultant, but one would like to see policy and organizational data being treated seriously.

Weaknesses at the book's heart are still more apparent in its case studies. Over some 330 pages, the authors take on a bewildering range of issues, weakening the book's cohesion. Anything that pokes a stick in the eye of a "postmodern" academic or "collaborating" Aboriginal leader is fair game it seems. A particularly disappointing chapter is the one on language, in which discredited evolutionary models are used to suggest limitations on Aboriginal knowledge and communication systems based on supposedly inherent linguistic traits. While claiming to be scientific, the authors use a framework developed before scientific linguistic research began in the modern sense. Based on this same discredited schema (Tylor's), China should also be hopelessly barbaric, since the Chinese did not originally have a phonetic script. Are we to assume that English is twice as good as French, because it has more words? I doubt it. Yet the authors present such information without criticism to support their claims that Aboriginal languages are primitive.

Bizarre linguistic experiments flowing out of this model, such as the authors' attempts to have official documents from Dogrib and Inuktitut retranslated into English, are overhyped. In the end, the authors merely expose their lack of knowledge of linguistics, as well as their general inflexibility in considering alternate explanations for data. To wit, identifying a translation problem in a given document, while potentially serious, is not the same as discovering a flaw in a language, which the authors appear to claim to have done. Furthermore, the authors also state that Aboriginal languages do not have numbers and that Cree syllabics is a form of pictograph with limited vocabulary. These erroneous assertions should have been caught by editors and peer reviewers. Such claims have nothing to do with the book's focus, nor with the primary author's doctoral training in political science. These wild, not to say pointless, factual inaccuracies and quaint theoretical models seem representative of the overall quality of the book and its editing.

Chapters on the environment have the potential to become somewhat canonical, if only for their iconoclasm. In sections on traditional knowledge, Widdowson and Howard appear as gadflies, travelling to Environmental Impact Assessment hearings to challenge and heckle Aboriginal leaders and knowledge holders, while asking the questions even industry shills are ashamed to pose. In fact, the authors overstate their case on the environment as much as elsewhere, valuing their own armchair rationalism more than the insights of seasoned fieldworkers and Aboriginal people. The chapters on traditional knowledge refer to that body of research as a creation of the Canadian Aboriginal industry since the 1970s, without mentioning the decades-old international scholarly literature on traditional knowledge. Such attempts to divorce elements of Canadian Aboriginal politics and scholarship from their global context are among the most misleading features of this book. Moreover, Widdowson and Howard's gratuitous abuse of ethnographic fieldworkers shines a light on the scant primary data presented by the authors themselves in support of their claims about Aboriginal people.

The authors are content to mine internet news groups for data. They also use a meta- approach to data that quickly becomes very dull, documenting their many disputes on northern news chat rooms and York University graduate student listserves. While reading about an argument between university students is enlightening, the relevance to the Aboriginal industry is not clear. During my time as a graduate student at York University, most progressive students would have reacted strongly to the assertion that they were part of an Aboriginal industry or any other industry for that matter. Yet the sometimes insipid remarks of these students are the book's climax! This exposes Widdowson and Howard's slipperiness in not stating who exactly is and is not part of the industry and why. At some points academics and anthropologists are ruled out, at other times their works are attacked as exemplary of the industry. Similarly, every time the authors get a negative comment or bad review from another academic, it becomes data about the industry. This does not make pleasant reading, nor is it an astute or objective critique of either academic peer review processes or the Aboriginal industry. Ultimately, it is not interesting to read why someone thinks that their own proposal, book or article was panned. On the other hand, what *is* interesting to consider is why MQUP accepted this book with so many factual errors and other problems. A critical review of this book can only find fault with the publisher for giving these over-hyped authors, their apologists and their critics a respected scholarly soapbox to stand on, or windmill to tilt at, as the case may be.

In the end, Widdowson and Howard argue that scholarship need not focus on solutions. This stance falls into line with that of right-wing media players, who want people to lose hope for progressive change based on respect for differences. Such an argument can also be compared to that of radicals like Alfred, who vilifies low-level players in an industry or sector disproportionately employing Aboriginal people, rather than looking to this group of workers for solutions or common cause. His approach is as unrealistic, and ultimately as hopeless, as Widdowson and Howard's. The problem is compounded when such writers also adopt Widdowson and Howard's style of personal attacks and sexed-up exposition. In response, a fair but forceful rejection of Widdowson and Howard's ideas, and also those of their disputants, is appropriate.

To turn to solutions then: while it may be true in an ivory tower sense to assert that scholars are not responsible for solutions, those that Widdowson and Howard propose seem dated and unconstructive:

(1) in the short term, intensive education to remove the cultural gap
(2) in the long term, "living as a global tribe" once all forms of difference and oppression have been removed.

The first resembles residential schooling; the second is pie in the sky. What the authors are never quite able to make clear in the book is why attacking Aboriginal people's leaders, and demeaning Aboriginal people's languages and environmental knowledge, is the route to justice or sustainability. Perhaps that is because the monochromatic global tribalism at the end of the authors' rainbow resembles a fascist paradise more than a Marxist one.

Acknowledgments

Discussions with many people helped me shape my views on this book and its reviewers. While any errors or distortions are mine, I would like to acknowledge in particular the insights and encouragement of Simon Kiss, J.D. Crookshanks, Christopher Fletcher and Marie-Pierre Bousquet.

References

Alfred, Taiaiake
2001 Some Say the FNG Is NFG. Windspeaker 19(1):4.
2009 Redressing Racist Academics, Or, Put Your Clothes Back On, Please! Electronic document, http://www.taiaiake.com/42, accessed 10 November 2009.

Flanagan, Thomas
2008 First Nations? Second Thoughts. 2nd edition. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Foster, Peter
2009 The Chiefs Have No Clothes. National Post, 2 July 2009. Electronic document, www.nationalpost.com, accessed 10 November 2009.

Kay, Jonathan
2009 The Left's Aboriginal Blind Spot. National Post, 3 February 2009. Electronic document, www.nationalpost.com, accessed 10 November 2009.

Kulchyski, Peter
2009 The Emperor's Old Clothes. Canadian Dimension 43(2): 46-48.

Lemelin, Raynald
2009 Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry. Arctic 62(3):356-357.

Libin, Kevin
2009 Sentencing Circles for Aboriginals: Good Justice? National Post, 27 February 2009. Electronic document, www.nationalpost.com, accessed 10 November 2009.

Patriquin, Larry
2004 Inventing Tax Rage: Misinformation in the National Post. Halifax: Fernwood.

Shimo, Alexandra
2009 Tough Critique or Hate Speech? Maclean's, 25 February 2009. Electronic document, http://www2.macleans.ca, accessed 10 November 2009.

Wesley-Esquimaux, Cynthia
2009 Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry. Native Studies Review 18(2):159-160.

On Disrobing Those Who Would Dismantle the Aboriginal Industry

Reviewer: *Regna Darnell*
University of Western Ontario

Clint Westman's review essay not only raises significant issues of academic freedom and peer review within the academy but also challenges social scientists, perhaps especially anthropologists, to respond to the public use and misuse of social science expertise. Westman's frustration (which I share) oozes from every pore of his commentary. In a profoundly anti-intellectual society, with a political leadership apparently eager to dismiss arguments about the public good and the human costs of neoliberal governance, we who criticize this mishmash of sloppy thinking and unfounded inference are forced into a defensive position. Calling on our expertise is dismissed as whining, despite the irony of Widdowson and Howard's claim to that very kind of expertise for which their critique loses credibility.

McGill-Queens University Press has doubtless made money on this book and may well be prepared to ignore its scholarly merit or lack thereof. The book is getting more attention than most scholarly readers would deem it to deserve. Yet if we ignore it, the erroneous and snidely disparaging portraits of Aboriginal peoples stand without challenge. We need to pull apart this package, to separate the audiences and positions to which critique is directed. Westman suggests that there are at least three audiences: the academic, the Aboriginal and the public. He does not address the variation of responses within the Aboriginal community except insofar as he cites the scathing dismissal by Native academics. Because he focuses on the academic, especially the anthropological, critique, he tends to conflate public opinion, government policy desiderata and media manipulation. I will return to the latter issues, but since I, like Westman, am an academic, I will begin with the academic.

Kudos to Westman for emphasizing that there are rules of engagement in academic discourse. Civility is key and mutual name-calling does not resolve questions of scholarly fact nor its interpretation. Ideally, we aspire to have the same rules for evaluating work with which we agree as for that which we consider ill-advised, inaccurate and prone to misinterpretation. I arrived at the University of Western Ontario in the immediate aftermath of Philippe Rushton's scientific racism. Many wanted him fired because of the implications of his research. Others insisted that the peer review process would, in the longer term, better serve the needs of both the scientific community and the public good. Demonstrating that the work represented bad science overruled its dismissal because the conclusions were unwelcome. Rushton's science has been uniformly critiqued in mainstream journals in a variety of disciplines across the sciences, social sciences and humanities. To be sure, there are still adherents 20 years later, but they are on the defensive because of the critical response.

Westman charges that Widdowson and Howard "have provided the intellectual and political cover" for right-wing critiques of Aboriginal policy based on what they believe to be race, reflected in culture, which Westman properly points out is actually racism. Racism is not a biological construct but an ideological judgment about the inferiority of some more or less identifiable group of peoples without reference to their variable characteristics or historical experience. Whether acknowledged or not, such racism cannot help but colour purportedly scientific interpretations.

The work of Widdowson and Howard has not arisen in a vacuum. The contemporary Canadian press is full of similar denials of First Nations capacities to define their own destinies within the same modernity that affects Canadian society as a whole. Widdowson and Howard are particularly dismissive of postmodernism, which they take to be a four-letter word that they proceed to apply without nuance to those they criticize. As Westman properly notes, a scholarly demonstration that Boas was the first postmodernist would be interesting but complex, especially given that the term and the constellation of features to which it refers were not defined during Boas' lifetime. My own scholarship has argued that Boas' emphasis on accessing "the native point of view" through texts in Aboriginal languages recorded by their native speakers indeed foreshadowed the standpoint-based positions of contemporary social science; but he was also a scientist who sought empirical generalizations across the variety of cultures and worldviews. Cultural relativism was not a refusal of science but a mantra of tolerance, of understanding things in their own terms before judging them on the basis of universals postulated from one's own culture of origin. This was then and is still good science.

As for Marxism and evolutionary theory, and even science itself, Widdowson and Howard do nothing to clarify the complexity of these labels. There are all kinds of Marxists and Marxism does not provide a seamless interpretation of the "Aboriginal industry," if indeed such a thing exists. As for the evolutionists, those cited are not credible in contemporary anthropological theory. Rationalism and science are attributed exclusively to those supporting the authors' own positions, and there the critique from intellectual history stops in its tracks. In contrast, Westman emphasizes the need for evidence-based research on such topics as race and racism, assimilation and the experience and standpoint of the observer.

One of the primary responsibilities of the scholar, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, is to clarify their relationship to the study. Westman makes much of the undeclared biases of both authors and reviewers. The astute reader will take these into account in reading the book and its critics. Absolute objectivity remains an unobtainable goal and an indispensible aspiration. All anthropologists no more agree than do all Native peoples. The discrediting in the courts of oral history and the traditional knowledge it transmits, for example, are based in self-interest. Undeclared self-interest may be seen as conflict of interest. Our responsibility is to demonstrate the validity, reliability and policy utility of qualitative research based on long-term fieldwork, and often on collaborative research with particular Native communities and organizations.

What, then, would we really like to come out of the self-examination occasioned by Widdowson and Howard's book? I believe that anthropologists are well situated to counter their claims because of our commitment to spending time in Native communities and learning about their standpoints. We too aspire to influence policy. Our most important potential contribution may well be to insist that policy requires understanding of and respect for Aboriginal points of view. Social justice requires that ordinary Canadians and politicians alike learn to stand, figuratively at least, in the other guy's moccasins. Widdowson and Howard do not do this because they assume they already know the answers.

Response

Reviewer: *Krystyna Sieciechowicz*
University of Toronto

It is rather difficult to write a review of a book for which one has little esteem. My first thought on reading it was how did this manuscript ever pass through the rather rigorous review process of an academic press? I have had the privilege of being on the University of Toronto Press editorial board for over ten years and in my experience the external reviewers would have been so critical of this book that it would have made my work rather easy: the manuscript would not have passed. Why? Simply because there are so many errors of fact and history. This alone should have raised red flags for the reviewers for McGill/Queens Press.

It is not an intellectually rigorous book. It purports to talk about Indian affairs objectively but its total lack of objectivity is too apparent in the language and phrasing used, nearly always damning Indigenous peoples. It is from the very start intentionally disrespectful in that any other group of people, lets say Jews, Chinese or Somalis are conventionally written with a capital first letter; not so Aboriginal or First Nations in this book. One could ask naively why, but of course it is obvious that those labels are in lower case to diminish their value, to insist on their generic quality, and most important of all to deny any legitimacy to any suggestion of autonomy or separateness within the Canadian political landscape. This is, after all, the objective of the 260-odd pages of a rather stultifying text: to denigrate, diminish and ultimately to suggest as ludicrous the idea that Aboriginal peoples in Canada should have social autonomy. One might think this is a peculiar time for this to happen; so many indigenous groups across the world have received recognition, not the least in a charter of the United Nations. Worldwide the advances have been tortuous but critical in the democratic project of nation-making.

Lloyd Barber, a former Indian Claims Commissioner in the 1970s and later president of the University of Regina once posed the rhetorical question, how can we as a nation expect justice for ourselves if we deny it to any sector of our society?; here he was referring to indigenous peoples. Lloyd Barber was not from one of the usually ascribed "liberal" disciplines, rather he had taught in the Department of Commerce, an area which prides itself for being practical, logical, non-ideological and so on, but once immersed in Aboriginal matter, he could not come to any other conclusion except that indigenous issues were *sui generis*, that is different from any other on the Canadian landscape.

Widdowson and Howard take as their point of departure that considering indigenous problems as *sui generis* is wrongheaded. The authors insist that there is nothing about Indigenous Peoples, neither historically nor socially, that differentiates them from other ethnic immigrant groups. Hence, neither are their problems—high incarceration rates, suicide rates, social malaise, high rates of poverty, low educational achievement, high diabetes rates et cetera—constituted in particular ways that differentiate them as worthy of special attention. In sum, structuring indigenous concerns (economic, social, cultural, religious) as originating from a colonial context (one that is deemed to continue to this day) is, for the authors, the problem. It does not seem to bother the authors that First Nations peoples are not immigrants, and that this is a significant starting point to understanding the difference between ethnics (i.e., all of us immigrants) and First Nations peoples (those who were here for millennia before us).

There is so much that is dangerously wrong in this book. As if it were not enough that at its heart the text is anti-democratic, it is also racist. The authors deny this accusation but they cannot dispel it. In a particularly offensive passage, they lay out an exceedingly crude 19th-century evolutionist framing of indigenous peoples. They characterize Aboriginal peoples as existing in a stone-age state of savagery. This is in contrast to Western civilized society, which is defined as such because it has a legal system, complex social groupings and governing institutions. This is just one of many instances where the authors are faulted for their lack of facticity. First Nations have laws, complex legal and adjudication systems, as well as complex systems of governance. To deny their existence is not acceptable. Denial may have served the colonialists who did not understand and then later refused to understand what was before them, but that is no longer tenable. As researchers, social scientists and lawyers, we now know what and how so much of what is Native society was rendered invisible by power politics. Ignorance is never a defense in a court of law, nor is it in the court of social justice.

However even more offensive is the authors' contention that First Nations have "undisciplined work habits," "difficulties in developing abstract reasoning" and "animistic beliefs" among a list of ascribed social and innate faults. The first is an outright lie. I don't suppose either author has ever been on a trapline or hunted moose or hunted migrating fowl in the Hudson Bay lowlands or fished 90lb. sturgeon in a northern lake. If they had, they would then understand what true discipline is. As for abstract reasoning, that is risible; it is well known that First Nations' people, probably because their language is verb based rather than noun based, understand Einsteinian physics more readily than the average non-Native. Viewing animistic beliefs as somehow problematic strikes at religious freedom and hardly deserves more comment.

There is an awful lot to critique in this work. However what I am most concerned about is its appearance at this point in time. It is worrisome that such a tract could appear at all. It is not a question of freedom of speech, for had the book contented itself to argue for assimilation, integration and urbanizaton, this would be a right-of-centre argument for how to deal with what is euphemistically called the "Native problem." This book is substantially different: it is vitriolic, factually wrong, racist and fascist in its argumentation. Why is this permissible at all? That is my concern: what does the publication of this book say about us as citizens of Canada?

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Paul Rabinow, George E. Marcus, James D. Faubion et Tobias Rees, *Designs for an Anthropology of the Contemporary*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2008, 141 pages.

Recenseur : *Vincent Duclos*
Université de Montréal

Dès les premières pages de cet ouvrage de discussions rassemblant les anthropologues Paul Rabinow, George Marcus, Johannes Faubion et Tobias Rees (en tant qu'animateur), ces derniers sont clairs quant à leurs intentions : pour retrouver une certaine résonance intellectuelle et académique, l'anthropologie doit sérieusement reconsidérer l'*ethos* et l'esthétique qui dominent actuellement sa pratique. Quels sont les défis qui se posent à une discipline qui cherche à comprendre des phénomènes ancrés « dans le temps », mais dont les outils et paradigmes principaux ont été conçus à travers l'étude de groupes humains « hors du temps » ? Quelles sont les modalités prises par les terrains d'une anthropologie aux objets de plus en plus complexes, mobiles et multiformes? C'est à ce type de réflexions que s'adonnent les participants à *Designs for an Anthropology of the Contemporary*. En d'autres mots, que fait-on après *Writing Culture* ? Alors que l'ouvrage édité par Marcus et Clifford (1986) marquait un tournant réflexif en s'inscrivant en critique politique et épistémologique du genre ethnographique et du recours à une conception geertzienne de la culture en tant que texte, le projet de *Designs for an Anthropology of the Contemporary* pose la question du présent de l'anthropologie. Au gré des discussions, Paul Rabinow accorde une importance particulière à l'activité conceptuelle se devant d'habiter l'anthropologie dans sa compréhension des phénomènes émergents de sorte à les rendre intelligibles, à la portée d'une réflexion critique. George Marcus développe pour sa part une réflexion quant aux transformations de l'enquête ethnographique, à travers un engagement avec des « imaginaires découverts » (*found imaginaries*), des vecteurs de pouvoir, des connections mobiles et nécessitant une approche de terrain « multi-site ». La tension entre travail conceptuel et recherche de terrain traverse cette entreprise originale, qui nous offre un regard historique, épistémologique et pratique sur le projet d'une anthropologie du contemporain.

Traversant l'ouvrage, on retrouve le constat voulant que l'objet d'étude de l'anthropologue n'ait plus rien à voir avec une quelconque totalité et que l'idée de finitude inscrite à même le concept de culture se pose alors en obstacle à la recherche sur le contemporain; celui-ci renvoie plutôt à des conjonctures, des assemblages, du mouvement et du circonstanciel. Faubion apporte à cet égard une distinction fondamentale entre la culture et le culturel, en tant que dimension fondamentale du vécu individuel, social et politique. La notion de « culturel » se laisse davantage intégrer à l'hétérogénéité des objets en mouvement qu'une notion de culture implicitement marquée du sceau holistique, associée à un Tout englobant. Comme le résume Rabinow, « we don't want this Korean-American student to tell us that capitalism is exactly the same everywhere and we don't want this Korean-American student to say that global finance has a uniquely Korean form which is the key to understanding how, say, the Internet and other global things work in Korea » (p. 109). Autant sur le plan conceptuel (face aux notions de culture, société, identité, etc.) que méthodologique (en repensant le terrain d'inspiration malinowskienne), il faut prendre acte de ce déplacement d'une pensée qui renvoie à une réalité finie vers un travail analytique posant la recherche comme processus (auquel les auteurs associent le *design*). Le travail épistémologique (autour du *multisitedness* de Marcus) et ontologique (par exemple, les *assemblages* de Rabinow) s'accordent alors dans un effort soutenu pour allier l'expert et l'ordinaire, le technologique et le quotidien au sein d'un projet commun accordant une attention particulière aux relations entre ces niveaux. D'une manière plus large, la nécessité d'assurer une certaine continuité au projet anthropologique, tout en rejetant substantiellement les modèles analytiques et méthodologiques qui ont formé le cœur d'un certain *ethos* ethnographique, traverse les entretiens. Il faut trouver des voix communicantes, des possibilités de connecter de nouveaux espaces de recherche avec l'héritage de l'anthropologie classique. L'originalité de l'anthropologie – tout comme sa réception transdisciplinaire – repose sur sa capacité de concevoir des techniques et des outils de recherche qui rendent compte autant d'une tradition disciplinaire particulière que de fortes influences théoriques externes (concepts, choix des objets de recherche, etc.).

Selon les auteurs, il est fort possible que ce soit par le biais d'une certaine « atemporalité » (*untimeliness*) que l'anthropologie assure la continuité interne à son projet. Alors qu'une posture épistémologique davantage traditionnelle amène l'anthropologue à se concentrer sur les « gens ordinaires » (par l'entremise d'une présence prolongée dans un espace relativement défini), les équipements de l'anthropologue du contemporain impliquent également des réseaux d'experts et les lieux de production de leur savoir. C'est sur les bases d'une telle mobilité que se dresse l'entreprise anthropologique : dans la capacité à étudier l'événement en tant que phénomène, en maintenant le mouvement entre un terrain aux sites multiples et un travail analytique permettant la mise en place d'un dialogue critique avec les objets étudiés. C'est donc une certaine posture dans le temps, une lenteur, une disposition à tisser des collaborations épistémiques, des partenariats mais aussi à s'en distancer à travers l'acte de création d'un savoir qui constituent l'originalité de la discipline. Les auteurs insistent également sur l'aspect pédagogique de leur projet : il faut apprendre à accompagner les étudiants différemment dans le choix des contextes, des engagements avec différents « partenaires épistémiques » à la base de la recherche de connections formant l'essence de l'enquête ethnographique contemporaine.

L'introspection soutenue sur les fondements épistémologiques de l'anthropologie, mais aussi les formes prises par ceux-ci dans le milieu académique (direction des étudiants, production de la thèse, etc.), font de *Designs for an Anthropology of the Contemporary* un livre aussi pertinent pour les étudiants que pour les professeurs et les chercheurs. Il s'agit d'une lecture tonifiante, avec le potentiel de stimuler la pensée, d'offrir de nouvelles perspectives de recherche au-delà de la seule posture esthétique et vertueuse de la réflexivité. Cet ouvrage constitue un remarquable plaidoyer pour une discipline vivante, un espace de création marqué par une sensibilité en perpétuel mouvement.

Référence

Clifford, James, et Georges E. Marcus, dirs.
1986 Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tania Murray Li, *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2007, 392 pages.

Reviewer: *Shubhra Gururani*
York University

In *The Will to Improve*, Tania Li presents an exceptionally thorough and insightful study of governmental rationality at play in the highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. In a lucid and engaging writing style, Li brings together a wide range of historical and ethnographic commentaries of governmental power at different conjunctures of place and time and makes a critical contribution to the already impressive body of studies of governmentality. But, *The Will to Improve* is much more than a study of governmentality and development; it is a sophisticated analysis and fine-grained ethnography that lays bare the complex machinations of power and compromise which have made and remade the highlands of Central Sulawesi over a period of more than 200 years. Instead of providing an analysis of governmentality and development practices that coheres easily around neat targets, peoples, resources and particular sites, Li masterfully weaves historical detail with rich ethnographic account, forces our attention to the historically embedded relations of power and "messy actualities," and shows how "powers that are multiple cannot be totalizing and seamless" (p. 25). Drawing on her long engagement with Indonesia and deep knowledge of the region, Li presents a rigorous analysis that is "not a narrative of governmentality rising" (p. 31), but a thoughtful exploration of "why [power] takes on these forms, how it works positively to create new conditions and how it is in turn shaped by the 'strategies of struggle' with which it is engaged in permanent relation of provocation and reversal" (p. 192). Central to her nuanced study of the highlands of Central Sulawesi is her attention to the multiple contradictions and compromises that are embedded in the will to improve. In tracking the exercise of power through Dutch colonial rule to contemporary times, *The Will to Improve* presents a persuasive account of governmental power which is caring and responsible yet untrustworthy; a power that aims to cultivate subjects, populations, territories and resources but is limited in its reach and impact.

In order to understand why a place like the highlands of Central Sulawesi, unlike other sites in Indonesia, strikingly becomes the target of repeated governmental intervention, Li takes us through a layered landscape in which the histories and everyday lives of swidden farmers, new and old settlers, migrants, traders, development officials, NGOs and activists are intertwined and historically sedimented in colonialism, capitalist expansion, agrarian political economy, development and *reformasi*. Taking us through different regimes of rule in practice, Li uses a critical Foucauldian analytics of governmentality to track the "benevolent and stubborn" will to improve the lives of those who are deemed to be in need of welfare. The objective of governmental power, as Foucault argued, is not disciplinary, but is to secure the "welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc" (p. 6). Li builds on this insight and identifies two key related practices of "problematization," that is, "identifying deficiencies that need to be rectified" and of "rendering technical," as central to the workings of governmentality. Rendering "a set of processes technical and improvable [means that] an arena of intervention must be bounded, mapped, characterized, and documented; the relevant forces and relations must be identified; and a narrative must be devised connecting the proposed intervention to the problem it will solve" (p. 126). While Li systematically takes the

reader through the "multiform tactics" which render the problems of Central Sulawesi technical and repeatedly exclude the questions of political economy, landlessness and structural relations of law that support inequality, what makes Li's volume stand apart from other studies of governmentality are two important departures. In inflecting Foucaudian governmentality through a Gramscian lens, Li takes the question of agency—of humans and non-humans—seriously, and painstakingly describes when and how "situated subjects mobilize to contest their oppression." In this careful exposition of governmentality in action, the subjects of improvement appear not as mere targets of governmental rationality but as critical actors who negotiate, accept, incorporate, reject and resist the governmental interventions aimed to improve their lives, livelihoods and landscapes. She argues that "engaging with the 'messy actualities' of rule in practice is not merely an adjunct to the study of government—it is intrinsic to it" (p. 283) and this is where the "critical potential of an *ethnography of government*" lies (p. 282).

Second, the brilliance of the volume lies not only in tracking the workings of the will to improve but in Li's insistence and ethnographic attentiveness to the question of "what happens" on the ground when governmental schemes and projects of improvement become entangled with the processes and practices they would govern and improve. Ethnographically, in order to map what happens to governmental schemes in practice, Li diligently goes "beyond the plan, the map, and the administrative apparatus, into conjunctures where attempts to achieve the 'right disposition of things' encounter—and produce—a witches' brew of processes, practices, and struggles that exceed their scope" (p. 28). It is in critically exploring the "witches' brew" that Li is able to highlight the intended and unintended effects of governmental schemes and expose the limits and contradictions of governmentality. Not only is there an "ever-present possibility that a governmental intervention will be challenged by critics rejecting its diagnoses and prescriptions" (p. 17), but according to her, governmentality is limited in its reach by two additional factors. First, "is the limit posed by the target of the government: population,... and second is the limit posed by the available forms of knowledge and technique" (p. 18). Governmental power, as she deftly demonstrates, is always compromised.

After a thoughtful and critical discussion of governmentality and its limits in the Introduction, chapters 1 and 2 present the historical context that underlay and guided the cultural politics of power and social difference in the New Order regime. Chapter 1 presents a "form of a history of government" (p. 31) and shows how a mixed sense of official responsibility, duty, paternalism and guilt worked to inform the project of improvement in the late 19th century. Located somewhere in the complex dynamics of global political-economic change, internal developments in the Netherlands, state-sponsored capitalism and the rise of secular socialism, the concern for the natives took a particular turn in the ethical period—"it took on a far more focused and technical character. It became the subject of increasingly specialized expertise" (p. 42). It is at this political, economic and ethical juncture, Li argues, that racial difference and categorization came to be constituted and maintained through set of administrative practices. Chapter 2 builds further the historical context of governmental improvement and systematically describes a series of interventions made by missionaries, scientists and officials of the colonial and New Order regime. Here, Li describes the overlapping effort of the different agents of reform who sought governmental strategies to improve the lives and livelihoods of the natives through resettlement of villagers, elimination of swidden agriculture, conversion to the Christian faith, and importantly, making land a source of revenue and prosperity. These interventions often relied on the use of force and violence. But as Li, by drawing on the account of Papa Eli, an elderly man from Kulawi Valley, critically shows, the improvements programs did not unfold as planned and had consequential effects with long-lasting impacts in which they "altered the conditions under which the highlanders lived their lives" (p. 94). Remarkably, the strategies of power, reform, control and change were never easy or straightforward; there were compromises made by the officials "creating room for maneuver and contestation" (p. 271).

Chapter 3 brilliantly describes how the two processes of formation of capital, linked to agrarian differentiation, and the formation of identities came to be articulated together in the highlands, reverberations of which were felt in the late 20th century. As land was turned into private property and villagers into wage labourers, distinctions between "migrants and locals, Muslims and Christians, haves and have-nots" also emerged (p. 97). Interestingly, cocoa, as Li shows, played a significant role in configuring the cultural politics of capital and difference but more importantly, the interventions designed to bring about changes in one context produced "effects that were contingent and diverse" (p. 272).

In chapter 4, Li turns her attention to a new set of improvement programs labelled "integrated conservation and development programs" that undertook the project of biodiversity protection in the Lore Lindu National Park. By focusing on how new areas of interventions were identified and classified and "problems" that were left out, this chapter documents the multiple gaps and omissions which persist in the exercise of governmentality. While increasing landlessness, impoverishment, debt and migration were identified as "problems," they were left out of the realm of action or intervention, yielding outcomes which were not only unplanned but also unexpected. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the occupation of the Dongi-Dongi Valley inside the Lore Lindu National Park and highlight the messy and highly contentious terrain of ethnic, indigenous and activist politics, which the members of the Free Farmers Forum, NGOs and land-rights activists confront. In bringing to light the discourses as well as practices of the various parties involved, Li describes the awkward alliances, dilemmas, contradictions and compromises that informed the charged politics of claim, entitlement, rights and identity.

Chapter 6 presents a very rich and situated account of not only how subjects are produced at particular historical, political, ecological and economic conjunctures, but emphasizes the agency of the subjects to resist, negotiate and change the terms of their own improvement. Chapter 7 takes the interrogation of governmental rationality a step further and explores the rationale, calculations and tactics adopted by the World Bank in its program entitled "Social Development." These interventions, which present a striking resemblance to colonial interventions, work through the rubric that Nikolas Rose identified as "government through community." Community in these interventions is paradoxically considered to be natural, authentic and desirable yet in need of transformation and improvement.

In a critical dialogue with debates in development studies, political economy, political ecology, Marxism, cultural studies, poststructural and postcolonial theory, Tania Li has written an exemplary ethnography which attends both to the discourses and micropractices of governmental power and exposes the complex and dynamic nature of governmentality, sovereignty, identity and politics. In overcoming the lapses of earlier works about the mechanical actions of development projects, Li's profound contribution is highlighting the practices and provocations of the subjects and agents of improvement, and insistence on the unintended and unexpected consequences of governmental interventions. With its admirable and nuanced grasp of cultural politics of development, *The Will to Improve* will not only be of immense relevance to a wide range of readers interested in questions of improvement, development, sovereignty and livelihood struggles, but by pushing the terms of the debate further, it is bound to have an impact that will endure.

Anne Raulin, *Anthropologie urbaine*, Paris : Armand Colin (Collection Cursus, 2e édition), 2007, 215 pages.

Recenseur : *Bernard Bernier*
Université de Montréal

Dans ce livre relativement court, destiné surtout à un public d'étudiants universitaires et aux intervenants en milieu urbain, Anne Raulin traite de divers aspects de la ville en se concentrant surtout sur la France, mais en incluant des éléments comparatifs avec l'Angleterre et les États-Unis. L'auteure met en relief plusieurs démarches théoriques et différents résultats des études en anthropologie et sociologie urbaines, analysant, par exemple, les études de l'École de Chicago ou celles de l'Université de Manchester. Les sujets traités sont nombreux : tout d'abord l'émergence des modèles urbains européens (première partie), qui couvre la période antique et le Moyen-Âge; ensuite les définitions de la ville (deuxième partie), qui comporte un chapitre portant un regard spécifique sur la ville, un autre sur les concepts et un troisième sur l'urbain aujourd'hui; enfin les milieux sociaux urbains (troisième partie), couvrant les cultures de classes, les minorités et les ghettos, les « subcultures » et la violence urbaine, la relation du citadin à sa ville et, finalement, le théâtre urbain. Chaque sujet est traité en détail, montrant les différentes composantes d'un problème. De ce point de vue, l'auteure a réussi un tour de force en analysant de multiples questions reliées à la ville en si peu de pages.

Il est vrai que le livre se limite à trois pays occidentaux, c'est-à-dire la France, l'Angleterre et les États-Unis. C'est là un parti pris de l'auteure, expliqué en introduction, en mentionnant que l'Occident a développé une expansion urbaine particulière. Il serait certes intéressant d'élargir la comparaison, par exemple en incluant d'autres villes européennes, mais surtout ces villes d'Asie qui ont, comme Paris ou Londres, un passé multiséculaire, mais qui ont évolué différemment, du moins jusqu'à récemment. C'est peut-être là une tâche impossible, mais il me semble qu'une véritable anthropologie urbaine devra un jour ou l'autre ajouter à ses exemples Tokyo, Beijing ou Mumbai, ou bien encore Lagos et Mexico. L'ajout de ces villes donnerait une profondeur à l'analyse qui fait défaut si l'on s'en tient à l'Occident. Malgré tout, cet écrit d'Anne Raulin, dans une langue claire et élégante, fondée sur des connaissances de première main des villes françaises et américaines, constitue une excellente introduction à toutes les questions essentielles de l'anthropologie urbaine en milieu occidental et pourrait servir de manuel pour des cours dans ce domaine.

Éric Canobbio, *Géopolitique d'une ambition inuite. Le Québec face à son destin nordique*, Québec : Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2009, 365 pages.

Recenseure : *Caroline Hervé*
Université Laval

Le principal défi qui s'impose à un anthropologue à la lecture d'un ouvrage de géopolitique est de faire l'effort de se décentrer un instant de sa discipline afin d'apprécier à sa juste valeur le travail de l'autre et de s'enrichir de l'expérience d'une nouvelle lecture des événements. C'est dans cet élan qu'il devient possible de saisir tout l'intérêt d'une démarche géopolitique, en tant que science qui étudie les conséquences politiques de la géographie et qui invite à analyser la façon dont les normes et les représentations fabriquent les espaces. Ce regard en surplomb offert par la géopolitique, loin de l'étude des pratiques quotidiennes des acteurs, ouvre néanmoins la possibilité de saisir les enjeux politiques et sociaux dans lesquels les actions sont prises. L'ouvrage d'Éric Canobbio, *Géopolitique d'une ambition inuite. Le Québec face à son destin nordique* permet cela. L'auteur, maître de conférences au département de géographie de l'Université Paris 8 Vincennes et chercheur au laboratoire « Dynamiques sociales et recomposition des espaces » (LADYSS), propose, à travers cet ouvrage, une étude des

transformations des représentations et des pratiques de gestion du territoire de l'Arctique québécois. Il confronte, les unes aux autres, les différentes lectures de cet espace (celle du gouvernement fédéral, celle du gouvernement du Québec et celle des Inuit) et parvient ainsi à démêler la complexité des jeux politiques qui l'ont façonné depuis le milieu du XX^{e} siècle. Éric Canobbio est un ancien étudiant d'Yves Lacoste, géographe français ayant redéfini la géopolitique dans les années 1990, et ce travail est le résultat d'une recherche passionnée, engagée au début des années 1990 dans le cadre de sa maîtrise et poursuivi par un doctorat.

Cet ouvrage se veut une synthèse accessible à tous. Il retrace la chronologie des évènements liés à l'exploitation et la gestion de l'Arctique québécois en adoptant principalement le point de vue québécois tout en le confrontant à ceux du gouvernement fédéral et des Inuit. L'intérêt principal de ce travail est de mettre à jour les intérêts contradictoires concernant le développement de cette région et le jeu subtil des stratégies politiques qui s'ensuivent. L'étude s'ouvre d'abord sur une brève histoire des représentations du Nord véhiculées dans la littérature, dans l'opinion publique ou produites par le milieu universitaire. Elle retrace ensuite l'émergence d'une prise de conscience de la valeur géostratégique puis énergétique de la région et le développement d'une politique provinciale et fédérale en vue de l'exploitation de ses richesses naturelles. Le Nord n'apparaît plus comme une région à la charge des gouvernements mais comme un territoire riche à exploiter et c'est dans ce cadre que naissent les grands projets hydro-électriques puis miniers. Cette exploitation des richesses naturelles se fait au service d'un Québec désireux de prouver sa capacité à gérer seul son développement économique au regard de son ambition souverainiste. Dans le même temps, une conscience identitaire et une volonté autonomiste se développent chez les Inuit du Nunavik qui se dotent de moyens de territorialisation (projet toponymique, archéologie, société de cartographie). La maîtrise du Nord relève désormais d'un véritable enjeu politique où deux représentations contradictoires se font face : l'une inuit, qui réclame une appropriation du territoire et une autonomie dans sa gestion, et l'autre québécoise, selon laquelle le Nord est un territoire intégré à la province et qui doit être développé. La période des débats autour du rapatriement de la Constitution apporte de nouveaux éléments à ce contexte. Les autochtones apparaissent dès lors comme une troisième force et jouent de la concurrence entre Québec et Ottawa pour imposer leurs vues. Les Inuit, soucieux de garder un lien avec Ottawa, font barrage au projet souverainiste du Québec tout en se garantissant un pouvoir de contrôle sur leur territoire et leurs affaires politiques. Dans le même temps, Ottawa tente de se rapprocher des autochtones pour barrer la route, lui aussi, à un Québec souverainiste. Quant au Québec, il veut évincer Ottawa des discussions sur le développement du Nord et sur la gestion des questions autochtones pour prouver qu'il peut régler ses problèmes comme un état souverain. Plus tard, dans le cadre du règlement des revendications territoriales propres au gouvernement régional du Nunavik, les Inuit réclament les régions littorales et deviennent ainsi les défenseurs de l'intégrité territoriale du Nord québécois face à Ottawa.

Le résultat de ce travail est donc de fournir une synthèse utile des interactions politiques qui entourent le développement de l'Arctique québécois dans la seconde moitié du XX^{e} siècle et les débuts du XXI^{e} siècle. Le territoire, objet principal du géopoliticien, constitue un axe de lecture pertinent et permet un ordonnancement clair des événements. L'auteur parvient ainsi à démêler les fils d'un contexte relativement complexe. Le lecteur ne doit cependant pas y chercher une analyse de l'émergence des revendications politiques inuit et encore moins de la transformation des pratiques politiques propres aux Inuit. Les leaders politiques inuit apparaissent d'ailleurs, culturellement parlant, désincarnés. On conviendra que là n'était pas le propos de l'auteur.

La forme de l'ouvrage n'aide cependant pas toujours à la clarté du fond. L'articulation de la multiplicité des points de vue (inuit, fédéral, provincial, local, régional, national, sans compter les représentations véhiculées par la littérature, le travail cartographique, le milieu universitaire, les médias, etc.) est parfois un peu rude. La plume enthousiaste de l'auteur impose une cadence de lecture dynamique, mais certains titres sont nébuleux, certaines transitions manquent et quelques détours sont peu utiles au propos général. Ainsi, si le lecteur perd le rythme imposé par l'auteur, il risque de s'emmêler dans la complexité du contexte. L'auteur n'a pas non plus présenté avec beaucoup de détails ses sources et ses méthodes d'enquête. Il explique qu'il a fait du terrain pendant deux étés sur les rives de la rivière La Grande et il précise qu'il a rencontré un certain nombre d'acteurs du développement local ainsi que des autochtones. Mais son expérience de terrain s'arrête-t-elle là ? On comprend, au fil de la lecture, que l'auteur appuie son propos sur un dépouillement de la presse. Il a également consulté un certain nombre de textes gouvernementaux. Mais sont-ce là ses seules sources ? Un traitement moins rapide du rapport aux sources aurait sans doute permis d'éviter de lui attribuer l'origine de certaines inexactitudes. Par exemple, il propose une mauvaise traduction du terme *ujjituuijiit*, nom donné au comité de travail créé en 1984 afin de proposer un cadre pour les négociations en vue d'un futur gouvernement régional au Nunavik (p. 140). L'auteur traduit le terme par « les sages » alors qu'ujjituijiit renvoie plutôt à l'idée de veiller sur quelqu'un. C'est le cas d'un chasseur qui, par exemple, surveille son compagnon tirant un phoque du trou afin de l'aider au cas où il glisse. Autre exemple, il parle du leader innu Jacques Kurtness en le présentant comme un avocat alors que celui-ci est professeur de psychologie et fut négociateur en chef pour les Innus de 1991 à 1997 (p. 205).

Il n'en reste pas moins que les lecteurs trouveront dans cet ouvrage une synthèse précieuse sur l'évolution des relations entre les Inuit, le gouvernement fédéral et le gouvernement provincial concernant le développement du Nord québécois. De plus, l'écriture passionnée de l'auteur aura raison de la complexité du propos et du contexte.

Dessislav Sabev, *Comment draguer un top-modèle. Représentations corporelles de la réussite en Bulgarie,* Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2008, 229 pages.

Recenseure : *Simona Bealcovschi*
Université du Québec

Le livre que Dessislav Sabev propose porte sur l'exploration de l'espace postcommuniste bulgare dans la période 1990-2000. Cette décennie est marquée par la fin de l'économie centralisée et de planification communiste et le début d'une longue transition vers l'économie de marché. Période de ruptures et de transformations, la transition est dominée par des dynamiques sociales conflictuelles car il est impossible de se détacher des valeurs traditionnelles de la communauté locale et tout aussi impossible d'ignorer la pénétration du monde capitaliste et sa logique globalisante. Elle signifie conversion des capitaux et création de nouveaux capitaux; rupture et changement identitaire. En conséquence, « le nouvel homme bulgare », à la recherche de la réussite, sujet d'analyse de ce livre, s'oriente vers les nouveaux centres de pouvoir symbolique, largement représentés par un Occident mythifié. Tout en conservant ses racines locales, ce nouvel homme incorpore du mieux qu'il peut les « modes » capitalistes, comme nous dit l'auteur, dont les représentations, styles et esthétiques dominent les médias bulgares postcommunistes.

Approcher ces dynamiques et l'ambivalence du postcommunisme et décoder son nouvel imaginaire iconique et visuel exigent une méthodologie différente de celle qu'on utilise dans les recherches sur les sociétés à petite échelle. L'ethnographie de Dessislav Sabev fusionne la confrontation empirique et l'analyse d'un corpus de textes, « provenant principalement – comme l'auteur nous en informe – du mensuel *Club M*, "le magazine des gens qui réussissent," paru en 1990, du quotidien *Trud* et de trois romans populaires parus en 1996, considérés comme une source inestimable pour l'ethnographie de la transition bulgare par leur description de la culture corporelle et de la sexualité des personnages » (pp. 6-7). À ces documents s'ajoutent l'analyse des images médiatiques qui traitent de la réussite individuelle et l'observation minutieuse de l'auteur, enrichie par son identité bulgare.

Si, pour l'auteur, « la disparition du grand récit communiste décompose le corps collectif et met fin à son système de sens » de sorte que « le corps devient le centre du monde individuel » (p. 3), c'est à travers le symbolisme corporel que l'affirmation de l'individualisme, condition *sine qua non* de la réussite dans le monde postcommuniste, se réalisera; « l'acteur [...] devient lui-même l'expression individuelle du changement social ». Partant de la prémisse que le corps traduit les transformations sociales à travers les pratiques du Soi et suivant la logique de Bourdieu sur les différents types de capital (objectif et incorporé), l'auteur mène son enquête sur des rapports de pouvoir, sur les représentations de la production sociale du corps individuel postcommuniste, sur le symbolisme du capital corporel et son lien à la culture matérielle, et sur certaines formes de l'*habitus* de nouveaux acteurs.

L'argumentation est présentée en trois parties, dont les intitulés des chapitres donnent une claire indication du contenu (par exemple, le « Je » de la transition : construction notionnelle du corps individuel ; la notion de « rapidité » et le rapport au temps post-collectiviste; « le vrai homme sent la poudre à canon » : l'image du lutteur ; « j'ai gagné, j'ai perdu et j'ai gagné de nouveau » : un récit de passage ; la voiture comme deuxième corps, etc.).

Dans la première partie, l'auteur analyse des rapports et des oppositions communistes et postcommunistes, tel que représentés dans plusieurs articles et récits biographiques. Le communisme, par exemple, est représenté par l'image d'un « aquarium », un espace clos, uniforme et sécuritaire pour tout ce qui se trouve à l'intérieur et est particularisé par une « impuissance acquise », où le sujet contrôlé/surveillé est détourné de sa « nature et de sa force innée ». En opposition, le postcommunisme est présenté par la métaphore de la « jungle ». Cette image évocatrice marque le nouvel imaginaire où dominent, naturellement, des signes qui évoquent la corporalité et la force primordiale. La transition apparaît donc comme un ensemble de dichotomies métaphoriques, qui expriment les rapports constitués autour du temps social et du temps biologique et leur corrélation avec les formes de réussite collective et individuelle.

À la différence de la vision temporelle communiste, prônant l'utopie de « l'avenir radieux communiste » mesurée en « générations » et en sacrifices collectifs censés annihiler le présent individuel (en fait, annihiler le présent et l'individu), la vision temporelle postcommuniste privilégie le temps actuel. La réussite est due justement à la « rapidité » avec laquelle le corps individuel se distingue dans le présent. Ainsi, dit Sabev, la représentation de la réussite individuelle postcommuniste signifie un passage du corps collectif (et homogène) au corps individuel et individualiste des nouveaux acteurs « rapides ». La « jungle » se présente donc comme un environnement propice à l'épanouissement de l'identité individuelle, signe de liberté en opposition à « l'aquarium » communiste homogénéisant, générateur de « passivité anonyme ». Métaphore puissante de la transition, « la jungle » est vue comme ayant sa propre téléologie, car elle est un lieu « de transformation identitaire » qui fait du corps individuel le sujet principal du récit postcommuniste » (p. 38).

Dans la deuxième partie, « Homme-nature et femme-culture : le corps sexué de la réussite masculine », l'auteur explore quelques « biographies corporelles » à travers une analyse pluridimensionnelle de la réussite. Par exemple, l'image polysémique du lutteur, renvoyant à l'image du héros mythique bulgare (mais aussi à l'image des ouvriers et des athlètes socialistes) découle, comme le note l'auteur, « d'un archétype culturel basé sur les dimensions politiques, sociales et symboliques du corps viril » (p. 102). Ce n'est donc pas étonnant que les dynamiques identitaires postcommunistes aient conservé et incorporé l'icône du lutteur au corps viril, mais, comme l'auteur le

souligne, le postcommunisme désigne un nouveau prototype du pouvoir masculin, celui de l'entrepreneur, le « mâle accompli qui, en plus, a de la cervelle », valorisant ainsi l'esprit et le corps.

À l'image masculine correspond un nouveau prototype du féminin, la « femme parfaite » hyperféminine, qui est une invention de la mondialisation et une importation postcommuniste. Elle veut se réaliser professionnellement, mais à différence de ses précurseures (les femmes camarades de travail, icône triste de l'imagerie communiste), elle doit redéfinir autant les domaines de la réussite que sa propre image corporelle. Débutant dans les domaines de la mode ou du *showbiz,* les nouveaux prototypes féminins promènent dans le monde un corps de mannequin professionnel « svelte et gracieux », instaurant une nouvelle norme corporelle dont les mesures vont définir les nouveaux paliers qui définissent la distinction sociale, s'inspirant des critères du modèle mondialisé et surtout idéalisé.

Dans la dernière partie du livre, l'auteur analyse d'autres aspects polysémiques de la construction de l'identité du héros postcommuniste, le nouveau riche. S'inspirant de la logique de Bourdieu, l'auteur explore les correspondances entre le nouveau riche, son capital, ses pratiques culturelles et la différenciation/distinction sociale. Naturellement, il met ici l'accent sur la culture de la consommation. Les objets, comme Baudrillard et Barthes l'avaient déjà noté, sont des lieux d'investissement identitaire qui dénotent des degrés de distinction ou de prestige, tout en participant à de véritables systèmes de classification sociale. « L'absence d'une "culture de la richesse" en Bulgarie – note Sabev – propulse le nouveau riche vers une quête de sens dans un monde sans repères. Alors, il recrée ses repères avec ce qu'il a : son corps, ses objets » (p. 218). Par exemple, le rapport identitaire que l'individu entretient avec sa voiture de luxe, vue « comme deuxième corps », dénote, selon Sabev, le degré de réussite de l'acteur, car toute voiture est visible, mobile et dotée d'un puissant potentiel symbolique, « signe et peau sociale ». Ces qualités deviennent de puissants véhicules métaphoriques pour plusieurs souches sociales qui désirent matérialiser et maîtriser les changements du monde postcommuniste mais, comme Sabev le note, « c'est justement l'usage social de l'objet importé qui "trahit" le modèle » (p. 216).

« Les héros » de ce livre se déplacent vers le capitalisme, dans un mouvement syncrétique incorporant les icônes de l'Occident et dans des manières locales largement déterminées par leur tendance à penser comme s'ils étaient toujours dans un monde communiste. Dans ce sens, « créer et investir » dans un capital (matériel, corporel, intellectuel) devient une manière bricolée qui incarne autant le modèle lointain que celui traditionnel. Ces icônes hybridées sont une tentative de forger une nouvelle culture qui bénéficie de la stabilité fournie par des racines traditionnelles.

Partant de l'analyse des modèles culturels hybrides, l'étude de Sabev explore en fait des dynamiques culturelles qui entourent le discours contemporain de la mondialisation, du centre et de la périphérie, du local et du global, touchant même aux certaines formes de pénétration du néolibéralisme dans l'espace postcommuniste. Lieu et signe à la fois, sujet et objet du corps social, l'identité corporelle englobe une multitude de catégories référentielles, justement en raison de son caractère polysémique. Cet aspect est utilisé par l'auteur comme un moyen d'investigation d'un social qui se trouve dépossédé des repères systémiques de la stabilité. Sa méthode d'enquête est originale et contient une double perspective, diachronique et synchronique. Sabev aborde le corps et son symbolisme à travers plusieurs parcours intertextuels : narratifs, visuels, économiques, esthétiques, qui convergent vers un ensemble symbolique complexe liant le pouvoir « intérieur » (le local, le traditionnel) au pouvoir « extérieur » (l'Occident).

Fort intéressant par le choix du sujet et par l'approche méthodologique, examinant plusieurs manifestations de modèles discursifs de la transition et leur rapport aux acteurs et aux différents systèmes de penser et de représenter la culture, ce livre est une excellente contribution à l'avancement des connaissances et des ethnographies assez rares de l'Europe de l'Est postcommuniste.

Laëtitia Atlani-Duault, *Au bonheur des autres. Anthropologie de l'aide humanitaire,* 2ème édition, Paris : Armand Colin, 2008, 240 pages.

Recenseure : Alicia Sliwinski
Université Wilfrid Laurier

Réédition de la parution de 2005, cet ouvrage porte sur l'élaboration des politiques institutionnelles d'une grande Organisation Internationale de Développement (OID) en matière de prévention du VIH/SIDA en Asie centrale et en Transcaucasie postsoviétique. Il repose sur plusieurs années de terrain dans ces régions, récemment libérées du joug soviétique, pendant que l'auteure travaillait au sein de l'OID (que l'on devine facilement être le Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement). Témoin des entretiens entre les experts internationaux et les acteurs locaux, parfois hauts en couleur, Laëtitia Atlani-Duault retrace les différentes étapes, s'échelonnant de 1994 à 2002, qui ont mené à la formulation d'une politique officielle d'aide humanitaire. La prévention du VIH/SIDA y est alors vue comme un moyen pour encourager le développement de la « société civile » (là où il n'y en avait pas, ou si peu) et la « bonne gouvernance ».

Dès l'introduction, une image saisit le lecteur : en banlieue d'une ville glauque quelque part en Transcaucasie, l'auteur visite un centre « pour femmes prostituées infectées par les maladies sexuellement transmissibles ». Tel est le nom de ce qui est effectivement une prison, puante de surcroît, où vivent des dizaines de détenues qui ignorent lorsqu'elles seront libérées. Nous ne les rencontrerons plus dans l'ethnographie, mais d'emblée le ton est donné : dans le milieu postsoviétique

du début des années 90, la prostitution, tout comme le fait d'être porteur du VIH, demeurent sévèrement réprimés dans les républiques transcaucasiennes. D'ailleurs, il n'existe aucune association de prévention du VIH /SIDA quand l'OID arrive dans la région car, du temps de l'URSS, « tout mouvement collectif indépendant de l'État ou du Parti était strictement interdit » (p. 204).

Avec le démantèlement de l'URSS, les organisations internationales de développement s'appliquent à favoriser l'essor des ONG locales car elles sont perçues comme garantes d'un contre-pouvoir face à l'État et donc d'une gouvernance supposée meilleure – à savoir plus transparente, responsable, démocratique, représentative du corps social, respectant les règles de droit, etc. Justement, les divers représentants de l'État travaillant dans le domaine du dépistage du SIDA n'ont rien perdu de leur savoir-faire de naguère. Les descriptions de leurs premières discussions avec les membres de l'OID illustrent la rencontre de deux idéologies, ou régimes moraux, quant à la marche à suivre pour prévenir une épidémie du VIH encore latente dans ces pays. Tandis que les premiers recherchent du financement pour rétablir leurs programmes musclés de dépistage obligatoire de masse (un legs du temps soviétique dont ils vantent l'efficacité), les seconds recommandent un changement dans les pratiques : nulle aide ne sera accordée aux instances officielles si elles n'acquiescent à la création et au renforcement des ONG locales, condition *sine qua non* de l'OID.

Initialement, les représentants étatiques et les professionnels de la santé regimbent contre l'idée que leurs nouvelles républiques puissent être considérées comme des pays *en voie de développement* comme ceux de l'ancien Tiers-Monde où l'OID a l'habitude d'œuvrer : « Mais ce sont des pays sous-développés! On a formé leurs cadres! Ils sont venus faire leurs études dans nos universités soviétiques! » – rétorquera le directeur d'une association soviétique pour jeunes, reconvertie en ONG (p. 128).

L'OID rencontrera plusieurs types de regroupements collectifs qualifiés d'ONG. Certains demeurent liés aux structures officielles, d'autres sont plutôt des façades, parfois carrément en quête de profits. D'autres encore sont dénommés « ONG en germe ». Ce sont des groupes d'amis désirant s'organiser pour lutter contre les préjugés homophobes, ou bien sensibiliser les gens aux risques de transmission du VIH/SIDA. Pour l'OID, ils incarnent l'espoir d'une société civile à venir.

L'ethnographie analyse donc la transformation des attitudes et des mentalités, transformation qui mènera à la construction d'une morale partagée, celle de la bonne gouvernance. À l'instar de la logique des poupées russes s'emboîtant les unes dans les autres, la bonne gouvernance chapeaute la nécessité de « renforcer les capacités» des ONG, lesquelles s'avèrent le moteur par excellence d'un changement social souhaité où la prévention du VIH /SIDA n'est qu'un volet parmi d'autres. Le jargon n'est pas innocent, mais au milieu des années 1990, il s'invente encore.

Laëtitia Atlani-Duault montre avec clarté et pondération comment « pense une institution », comment les acteurs s'approprivoisent et bricolent les concepts opératoires – comme celui de vulnérabilité – qui orientent leurs lignes d'action. Pour l'OID, la bonne gouvernance deviendra « l'idéologie institutionnelle » qui se cristallisera en un véritable programme d'intervention – processus bien mis en valeur par les extraits des discussions.

Un épisode révélateur concerne un voyage d'étude à Amsterdam organisé par l'OID en 1998 pour des délégués centrasiatiques. La ville est réputée pour le dynamisme de sa société civile dans la lutte contre le VIH. Pour la majorité des visiteurs, ce sera la première fois qu'ils rencontreront une personne infectée. Impressionnés par la force politique et médiatique des ONG amstellodamoises, ils seront stupéfaits d'apprendre que le gouvernement puisse les financer.

Tandis que l'idéologie institutionnelle se fixe, les membres de l'OID y incorporent les particularités du contexte post-soviétique afin de légitimer les actions qu'ils ont entreprises depuis 1994. Ils le feront au travers de deux filtres, certes réducteurs, qui catégorisent les attitudes locales : le blanc et le rouge. Blanc pour les réformés qui soutiennent l'éclosion de la société civile; rouge pour les récalcitrants. Si les premiers acceptent les recommandations de l'agence, les seconds conservent leurs positions initiales. Voilà comment, en fin de parcours, l'OID interprète l'héritage soviétique tantôt comme un moteur de changement social, tantôt comme une forme de résistance (p. 184).

Mais il y a plus et, à la fin de l'ouvrage, l'auteur tisse une analyse théorique particulièrement intéressante. Car il est erroné de croire que les « blancs » sont de simples convertis au modèle occidental. Au contraire, Laëtitia Atlani-Duault insiste sur les micro-stratégies des acteurs qui prennent des risques, négocient des espaces d'action, expriment une forme de liberté créatrice que l'on aurait tort d'assimiler à l'adoption aveugle d'un soi-disant principe politique universel, celui de la bonne gouvernance. Ensuite, cette idéologie institutionnelle s'inspirerait à la fois d'une représentation néo-tocquevillienne de la société civile actuellement défendue par Robert Putnam aux États-Unis et d'une « vision de la société civile soviétique telle qu'elle fut définie par les soviétologues américains du temps de la guerre froide » (p. 195). Ceux-ci accusaient le totalitarisme de bloquer l'émergence d'espaces politiques indépendants – raison de plus d'en favoriser l'essor aujourd'hui pour qui suit les préceptes de l'OID.

Dans la mouvance du néolibéralisme, la bonne gouvernance est censée faciliter le passage vers une économie de marché. Dans ces pays, la transition fut brutale et a rapidement révélé ses effets les plus néfastes. Afin d'éviter des mobilisations contestataires, les institutions internationales prévoient des «structures de substitution», les ONG, qui auront le mandat *humanitaire* de veiller au soin des «populations vulnérables».

Au bonheur des autres s'inscrit à la croisée de trois « filiations théoriques », soit « l'anthropologie du développement,

l'anthropologie politique de la santé publique développée en France et l'anthropologie médicale critique anglo-saxonne » (p. 18) présentées de manière succincte dans le premier chapitre. La notion charnière qui organise le texte est celle « d'idéologie institutionnelle » – notion avancée par Alan Young pour décrire l'évolution des croyances et des pratiques jusqu'à ce qu'elles réalisent une idéologie donnée. À cet égard, l'auteur réussit à montrer la pluralité des rationalités à l'œuvre.

Un mot quant au sous-titre « anthropologie de l'aide humanitaire » : ce n'est qu'à la fin de l'ouvrage que l'auteur commente le caractère humanitaire de la politique de l'OID vis-à-vis de la prévention du VIH/SIDA. Nous nous attendions à une discussion plus soutenue sur l'articulation entre humanitaire et développement, par exemple, ou sur ce que représente cette notion chargée et polysémique, tant du point de vue des acteurs de l'OID que de ceux censés bénéficier de ses initiatives.

Cela dit, cet ouvrage est équilibré, bien structuré et l'écriture est claire et agréable à lire. Il ne contient pas d'illustrations ni d'index, mais détient une qualité didactique qui le rend accessible pour les non-spécialistes et offre une très bonne contribution à l'anthropologie des politiques et du développement.

Salomé Berthon, Sabine Chatelain, Marie-Noëlle Ottavi et Olivier Wathelet (dirs.), *Ethnologie des gens heureux*, Paris : Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009, 206 pages.

Recenseur : Guy Lanoue
Université de Montréal

Comment décrire une collection de textes qui prétendent analyser le bonheur, dans un contemporain davantage ébranlé de près et de loin par des événements dont l'envergure cachée semble menacer nos petits empires affectifs jadis autonomes? Cette œuvre émerge d'une journée d'étude organisée en mai 2006 par le laboratoire d'anthropologie, sociologie, mémoire, identité et cognition sociale de l'Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis. Trois des quatre responsables de la collection – Berthon, Chatelain et Wathelet – déclarent dans l'introduction (« Du bonheur à l'être heureux ») que jusqu'à présent l'anthropologie a ignoré le bonheur, fait curieux pour une discipline consacrée à la mise en valeur de l'individualité dans un milieu communautaire structuré. Serait-ce que l'ethnologie s'alimente, comme le proposent les auteurs (p. 5), d'un état de malheur structurel nécessaire à la mise à distance exigée par la notion d'altérité qui est au cœur de l'analyse ethnologique?

Les auteurs de la collection se penchent sur plusieurs aspects de la question. Le bonheur est-il la tranquillité qui se manifeste en l'absence de stress, ou émerge-t-il quand une vie est vécue intensément (Albert Piette, Aude Mottiaux; p. 6)? Faut-il être conscient du bonheur pour le vivre (Cyril Isnart, Aurélien Liarte; p. 6)? Est-il possible d'être heureux parmi l'Autre, ou le bonheur se vit-il de façon isolée (Monique Jeudy-Ballini; p. 6)? Comment décrire le rapport entre cognition et affects quand on sait « objectivement » qu'on devrait être heureux mais qu'on ne le ressent pas (Marie-Noëlle Ottavi, Geneviève Teil, Aurélien Liarte, Neil Thin, Magali Demanget; p. 6)? Tous les auteurs semblent conscients du fait que le bonheur possède des dimensions politisées, comme « outil du consumérisme et condition sociologique de la domination de certaines classes privilégiées » (p. 7), qui sont implicitement autorisées par les rapports de force à définir le bonheur et ses conditions pour l'ensemble de la société. Comme le signalent les auteurs de l'introduction (p. 8), le bonheur serait une idéologie et pas seulement un sentiment et, dans les sociétés modernes et postmodernes de l'Occident, il serait également lié à *l'avoir* et moins à *l'être*; par exemple, posséder telle automobile ou habiter à telle adresse civique sont censés signaler les paramètres du privilège, qui devient, paraît-il, la condition *sine qua non* du bonheur. Nourrir l'esprit d'éléments incommensurables pour atteindre le bonheur serait donc une forme d'auto-exil, le destin des moines et des membres des catégories subalternes. Bref, l'ensemble de ces dimensions complexes du bonheur agit pour créer un sujet éphémère et fugace; la solution à ce dilemme serait de commencer l'analyse « d'en bas » avec une attention minutieuse portée aux notions individuelles du bonheur. Par exemple, comment se dessine-t-il dans les jugements quotidiens (p. 10)?

Les treize contributeurs, surtout celles et ceux réunis dans la première partie (« Bonheur en partages »), tentent donc d'examiner une ou plusieurs de ces questions en se penchant sur le terrain ou sur la notion du terrain (la deuxième partie « Bonheur et *être heureux* » est davantage orientée vers les nuances épistémologiques qui entourent les enquêtes sur le bonheur): Emmanuelle Savignac propose, dans une recherche dans un milieu entrepreneurial, de voir l'effet des idéologies managériales prétendant augmenter le bonheur des employés, souvent malheureux, car ils sont plus sensibles aux menaces d'être renvoyés qu'à la rhétorique de la Direction de ressources humaines. Isnart mène une enquête sur les conséquences (pour le bonheur, bien entendu) de la décision de quitter la ville pour un environnement rural censé incarner le bucolique, lieu plus « authentique » que la ville et donc plus apte à propulser ces néo-nomades vers le bonheur. Pierre Périer analyse le phénomène des vacances comme catégorie existentielle qui est idéologiquement entourée de concepts affectifs censés produire un état de bonheur. Mottiaux pose la question dans le contexte sportif, où, ironiquement, certaines activités extrêmes et même pénibles comme la course à longue distance semblent produire la sensation de bonheur. Stéphanie Vermeersch aborde le plaisir du bénévolat. Demanget analyse la question du bonheur parmi les chamanes mazatèques, qui se lancent dans des « voyages » extatiques à l'aide d'hallucinogènes. Antoine Bourgeau décrit les plaisirs des musiciens hindoustanis. Teil parle de la production du bonheur qui entoure les délices du bon vin; Thin ne décrit pas une situation empirique particulière mais propose un programme philosophique de

sensibilisation à la recherche sur la question. Monique Jeudy-Ballini analyse les tensions de la société sulka (Nouvelle-Guinée) qui découlent du fait qu'ils ont séparé l'entraide et le côté affectif, créant ainsi des pressions émotives qui peuvent être soulagées par la mise en scène d'actions ritualisées et apaisantes. Albert Piette s'interroge sur les dynamiques de la tranquillité psychique dans des situations négatives (comme pour la contribution du Thin, cette intervention n'est pas basée sur une étude de cas), qui le mène à questionner la nature du bonheur quand ce dernier se manifeste comme condition «relative» et non absolue. La contribution riche et nuancée de Liarte examine les complexités des enquêtes (ou leur absence) sur le bonheur pour répondre à la question du silence scientifique face à ce phénomène humain par excellence. Ottavi, enfin, revisite la question de la «socialité» du bonheur, du degré non seulement de partage mais de la nécessité d'engager l'Autre pour déclencher le sentiment du bonheur.

Cette collection est novatrice, autant par son sujet plus ou moins ignoré par les courants principaux de la discipline que par la finesse de ses contributeurs. Chaque texte provoque et invite l'anthropologie à repenser son orientation qui, récemment, semble se limiter, aveuglément, à étudier uniquement des événements politisés et dynamisés par des pulsions transnationales. L'absence presque surprenante (étant donné l'aspect psychique et affectif du bonheur) de micro-descriptions de la quotidienneté, qui, souvent, bloquent l'enquête sociologique, crée en fait un espace pour une nouvelle forme d'enquête, sensible autant à la sociologie du bonheur qu'à ses dimensions (et limitations) épistémologiques. Le bonheur, semblerait-il, ne peut qu'être conçu et saisi de façon relative, et donc l'enquêteur doit trancher avec un scalpel très fin pour mettre à nu les aspects fugaces du Soi continuellement pris entre malheur et bonheur, solitude et socialité, mais il doit aussi être suprêmement conscient de sa propre capacité à *juger* le bonheur. Ces pionniers de l'enquête sur le bonheur doivent gérer la perpétuelle tension entre, d'une part, l'objectivité des conditions extrêmement diverses qui produisent le bonheur, et d'autre part, avec la subjectivité de leur perception du phénomène et la perception de l'individu heureux (ou non). Pris entre ces deux feux, je dirais que les contributeurs à ce volume s'acquittent de façon honorable de leur mission. Ce livre et ses auteurs méritent des éloges pour leur perspicacité et leur courage.

Mohammed Maarouf, *Jinn Eviction as a Discourse of Power. A Multidisciplinary Approach to Moroccan Magical Beliefs and Practices*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007, 340 pages.

Recenseure : *Zakaria Rhani*
Université de Montréal

Comme défini par l'auteur, le but de la recherche de Maarouf consiste à étudier les rituels « d'exorcisme » au Maroc ainsi que « l'idéologie » maraboutique qui l'encadre selon le modèle maître/disciple tel que présenté par l'anthropologue Hammoudi (1997, 2001). Examinant les conditions de la genèse de l'autoritarisme au Maroc, ce dernier affirme que les schèmes de la transmission politique suivent remarquablement le modèle mystique d'initiation. Ce qui revient à dire que la forme maître/disciple constitue encore de nos jours le schème qui structure l'accès au magistère. C'est donc la soumission dans l'attente de l'acte charismatique qui informe les mécanismes de succession et de succès autant en mystique qu'en politique. Sur les voies de cette initiation mystique, l'aspirant doit ruiner son ancien moi, l'égo, nier tous les champs d'identification sociale – famille, mariage, travail et savoir – et se mettre exclusivement au service d'un maître. Et ce sont justement la forme et l'intensité de cette abdication qui tracent le chemin du disciple pour succéder à son cheikh et accéder, à son tour, aux hauts rangs de la sainteté. Selon l'analyse de Hammoudi, cette forme d'initiation mystique constitue la structure fondamentale qui préforme l'activité politique. Les mêmes formes ritualisées de soumission, d'effacement et d'anéantissement sont mises en scène. Tout se passe comme si ces nouvelles formes de l'organisation sociale et politique se substituaient à l'organisation confrérique et perpétuaient l'héritage mystique et la relation au maître qui l'informe.

Voyons maintenant si cette référence de Maarouf au modèle de Hammoudi est pertinente. Ce qui ressort, de façon patente, de la lecture de l'ethnographie de Maarouf est la grande confusion qu'il fait entre la dynamique maître/disciple et une relation de pure domination et de répression. Ce qu'il décrit, ce n'est pas ce cheminement initiatique, fait de soumission et d'abnégation, du disciple dans la voie de la maîtrise, ni même les mécanismes de proximité avec le maître, et encore moins ce processus délicat et ambigu de la féminisation[1]. Ce qu'il expose ce sont avant tout des formes de domination, d'oppression et d'exercice de l'autorité. Il décrit l'asymétrie du pouvoir, mais il n'explique pas sa reproduction. Maarouf réduit, ainsi, toute l'activité sociale, l'imaginaire, la symbolique du rituel de guérison, bref les expressions maraboutiques de façon générale, à une mécanique de pouvoir et de subordination en les inscrivant dans une longue histoire de répression. L'auteur ne nuance guère ses hypothèses et ses conclusions. Tout est vu sous l'angle de la discipline, du contrôle, de l'autorité et de la répression. La complexité symbolique de la mythologie et de l'hagiologie ainsi que leur profondeur socioculturelle sont réduites à une idéologie qui exprime et maintient les valeurs dominantes dans la société marocaine. Le mythe et le rituel, affirme-t-il, ne sont que d'autres termes pour dire idéologie; une idéologie au service du pouvoir répressif.

La mystique et le maraboutisme sont vidés de toute leur portée religieuse, spirituelle et sémiologique; ils sont exclusivement perçus dans une perspective idéologique utilitariste qui fait de l'oppression le moteur de leur genèse. Le culte maraboutique est ainsi dénué de toute sa profondeur sociohistorique et sémantique. Il n'est qu'un discours idéologique qui permet l'aliénation des masses. La *baraka*, cette notion

polysémique qui s'inscrit dans la ligne d'un fait social total, devient synonyme d'oppression. Elle représente une autorité disciplinaire qui sert à maintenir l'ordre établi. Le saint, le détenteur de ce pouvoir charismatique, est à la fois protecteur, usurpateur et oppresseur. Aussi, les croyances populaires liées au maraboutisme seraient-elles induites ou causées par de longues années de répressions.

Maarouf soutient que les esprits djinns sont des projections collectives des structures de répression qui existaient dans le passé et sont les signes incontestés d'une société arriérée. Dans cette perspective idéologique, ce qui est culturellement ancré, voire structurel, la croyance dans les djinns notamment, se réduit ainsi à des stratégies de manipulation. L'auteur raisonne en termes de « ruse », pas seulement du côté du thérapeute, mais aussi de la part du patient. Il fait de la possession par les djinns et des rituels d'exorcisme une affaire de pouvoir et de manipulation: l'exorciseur/dominant manipulant le patient/dominé pour le maintenir dans un perpétuel état de subordination. Le patient, pour sa part, feint son état de possédé pour échapper à sa condition difficile de soumis. Aussi, utilise-t-il sa possession comme un « alibi impulsif» pour exprimer et expliquer ses angoisses et ses inquiétudes. Il est curieux de constater, surtout pour un auteur qui prône une approche sémantique et interprétative, que la possession est ainsi évacuée de sa portée sémiologique et symbolique; elle est exclusivement perçue comme une incarnation idéologique, un stratagème de déresponsabilisation permettant à l'individu dominé de canaliser ses tensions émotionnelles et d'esquiver toute responsabilité. Elle est un mécanisme d'auto-défense qui permet aux dominés de voiler leur déshonneur, leur honte et leur désespoir.

Dans ce schéma réductionniste, la relation entre patient et thérapeute est dénuée de toute autre dimension – symbolique, religieuse, psychologique et même thérapeutique et cathartique – hors celle de la soumission et du « dressage ». Aussi la relation triadique, complexe et multidirectionnelle entre guérisseur/esprit/patient est-elle réduite à une relation linéaire de domination: guérisseur/patient. Le phénomène de la possession est même nié; il s'agit, seulement, d'états d'altération de conscience que les guérisseurs identifient comme possession par les esprits pour maintenir l'ordre établi. L'esprit djinn n'est que la métaphore de cette histoire de subordination. Maarouf en fait, au prix de quelques distorsions sémantiques renversantes, le symbole de la servitude incarnée. Le terme *mlouk*, qui renvoie à l'idée de possession et de royauté, devient, par une touche sémantique magique, le signe de la grande domination du cherif-guérisseur. De même, le vocable euphémique pour désigner les esprits, *mselmin*, littéralement les « musulmans », devient le synonyme de « soumis ».

Je ne pourrais, hélas, entrer dans des considérations étymologiques, l'espace de cette lecture ne le permet pas. Ce que je tiens à préciser, néanmoins, c'est l'utilisation idéologique et la réduction simpliste de phénomènes aussi complexes que ceux de la possession et du maraboutisme. Outre la distorsion sémantique qu'il opère, Maarouf évite d'analyser exhaustivement les charges sémiotiques d'autres vocables qui connotent de façon univoque l'idée de la maîtrise, comme « *m-mallin lamkân* », les maîtres des lieux, « *sadatna* », nos seigneurs, « *l-jwâd* », les bienfaiteurs ou les généreux, « *rijjal Allah* », les gens de Dieu, etc. Ces termes s'appliquent aussi bien aux djinns qu'aux hommes de charisme. D'ailleurs, dans le contexte marocain, les frontières entre esprits et saints ne sont pas aussi étanches qu'on pourrait le croire.

J'aimerais, à ce niveau de l'analyse, apporter une précision. Je ne suis pas là en train d'exclure du rituel maraboutique toute forme de domination et de subordination. Au contraire, ces relations sont bel et bien prégnantes. Le culte maraboutique informe, de façon générale, sur la dimension « agressive » et « belliqueuse » de la sainteté marocaine. Mais la simple relation de domination et de répression, maître-dominant *vs* patient-dominé, n'illustre cependant pas toute la complexité du modèle maître/disciple où les phénomènes d'inversion, de subversion et d'ambivalence sont centraux. De plus, dans la dynamique maître/disciple, c'est moins la coercition qui prime que la proximité du maître et son service, *la khidma*. Celle-ci n'est souvent pas vécue comme un acte violent et transgressif, mais comme une initiation sur le chemin de la sainteté.

Le schéma hammoudien est donc cyclique et continu, tandis que celui de Maarouf est linéaire et discontinu. Si dans la conception du premier, le disciple, par la voie de la soumission, peut accéder à la sainteté et à la maîtrise, dans le schéma du second, la soumission ne mène à rien, sinon à davantage de soumission et d'obédience. Ici, le processus de féminisation, si féminisation il y a, est stérile. On n'est pas dans le schéma maître/disciple, mais plutôt dans la configuration maître/esclave, sans aucune possibilité d'affranchissement. C'est probablement parce qu'on est davantage dans la transmission lignagère que dans l'initiation mystique que le rituel maraboutique se prête moins à cette analyse hammoudienne. Ce sont plutôt les rituels de guérison confrériques d'inspiration mystique (Gnawa, Hmadcha, Jilala) qui pourraient, me semble-t-il, répondre positivement à l'équation maître/disciple, car dans ces rituels, l'initiation est déterminante, le patient-disciple peut accéder à la « maîtrise » en devenant maître-thérapeute.

Note

1 Dans cette voie du magistère, les attitudes de la soumission et du sacrifice vont jusqu'à l'abdication « théâtralisée » de tout signe de virilité. Plus les symptômes de cette dévirilisation, ou féminisation, sont manifestes, plus grandes seront les chances de succéder au maître. Ce dernier se présente ainsi sous la figure du mari qui engrosse le disciple-femme. Si bien que le schème fondamental dans la dynamique maître/disciple est celui de la procréation. Hammoudi (2001:197) écrit : « la féminisation du disciple est un départ choquant de la norme ordinaire [...]. Déviance d'autant plus flagrante qu'elle accompagne volontiers d'autres exigences et d'autres violations de tabous. Le maître seul autorise le mariage du disciple et dans la transmission de la baraka interviennent quelquefois des contacts contraires à la moralité publique ».

Références

Hammoudi, Abdellah

1997 Master and Disciple: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

2001 Maîtres et disciples. Genèse et fondements des pouvoirs autoritaires dans les sociétés arabes : essai d'anthropologie politique. Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose ; Casablanca : Toubkal.

Raymond Massé, *Détresse créole. Ethnoépidémiologie de la détresse psychique à la Martinique,* Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2008, 278 pages.

Recenseur : *Francis Affergan*
Université Paris Descartes à la Sorbonne

Raymond Massé s'est fait le spécialiste, depuis une quinzaine d'années, des problèmes psychiques et éthiques qui affectent les Antilles, plus particulièrement la Martinique. Des travaux précédents jusqu'à ce dernier livre, un fil conducteur parcourt l'ensemble de son œuvre : une tentative de compréhension et de traduction des idiomes locaux d'explication des infortunes en un véritable langage ordinaire et épistémique à la fois. Les hommes qui souffrent auraient ainsi forgé eux-mêmes les armes symboliques (langagières, pragmatiques, métaphoriques, etc.) de leur propre détresse. Ce dernier livre aborde, quant à lui, la question des conditions de possibilité d'une anthropologie de la « détresse psychique et de la souffrance sociale » (p. 5). Cependant, Raymond Massé prétend se garder de l'élaboration d'une simple et classique anthropologie de la maladie, et préfère s'employer à construire une véritable « anthropologie de la santé mentale et sociale » (p. 5) en milieu martiniquais.

L'auteur s'engage ainsi dans l'analyse du croisement de plusieurs ordres de facteurs, politiques, économiques et culturels pour appréhender ce qu'il appelle « les causes de la détresse et de la souffrance sociale » (p. 7). Il en résulte, vers la fin du livre, une conséquence sous la forme d'un constat : le Martiniquais serait marqué par « un langage de la détresse balisé par des idiomes qui inscrivent ses infortunes, ses souffrances, ses afflictions dans un registre magico-religieux d'explications exogènes » (p. 216). En d'autres termes, lorsque les individus veulent comprendre leur souffrance, ils la traduisent en langage idiomatique qui s'inscrit dans un ordre magique et religieux, lequel leur convient mieux que l'ordre biomédical qui ne prend en compte que son aspect pathologique.

Cette détresse, psychique et créole, concept-clé de tout le livre, comment la caractériser et d'où vient-elle ? Il s'agit en fait de l'interprétation élaborée par les sujets eux-mêmes de leur souffrance sociale. Pour se saisir d'eux-mêmes, en tant que sujets sociaux dominés par une situation historique bien particulière, ils sont enclins à élaborer un discours idiomatique en termes psychiques, qui désignent les déséquilibres et les désordres (violences domestiques, alcoolisme, toxicomanie, angoisse, stress ...) auxquels ils sont confrontés. Cette détresse « s'exprime comme souffrance existentielle, morale et relationnelle » (p. 16). Elle est donc bien un langage propre aux acteurs, langage du désarroi, de l'impuissance et du désespoir. Si la notion de maladie est bien analysée, elle déborde vers les contextes expérientiels de la souffrance. L'histoire qui l'englobe relève plus de la sphère sociale que de la seule « histoire naturelle de la maladie » (p. 20). Ce sont les « enchaînements » qui intéressent Raymond Massé, concept qu'il emprunte à Kleinman, et par lequel celui-ci entendait s'intéresser au fonctionnement de la triade « catégories locales de la maladie / interprétation du sens de la maladie / rituel de guérison-guérison du sens de la maladie » (p. 20).

Dans quelle mesure est-on ainsi fondé à expliquer cette détresse créole par une cause centrale que Raymond Massé appelle « la violence structurelle dans le contexte antillais » (p. 21)? Afin de répondre à cette question, l'auteur s'engage dans l'édification d'une théorie du langage idiomatique de la détresse. Ce sont les récits des épisodes de détresse qui comptent plus que les événements psychiques eux-mêmes, en raison d'une propension, chez les sujets affectés, à commenter inlassablement, tantôt sur le mode critique, tantôt sur celui de la plainte et de l'appel au secours, les causes et les raisons qu'ils imaginent se trouver à la source de leur misère. Les auto-diagnostics ressortiraient ainsi au complexe culturel dont ils tisseraient en quelque sorte le récit historique. L'ambition théorique que Raymond Massé met en avant consiste à analyser « l'arrimage d'une sémiologie des signes de la détresse à une phénoménologie de la souffrance sociale et psychique » (p. 136). L'idiome de la détresse–sous ses trois formes : identification, expression et explication–devient ainsi le mode herméneutique par lequel le vécu souffert est rapporté. Il décrit, répare, soigne et prétend guérir : « Sens et vécu, signification et praxis sont indissociables » (p. 137). Il convient de ne pas considérer ces idiomes comme des « réseaux réifiés de significations-données-une-fois-pour-toute-à-penser, mais des construits socioculturels consensuels qui canalisent le processus dynamique, plus ou moins organisé de signification » (p. 142). On l'aura compris, ces idiomes, outre leur symbolique, détiennent une force pragmatique et performative exemplaire qui consiste à produire de la signification là où, dans un contexte de violence historique, elle vient à manquer.

Quels sont ces idiomes que Raymond Massé a repérés puis classés? Dans la catégorie des idiomes d'identification, il range *gwopwèl*[1], *ababa*[2], *moun ka dessan*[3]. Dans la catégorie des idiomes de communication, il regroupe les hallucinations, les délires, les bouffées de violence. Enfin, dans celle de l'explication, il entrepose le *quimbois*[4], *la dévenn*[5] et la jalousie (p. 6). Tous ces idiomes ne seraient en fait que la traduction d'un malaise identitaire aussi ancien et fondateur que la déportation et la condition servile qui s'en est suivie. Cette identité incomplète et meurtrie serait ainsi compensée par des formes langagières d'expression phénoménologique d'une douleur ancestrale et historique. Le Martiniquais se construirait en se détruisant au fur et à mesure que les autres – les Blancs, les

Français, les Békés, les Européens – le fabriquent dans un jeu de miroir identificatoire et servant simultanément de repoussoir. Bref, on aurait moins affaire à une crise identitaire, classique parce qu'universelle, qu'à une détresse psychologique que seule une « pathologie de la reconnaissance » (p. 93) aurait quelque chance de pouvoir décrypter. Cette absence de reconnaissance dont les Martiniquais prétendent être les victimes engendre un cercle vicieux « autoentretenu humiliation-vengeance-humiliation » (p. 93, Bauman cité par l'auteur) dont rien ne pourrait arrêter la dérive centrifuge et autodestructrice dans la mesure où cette dette, par laquelle on demande aux autres de payer pour les crimes qu'ils sont censés avoir commis, sera à jamais inextinguible.

Quel est maintenant l'objectif que Raymond Massé s'est assigné, au-delà de l'analyse de cette langue idiomatique? Il s'agit d'entreprendre une ethnoépidémiologie dont la fonction consisterait à conduire une investigation de la « nature, de la distribution sociale et historique, des causes et des modalités d'expression des diverses formes de souffrances physiques, mentales et sociales » (p. 23) qui affectent les Martiniquais aujourd'hui. Devant les manques analytiques de l'approche psychanalytique et biomédicale de la détresse, qui se contenterait la plupart du temps de mettre l'accent sur les dysfonctionnements (honte, aliénation, humiliation, ressentiment) sans relever les aspects positifs d'une culture, seule une ethnoépidémiologie serait à même, au-delà des « modèles explicatifs de la détresse, modèles qui imposent des connections aux faits », de mettre l'accent sur « les métaphores vivantes » qui « évoquent et établissent des connections à l'intérieur de l'expérience » (p. 149, Jackson cité par Massé). Du coup, la maladie, si tant est qu'on puisse encore parler en ces termes, ne ressortirait plus au domaine des catégories diagnostiques, mais à un « réseau d'unités de significations attribuées à des situations et à des expériences vécues, à des soins et à des sensations » (p. 153). La maladie n'appartiendrait alors plus aux simples « entités empiriques », mais à l'univers des « construits signifiés et socialisés » (p. 153). Bref, la maladie deviendrait simultanément un objet de signification et l'idiome culturel chargé de lui donner un sens. Elle rejoint ainsi la liste de ce que Marcel Mauss appelait un objet social total, n'était le caractère essentiellement culturel que prête Massé à cette maladie qu'il appelle la détresse.

Quelle plus-value nous apporte cette analyse en termes ethnoépidémiologiques ? Et, dans le contexte des nombreuses études, tant en français qu'en anglais, relatives aujourd'hui aux Antilles françaises en général et à la Martinique en particulier, dans le domaine de la souffrance sociale, psychique et culturelle, en quoi cette étude marque-t-elle un tournant? Rappelons que tout laisse penser que ce livre a été rédigé dans le but de contrecarrer ce que son auteur appelle les « théories de l'aliénation » qu'il dénonce, parfois avec une certaine dilection pour la polémique, et auxquelles il reproche une complaisance pour les seuls aspects négatifs de l'histoire. Certes, l'histoire et la mémoire des souffrances ont laissé des traces indélébiles, dues à une forme particulièrement perverse de la domination. Certes, le colonialisme a engendré une exclusion des lieux de pouvoir et une intériorisation de l'ennemi dans le moi du Martiniquais. Certes, la désappropriation des principaux leviers politiques, économiques et sociaux est patente, en dépit de progrès incontestables lors de ces dernières années, surtout dans le domaine culturel.

Cependant, que propose Raymond Massé pour renouveler l'approche de cette société ? Il commence par reconnaître les sentiments qui habitent les individus et qui ne sont en fait que la traduction de situations objectives : la dépossession de soi, la dépendance, la vulnérabilité, l'impuissance, les préjugés de couleur, la rancœur, le désir inassouvi de reconnaissance, les pulsions vindicatoires ... Puis il propose ce qu'il appelle le « concept créole de société krazé » qu'il emprunte à Auguste Armet, lequel concept se contente de répéter, une dizaine d'années plus tard, ce que les tenants des théories dites de l' « aliénation » (et qu'il aurait été préférable d'appeler « autodomination ») avaient les premiers observé et relevé. Car qu'est-ce qu'une société « krazé », sinon une société qui subit le poids de son histoire, à travers la vivacité des traces mémorielles qu'elle a déposées, telles des bombes à retardement (la racisation des rapports sociaux, la morbidité générale, le sentiment d'impuissance, la fatigue, la compassion, cf. p. 62) ? La société martiniquaise serait bien « pathogène », pour reprendre l'expression nosologique d'Armet et que Massé semble endosser, n'était le fait que les tenants des théories de l' « aliénation » n'ont jamais parlé de pathologie. Au contraire, pour eux, il s'agissait seulement de mettre l'accent sur le caractère non pathologique de la maladie, à savoir son aspect symbolique et son efficience culturelle qui permettent de s'intégrer dans une collectivité et de commencer à tracer des perspectives, sinon de sortie de crise, en tout cas d'adaptation à des situations exceptionnelles. La maladie ne relève pas de la pathologie précisément parce qu'elle fait l'objet d'un retournement de la part de ceux qui la subissent et qui vont s'employer à l'utiliser comme une arme pour traduire et pour interpréter la complexité d'une réalité qui, faute de quoi, leur échapperait complètement. Raymond Massé le reconnaît (pp. 105, 107, 108) : le passé colonial ne passe décidément pas, en dépit des efforts méritoires des élites martiniquaises et de l'Etat français.

C'est cette réflexion, sur les « chaînons manquants » et les étapes intermédiaires entre les lourdes déterminations de l'histoire et les symptômes contemporains de la détresse, qui laisse peut-être à désirer, en dépit des promesses de l'auteur.

Notes

1 Gwopwèl : peine de cœur, tristesse.
2 Ababa : idiot du village, benêt.
3 Moun ka dessan : « les gens qui descendent », expression qu'on peut entendre soit comme faisant allusion aux personnes qui commencent une descente aux enfers psychique, soit comme des esprits qui descendent d'en haut pour venir s'abattre sur les humains.
4 Quimbois : pratique de magie noire.
5 Dévenn : déveine, sentiment d'un acharnement sur soi de puissances occultes.

Note to Contributors / Note à l'intention des auteurs

Anthropologica is a peer-reviewed journal and publishes original manuscripts in all areas of research in cultural and social anthropology. Articles already published or which are about to be published elsewhere will not normally be considered.

MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION
Manuscripts may be submitted electronically by email attachment in MSWORD or WORD PERFECT. Please take care to follow the style guidelines.

STYLE GUIDELINES
Format
Double-spacing is required for all text including notes, bibliography, quotations, and headings. The manuscript should not normally exceed 9000 words or 35 double-spaced pages on 21 x 27 cm (8 1/2 x 11") paper in 12-point font. The name of the author must appear only on the title page.
Title Page
Please indicate title, author, institutional affiliation, mailing address and e-mail address.
Abstract and Keywords
Manuscripts must be accompanied by an abstract not exceeding 100 words. Abstracts and the title of the manuscript should be included on a separate page. A list of 6 keywords in square brackets must follow the abstract. Manuscripts accepted for publication should provide an abstract in both English and French. If this is not possible, the editorial office will provide the translation.

Notes
All notes must follow the text as endnotes and must be double-spaced in 12- point font. Please restrict notes to material that is relevant to the text. Endnotes should begin on a new page and be listed consecutively throughout the article using superscript numerals.
Citations
Intra-textual references should appear in the form (Godelier 1973:116-119). Note that there is no comma following the author and no space following the colon. If the author's name already appears in the text, it is sufficient to indicate the year and page. To distinguish between multiple entries by the same author published in the same year, use letters (1973a, 1973b). When several entries by multiple authors are cited, they should appears as follows: (Godelier 1973a, 1973b; Poulantzas 1978).

References
The bibliography should be double-spaced and appear after the notes on a separate page. Authors should use the style of referencing which follows:

Articles in journals:
Augé, Marc
1986 L'anthropologie et la maladie. L'Homme 26(1-2):15.
Books:
Smith, Gavin
1999 Confronting the Present: Towards a Politically Engaged Anthropology. Oxford: Berg.
Saillant, Francine, and Manon Boulianne, eds.
2003 Transformations sociales, genre et santé: Perspectives critiques et comparatives. Paris et Québec: L'Harmattan et les Presses Universitaires de l'Université de Laval.
Chapters in Books:
Muratorio, Blanca M.
1995 Amazonian Windows to the Past: Recovering Women's Histories from the Ecuadorian Upper Amazon. *In* Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf. J. Schneider and R. Rapp, eds. Pp. 322-335. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Graphics
Maps, figures and tables must be captioned and presented in camera-ready form on separate pages with their position in the text indicated. Size should not exceed 16 x 12.5 cm (5 x 8"). Electronic images may also be submitted in high resolution digital format (at least 300 dpi). Images on disk or CD-Rom should be supplied as TIF or JPEG files scanned in high resolution. Please label each file following this example: jsmith_01.tif or jane-d_fig3.jpg.

REVIEWERS
Research articles published in *Anthroplogica* have undergone double-blind peer review. Authors are asked to provide a list of suggested reviewers (with institutional and email addresses). The provision of this list does not determine the selection of reviewers.

Anthropologica publie des manuscrits originaux sur tous les sujets qui touchent à l'Anthropologie. Les manuscrits déjà publiés ou devant l'être ailleurs ne peuvent normalement être acceptés.

SOUMISSION DES MANUSCRITS
Les manuscrits doivent être soumis sur support électronique et transmis en annexe de courriel en MSWORD ou WORD PERFECT. Veillez vous assurer de suivre les normes éditoriales de la revue.

PRÉSENTATION DES MANUSCRITS
Les manuscrits doivent être dactylographiés à interligne double y compris les notes, la bibliographie, les citations, les titres et sous-titres. Ils ne devraient pas dépasser 9000 mots ou 35 pages à interligne double sur papier 21 x 27 cm (8 1/2 x 11") au recto seulement, en utilisant une police de 12 points. Le nom de la personne qui soumet le manuscrit ne doit être indiqué que sur la page titre.
Page titre
Veuillez indiquer le titre, l'auteur ou l'auteure, l'institution, l'adresse postale et l'adresse électronique.
Résumé et mots-clés
Chaque manuscrit doit être accompagné d'un résumé n'excédant pas 100 mots. Le titre et le résumé du manuscrit devraient être placés sur une page à part. Une liste de 6 mots-clés devrait être placée entre parenthèses carrées à la fin du résumé. Les manuscrits acceptés pour publication doivent être accompagnés de résumés en français et en anglais. La rédaction peut se charger des traductions de résumés si la personne qui soumet le manuscrit ne le peut pas.
Notes
Les notes doivent être placées à la fin du texte, à interligne double et en caractères de 12 points. Veuillez limiter les notes à des sujets directement reliés au texte. Les notes doivent commencer sur une nouvelle page et correspondre à des appels consécutifs dans le texte indiqués par des chiffres en exposant.
Citations
La source des citations incorporées au texte doit être citée à l'aide de la méthode auteur-date (Godelier 1973:116-119). Veuillez noter que le nom de l'auteur n'est pas suivi d'une virgule et qu'aucun espace ne sépare les deux points des numéros de page. Si le nom de l'auteur apparaît déjà dans le texte, il est suffisant de n'indiquer que l'année de publication et les numéros de page. Les numéros de page doivent être mentionnés dans le cas des citations textuelles. Il n'est pas nécessaire de le faire lorsqu'une idée ou un argument général est rapporté. On distingue les renvois multiples à un même auteur pour une même année en ajoutant une lettre minuscule au bout de l'année (1973a, 1973b) Lorsque plusieurs ouvrages ayant des auteurs différents sont cités, la référence devrait apparaître comme suit : (Godelier 1973a, 1973b; Poulantzas 1978)
Références bibliographiques
La bibliographie doit être dactylographiée à double interligne et être insérée après les notes sur une page séparée. On demande aux auteurs de suivre les règles de rédaction suivantes pour la présentation de la bibliographie :
Articles de revues :
Augé, Marc
1986 Anthropologie et la maladie. L'Homme 26(1-2):15.
Ouvrages :
Smith, Gavin
1999 Confronting the Present: Towards a Politically Engaged Anthropology. Oxford : Berg.
Saillant, Francine, et Manon Boulianne, dirs.
2003 Transformations sociales, genre et santé: perspectives critiques et comparatives. Paris et Québec: L'Harmattan et les Presses Universitaires de l'Université de Laval.
Chapitre d'un livre :
Muratorio, Blanca M.
1995 Amazonian Windows to the Past: Recovering Women's Histories from the Ecuadorian Upper Amazon. *Dans* Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf. J. Schneider et R. Rapp, dirs. Pp. 322-335. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Graphiques
Les cartes, figures et tableaux doivent être présentés prêts pour l'impression et ne pas dépasser 16 x 12,5 cm (5 x 8"). Ils sont placés sur des feuilles à part et leur place est indiquée dans le texte. Les images électroniques doivent aussi être fournies en format digital en haute résolution (au moins 300 dpi). Les images sur disque ou CD-Rom devraient être acheminées dans des fichiers TIF ou JPEG numérisés en haute résolution. Veuillez identifier chaque fichier selon le protocole suivant : jsmith_01.tif ou jane-d_fig3.jpg.

ÉVALUATION
Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux personnes choisies en fonction du sujet du texte. On demande aux personnes qui soumettent un manuscrit de fournir une liste de personnes aptes à évaluer leur texte (en indiquant leur affiliation institutionnelle et leur adresse électronique). Le choix de ces personnes, n'est cependant pas limité à cette liste.

Canadian Anthropology Society

Subscriptions

Anthropologica is published twice a year.

2010 Subscription and Membership Rates

Individuals	
In Canada	$80
Outside Canada	U.S. $80
Students	$30
Students outside Canada	U.S. $30
Family	$125
Retired	$30
Unwaged	$30
Sustaining	$100
Institutions	
In Canada	$90
OECD Countries	U.S. $90
Non-OECD Countries	U.S. $45

Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to:

WLU Press
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, ON N2L 3C5

Cheques in payment of subscriptions should be made out to **Wilfrid Laurier University Press**

Société canadienne d'anthropologie

Abonnements

Anthropologica est publiée deux fois par année.

Les tarifs d'abonnement et d'adhésion 2010

Individus	
Au Canada	80 $
En dehors du Canada	U.S. 80 $
Étudiants	30 $
Étudiants en dehors du Canada	U.S. 30 $
Famille	$125
Retraité	$30
Sans-emploi	$30
Membre de soutien	$100
Institutions	
Au Canada	90 $
Dans pays-membres de l'OCDE	U.S. 90 $
Dans tout autre pays	U.S. 45 $

Les abonnements et changements d'adresse doivent être envoyés à :

WLU Press
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, ON N2L 3C5

Tout chèque pour frais d'abonnement doit être fait à l'ordre de **Wilfrid Laurier University Press**.

Web Addresses / Adresses de Web

Anthropologica: http://www.anthropologica.ca
CASCA: http://casca.anthropologica.ca
WLUP: http://www.wlupress.wlu.ca/press/Journals/anthro/index.html

Back Issues / Anciens Numéros

In-print back issues of *Anthropologica* and *Culture* can be obtained at the above address.
Certains anciens numéros de *Anthropologica* sont encore disponibles à l'adresse ci-haut.
Out-of-print back issues can be obtained from: / Les numéros épuisés sont disponibles chez :
Swets Backsets Service, P.O. Box 810, 2160 SZ, Lisse, The Netherlands

Legal Deposit / Dépôt Légal

National Library of Canada / Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Indexing / Répertoires

Indexed and/or abstracted in: / Répertoriée dans :

Abstracts in Anthropology
America: History and Life (ABC-Clio Press)
Anthropological Index Online
Anthropological Literature: An Index to Periodical Articles and Essays
Bibliographie internationale d'anthropologie sociale et culturelle / International Bibiliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology
Biological Abstracts
Bulletin signalétique 521 Sociologie / Ethnologie
Canadian Periodical Index / Index des périodiques canadiens\fP
Culture, Langues, Textes : la Revue de Sommaires
International Bibliography of Periodical Literature
ISI Web of Knowledge Current Web Contents
Psychological Abstracts
Science Culture
Sociological Abstracts
ZellerDietrich Bibliographische Verlage

Anthropologica Vol. 52 N° 1, 2010

0003-5459(2010)52:1;1-E