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MISSION

PlatForum is a peer-reviewed journal published by the graduate students in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria. Committed to upholding a tradition of holistic anthropology, *PlatForum* welcomes a diverse range of topics and issues from all four of anthropology's sub-disciplines: archaeology, social-cultural, biological-physical, and linguistic anthropology.

Recognizing the benefits of both interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary contributions made by students outside the field of anthropology, we continue to extend our call to all students including upper-level undergraduate students, and those from colleges and universities across Canada.

INTRODUCTION

The 2009-2010 ***PlatForum*** *editorial team is pleased to release the 11th volume of* ***PlatForum*** *(formerly* ***Cultural Reflections****). Given that the main objective of* ***PlatForum*** *has always been to create a medium for discussion accessible to all Canadian anthropology students, we are very proud of this latest edition; it brings together papers written by students from Universities across the country, from Newfoundland to British Columbia. By comparing papers from individuals of such diverse personal and academic backgrounds, one is amazed at all the connections that can be made among topics and ideas, supporting the foundations of the discipline that holds at its central core the holism of a sub-disciplinary approach. Perhaps more interesting is the number of articles that coincidentally investigate issues related to the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in and outside the country. Each article explores these relationships from different points of interest, for instance, tourism (****Katie Bresner****), health (****Valine Crist, Mark S. Dolson****), environment (****Lara Engst****), and even past animistic relationships (****Ian Sellers****). When read together, they present an interesting pattern evincing the popularity of these relationships and the issues they present in today's world. They also cause one to contemplate the role of anthropologists in such conflicts, and following that, to question the ethics of the discipline.*

*This issue also presents two papers centered on the politics and ethics of contemporary society. The first (****Amanda Peters****) brings us to the heart of ethics and conscience in the realm of organ trafficking and trade. The second looks at how poverty has been studied in the past and attempts to find the answers to the world poverty crisis by investigating the numerous and problematic solutions given in the past (****Jessika Tremblay****). Two reviews of books related to the discipline (****Rachel Haase*** *and* ***Consuelo Griggio****) complete the list of articles included in this issue.*

By the breadth of the topics approached by the authors, and through the editing process of the journal itself, the final product of this ***PlatForum*** *issue is a part of the graduate students' contribution to the production and dissemination of Anthropological knowledge. Being a peer-review journal,* ***PlatForum*** *encour-*

ages from start-to-finish a sharing of knowledge not only between the authors and the editors, but also between the authors themselves in order to deliver articles that best reflect the discipline and its relevant, contemporary issues. The result of those discussions is this single volume, which is also available for the first time online at our new website:

http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/ platforum

The electronic format of ***PlatForum*** *presents a new arena that better facilitates the actions of this journal's namesake: the combination of a braiding together of perspectives and a public meeting place that encourages exchange, discussion and debate. We hope that you, the reader, will also take on an active role in these exchanges!*

Enjoy reading this brand new and thought-provoking volume of ***PlatForum****, the longest running Anthropology Graduate student journal in Canada!*

Sincerely,

Claudine Gravel Miguel & The Editorial Team
Editor-in-Chief

CONTRIBUTORS

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GENERAL ARTICLES

KATIE BRESNER

OTHERING, POWER RELATIONS, AND INDIGENOUS TOURISM: EXPERIENCES IN AUSTRALIA'S NORTHERN TERRITORY

ABSTRACT

Indigenous tourism is characterized by the involvement of Indigenous peoples in tourism activities, either through ownership or the centrality of their cultures in a tourist attraction or destination. While Indigenous-themed and Indigenous-operated destinations exist around the world and vary wildly in their construction, none are immune to the ideologies and discourses that govern the tourism industry. The tourists that visit these destinations, too, are influenced by the narratives and texts that mediate their experiences as consumers. In this essay I use the influence of institutional ethnography to discuss personal experiences travelling in Australia's Northern Territory, placing this discussion within the broader context of indigenous tourism. Beginning with a brief summary of the anthropological theories of tourism, I move on to describe actual experiences in Kakadu National Park, Alice Springs, and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. I demonstrate how texts and institutionalized discourse organize the tourist experience through the application of Edward Said's concept of "Othering" developed in his work, Orientalism *(1979).*

INTRODUCTION

"Tourism is another form of colonization" (Bender 2001:14). Tourists can be considered leisured travellers visiting places that are different from their everyday experience. As one of the largest industries in the world, the mass diffusion of people across borders and their fleeting interactions with other people and landscapes affect everyone across the globe. While some may consider "tourism as colonization" a statement too political to describe an activity with (usually) harmless intentions, it is true that travel and tourism, in practice and in theory, are bound up in an institutionalized web of power relationships. In this sense it is inherently political.

This is clear in the case of indigenous tourism, in which people who are marginalized and culturally separate from the wider population are the main attraction. In this situation it is not difficult to extrapolate uncomfortable collective memories of colonial practices and discourse, especially in the Western world. In this essay I use the influence of institutional ethnography to discuss personal experiences travelling in Australia's Northern Territory, and I place this discussion within the broader context of indigenous tourism. Beginning with a brief summary of tourism as an industry, I move on to describe actual experien-

ces in Kakadu National Park, Alice Springs, and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. I demonstrate how texts and institutionalized discourse organize the tourist experience through the application of Edward Said's concept of "Othering" developed in his work, *Orientalism* (1979).

TOURISM

Tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world. Historically, tourism has been linked to the earliest instances of colonial exploration. As noted by Bruner, "colonialism, ethnography, and tourism occur at different historical periods, but arise from the same social formation" (Sylvain 2005:356). It is little surprise, then, that the discourses and assumptions that informed colonial and anthropological enterprises continue to inform contemporary ideologies of tourism, as illustrated by tourism's tendency towards "Othering" and the centrality of visual experience.

Taken from Edward Said's notion of Orientalism (1979), Othering can be defined as the process of creating and maintaining a dichotomy between ones-self, as marked by a particular (Western) identity, and the Other(s). Said writes,

> For Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them"). This vision in a sense created and then served the two worlds thus conceived. Orientals lived in theirworld, "we" lived in ours. The vision and material reality propped each other up, kept each other going (1979:43-44).

Such a dichotomy between "us" and "them" made up much of the theoretical foundations from which early anthropological study was based (for instance the categorization of the "primitive" versus the "civilized"), informed colonialist policy, and was naturalized in Social Darwinian theory during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The discipline of anthropology worked to normalize such perceptions and understandings of the world's people. As many have argued, anthropology and the visual representations of people, through drawing and later through photography, developed simultaneously and effectively informed each other in practice and theory (Maxwell 1999; Pinney 1992; Steiner 1987; Strain 2003).

The tourist, too, played an instrumental role in the development of anthropology and visual media, and all worked from within the same epistemology. For example, Strain summarizes:

> [The] simultaneous processes of maturation [of cinema, tourism, and anthropology] were accompanied by various intersections among the cultural practices: tourists provided information for early armchair anthropologists; anthropologists used film as a data-collection tool; popular films were financed by tourist bureaus and tourist footage was integrated into popular films; anthropological texts charted out new tourist areas; and anthropologists and tourists were protagonists in popular films (2003:19).

Inherent in these practices were the documentation of disappearing "prim-

itive" people and their exoticization and commodification through media such as photography, film, and exhibition. Built-in to modern-day tourism is the search for the exotic, the unfamiliar, the authentic "Other" (MacCannell 1976), that comes from these traditions that have shaped tourism discourse.

Today, where tourism is commonplace, destinations compete to highlight their distinctive qualities while vying for tourist dollars. This has included the diversification of niche markets that specialize in particular types of tourist experiences and are made to appeal to particular traveller tastes. One such niche market is indigenous tourism, defined by Butler and Hinch as "tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction" (2007:5). *Indigenous* was first a political and legal term that came into its contemporary use after the 1982 United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Niezen 2003). The label of "indigenous" has provided disenfranchised groups around the world with access to international recognition, resources, the discourse of human rights, and for many, empowerment. Indigenous participation in tourism is too, part of a constellation of issues including rights and recognition, economic development, cultural conservation and political mobilization. Many national governments as well as international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund promote participation in tourism as a means of sustainable and economic development, and an avenue towards debt reduction (Sylvain 2005:364).

Indigenous tourism is often cited as a possible solution to many of the problems faced by indigenous people, providing a means of economic development and self-sufficiency in addition to a revival in positive cultural identity, community cohesion, and the conservation of cultural traditions, artifacts, and in some cases traditional land (Butler and Hinch 2007:3; Parsons 2002:25; Smith 2003:117). Tourism can also have a negative impact on indigenous populations; for example Smith notes that,

> The inevitable consequence of increased tourism is often the gradual erosion of the social fabric, acculturation, and irreversible destruction of natural habitats. This form of tourism can easily become a kind of cultural voyeurism in which the local indigenous population is reduced to little more than a human zoo (2003:117).

There are many issues within indigenous tourism and these are relative to each situation. Alongside the potential exploitation of indigenous groups are issues of control over land, resources, and representation (Notzke 2006:6). These are issues of power.

AUSTRALIAN TOURISM

Tourism is an industry guided by consumer capitalism and Western institutions and market logic. This means that those involved in indigenous tourism must market themselves according to these structures,

and shape their services in accordance with tourist demand. Countries all over the world often utilize indigenous imagery in tourist marketing campaigns (Notzke 2006:9). However, international campaigns and advertisements tend to reproduce stereotypical images of indigenous peoples (Sylvain 2005) and can have the effect of homogenizing heterogeneous cultural groups under one representative identity (Beck and Somerville 2002:9; Parsons 2002:25). Though there are motions towards change (for example see Beck and Somerville 2002), this is generally the situation in Australian Tourism. This is reinforced by stereotypical images of Australia, Aborigines, and more often Aboriginal arts and crafts such as the didgeridoo, dot painting, and rock art. These are found not only in tourism-related media, but have become historically and socially engrained through years of use in shaping Australia's unique national identity.

Indigenous tourism in Australia, or Aboriginal tourism as it is referred to by the Australian Department of Tourism, is defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as tourism that includes "insights about the cultural knowledge, lifestyle and beliefs of Australia's Indigenous people" (ABS 2004:589). The Australian Tourism Commission also notes that an Aboriginal tourism enterprise is one that is owned and/ or operated by Aboriginal people or in partnership with non-Aboriginal people (ABS 2004:589). This means that Aboriginal participation in Australian tourism does not necessarily equate to business ownership and majority control. For instance, only 15.6% of Aboriginal tour operations in New South Wales in 2001 were Aboriginal-owned (ABS 2004:589).

In Australia's Northern Territory the primary and arguably *only* attractions (apart from wildlife) are those that are intimately tied to Aboriginal heritage, and so, by definition, are Aboriginal tourism sites. These include some of Australia's most iconic locations, such as Kakadu National Park, Watarrka National Park (King's Canyon), Nitmiluk National Park (Katherine Gorge), Uluru (Ayers Rock) and Kata Tjuta (The Olgas). In these locations, as well as elsewhere in Australia, the indigenous link to these areas is defined in terms of the Aboriginal relationship with the land – the concept that the two are mutually inclusive is repeated in tourism advertisements, guide books, pamphlets and brochures, and is reiterated in situ. The presentation of Aboriginal Australia in tourism, from trip planning to actual location, is exoticized, sometimes in the physical appearance and performance of Aborigines (for example in Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in Cairns, Riverlife Mirrabooka in Brisbane, or Tiwi Tours on Bathurst Island off of the coast of Darwin) and sometimes through the reiteration of difference in cultural and environmental perspective and experience.

INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Tourism as an industry is in many respects an interface upon which many

different institutions are coordinated. For example, the popular media, government laws and regulations, transportation and infrastructure are coordinated with destination businesses, accommodation, travel agents and guides, public works and basic services. While one could examine the intricacies of just one of these institutions, the experience of the individual tourist takes them through the processes and movements of a plethora of coordinated organizations. Taking inspiration from institutional ethnography, it is possible to situate the tourist's experience as one that is coordinated by institutional discourse and their related texts, from start to finish. The web of interrelations between social, political, and economic structures and issues becomes visible by re-visioning experience through such a methodology.

Taken from sociology, "Institutional ethnography is an analytic approach that begins where we are – as actual people with bodies located in time and space. It offers a theorized approach to reflecting critically on what one knows from that embodied place in the world" (Campbell and Gregor 2008:9). The actual experiences of individuals working within institutional structures are the foundations from which to explore ruling relations from the bottom-up by investigating the social organization of knowledge and the mediation of texts. The definition of texts in institutional ethnography is broader and more active than conventional definitions.

> [Texts] refer to words, images, or sounds that are set into a material form of some kind from which they can be read, seen, heard, watched, and so on… Their material forms are such that anyone else anywhere else can read, see, hear, and so on the same words, images, or sounds as any other person engaged with the same text (Smith 2006:66).

The purpose of texts, then, is to create a standardized engagement between a text (which can be anything from a book, a form, a brochure to a speech, an announcement, a video, a photograph, and so forth) and the individuals who "activate" it. Activation, in this sense, denotes an active engagement with text – the text itself designed for specific types of activation. For example, one does not read a novel the same way one reads a dictionary; one does not look at a wedding photograph in the same way one looks at mug shot (McCoy 1995:184). Activation – viewing, reading, listening, watching – is firmly implanted in institutionalized discourses that naturalize how one engages with different text (McCoy 1995:184). Thus, ruling relations coordinate the activities of individuals on a large scale, indifferent to changes in location or relations between individuals, and are reliant upon texts and collective ways of thinking, embedded in discourses of knowledge production (DeVault and McCoy 2006:17).

In recounting my experiences and those of my friends while travelling on a group tour in Australia's Northern Territory, the ruling relations embedded in the organization of our trip, mediated by texts from start to finish, becomes apparent when app-

roached from the perspective of institutional ethnography. Even before reaching the starting point of our guided tour, Darwin, texts played a primary role in both the decision to travel to Australia and in getting there. Williams writes, "We spend time in advance of a tourism trip attempting to visualize the experience by examining guidebooks and brochures, or in anticipatory day dreams" (Beck and Somerville 2002:4). I had decided to travel to Australia based on a long-held fascination with this country, solely founded in indirect expectations of what could be experienced there informed by text – from articles, television programs, popular media, knowledge gained through my education, and so forth. In planning my actual trip, I wanted to see as much of Australia as I could in a month's time and did not want to have to worry about making travel and accommodation arrangements while there. So, I decided to travel with an international tour company on a twenty-four day excursion that would take me from Northern Territory to Queensland and finally Sydney, New South Wales. The travel company can be considered part of an institution itself, all of its services coordinated through agreements with other transport, accommodation, and tourism services. These are in turn connected to food services and energy and resource providers, all of which are run according to national operational guidelines and federal and local government policy. The web of connections is certainly much more complex in reality than outlined here.

This trip was coordinated and organized according to one main text that guided our articulation with the sites that we visited – the itinerary. The itinerary outlined a set of particular travel experiences, was predetermined and fixed, was the basis for the trip well before its actual execution and shaped our movements in situ. The itinerary can be considered "a form of control which channels tourist experiences into pre-determined forms. The spaces of tourism are constructed, more or less consciously, to fulfil – or attempt to fulfil – such expectations" (Meethan 2006:5). It is a text that creates travel expectations, is guaranteed upon payment, and is embedded in the discourses of capitalism and tourism. These predefine places worthy of visit and the appropriate cost of experiencing them. Within the itinerary and travel texts are, similar to what Meethan notes, "dominant metaphors, discourses and gazes, [and] the narratives of place created and sold by tourism professionals" which are the scaffolding from which the tourist confirms or modifies their experiences – the tourists "'work at' creating their own personal narratives of place" while travelling (2006:9). However, to turn the itinerary to actual embodied, physical experience would necessitate the activation of a number of other texts involved in travel. For instance, my passport, my authorized textual identity, is a document that, as McCoy (1995:185) describes, controls my movement and allocates entitlement, and is part of a wider range of processes of authenticity and national and international surveillance. Boarding passes, baggage

tags, and a tourist visa reiterated my identity and proved payment, granting me permission to travel. My experience throughout the airport and the process of arriving at my departure gate was guided by discourse on proper airport behaviour and the rules and regulations set in place by airport security at one level, and national security and protection at another.

TOURISM AND ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA

Before arrival we were all aware of the Aboriginal presence in Australia, and we all had preconceived notions of what experiences with Aboriginal Australians might entail. These notions were informed by advertising and other forms of popular media. For instance, one travel companion stated that,

> It was kind of surprising for me to realize that they still exist! I've always thought of them as some historical fact that's long gone and only appears in books. Aboriginal people are totally different and they're not like anyone else I know. It would be politically incorrect to call them creatures, but actually, my [idea of them] was like some sort of fantastic creature that you don't actually get to be in contact with – that you can only read about or see in movies. When I actually saw them I realized that not only [did] they exist, but they actually conduct a totally regular life alongside [other people]. It was really a wake-up call.

Such an honest admission demonstrates how engrained concepts of "Othering" are in everyday ways of knowing and conceptualizing the world. Ghosts of the "primitive", the "savage," the ahistorical people of mankind's past are rekindled, "us" and "them" have not left popular thought. Even for white Australians there are stereotypical conceptualizations of Aborigines. For instance, Poroch writes "Governments, concerned experts, and the media discover these deviants [indigenous Australians] and label them as social problems" (2006:4). Furthermore, "There has always been a tendency for mainstream Australia to consider that Indigenous Australians get more than they deserve from the government, and that all races should be treated the same" (Poroch 2006:7). She continues, "The media set and define the standards by which the public evaluates government and attributes responsibility for societal problems" (Poroch 2006:8). Media plays a large role in creating and perpetuating stereotypes, and this is commonly translated into individual opinion. When asked her opinion of Aborigines before travelling to Northern Territory, my Australian travel partner, Christina, promptly responded "Dole-bludgers!" – people who are unemployed and live off of government welfare. She also mentioned the problems with alcohol, drug, and child abuse as common issues within Aboriginal communities that are often reported in newspapers. Without a doubt, these help shape a negative public opinion of Aboriginal populations in Australia (for example, recent Northern Territory interventions: Narushima, Sydney Morning Herald 2009; Reconciliation 2008).My own preconceptions about Australian Aborigines were primarily focused on artwork and a

very minimal introduction to Tiwi traditional social structure, coming out of a background in introductory social anthropology. However, upon arrival I was surprised at how central Aboriginal Tourism was to tourism in the Northern Territory.

As one can see, from working within the confines of the travel and tourism industry out into popular realms of knowledge production, ideas-in-the-mind and actions-on-the-ground are organized by popular discourse through a vast media of texts: passports, plane tickets, itineraries, travel books and brochures, newspapers, laws, government policy, photographs, artwork, school books, television programs, and etc. In the following sections I will describe text and discourse through actual experience and how this relates back to larger social and political issues in indigenous Australia.

Kakadu National Park

Kakadu National Park, like many of the other parks in Northern Territory such as Uluru-Kata Tjuta, is under co-management between Aboriginal traditional owners and the Australian Government. The "Aboriginal traditional owner" is defined in Section 3[1] of the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) of 1976 as "a local descent group of Aboriginals who have common spiritual affiliations to a site on the land, being affiliations that place the group under a primary spiritual responsibility for that site and for the land, and who are entitled by Aboriginal tradition to forage over that land" (Rose 1996:40). Those who are found to be traditional owners are able to make land claims; by the mid-nineties 36% of Northern Territory and 85% of its coastlines had been successfully turned over to Aboriginal Freehold Title (Rose 1996:36). This means that the land is legally recognized as belonging to the traditional owners of the land claimed, however this land is then leased back to the Australian Government (Rose 1996:37) to be managed as a National Park. Traditional owners are deemed as such by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, and so it is up to the Aboriginal people to demonstrate their authenticity through genetic links as well as traditional knowledge about spiritual and sacred qualities of sites on the land (Holcombe 2004; Rose 1996:40-41). However, in practice such guidelines may not be so rigidly adhered to, especially considering the vast displacement of Aboriginal people as a result of the Stolen Generation (Rose 1996:41). Additionally, the Act and its conditions also mean that there is an unequal distribution of land amongst Aboriginal groups in the Northern territory. For instance, Gagudju and Anangu peoples in Kakadu and Uluru respectively are granted a degree of control over economically and environmentally rich areas, while other Aboriginal groups are still left disadvantaged (Rose 1996:38).

The first and second days of our trip were spent at Kakadu National Park. Upon arrival we received a park ticket and a Visitor's Guide (2008) that included maps of the park as well as information on park habitats, safety,

activities, park laws and the Aboriginal traditional owners. The Visitor's Guide may play a huge role in coordinating and controlling a visitor's experience in the park, however, in my experience the authority of the Visitor's Guide was delegated to a tour guide, so it served little purpose beyond that of a souvenir. At the entrance of the park was a billboard introducing us to the traditional owners of the park; their faces hung like class pictures next to park information that I did not bother to read. Some had their faces covered up – this was part of Aboriginal mourning practices, we were told. After an individual dies, it is forbidden to speak their name: this practice had been adapted to the confines of photographic reproduction by covering the individual's image. However, we were also informed that traditionally Aboriginal people consider photography taboo, especially images of people.

My group carried on to watch the sunset at Ubirr, a rocky outcrop that overlooks a floodplain with Arnhem Land to the East. The rock was packed with visitors all anticipating a beautiful sunset. Ubirr is well known in popular culture as we were told on a number of occasions that this site was featured in *Crocodile Dundee* (1986). The next day we explored some of the most popular sites in Kakadu, including Nourlangie Rock, which is notable for its rock art and significance to Aboriginal culture, and spent the afternoon on a wildlife cruise. The walking trails around the rock art galleries are directed by guides and wooden pathways, and are restricted from immediate access by boardwalk partitions. The art that is more significant or considerably odd to the visitor's eye is explained via informational placards.

The traditional heritage of the Aboriginal people in this area is consistently relayed to visitors, and in the absence of the physical individuals (in my experience), their presence was constant through the organization of texts throughout the park that both informed and directed our movements. Beginning with the guidebook that welcomes you to Aboriginal Lands, the images of the traditional owners, to the rock art sites and the Aboriginal myths that were told to us when we stopped at significant sites, texts – a guidebook, photographs, artworks, stories, and the landscape itself - organized our entire experience in the park. The Aboriginal presence was paramount through texts in the absence of their physicality. The sites we visited and experiences we had were those promised to us in the itinerary.

Alice Springs

Four days after our visit in Kakadu, I joined a handful of individuals from my tour group to go on the Aboriginal Dreamtime and Bushtucker Tour just outside of Alice Springs. We had been told that this was an opportunity to learn about Aboriginal culture, sample traditional bush foods such as the witchity grub and kangaroo tail, learn to throw a boomerang and purchase authentic arts and crafts.

I was surprised to discover that our tour guide was a white Australian –

I expected the tour to be run entirely by Aboriginal people. I was not the only person surprised, as I recall one of the girls asking the guide why he was lecturing on Aboriginal culture instead of an actual Aborigine. He told us it was because too much would be lost in translation – we would not be able to understand an Aboriginal guide. Regardless, this experience was probably the most informative on Aboriginal culture, despite the plethora of sacred Aboriginal sites we visited on the trip. Christina described the tour:

> We went out, basically into the middle of the bush, a completely desolate area and go to this contrived little hut, and aborigine people don't even have huts, and we sat in that. This man who had been living and working with the aborigines for years and years and years and knew them really well started telling us about the culture and their native ways and how they lived before Europeans and how they continue to live in the presence of Europeans, and we got to experience a few of the native things like the native food and stuff […] It was very interesting. I learned a lot about aborigines that I never knew before and probably ought to have. And I learned a lot about bush tucker which was cool, because you learn that there's a lot out there, despite being desolate and empty in the centre of Australia, you can do a lot with what's there, which is something quite remarkable. Even how cold it is in the desert at night, in the negatives, and still [Aboriginal people] managed to sleep outside for thousands of years in the middle of the desert. It's just such ingenuity that I suppose it doesn't occur to you. It's a really harsh landscape and [in Australia] they've got a reputation for being stupid and lazy and having no technology – but the technology and the knowledge is obviously there because they survived for that many thousands of years in those conditions. I suppose that was a real eye-opener because you don't really learn much about the technologies of Aboriginal people.

At the end of the tour we were able to meet with some Aboriginal women who were producing arts and crafts for sale. They had been driven in to this location from elsewhere by the guide, he told us, and described how they maintained a traditional lifestyle – one example the guide used was their insistence on sleeping outside. The women spoke to each other, but had very little interaction with us outside of financial transactions. I personally felt uneasy, uncomfortable – here were these people who had just been described as unfathomable to someone like me, and what felt like at best shyness and at worst resentment from the women made me feel like a trespasser. I felt guilt for participating in what felt like an unequal relationship of power that seemed physically exaggerated as the women sat on the ground painting while white tourists walked around them surveying their work. I was worried I was participating in their exploitation. Or was this a mutual exchange? A positive experience for both these women and myself? I purchased a painting from a woman named Noreen, she wrote on the back "Kangaroo Dreaming – This is about how the man hunt for kangaroo." I asked her permission to take her picture so that I would not forget her or this experience, she conceded; but it still felt wrong knowing the photography taboo I had been told of earlier. Others reported the same sense of unease:

> I was sort of… well not surprised, but just a bit… not confused, not put off,

> but that sort of area of emotion. They were so… you know. They don't talk to you that much. They were so shy. It was surprising because I'm just not used to that […] I was surprised how shy they were actually […] It was really strange with the women. For me, I've never been that up close to aborigines that are living their lifestyle. I've met plenty of people that are aborigine and might like it, might not, and they'll talk about it with pride, but not anything where they're actually living it. It's like stepping back in time.

Although not part of the bush tucker tour, a fellow traveller described his reaction to Australian Aborigines in comparison to her other experiences in indigenous tourism:

> In New Zealand I actually felt like [the Maori] were willing to let you in, you know, to provide you with more information about themselves. But in Australia, [Aborigines] were kind of distant. That's what I felt anyway. They don't [seem to] care about you knowing them and getting to know them [or having] some sort of interaction. I mean it's totally different. Yeah it was weird […] I felt like they were not exactly thrilled about us getting into their world. They're not exactly letting us in. So I felt like any further interaction would be an intrusion. You're feeling like you are not exactly welcome there.

Apart from this experience in Central Australia, we had no other face-to-face interactions with Aboriginal people. "Othering" was uncomfortably blatant in this experience. Between the tour guide telling "us" that we were too different from "them" to learn from them, and the interaction with the women where status was so marked, the line between typical touristic ignorance and "tourism as colonialism" felt like it had been crossed.

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park

Two days later we had carried on from Alice Springs and arrived at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park where a couple of Australia's most famous land marks are located – Uluru (once called Ayer's Rock) and Kata Tjuta (also known as the Olga's). Much like our experience in Kakadu, we were given a park entry ticket and a Visitor Guide (2006). We were briefed in park protocol before entering and told some of the Aboriginal beliefs about the area and, significantly, their wish for us to choose to not climb Uluru (though it is not prohibited). The decision to climb or refrain from climbing Uluru was left up to the individual – a decision that was described as a demonstration of Aboriginal respect for our culture, in that they realize "we" do not have the same beliefs as "them." The decision to refrain from climbing the rock is framed as an act of respect for the spiritual concerns of the traditional owners and the Anangu community as a whole. I chose not to climb Uluru and instead opted to walk around it. The walk around the rock takes approximately two hours and there are different placards along the way offering information about Aboriginal beliefs, as well as signs reminding you to be respectful, demarcating especially sacred spots where photography is prohibited (though this is also not strictly enforced). After learning about Aboriginal beliefs, wishes, and attitudes towards tourists at Uluru, several of my fellow travellers decided not to climb Uluru as well. One said, "You respect things

when you didn't expect to have that reverence. It's like how I didn't climb Ayers Rock – I could have. But then I [thought], 'I don't feel comfortable with it anymore'." Clearly not everyone feels this way since many visitors to Central Austra lia continue to climb Uluru. Though framed in terms of respect, not everyone perceives this decision on such moral grounds. For instance, one woman in my tour group made the decision to climb:

> For me [climbing Uluru] was sort of [a] feministic achievement – when I saw those guys [looking almost] dead along the way and I was still climbing. But it was good, it was really fulfilling […] But it is an important part [of] Aboriginal culture, so I was feeling like I was being a part of something while climbing it, although they're not exactly thrilled about it.

This brings up many questions about ownership, rights, and the land itself. Because the rock is located on traditional Aboriginal territory, does that necessarily lessen the significance of spiritual and personally valuable experiences that non-Aboriginal people have there? For instance, Whittaker reports the perceived sacredness of Uluru to white Australians as well:

> Given this mystical and sacred communion, many white Australians claim that it is a lifetime dream to climb the Rock and that it should be accomplished before one dies. The spiritual quest, even dying for it, is tantamount to being a true Australian (Notzke 2006:168).

Perhaps even comparable to the masses of people that attempt to climb some of the world's most renowned mountains, like Everest, K2, or Kilimanjaro, the meaning these sites hold to a visitor is certainly different from those held by the traditional inhabitants; actions and expressions of reverence are different too. Yet the pure sacredness of a site is not in question. While some may argue that respect and priority should be given to the traditional owners, when the economic benefit of opening up a site to foreign adventure-seekers is large, the issue is complicated. This is made more complex when a co-management structure is in place, like Uluru's, and negotiations between diverse interest groups must take place.

The gift shop at Uluru-Kata Tjuta, Ininti Café & Souvenirs, was similar to those visited at other sites on the trip. Movement was directed by spaces between merchandise, moving from key-chains, magnets, and trinkets to books, CDs and DVDs about Australia, and Aboriginal beliefs and culture. It was a vast world of indigenous Australian culture and knowledge in a variety of forms, condensed and made available for quick purchase. Artwork and clothing was available too, including the rather politically loaded t-shirts with declarations such as "I climbed Ayers Rock" and "I didn't Climb Uluru" – the purchase of either assuming an affiliation, political, social, and spiritual, with one side of a proverbial culture-coin. Tourist knowledge and experiences of Aboriginal Australia are shaped by such various media and by the texts that coordinate our experiences with the "sacred" landscape.

Northern Territory in Summary

The continuous reference to Aborigines as the Other is relayed through the texts that coordinate the tourist's experiences in Northern Territory. This is particularly true in the case of organized tours such as the one I joined because individual travel is so restricted and controlled by the itinerary and collective group experience. As I have demonstrated, this message was executed not by Aborigines themselves, but through indirect means. Studies and surveys have shown that in terms of indigenous tourism, tourists generally expect face-to-face interaction with indigenous peoples (Notzke 2006:93-95); arguably this is confirmed through the success of businesses such as Tiwi Tours and Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park where such interactions are provided. The situation in the Northern Territory, especially in the cases of Kakadu and Uluru Kata-Tjuta, is different in that Aboriginal culture is *not* the primary attraction, but comes as such by default. The landscapes people travel to visit are legally Aboriginal-owned through Land Trusts, but at the same time controlled by Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service. They are important land marks for not only Aboriginal and Australian national identity but as attractions for mass tourism. "Having accepted national park status for their ancestral land, [the Aboriginal owners] were ill prepared for the onslaught of visitors that ensued as a result of World Heritage status of Kakadu and Uluru and the development of extensive infrastructure" (Notzke 2006:137-138). In many different ways these are meeting points between Western and Aboriginal cultures.

It has been reported that Aboriginal Australians, particularly in the Northern Territory and confirmed by my own experiences, are disinclined to engage with the sort of cultural touristic interaction that is so often expected in areas where indigenous tourism is popular (Notzke 2006:15, 33, 139, 145; Parsons 2002:14). The majority of Aboriginal Australians contribute to the tourism industry through indirect tourism and the sale of arts and crafts (Notzke 2006:97; Parsons 2002:14). Indirect participation also has to do with their concern over sharing spiritual information with non-Aboriginal people, though this is not always the case as many groups go to great lengths to share their culture with visitors (Notzke 2006:145). Therefore, due to their legal status and property rights in areas like Kakadu and Uluru-Kata Tjuta, and the intricate connection of Aboriginal people to their land, participation in tourism is a fine balance between Aboriginal interests and those of the Australian Government. Rather than actively engaging with the hordes of tourists that visit these locations every year, Aborigines are presented to foreigners much like another element of the landscape to be read and interpreted in particular ways. The "connection between people and their "country" is unparalleled in its intricacy and near-incomprehensibility to outsiders" (Notzke 2006:145), and this is reiterated time again through the many types of text encountered in the tourist experience - as a relationship and way of life that is entirely Other to visitors.

CONCLUSION

Despite the stereotyped views that many tourists have of Indigenous cultures, peoples, and places (Beck and Somerville 2002:4), the history of colonization, experiences of social and political marginalization, loss of identity and often involuntary physical displacement of people have radically changed Indigenous cultures and ways of life. Some groups have been able to hold on to their cultural traditions even in the wake of what can only be considered the catastrophic and devastating intrusion of power brought on by colonial expansion. This carries on in different forms today. Indigenous tourism, in the cases where control over ownership and representation is in the hands of those whose culture is on display, has been seen as a form of cultural and economic redress. Yet, these cultures do not exist within a vacuum; they have not stayed the same since time immemorial. Often, indigenous tourism reinforces the notion that cultures are bounded, discrete, and impenetrable to change by exposing visitors and patrons to those aspects of culture that are different, stereotyped, and thus become part of the tourist's expectation (for example in Australia some of these include the supply of dot paintings and didgeridoos for sale, boomerang throwing, tasting "bush tucker," or witnessing Aborigine performances, all outside of their original contexts). This demand for a perceived authenticity of indigenous cultures is the crux of the indigenous tourism enterprise (Parsons 2002:25; Voase 2006:284). The supply of the tourist demand for the "authentic" does not exclude the fact that sharing culture with tourists for many Aboriginal groups is a source of cultural pride and empowerment.

The preconceptions that people travel with are the result of a number of factors that affect their lives and ways of knowing the world. These include the messages from the popular media, the news, advertising, tourism marketing, photographs and television shows. Preconceived ideas are so naturalized they can be considered subtle at best until effectively unpacked. These media, arguably, repeat the same discourses found in colonialism, while the terminology has changed – for instance the "primitive" and "savage" have become the "undeveloped," "marginalized," "Fourth world," and dare I say "indigenous." Significantly though, there have been important social and political changes that make these categorizations different from one another. However this essay is not so much an examination of indigenous tourism in Australia as it is a brief analysis of Western convention. "The analysis of representation as content and representation in context, necessitates a close examination of cultural codes, conventions, and practices as well as the social and political relations which sustain or marginalize them" (Hallam 2000:5). In indigenous tourism especially, the complex articulations between indigenous groups and global forces, national governments, and mass industry become visible.

Institutional ethnography provides us with an alternative avenue to examine

what some have deemed a sort of cultural hybridity (Greene 2001:479; Hallam 2000; Sahlins 1994). Instead perception is framed by individual experience and relations of power as mediated by text. The concept of "shells" is useful here (from Smith 2005:197) – in order to be successful in tourism, indigenous groups must "fit the shell" that defines a tourist market, since if they do not appeal to tourist desires inevitably the business will fail. Marketability and tourist demand can be considered shells, largely created out of colonialist discourse as I have described. Additionally, though, indigenous people must also fit the shell of "indigeneity," a category of authenticity that is internationally recognized and politically, socially, and even biologically verified through various processes of identification. That is not all: as we have seen in Australia there is also the shell labelled "traditional owner" that must be filled in order to be recognized and have the right to resources and residence on traditional land. When couched in the framework provided by institutional ethnography, the relationships of power that infiltrate everyday lives are clearly illuminated.

"Tourism is only 'seemingly slight'" (Bender 2001:14). People briefly enter the lives and territories of others, rarely stopping to consider the impact of such a short visit. However, "we affect and are affected by the landscapes we move through" (Bender 2001:15). The tourist experience is connected to a much larger web of relations, connecting power structures and institutional discourses from local, regional, national, and global levels. In the experience of the tourist, this takes form through texts that organize one's experiences in travel, facilitating a narrow glimpse into life elsewhere.

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All names have been changed or omitted to protect the privacy of participants.

Interviews conducted via Skype by Katie Bresner, November 2009.

VALINE CRIST

LIFE'S ESSENTIAL: DEBUNKING THE MYTHS AND EXPOSING THE REALITIES OF CANADA'S WATER SYSTEM

ABSTRACT

The world is on the verge of a global water crisis. In Canada, there is a widespread misconception of water abundance; a belief that we are exempt from the need to conserve and protect. This paper will demonstrate that there is a lack of water accessibility on Indian reserves in Canada, and further, that the water that services Indigenous communities is not held to the same quality standard as the water throughout the rest of the nation. Taking a holistic approach to well-being, it is argued that the issues around quality and quantity of water on reserves is a threat to the health of local people and represents a modern form of structural violence.

PREFACE

This paper was prepared in 2008 for an undergraduate course in Social Health and Inequality. Because of this, some of the sources may be out of date and more current information and case studies are available[1]. Most notably, recent bills, strategies, and action plans have been introduced to see the more equitable and ethical service of water to Indian reserves in Canada[2]. Although these new proposals have been put forward, only time will tell if meaningful action and significant steps will be taken to improve living standards within Canada's Indigenous communities. Regardless of the current initiatives being proposed, I believe that the issues surrounding water accessibility and quality on Indian reserves in Canada has not been afforded the attention that it deserves. Until these issues are recognized, the ideas and arguments presented in this paper are relevant to Indigenous peoples within Canada and should be to every citizen of this country. As such, it is our responsibility to start making change to see that water—life's essential—is accessible to all.

INTRODUCTION

> Canada is facing a water crisis. This crisis is not simply a result of pollution, overuse, and depletion of water resources, but also of bad management, mainly due to the absence of a clear governance framework to oversee the protection, conservation, and good management of Canada's water resources (Bakker 2007:245).

Global water issues are becoming an increasing concern and can no longer be neglected. As an essential resource to all life forms, issues around water quality and quantity are being highlighted as reason for grave concern. The following will consider some of

the most prominent problems of water quality and accessibility in Canada, which will then be contrasted with water accessibility and quality issues on Indian reserves in Canada. Through a consideration of Indigenous history and colonial practices, it will be argued that Indigenous populations remain subject to unjust inequalities and systemic disparities. It is argued that the inequalities established throughout colonization are maintained today through negligent colonial policies. A lack of access to sufficient and potable water has jeopardized Indigenous peoples' health—physical, spiritual, cultural, mental, and social—and is a modern example of structural violence in Canada.

IDENTIFYING STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Structural violence is a term used in reference to the effects of systematic and institutional violence. As Kohler and Alcock (1976:343-344) describe, structural violence includes all harm caused by unjust social, economic, and political, systems, institutions, or structures. Importantly, these harms can come in the form of social, physical, or psychological distress. Structural violence, like that of armed violence, has the potential to maim and kill its victims, and cause harm as part of an institution or through public policy. Global examples of structural violence include lack of access to adequate food, water, or health care, all of which jeopardize the quality of life of local people. Socio-economic status is often correlated with the experience and severity of harm caused by such forms of structural violence.

OVERVIEW OF WATER ISSUES IN CANADA

Drinking water is taken for granted by the general public (McQuigge 2002). Water issues today are a result of ignorant mismanagement and economic motivations, which at an international level, have had implications on health and social well-being (Gleick 1998:571). In Canada specifically, there is a myth of water abundance; a myth that Bakker (2007) adamantly argues has resulted in environmental degradation and unnecessary waste. This issue is amplified by Bakker's assertion that regional and national politicians maintain a belief that Canada holds an adequate supply of this essential resource. Bakker continues that Canada's false belief in water availability is leading to the collective perception that Canadians are exempt from water conservation efforts. In actuality, the World Resource Institute estimates that Canada holds only 6.5% of the world's renewable water resources (Bakker 2007:25). Moreover, much of Canadian water is in isolated northern areas, and thus, is not easily accessible to the large urban areas that place the highest demand on these sources. Bakker (2007:27) argues that the misconception of water abundance must be corrected, and if it is not, will cause increased political, economic, and ecological damage. Clearly there are reasons for concern regarding the management and policies controlling this resource in Canada, which is amplified when

considering federal and provincial jurisdiction.

WATER AS A HUMAN RIGHT?

There is both a national and international debate concerning the declaration of water as a human right under the Charter of Rights and Freedom (Bakker 2007:363). The central argument in favour of recognizing water as a human right is simply that water is essential to human survival. Proponents of international policy recognizing water as a human right argue that sufficient access to potable water would increase health and well-being and encourage international responsibility (Scanlon et al. 2004:1). Given the current state of water, and considering the social and health implications that this resource has, it seems difficult to argue against the notion of water as a human right. However, Bakker (2007:9) argues that doing so would help lead the way for water exportation—a precursor to the privatization and commodification of water—which all Canadians should be cognizant. Gleick (1998:572) states, water is increasingly commodified and has already been privatized at an alarming rate. Although exportation and privatization are vital concerns in the current and future state of water, these issues are outside the realm of this paper.

WATER LEGISLATION AND JURISDICTION IN CANADA

National and provincial legislation present a complex set of issues related to water as a resource. In Canada, legislation is a shambled patchwork system in which accountability and responsibility are constantly passed from the federal to the provincial government resulting in significant gaps in policies (Bakker 2007:365). Layers of multilateral management create further complexities that jeopardize ecosystems and water quality. Furthermore, quality standards and monitoring vary significantly between national and provincial regulations.

To date, policies have neglected ecological sustainability, as well as community, cultural, and long-term demands on water supplies (Gleick 1998:571). Gleick (2007:257) suggests that policies and planning must evaluate and incorporate equity and sustainability in order to maintain healthy management of water resources. In recognizing these issues, among many others, Bakker (2007:257) suggests that the collective goal in Canada should be to develop a comprehensive strategy of governance and an elimination of the division between federal and provincial governments. Bakker (2007:257) further argues that there must be a national set of principles to ensure sustainability and equity of this resource. These waters are further muddied when we consider resource service and quality serviced to Indigenous communities in Canada.

WATER LEGISLATION AND JURISDICTION ON INDIAN RESERVES

Water serviced to Indian reserves in Canada poses threats to the health and safety of community members.

According to the Assembly of First Nations, a reported 20% of Indigenous communities are serviced with contaminated water, which poses significant health threats to residents (Bakker 2007:305). As stated earlier, the disparity between federal and municipal water management is amplified on Indian reserves, which jeopardizes the quality of life and health of Indigenous peoples. An entirely different set of disorganized and simplistic legislation is applied to Indigenous communities where jurisdiction and regulations fall into the hands of the federal government, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), and Health Canada (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:10). Currently, ongoing water monitoring and water treatment are inadequate on reserves. As the *Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development: Drinking Water in First Nations Communities* (2005:2-3) identifies, there are no laws that govern water management or systems within these "extremely poor" and "unstable communities." The current policy, which is blatantly exclusionary and detrimental, was put in place to regulate drinking water in the 1960s and 1970s. Since then, policies and practices demonstrate an insufficient and ill-communicating relationship between federal and provincial governments, INAC, Health Canada, and Indigenous communities.

Accountability has become a significant question in terms of water quality on reservations due to conflicts between federal and provincial jurisdiction. INAC is the department that governs the construction and maintenance costs for water systems on reserves (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:1-3), while Health Canada is responsible for conducting water testing and monitoring. When considering this, it must be noted that there are no regulations stating that drinking water on Indian reserves *has to be tested*, unlike national regulations that maintain regular drinking water monitoring (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:11). Within this complex and over-crowded list of governing bodies, much of the onus remains to be placed on the Indigenous community.

Individual reserves, through outside funding arrangements, are responsible for the upgrade and maintenance of their own water systems (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:1). A stipulation of current funding arrangements is the expectation that Indigenous communities construct, operate, and maintain their facilities in accordance with Health Canada's requirements. An essential point that has been neglected through this system of management is that many Indigenous Nations remain in a poor economic state, restricting many communities from initiating, operating, and maintaining their own water systems (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:6). Therefore, the policies and regulations put in place by the government expect that they will be implemented and maintained on reserves, which is not feasible due to the depressed economic state of many of these communities. Hence, it is necessary here to include a relevant summary of the

reserve system to demonstrate how Indigenous peoples remain to be implicated by colonialism in Canada today.

COLONIAL HISTORY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN RESERVES

Indian reserves were allotted during colonial settlement as a way of segregating Indigenous peoples in Canada. Today, Indian reserves remain under federal jurisdiction, and here it is important to note again, water access and rights are primarily maintained at the provincial level. Reserve lands were initially established for the use and "benefit" of Canada's First Peoples (Bakker 2007:305), essentially creating an enclave of Indigenous peoples in an attempt to "civilize" the "savages" of modern day Canada (Hundley 1978:454). Canada's colonial history extends beyond this systematic segregation to the banning of the traditional potlatch, and attempted genocide (Jenness 1954:100). Residential schools forcibly removed children from their home environment and families, resulting in the loss of many traditions, kinship systems, and language, all of which are essential pieces to the wholeness of a culture (Jenness 1954:99).

Today, Indigenous reserves have comparatively low-income communities with high unemployment, low education, and high rates of physical abuse and substance abuse (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1997; Hundley 1978; McHardy and O'Sullivan 2004). The early establishment of reserves systematically oppressed and assimilated Indigenous peoples, leading to political and social inequality, resulting in economic and social depression and an overall poor quality of life (Jenness 1954; McHardy and O'Sullivan 2004). Ultimately, the colonial period has had ongoing and cumulative impacts on Indigenous populations, displacing and marginalizing whole communities in what Jenness (1954:97) termed a "segregation camp psychology" that has become perpetuated intergenerationally. Additionally, throughout the colonial period, and still today, Indigenous peoples in Canada (and throughout the world) must withstand imposing Western ideologies, values, and laws. Past and present systematic displacement has involved the exploitation of traditional lands and ultimately forced Indigenous peoples into a battle for their culture and livelihood (Bakker 2007:304). Unfortunately, Indigenous peoples are forced to continue to fight these forms of systematic discrimination and strive for equal access to resources, livelihood, and quality of life. These issues will now be considered in relation to water quality and accessibility on Indian reserves in Canada.

WATER QUALITY AND ACCESSIBILITY IN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

Put very simply, the inadequacy of water legislation within the nation is amplified on Indian reserves in Canada. Indigenous communities continue to be without sufficient drinking

water, due to intermittent and inconsistent policies between the federal and provincial governments (Bakker 2007:252). According to the Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2005:17), one unidentified Indian reserve community with a population over one thousand was on a boil water advisory for nearly four years. Similarly, another unnamed reserve community was reportedly on a boil water advisory for over three years before actions were taken to correct the system deficiency. Indigenous peoples view this obstacle as a fight for life—quite literally—as water is necessary for their livelihood and is the essence of traditions (Hundley 1978:454). Hundley (1978:456) further argues that the current state of Indigenous status and quality of life will continue until Indigenous peoples are allowed sufficient water supplies. This would, in addition to improving health and assuring that basic needs are met, contribute to the preservation and resurgence of Indigenous traditional and cultural identity.

HEALTH IMPACTS

Several different forms of contaminants can influence the quality of water and originate from many sources. The most critical to health are pathogens and coliform that can cause gastrointestinal disease, skin disorder, or cysts (Payment *et al*. 2005). Pathogens and other contaminants are frequently found on Canada's reserve water systems. According to First Nations and Northern Statistics Section (2004:9), there are six hundred Indian reserves in Canada, ninety-five of which were on boil wateradvisories as of March 28th, 2008[3].

One of the most publicized events occurred in 2005 when approximately one thousand residents of Kasechewan, a remote reserve in Ontario, were evacuated due to risks in water quality (Eggertson 2006:1248). Eggertson reports that the community had been on a boil water advisory since 1996 due to high levels of *Escherichia coli* (*E. coli*). The health of residents in the community became impaired due to high levels of chlorine, which was used to combat the *E. coli* contamination. Increased quantities of chlorine can result in negative health effects, such as, gastrointestinal disease, scabies, and hepatitis, among others (Eggertson 2006:1248). These health concerns posed a very serious threat for many residents and demonstrate the inadequate quality of water in Indigenous communities.

In 1995 a report identified that nearly one quarter of reserves in Canada were serviced with drinking water that posed a threat to the health and safety of its consumers (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:8). As a result of this report, INAC took several measures to improve the state of water on Indian reserves. These measures included finances to improve, upgrade, and repair current water systems; new administrative guidelines on the operation and maintenance of water systems; and funding to train local system operators. A follow-up study in 2001 was conducted to evaluate these efforts and found that despite greater fund-

ing for water systems, there remained to be a great number of issues surrounding water quality and accessibility on Indian reserves.

In 2003, the First Nations Water Management Strategy was established through collaboration with the federal government, INAC, and Health Canada, to ensure potable drinking water was accessible to all residents of the country (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:8). This initiative was considered to be a priority and several additional measures were taken to initiate the project, including: the development of comprehensive policies, guidelines, and standards, educating residents of reserves on water quality issues, and increased efforts towards issues of accountability.

"CHALLENGES" TO PROVIDING SAFE AND ACCESSIBLE WATER

Ensuring safe and accessible water is dependent on several factors, such as funding, regulations, technical issues, developmental challenges, and population size (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2005:1-5). These, among many others, were identified as obstacles to providing safe water to any community, and are amplified on Indian reserves due to the relationship between the federal government and Indigenous peoples. Many Indigenous communities are located in isolated areas with difficult terrain that presents technical and economic challenges in providing water services. Some reserves are only accessible at certain times of the year, or may have limited electricity. Furthermore water resources are often located off reserve, presenting another challenge of accessibility and protection. Due to the small size of many Indigenous communities, there are often few qualified operators available in the area. Though these may be true obstacles in the way of providing an adequate water supply to every person in every region, this should not be accepted as a sufficient reason for the neglect of Indigenous communi ties.

AUDITOR GENERAL REPORT

The *Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development: Drinking Water in First Nations Communities* (2005:7-16) sought to determine whether Indian reserves received equal levels of water service and quality with controlled counterpart communities or off-reserve communities. The study compared 20 Indigenous communities across three regions in Canada and provided several conclusions on the current state of water on Indian reserves. First, some communities remained to have an overall lack of access to basic running water. Second, management and maintenance funds allotted to Indigenous communities are dependent on progress reports demonstrating their compliance to codes and standards; a flawed system because there is no concrete and comprehensive list of codes and standards available. Findings also determined that some 75% of Indian reserve waters were classified as potentially hazardous. As well, it was identified that within Indigenous communities, there is insufficient

water testing, and the testing that is done is not comparable to the Guidelines for Canadian Drinking Water Quality.

As outlined above, monitoring of Indigenous communities' drinking water falls under Health Canada's jurisdiction and is not held to a standard comparable to the rest of Canada. In addition to sporadic testing, the only measures taken when risks are found are public advisories; Health Canada merely has to inform the community that there are safety issues and often the problems are not considered an issue of priority (Office of the Auditor of General of Canada 2005:17). Ultimately, there tends to be an overall and complete neglect for regulatory regimes throughout Canada, particularly when considering water serviced to reserves today. In response to the Auditor General's Report, it was recommended that INAC and Health Canada develop current provincial regulations to help ensure that Indigenous peoples are provided equal access to safe drinking water. By adopting the regulations already in place in the rest of Canada, the rights and health of those living on reserves would, in theory, be protected (Office of the Auditor of General of Canada 2005:12). As supported throughout this overview, Indian reserves in Canada do not benefit from a level of protection comparable to that of people living off reserve and this exemplifies a modern form of structural violence.

CONCLUSIONS

Some fifty-five years ago, Jenness (1954) travelled throughout Canada and identified many concerns with the quality of life on Indian reserves and stated that conditions were unacceptable. At this time, he posed a series of questions and highlighted issues around measures taken to eliminate Indian reserves and end the apartheid system, and the federal government's role in ameliorating malnutrition and improving overall health (Jenness 1954:100).

Today, I would like to pose the question again—*why do Canada's Indigenous peoples remain to be structurally segregated and at a lower standard than the rest of the nation?* As this overview has presented, there are a series of complex layers relevant to water issues, particularly on Indian reserves in Canada. The result is a terribly dismal picture that illustrates the unfortunate and unnecessary suffering imposed on the Indigenous peoples of Canada. Understanding historical roots of colonialism—oppression, assimilation, segregation, and discrimination, which remain to be unbearable truths for many of Canada's First Peoples—is important when adopting a holistic approach to the current conditions of reserves. This history combined with contemporary colonial policies keep many Indigenous peoples systematically disadvantaged and exploited, as seen in the case of water rights and accessibility and exemplifies a modern and regional form of structural violence.

No genuine efforts or sincere improvements have been made on behalf of the government, especially

given that the historical structures that first oppressed Indigenous peoples have not been adequately resolved, a result which has only been compounded by the repeated and varied acts of intergenerational discrimination. That is, historically, Indigenous peoples have been subjected to multiple forms of abuse, which severed connections to cultural values, ecological connections, and kin. In turn, the lack of values, motivations, and esteem forced upon one generation, was unwittingly passed on to the next generation, which has more easily allowed current generations to be dominated by and through systemic colonialism. The current and dismal economic state, correlated with widespread social problems, leaves Indigenous peoples largely depressed, with a suppressed sense of culture. In establishing power and authority over Indigenous peoples, the government continues to maintain inequalities through a vicious pattern originating from the colonial period.

The modern inequalities found within Indigenous communities, inequalities that remain to be diligently neglected, are an appalling disgrace to all Canadians. The Canadian population and government, whom still hold outdated and discriminatory views of Indigenous peoples, largely neglect this embedded and dark history of colonization. Moreover, many of the current struggles that Indigenous peoples face—environmental, political, economic, or social—are ignored at a national level. It is unsettling to realize that a privileged society such as Canada is not able to afford all of its citizens' fundamental equality of rights. The most disturbing fact is that these are Canada's *First Peoples*, and the Canadian system continues to maintain asymmetrical power relations, keeping Indigenous people marginalized and underprivileged on their own homelands.

Water accessibility and quality concretely exemplifies the embedded colonial relationship between the history of Canada's Indigenous peoples and the power structures that continue to marginalize them, which ultimately jeopardize their health and physical, mental, spiritual, and social well-being. As highlighted throughout this paper, Indigenous peoples as a whole are not "well" in this sense and are forced to remain as some of the most oppressed and impoverished of the Canadian population. The variables that influence the overall health of a people is essential to recognizing the root causes of social inequality and the structures that maintain forms of marginalization. As I see it, there is no reason that Canada, an affluent Western society, cannot afford or care enough, to ensure that *all* its people have the same access to such an essential component to life. However, the examples of inequality and structural violence found within water management is only one depiction of the inadequate quality of life of Indigenous peoples in Canada and speaks volumes of the need to absolve colonial relationships in this nation, for the equitable and ethical treatment of all its citizens.

NOTES

[1] See: Circle of Blue http://circleofblue.org/waternews/

[2] See: Canada-Wide Strategy for the Management of Municipal Wastewater Effluent and Environment Canada's Propose Regulatory Framework for Wastewater: Impacts for First Nations Communities (Assembly of First Nations 2008); Proposed Elements of First Nations Safe Drinking Water Act (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2009); First Nations Bill Tabled: http://www.cbc.ca/politics/story/2010/05/26/first-nations-water-bill-tories.html; and, A Review of the Engagement Sessions for the Federal Action Plan on Safe Drinking Water for First Nations (Safe Drinking Water Foundation 2009).

[3] As of June 30, 2010 there were 114 Indian Reserves on boil water advisories in Canada: www.hc-sc.gc.ca

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MARK S. DOLSON

ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A SYNERGY BETWEEN INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGES OF HEALTH AND HEALING AND WESTERN BIOMEDICINE: TOWARD A PHENOMENOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING

ABSTRACT

In this paper, it is argued that the possibility for a formal synergy between Indigenous knowledges of health and healing and biomedicine—particularly in remote, Indigenous regions like the Canadian Arctic—at the clinical practice level may be difficult to sustain as a result of the major philosophical differences between the two systems. If a synergy of some form is to occur at all, it is more likely that it would not be at the level of formal services offered, but at the phenomenological level with respect to the help-seeking experiences and lived actualities of those in distress, crisis, or those labelled as "patients." Building on the practice and experience of medical pluralism, it is claimed that it may be more likely for help seekers (in the capacity of nomadic bricoleurs*) to form their own creative and strategic healing synergies. From the patients' perspectives, the formation of synergies is achieved by availing themselves of practitioners of Indigenous healing, biomedicine, and any other types of healing services as resources to utilize in their quest for meaning and existential reconciliation in the face of illness and uncertainty. It follows, then, that my own theoretical position with respect to illness is that it is not only a subjective experience of pain or malady (and the physical manifestation thereof* qua *signs and symptoms), but also a crisis of interpretation: the introduction of illness into a help seeker's life creates a sense of existential and interpretive volatility. It is argued that from a methodological standpoint, a phenomenologically-inspired approach is the most appropriate means through which to access patients' experiences of the synergies of the help-seeking experience.*

The issue of integrating Indigenous knowledges[1] of health and healing with biomedical approaches to disease has long been of interest to biotechnology and pharmaceutical companies, biomedical health professionals, researchers, practitioners of Indigenous healing techniques, and medical social scientists who work in Indigenous contexts the world over. Insofar as biomedicine occupies a unique and prestigious position in Western and, in some cases, non-Western contexts, all non-biomedical systems of health and healing that are chosen as targets for research on the integration of biomedical and Indigenous medical systems are vetted according to the standards of verification and values of evidence-based biomedicine (Quah 2003; Rappaport and Rappaport 1981; Waldram et al.

2006). Because many Indigenous knowledges of health and healing are spiritual in origin or maintain a spiritual or symbolic component, the determination of their efficacies against empirically-derived scientific standards and values[2] is culturally and politically harmful inasmuch as the knowledges and practices associated therewith may be extricated from their proper social, cultural and existential contexts (Waldram et al. 2006).

While there are examples (albeit fairly rare) of public and privately funded healing programmes and initiatives based on the successful synergy between Indigenous knowledges of health and healing and Western biomedicine, there are marked differences in worldviews between the two approaches[3]. As such, these differences may, in some cases, hinder or even preclude the possibility for their successful and sustained integration.

In this paper, I will outline some of the major philosophical differences between Indigenous knowledge of health and healing and Western biomedicine, with particular attention paid to the concepts of health and disease. I will argue that the possibility for a formal synergy between Indigenous knowledges of health and healing and biomedicine—particularly in remote, Indigenous communities—at the clinical practice level may be difficult to sustain as a result of the major philosophical differences between the two systems[4]. And it is because of this philosophical incommensurability that I argue in favour of re-conceptualising the semantic field in which the current use of the word "synergy" is oftentimes used.

If a synergy of some form is to occur at all in the health care contexts, it is more likely that it would not be at the level of formal health services offered, but at the conative[5] (and, ultimately, apperceptive) level with respect to pathways to care and help-seeking behaviours of those in distress or experiencing an illness event. More specifically, building on the practice of medical pluralism, I will claim that it might be more plausible for help seekers—in the capacity of nomadic bricoleurs—to form their own creative and strategic synergies by availing themselves of practitioners of Indigenous healing, biomedicine, and any other types of healing services as *resources* to make use of in their quest for meaning and existential reconciliation in the face of illness and uncertainty.

It follows that illness is not only a subjective experience of pain or malady and the physical manifestation thereof *qua* signs and symptoms, but also a *crisis of interpretation*: the introduction of illness into a help seeker's life creates a sense of existential and interpretive volatility. For, simply stated, "illness" is life shot through the jagged prism of ambiguity and uncertainty. Understood as such, the imperative is not only to maintain one's health or re-establish it through various means such as dialogue, relationships, rituals, pharmaceuticals, food, etc., but also to *learn* from and gain valuable insight

from the illness experience, however contradictory and jury-rigged the available information may be. Ultimately, the goal is to answer the perennial question regarding illness and its seemingly aleatory nature—*why me*? To approach illness, then, as a crisis of interpretation wherein patients marshal the knowledge(s) (resources) furnished by various healing services, might better equip health practitioners with more nuanced repertories of social, cultural, psychological and existential knowledge with which to better understand and treat patients living in remote Indigenous communities.

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGES OF HEALTH AND HEALING: PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS

ndigenous knowledges of health and healing and biomedicine, to me, are based on two entirely different philosophical systems of understanding and acting upon the world and reality. As I see it, Indigenous knowledge of health and healing, particularly as it is practiced in remote, primarily Indigenous regions stands as a "meta-medical system,"[6] and is based upon a syncretism between old animistic system of seeing and experiencing the world and aspects of Christian theology (Adelson 2001, 2009; Turner 1996). In practice, the worldview that results from such a syncretism is an ever-shifting but ordered dynamic of equilibrium between the Creator (oftentimes God), human beings, animals, natural phenomena, and the surrounding environment (both physical and non-physical) which subtends them. All of these beings, phenomena, and processes are thought to be imbued with the capacity to engage in dialogue with human beings, what Hallowell (1960, 1992) referred to as "other-than-human persons."

Pervading the relations between human beings, God, natural phenomena, other-than-human persons, and the environment, are temporal, moral, personal, political, social, ancestral, economic, and interpersonal forces (Bennet and Rowley 2004; Laugrand et al. 2000; Laugrand and Therrien 2001). The confluence of these forces not only suffuses the world, but is responsible for its continuity. The nature of these aforesaid forces may be characterised as synergistic and protean: their products and effects are not reducible to the outcome of any one force in interaction with another, but are the outcome of their mutable but no less ordered flux and flow.

That those adhering to this philosophical approach view God, humans, angels, other than human persons, the environment, and beings of the spirit world with the ability to communicate, is evidence of a relational orientation to the world—a version of what Leenhardt (1979) called "participation."[7] As such, this relational orientation to the world can be understood as a totalising interweaving of nature, society, myth and technology. Such an experiential interweaving is predicated upon a mythico-ecological landscape wherein all natural phenomena are phenomenologically continuous,

particularly with respect to their ability to engage in dialogue with one another. Taken as such, the notion of "the individual" is nothing more than an abstraction predicated on the idea that the self can be rent from its *apriori* relational moorings.

Health, then, as it is conceptualised by this philosophical system is not perforce a state or possession that one has or attains, but a dynamic *process* that results from constant negotiations and transactions with fellow humans and other-than-human persons of the physical and spirit world (Adelson 2001, 2009; Tanner 1979; Turner 1996). For instance, writing of the Cree of northern Quebec, Adelson (2001, 2009) explains that health is not a state of being free from illness and disease that resides in the individual, but is better characterised by a *pervasive quality of life*, which transcends the individual. As such, health (*miyupimaatisiiun* in Cree) is a way of being which results from the constant movement, engagement, and negotiation with broader social (interpersonal, including other-than-human persons), cultural, political, economic, religious, spiritual, and moral processes (Adelson 2001, 2009; Culhane 2009; Kirmayer et al. 2009; Kirmayer et al. 2009; Kirmayer et al. 2009; Niezen 1997). These broader social processes are set within shifting and differential fields of power (which inhere in the interpersonal and cosmic orders). Ill health, then, may be conceptualised as the outcome of specific power relations at the interpersonal, social, political, and cosmological levels.

Similarly, Turner (1996) writing of the Iñupiat of Alaska, states that health is not something possessed by an individual, but is rooted in spirit and linked to the greater cosmos. For the Iñupiat, all beings, such as humans, animals, and geographic features, have a *iñua* (spirit). The *iñua* transcends individual beings for it is also manifest in the *processes of existence*—birth, death, re-birth, food, and hunting. Health to the Iñupiat is a communicative and connective practice; it requires dialogue between persons, non-human persons, and the landscape so that connections can be maintained between one's ancestors, history, and one's kin (Turner 1996).

That health may be approached as a relational, transactional process for many northern Canadian Indigenous peoples means that, in some cases, it may signify a multitude of different, sometimes, counter-intuitive values. For instance, the experience of illness may foster the process of insight in a person, and thus may be of extraordinary benefit to those wanting to re-evaluate their lives (Waldram et al. 2006). To this end, illness may be approached as a positive or helpful experience, such as an essential step in righting one's existential valence to the cosmos and all that is subtended by its broad and inclusive processes.

Building on the physician and philosopher George Canguilhem's notion of health, that being simply "…the margin of tolerance for the inconsistencies of the environment" (1991:197), one could say that for many northern Indigenous peoples

of Canada, the notion of "environment" could be deepened and augmented so as to include not only the physical landscape and its various ecosystems but also the greater cosmological milieu, including the interconnectedness of all its inhabitants. These might include spirit, human, other-than-human persons, land, and the processes of all existence; not only spiritual processes, but social, moral, political and economic. One falls into ill health, then, when some form of existential or political turbulence, such as a lack of respect for other beings, or emasculation of political agency and autonomy, disrupts communication and interconnectivity.

THE BIOMEDICAL MODEL OF DISEASE: PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS

Biomedicine, in sharp contrast to any form of Indigenous knowledge of health and healing, does not recognise any form of relational philosophy, and thus, neglects this interconnectivity of worlds. On the contrary, in its most simple and vulgar form, it is based on the complementarity between the philosophies of naturalism, reductionism, and individualism. I will briefly describe each in turn, starting with naturalism. Proponents of naturalism, a somewhat static and rigid philosophy, mandate that in order to be known, the causes and physical products or effects of natural and physical forces[8] must be cleaved apart conceptually[9], partitioned according to different assumptions about how they may be systematised and known, and approached as autonomous essences or entities (Comaroff 1982; Gordon 1988). This philosophical approach is based on the mutual exclusivity and autonomy of material entities and essences, which maintain fixed and stable identities (Gordon 1988). Reality, then, according to this view, is determined by the sum of its exclusive and autonomous parts (read: observable, material parts); and, given that the identity of reality's respective "parts" is self-determined, the parts may be freely moved, interchanged and extricated from their contexts without any compromise to the integrity of their identity (Gordon 1988). Limited to purely visible, material phenomena, supporters of naturalism see the investigation of such immaterial phenomena[10] as spirit, soul, value, or the fundamental question and meaning of "Being" itself (Heidegger 1962) as matters of theology, philosophy or the social sciences.

Insofar as biomedicine is based in part on the philosophy of naturalism and reductionism, its proponents see the ultimate cause and process of disease as following purely chemical and biological pathways. By dint of this philosophical and scientific purview, proponents of the biomedical model oftentimes eschew social, cultural, psychological, political and, at a much broader level, moral and existential *noxae* as potential agents in the aetiology of disease (Comaroff 1982; Engel 1989; Kleinman 1995; Kleinman et al. 1997). In favour of decontextualization, the biomedical model almost always espouses a reductionist approach by reducing a

complex suite of phenomena, such as illness, to a single, primary biological principle (Engel 1989; Worsley 1982) for the explanation of anomalous bio-physical signs and processes in the human body. Accordingly, supporters of the biomedical model conceive of disease as a reduced and ontologically separate entity which resides within the confines of the physiological and anatomical body—much to the exclusion of broader social, cultural and existential processes.

Aligned philosophically with biological reductionism is the notion of individualism11, a socially reductionist philosophy. This is the view that the individual, particularly in North American contexts, is understood to exist *apriori* to society and culture. To the extent that the individual, as a *solus ipse*, exists prior to society and culture is to view the relationship between the individual and society as essentially antagonistic. Society and culture serve as nothing more than an illusory veneer that can be pried back (as a feat of nothing more than reflection) in order to expose the "true," pre-given individual. Thus, all relationships are seen as being contingent upon the free agency and decision of the individual, while society is understood to be merely derivative (Gordon 1988).

The outcome of the aforementioned philosophical stances (naturalism, reductionism, and individualism) has important implications for how proponents[12] of the biomedical view conceptualise health. According to *Stedman's Concise Medical Dictionary for the Health Professions* (1997), the entry for *health* is: "the state of the organism when it functions optimally without evidence of disease or abnormality" (382); or, "a state characterized by anatomical, physiological, and psychological integrity, ability to perform personally valued family, work and community roles" (382-383). One need not parse the aforesaid definitions long before it becomes apparent that health is a state that an individual has or possesses, and, therefore, becomes something that one can lose[13]. The former definition clearly bespeaks an individualistic philosophic orientation in that the focus of health as a state is on the *organism*; it says nothing of the broader social, cultural political processes in which all organisms are in a constant state of negotiation. And, so, too, the latter definition intimates a reductionist and individualist perspective in that it centres on the "anatomical, physiological, and psychological integrity" of an individual, and the ability of he or she to perform "personally valued" roles. Such an approach rends the individual from his or her social and existential moorings, and ultimately effaces the notion of disease or illness as an ongoing and uneven process of negotiation between personal, social and biological factors.

WEAVING TOGETHER RESOURCES IN THE QUEST FOR MEANING: THE PRACTICE OF MEDICAL PLURALISM

Even a *prima facie* glance at the differences discussed above between Indigenous knowledge of health and

healing and biomedical approaches to disease indicates that these respective approaches are quite incommensurate on a cosmological, spiritual, practical, theoretical, or experiential[14] level. Owing to this incommensurability, the synergy between the two approaches might be tremendously difficult to effect on many levels, particularly with respect to the systematisation of clinical programmes, training, and the actual delivery of services. However, this incommensurability need not preclude the possibility of synergy if we re-conceptualise synergy. As such, we can re-conceptualise the idea of "synergy" not as the incorporation of two systems that lead to a combined effect that is greater than the sum of its constituent parts, but as a conative and, ultimately, symbolically apperceptive function based on the *choice of resources* available and the use and navigation thereof. Conceived as such, the Indigenous help seeker, in the capacity of a nomadic bricoleur[15], might attempt to create an interpretive synergy out of the tools and resources available through the practice of *medical pluralism*.

If we use Kleinman's (1980) somewhat basic model of various health care sectors available to help seekers, particularly in North America, we can define medical pluralism loosely as the navigation and use of various available medical "sectors." These sectors may include the following: (1) the *popular sector*: health care conducted by the ill person him or her self, conducted through use of the internet, family members and other social networks; (2) the *folk sector*: "traditional" healers such as shamans, mediums, or sorcerers; and, lastly, (3) the *professional sector*: regulated and professionalized medical systems such as biomedicine, Ayurvedic and Chinese medicines. To this end, one who engages in medical pluralism may be said to avail (but not necessarily fully abide) the aforementioned health care sectors for the sole purpose of piecing together a comprehensive understanding of the illness event.

My argument rests on the premise that when stricken with ill-health, Indigenous help seekers in remote regions, such as the Canadian north[16] may very well consult family, friends, and quite possibly other media sources, too, along with Indigenous healers and biomedical practitioners in the quest for healing, existential restitution, and the reconciliation of meaning, therefore attempting to create an interpretive synergy based on the tools and resources provided by disparate approaches to health, healing and disease. The practice of medical pluralism among some Canadian Indigenous peoples has been illuminated by Niezen (1997), Smylie et al. (2009) and Waldram et al. (2006). Their respective studies found that given the choice between non-Indigenous and Indigenous treatment knowledges, many help seekers oftentimes chose to make use of both in a fluid manner, regardless of whether or not they had approval from the practitioners of the respective systems; however, in the movement between resources, help seekers may or may not have had a detailed understanding of the resp-

ective knowledges of health and healing. Thus, to the help seeker working in the capacity of a nomadic bricoleur, the widely contrasting premises of Indigenous knowledge of health and healing and biomedical approaches to disease might be used to broaden and augment the range of healing and interpretive resources to avail, rather than as contradictory systems between which one must choose either beliefs or availability (Niezen 1997).

METHODOLOGICAL MODES OF ACCESS: MEDICAL PLURALISM AND THE ILLNESS EXPERIENCE

Regarding my approach to the illness event as an interpretive crisis, help seekers, insofar as they are on an interpretive quest for meaning and healing, may, when given the choice, avail themselves of multiple, sometimes contradictory, healing resources. To this end, the imperative is for the help seeker to piece together—using the tools and resources provided by Indigenous knowledge of health and healing and biomedicine[17]—a series of provisional understandings, and ultimately, the *raison d'être* ("why me," "why now") of the illness event. The processes involved in this interpretive quest are as much conative as they are epistemic, and, therefore, symbolic.

The help seeker may be oriented toward or drawn to particular resources owing to a desire and a striving to know and create subjective meaning wrought from intersubjective processes. As such, the most appropriate methodological approach to take in the investigation of the aforementioned processes is to use tools borrowed from existential or phenomenological anthropology[18] (see Jackson 1989, 1996, 2005, 2009) and, European and American phenomenology and phenomenological psychiatry, upon which existential anthropology, in part, is based (see Binswanger 1963; Blankenburg 1982, 1980; Foucault 1954; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Minkowski 1970; Natanson 1974). The aforesaid approaches equip the investigator with the requisite tools for both conducting and analysing illness narratives and help seekers' oral histories regarding the cause, course, and meaning(s) of distress—however provisional, fragmented or disjointed narratives may be.

Specifically, the phenomenological method may be used in the analysis of narrative, literature, oral history, or even artwork, to investigate the lifeworld as the site of struggle for existence and the meaning of being and well-being (Jackson 2005). In general, proponents of the phenomenological method are particularly concerned with re-establishing a pre-theoretical, pre-reflective relationship with the world in order to plumb the depths of its most inchoate, oneiric and ineffable qualities, and endowing it with philosophical status (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Natanson 1974). That the phenomenological method is concerned with one's pre-theoretical, pre-reflective experience—and, by extension, interpretation—of the world means that its philosophical imperative is *descriptive* and not analytical (Merleau-Ponty 1962;

Natanson 1974). A phenomenological stance perforce requires one to effect a poetic orientation to the world. As such, the objective of the phenomenological method is to attempt to describe the world, its processes, and the multiform relationships which inhere in it, from a stance of wonder and amazement. To modify Merleau-Ponty's (1962) metaphor, it is to watch closely the flames of transcendence and experience, focussing on the initial sparks that fly as they lead to the ignition of greater, broader flames. The phenomenological method attempts to catch these sparks before they dissipate into the ether as irretrievable idolum or trace.

Writing on the application of the phenomenological method to the study of mental illness, Foucault explains:

> [inasmuch as the morbid world remains penetrable] it is a question of restoring, through this understanding, both the experience that the patient has of his illness (the way in which he experiences himself as a sick or abnormal individual) and the morbid world on which his consciousness of illness opens, the world at which this consciousness is directed and which it constitutes. *The understanding of the sick consciousness and the reconstitution of its pathological world*, these are the two tasks of a phenomenology of mental illness (1987:46, emphasis added).

Making use of the conceptual tools offered by existential anthropology and the European and American schools of phenomenology may afford one greater insight into investigating the processes and dynamics involved in the help seeker's subjective orientation to his or her self, others, and the world regarding the ontology or ultimate nature of the illness experience. So, too, the aforementioned approaches may assist one in understanding illness from a more conative, cognitive and symbolic perspective. This might afford interested researchers a more humanistic or existential perspective when formulating questions about the dynamics of meaning making during the illness event.

In this paper I argued that in order to better understand the possibility of a "synergy" between Indigenous knowledges of health and healing and biomedicine, we need to reconceptualise and reframe our very understanding of the term. This reconceptualisation may be achieved by moving away from the more common understanding of the term as it is oftentimes used in terms of service provision—referring to the integration of biological and Indigenous medical systems—to a more *phenomenological* one. Synergy, then, as I re-conceptualised it in this paper, occurs at the subjective, phenomenological level during a patient's interpretative quest for meaning in the face of illness. This is achieved when individual patients avail themselves of practitioners of Indigenous healing, biomedicine, and any other types of healing services as *resources* to make use of in their quest for meaning and existential reconciliation in the face of illness, uncertainty, and existential volatility.

The clarion call of this paper is that there should be a renewed interest in research on the phenomenology of

patients' subjective illness experiences in order to better understand the social, cultural, psychological and existential bases of the various pathways and barriers to care—especially in remote Indigenous communities (such as in the Canadian Arctic) where there may be very limited health services. More specifically, in terms of future research, a focus on phenomenologically-grounded patient case studies might shed better light on the various interpretive strategies patients employ when first experiencing an illness event, as well as the various dynamics and processes involved in prioritizing one interpretation over another.

At a very broad level, the outcome of the knowledge yielded from such case studies could lead to the following: (1) the creation and implementation of more inclusive, culturally sensitive, and efficient treatment regimens (whether for physical or mental health problems); and, (2) better equipping health professionals (Indigenous and biomedical) in remote regions with a more nuanced and sophisticated repertoire of social, cultural and psychological knowledge. This knowledge could then be marshalled alongside established clinical guidelines (or other protocols that may be used in Indigenous systems) in those cases where a patient might resist a certain treatment regimen, disregard follow up treatment, contest a given diagnosis, or even fail to seek adequate treatment at the onset of illness.

NOTES

[1] They are perforce more like ways of seeing the world, or an "optics," than knowledge as such, but we will use this term for its ease of use throughout this paper.

[2] In cross-cultural contexts, this is usually achieved through randomised placebo controlled trials (RPCT) (see Fabrega 2002).

[3] A prime example being Poundmaker's Lodge for addictions counselling in Edmonton, Alberta (see www.poundmaker.org).

[4] Not to mention the low population densities, the high turnover rates for health care professionals, and the fact that most remote communities in the north have only one nursing station, usually staffed with a maximum of two to four full time nurses—all of which affect the sustainability of potential integration at the clinical practice level.

[5] Regarding behaviour directed toward action, striving, and volition.

[6] According to Worsley (1982), conceptions of illness and cure are always embedded within wider frameworks which supply cognitive, normative, and conative (purpose, desire, and will) ideals—simply put, metamedcial systems attempt to provide answers, sometimes grounded in metaphysical assumptions of the ultimate nature of the world and reality, as to why people fall sick.

[7] This term was originally coined by the social philosopher Lévy-Bruhl (1910); however, Maurice Leenhardt, a student of his, (1979) whose research was based on some 40 years of fieldwork in New Caledonia, significantly modified the term.

[8] Other forces such as social or spiritual, are merely seen as epiphenomenal to material or physical forces and are therefore of little concern.

[9] Separating natural from supernatural, individual from society, and the social world, including culture, from nature (Gordon 1988; Worsley 1982).

[10] Such things usually fall within the purview of cosmology, *meta*-physics—literally beyond the reach of physics and its sister sciences, chemistry and biology—and therefore

fall out of the practical reach and range of the scientific method.

[11] Oftentimes referred to as methodological individualism or rational individualism.

[12] This should include lay persons as well, as biomedicine is so pervasive that is may be considered to be not only an official scientific model, but a folk-model as well (Engel 1989).

[13] Much like Virchow's approach to disease, it is something ontologically distinct and separate from one's situatedness in broader existential processes.

[14] Whereas Indigenous medicine, for the most part, takes effect via the dynamics of faith and belief, biomedicine seeks to cure through faith and belief, too, but more so through the innovations of technical efficiency (Niezen 1997).

[15] Meaning that a help seeker may move from resource to resource in the quest to build a sense of meaning out of the disruptive experience of illness.

[16] This goes for almost any other help seeker as well in different geographical contexts, depending on the resources available.

[17] And, quite possibly, other resources, too, such as chiropractic medicine, new age medicine, or other available resources.

[18] What Jackson (2009:6) has most recently referred to as a "phenomenology of liminality:" an approach which places emphasis on the multiplex ways in which temporal, spatial, personal, and cultural "in-betweenness" is experienced in human life.

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LARA ENGST

MINING YOUR OWN BUSINESS: IGNORANCE IS NOT A SOLUTION

ABSTRACT

Is water more precious than gold; environment more valuable than mercury; human life more imperative than copper? If the answer is yes, then why have our waters been polluted, our environment destroyed, and lives lost at the expense of mining? This paper explores some of the consequences of mining and governmental inaction, such as the violation of human rights and environmental destruction, while looking at actions undertaken by Indigenous peoples and anthropologists.

INTRODUCTION

Our environment is being exploited. Human rights are being denied. Mines are being built all over this planet with little regard to safe practices, the environment and humanity. More and more the greed of mining companies and the governments that back them are being revealed. People are beginning to stand against these decisions which are made without their consent and are realizing that "minding your own business" will get you nowhere. This paper delves into the affairs of mining companies and the actions and motivations of the people who have fought against them.

In this paper I argue that wealth, industry and policy are inextricably tied and that these forces, rather than human rights, are what drive decisions of environmental exploitation. As an example I discuss the impacts of mining undertaken on the lands of Indigenous peoples. In these situations Indigenous groups are frequently forced to independently defend the land. I will look closely at gold mining in the Amazon and copper sulfide mining in the United States as well as an issue closer to home—Prosperity Mine, a gold mine proposed by Taseko Mines in British Columbia[1]. I will pose questions—within the context of mining on Indigenous peoples lands— such as: What is wealth? What are the links between human rights and environment? What are the responses to the mines? Can anthropologists help? And what are Indigenous groups doing to defend their land?

WHAT IS WEALTH?

At a recent protest in Williams Lake against the proposed Prosperity Mine, people held picket signs reading "Water is more precious than gold" (Hitchcock 2010). There can be no argument to this statement; water is essential, while gold is superfluous. Just as land, environment, culture,

and human life are far more important than copper, zinc, and mercury. But history would seem to suggest otherwise. When European empires explored and colonized the New World, they were driven, in part, by their greed for gold. These imposed colonial forces despoiled and destroyed environments, peoples and cultures, and it can be argued that "this holocaust continues today […]" (Sponsel 1997:100). Despite this, mines continue to be approved by governments and by the general population while Indigenous groups, and others concerned for the environment, struggle to protect their land and their lives. In Brazil, like the rest of the world, the problems of gold mining tend to be denied, minimized, or ignored by the government (Sponsel 1997:114). This ignorance leads to the continuous suffering of Indigenous peoples (through loss of lands, drinking water, and other resources leading to decreased standards of living and a degradation of culture) and a draining of the natural resources that exist in the Amazon, leaving the land polluted and unsalvageable. In Wisconsin, USA, the Department of Natural Resources, in its opposition of a mine on the Sakaogon Chippewa peoples reserve, argued that the "lake and the bounty of the lakes harvest lie at the heart of their identity as a people… The rice and the lake are the major links between themselves, Mother Earth, their ancestors and future generations" (Gedicks 1997:131). Similarly Marilyn Baptiste, chief of the Xeni Gwet'in has argued that the Taseko's proposed "mine would kill the pristine and culturally and ecologically important Fish Lake by turning it into a massive toxic tailing pond" (where the mine dumps their waste) (Baptiste and Sam 2010). How is it that the monetary value produced from these mines continues to be measured against the value of humanity, culture, and environment?

HUMAN RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENT

The link between human rights and environment is shown clearly in the three different mining examples described in this paper. In each situation the government turns a blind eye to human rights abuses. Many are unaware of the destruction effected by mining: it causes biodiversity reduction, mass deforestation, and pollution which involves chemicals that seep into the soil and water, thereby contaminating, and often killing, all living things which come into contact with these substances. For every gold mine "about nine *tons* of waste are left for every *ounce* of gold extracted" (Sponsel 1997:103, emphasis in original). People have a right to their land and way of life. In 1994 the UN drafted a Declaration of Principles on Human Rights and the Environment, which stated:

> 2. All persons have the right to a secure, healthy and ecologically sound environment;
> 5. All persons have the right to freedom from pollution, environmental degradation and activities that adversely affect the environment, threaten life, health, livelihood, well-being or sustainable development within, across or outside national boundaries;
> 14. Indigenous peoples have the right to control their lands, territories and

> natural resources and to maintain their traditional way of life […]. (as cited in Sponsel 1997:118)

These proposed principles are ideal and one could assume that they would help Indigenous groups in their cases against mining developments, but once thought through one would realize that the basic human rights agreement signed by nearly every country in the world has not protected people thus far from these projects. Wayne LaBine a tribal planner for the Sakaogon Chippewa reservation stated: "The threat of annihilation has been hanging over this community since 1975. The mental stress and mental anguish are unbearable at times" (Gedicks 1997:131). It would seem obvious that no people should be forced into a situation like that; where their culture and livelihood are constantly at risk. Sponsel argues that the political bodies that control the decisions on international human rights are frequently the agents of rights violations (1997:119). With that in mind it is clear that governments place environmental and Indigenous people's welfare as a secondary concern against profit and economic growth.

THE RESPONSE

The key players within these situations are the mining companies who are proposing the projects, the miners who carry them out, the governments who permit them to take place, the Indigenous groups who are opposing the mines, anthropologists and other specialists who involve themselves, and the general public. Both the mining companies and government leave the public, including the miners, uninformed about the effects of mining processes. Sponsel states that in most situations "…the miners have tended to ignore, deny, or minimize the human and environmental problems they create, a stance that is reinforced by government action or lack of action" (1997:112). Davi Kopenawa Yanomami of the Yanomami people in Brazil stated: "The miners invaded our reserve and came to our communities feigning friendship; they lied to us, they tricked us Indians […]" (Sponsel 1997:99). In addition to the public being left ill-informed, Indigenous voices are frequently ignored by dominant society. An article written in *The Northern Miner*, Canada's mining industry newspaper, validates the objections of environmental groups while depicting Indigenous people's protests as inconsequential: "The only objections raised at the Crandon press conference […] came from native Americans who expressed concern over archaeological aspects of the site. No objections were heard from environmental groups" (Gedicks 1997:131). The government response to mining only reinforces the same views: that the concerns of Indigenous peoples are negligible. In the Roraima province in Brazil, governor General Fernando Ramos Pereira said of destructive mining within the country: "I am of the opinion that an area as rich as this—with gold, diamonds, and uranium—cannot afford the luxury of conserving a half a dozen Indian tribes who are holding back the development of Brazil" (Sponsel 1997:103). The governments within

North America may not be as bold as to say that, but the end result seems to be much the same. Arlyn Ackley, the chairman on the Sakaogon Chippewa reserve, affirmed: "Let it be known here and now that these companies are prepared to plunder and destroy our people and lands for their insatiable greed. They may be more polite in North America, but they are no less deadly to Native people" (Gedicks 1997:132). Chief Marilyn Baptiste and Anne Marie Sam of the Xeni Gwet'in explain: "The $500 billion that […] has been generated by mining over the past 150 years have come from First Nations lands and resources that were never ceded through any treaty. What First Nations have got out of it is abandoned and polluting mines […]" (Baptiste and Sam 2010). Most often the general public is left ill-informed and trusting the decisions of these projects to their governments. Even the media offers insufficient information. For example, I could find only one article written from the perspective of the Xeni Gwet'in—this was published in the Vancouver Sun. But this same newspaper also published a guest column written by the president and CEO of the Association for Mineral Exploration in British Columbia that promoted mining projects, painting "a rosy picture of future great wealth and prosperity" (Baptiste and Sam 2010).

CAN ANTHROPOLOGISTS HELP?

Here in British Columbia the response to the Taseko mine, so far, has been to create a short documentary film called *Blue Gold*[2]. This film was supported by an environmental group as well as the environmental studies department on campus; unfortunately the turnout to the premier was relatively small. In the other two examples the only efforts on the part of anthropologists revealed would have been the writing of the articles themselves. So can anthropologists help, and if they can how should they do so? Sponsel suggests in his article that advocacy anthropology is the most obvious outlet to provide assistance. Although he did not provide an example of such an instance, he did list a variety of international associations that are involved in this sort of representation (1997:117). He suggests that "[a]nthropological, economic, political, legal, and psychological research is sorely and urgently needed on all the different interest groups involved in […] mining for a more holistic understanding of the situation and in search of ways to try to reduce or resolve aspects of the crisis" (1997:121). One also has to keep in mind that anthropologists "are usually short-term transients" (Sponsel 1997:116) which would affect their ability to provide accurate information and assistance. Improvements need to be made within the field. Anthropologists need to work with and for Indigenous groups rather than an outside institution that enters the scene with a preexisting set of assumptions and methods for aid. One has to acknowledge that anthropology, among other disciplines, can be a detriment as much as it can be an advantage in these situations.

CONCLUSION

All is not lost, yet. There are successes in opposing mining projects such as the opposition of a nickel mine by the Innu and Inuit in 1997, or the victory of landowners in Papua New Guinea against another massive mining project. Though these occurrences are still very few, there is hope that the recent global concern for the environment has brought publicity to these minority groups who are being exploited. If this publicity continues to expand, these atrocities will become more and more transparent to the public. Indigenous groups are joining together. They are uniting with environmental groups, community factions, specialists, and the media. People are beginning to come together to protest these unnecessary mines. The Sakaogon Chippewa peoples have managed to hold off Exxon and its Canadian partners' attempts at building a mine, but how long will it be until they, or someone else returns? In British Columbia the Xeni Gwet'in are defending their lands in a federal review and the Tsilhqot'in nation is currently trying to protect Fish Lake by establishing fishing rights in court (Baptiste and Sam 2010). But if they succeed, will they too have to live in fear and mental anguish, wondering if they will have to fight this battle again in future years? Why are Indigenous groups forced to be the sole defenders of the land? Perhaps others are not as quick to react or have been too late in understanding the importance of environment. Frances Van Zile, a Chippewa woman, pointed out that "[t]his isn't an Indian issue, nor is it a white issue. It's everybody's issue. Everybody has to take care of [the] water" and the land (Gedicks 1997:134). This is everyone's responsibility, and an opportunity to come together and protect the environment in whatever way we can. Now is the time to think of the future.

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NOTES

[1] For more information on the proposed "Prosperity Mine" and the communities who are fighting it please visit: http://www.landkeepers.ca/ OR http://www.protectfishlake.ca/ OR http://www.raventrust.com/projects/fishlaketeztanbiny.html

[2] To view the film *Blue Gold: The Tsilhqot'in Fight for Teztan Biny (Fish Lake)* visit: http://vimeo.com/9679174

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AMANDA PETERS

THE CONDITIONS THAT FACILITATE BUYER PARTICIPATION IN THE MARKET FOR HUMAN ORGANS

ABSTRACT

Human body parts have become commodities for sale on global black markets. Kidneys, hearts, lungs, livers, corneas and any of the range of viable organs that can be harvested for transplantation are traded like common objects. Exploitation is rampant with organs typically flowing from the poor to the rich. Considering that organ buyers play a key role in the creation and maintenance of the trade, this article outlines three important social conditions that facilitate buyer participation; objectification, commodification, and globalization. The following provides a discussion of key theoretical considerations for further investigation.

INTRODUCTION

For just over two decades, social scientists have been uncovering the extent to which human organs have become commodities in a global black market. The market is surprising because its goods are tied to life itself, yet the market exhibits features common to a trade in any other object. Perhaps more surprising is the realization that if there is a market, it means people are willing to illegally exchange cash for organs with people from unknown places. How did this happen? To understand why organs are available on an international market, and to get a sense of the role that Westerners, and even more specifically Canadians play in the exchange, this article seeks to answer the question: What are the conditions that make participating in the organs market possible, particularly for those who wish to purchase organs? Presumably, the conditions that facilitate participation for those who wish to sell organs are different from those who wish to buy and will therefore not be discussed in this article. However, I will argue here that buyer participation is made possible by three key conditions: (1) objectification, as it relates to the emergence of the biotech mode of production and biosocial understandings of the self and others; (2) commodification and the transformation of the 'sacred' body and its organs into mere objects for exchange; and (3) globalization and the spread of consumer culture, which also includes a consideration of trust as a necessary component of consumer lifestyles. Overall, participation in the global organs market can be seen as an unfortunate consequence of conditions that make the body little more than an object for sale in a market clouded by consumer expectation.

To begin, this article provides some background on the organs trade generally, and the current procurement environment in Ontario, Canada as an example of a post-industrial Western nation struggling with organ supply and demand. The next section presents the first of the three conditions that facilitate participation and discusses how notions of the "body as object" come to circulate within social, medical and technological relations of production, particularly within the context of a "biosocial" world. Next, the "body as commodity" is discussed in terms of a few notable theories of commodification, and aims to highlight the role of cultural frameworks, and the breaking down of those frameworks, in the commodification of ever more intimate objects. The third major condition that enables or facilitates the participation of buyers in the international organs market is globalization. Globalization is discussed in relation to World System Theory; the operation of structures of power in ensuring the spread and continuation of consumer culture and the intensification of the organs trade through what is referred to as "medical tourism." As a supplement to a discussion of consumer culture, trust in consumer lifestyles is argued to be a necessary component for participation in any market, including markets in human organs. Finally, some concluding comments provide a discussion of considerations for future research.

It should be noted that this article takes a rather broad approach in its application of theory, and is most closely aligned with a critical post-modern perspective. This perspective combines the broad agenda of the critical tradition, which places an emphasis on the view that capitalism is the dominant ideology that results in social relationships among people taking on the forms of relationships among objects (Ritzer 2008), with a contemporary argument, that we have moved into a state of post-modernity or post-industrialization that brings forth new relationships to be explored. The post-modern tradition that I align with acknowledges the historical, Marxist or economic base of modern capitalism, but also acknowledges that the relations of power and exploitation in the post-modern world are less obvious as they were in the past, such that they are present in ever more intimate spaces among and within people (Jameson 1991). Assuming the post-modern perspective has many, variable definitions (as well as a great deal of criticisms), I will simply point out its usefulness in terms of its flexibility with the application of theory (Ritzer 2008), and its strength in attempts to explain what is going on behind seemingly straightforward processes. Thus taking a critical post-modern approach is used in an attempt to (1) capture the nuances of the topic in relation to relevant and appropriate theoretical concepts, (2) narrow down an incredibly diverse topic into a format that sociologists and anthropologists alike can begin to work with, and (3) begin a conversation on how to theoretically locate buyers as important actors within organ markets. Ultimately, this article is meant to act as a starting point for future investigations.

Two other important distinctions should be made before an analysis is attempted. First, in terms of organ transfer and transplantation, there are three situations in which organs can be said to "move." The first is the movement of organs from deceased individuals, usually from accident victims to waiting recipients that are legally facilitated by the medical system. This movement is in line with current procurement methods in most Western nations, including Canada. The second is the movement of organs from unwilling and non-consenting individuals who have had their organs stolen (while in hospital or in cases of kidnapping), often through brokers to paying recipients[1]. The third movement is the case in which individuals consensually sell their organs to another, also usually facilitated by a broker. The most common examples of this type involve the sale of kidneys by slum dwellers in India (Goyal et al. 2002) and poor farmers in Pakistan (Budiani-Saberi and Delmonico 2008) to rich buyers both within the country and from abroad.

The latter two movements, organ theft and consensual sale, are the focus of this analysis from a buyer perspective. And though there is debate on the "truth" of the matter of organ theft, it is not the focus of this study and therefore, there is at least one assumption made: that violently procured organs are offered to Westerners for consumption along with consensual ones (Scheper-Hughes 2002). As the analysis will show later, there is a great deal of trust in the system on the part of Westerners, such that they likely believe organs will be of good quality and not obtained through violence. Unless told otherwise, buyers typically believe a sale is consensual but may actually have no proof of this (Scheper-Hughes 2002).

The second distinction is terminological. We use language to express what we mean and to facilitate others' understanding. How we talk about participants in an economic transaction influences the way in which we interpret each player's role. Therefore, an individual who gives-up an organ in exchange for money should not be termed *donor*. Some researchers continue to use the word *donor* for these individuals which is a mistake because "to donate" implies willingly giving of the self and removes, at least on the surface, the existence of an economic exchange. To account for this, others use the word *vendor*, as if the individual is "open for business." This is also inappropriate because the term *vendor* implies the notion of a businessman with a right to the sale of his property as an independent actor. However, in the case of the organs market, a third party broker is often involved. Thus, this article will use the economic terms *buyers* and *sellers*, because they situate each individual in an economic exchange. More specifically, this article focuses on the role of the buyer.

BACKGROUND

The international trade in human organs has been receiving a great deal of attention from media and research-

ers, particularly within the last four to five years (see World Health Organization, Al Jezeera, The Times of India, TorontoStar.com, Canada.com, etc.). Health Organization, Al Jezeera, The Times of India, TorontoStar.com, Canada.com, etc.). Investigators have exposed to the world the most heinous acts associated with organ stealing, trafficking, and the exploitation of the global underclass as organ suppliers. The trade has been said to represent a global degradation of notions of humanness and an ever more intense commodification of life under liberal capitalist ideologies (Scheper-Hughes 2002; 2003; 2006a; 2006b). It is said to be supported by bioethicists who bolster "right to buy and sell" mentalities in order to meet the need of consumers and the goals of biotechnology industries (Scheper-Hughes 2003). Researchers explain that wealthy buyers prey on individual indebtedness, and that inabilities to escape poverty make the world's poorest populations particularly vulnerable to participating in the trade (Cohen 2006; Scheper-Hughes 2006b). Arguably, the international trade in human organs contains within its relatively short history some of the worst cases of human exploitation. And despite the attention it has received recently, it appears to be intensifying (Scheper-Hughes 2006a; 2006b).

Assuming that there are significant North-South, Western-Non-Western divides between buyers and sellers in the market, we may look at Canada as an example of a nation of Northern, Western potential organ buyers. Like many other affluent Western nations, Canada has an organ shortage. Today, approximately four thousand people wait for life saving organs that they receive through provincial organ donation programs. The longest reported wait time for a kidney in Canada was 11 years in 2006 (Zaltzman 2006) and many people never receive the organ they need. This is a reality being observed in most post-industrial societies of the early 21st century (Scheper-Hughes 2006b). Aging populations, rising rates of diabetes leading to an increase in cases of kidney failure (Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care 1999), a low number of "brain death" diagnoses that qualify donors for organ removal (Sharp 2006), reduced risk taking, safer cars, and fear of HIV and other diseases (Baer 1997), compound to create the supply problem. In Canada, as well as in other countries such as the U.S., there is also a lack of effective communication between family members about the cadaveric donation wishes of individuals. In fact, families often have "veto power" over stated organ donation wishes (such as signing ones organ donor card), and doctors are unwilling to challenge a family's decision in a time of grief (Sharp 2006; The Citizens Panel on Increasing Organ Donation 2007). Thus, more organs are wasted in hospitals each year than are removed (MacDonald et al. 2008). Those demanding organs are desperate, and current transplant policies seem unable to keep up.

The ongoing debate on the matter of organ supply questions whether governments should address organ shortages through legal-economic

means. Some believe regulation through monetary compensation is out of the question because of exploitation (Scheper-Hughes 2006b), and because generally governments consider donation, particularly in the case of blood products, as "more in harmony with the social policy of the modern welfare state" (Schweda and Schicktanz 2009:1130). Additionally, "anonymous gifting and charity towards strangers resonates with explicitly Christian values" (Scheper-Hughes 2003), which is especially true for post-European-colonial North American governments. On the other hand, the main arguments for commercialization are: (1) "justice," people should not die waiting for treatment; (2) "liberty," the right to do what one wants with one's body; (3) "beneficence and utility," the win-win nature of both sides getting what they want; and (4) "efficiency," an economic system will "solve the demand problem" (Schweda and Schicktanz 2009). As of yet, many nations remain uncertain about how best to proceed.

Recently, Canadian governments have been campaigning for live donation and for increasing the number of registered cadaveric donors (Gift of Life 2010). Presumably, these strategies are the publicly and politically accepted ways in which to increase the supply of organs locally. Unfortunately, because shortages persist, some people seek out organs outside of legal-medical means. Within the Canadian donation system people have to wait, making the international market one alternative they might consider, especially if they have the financial means to purchase the goods. There is evidence that Canadians are participating in the trade (Scheper-Hughes 2005). Doctor Jeffrey Zaltzman (2006) of St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto has gone on record to report that he has treated patients who received organs from China where prisoners are executed in line with organ demand (Falun Dafa Information Centre 2009). Thus, this article is concerned with explaining how potential buyers (the relatively wealthy individuals living in affluent nations who rely on donation systems) realize their role as buyers in the market. It therefore highlights the three key conditions that enable buyer participation in the international market for human organs.

BODY AS OBJECT

The first condition that facilitates buyer participation in the market for human organs is the pervasiveness of understandings of the "body as object" in post-modern, post-industrialized societies. For example, medical knowledge and terminology promote the idea that the body is ill and not the person (Sharp 2006). Such language has the effect of objectifying the body, making it an alienable part of the individual. Assuming the body to be an alienable part of the individual has some important consequences for how we relate to bodies in the context of organ exchange.

Stephen Wilkinson (2003) discusses the ethical dilemma of treating the body as an object and the danger of immoral exploitation or using others

for personal gain. Using Kant's principles, Wilkinson (2003) argues that our goals must be to never treat people as means (use value) but only as ends-in-themselves (use and intrinsic value). He argues that this is true because "when we become focused on a person's…usefulness to us, we have a tendency to disregard the fact that she is an autonomous being who deserves respect" (Wilkinson 2003:37). From an ethical perspective, processes of organ transplantation and trade, and the institutions that support them (e.g. medical communities), tend to treat people as objects only, based on their useful ability to prolong life.

Given that people are often treated as objects only, bodies are similarly objectified in a new "relation of production." In his work on organ sale and trafficking, Gisli Pálsson (2009) applies Marx's notion of relations of production to the body. He argues that the mechanization of factory work that led people to become merely living appendages of machines, equates to a "human mastery" that has been "extended to the bodies of the workers themselves" (Pálsson 2009:297). Here, one's productive value becomes the ability to extract organs, and human labour power becomes one's ability to exchange organs for cash (Pálsson's emphasis). He states, "that estrangements represented by the biotech mode of production – the fragmenting, trafficking, and hybridity of body parts… mirror, up to a point, the objectification and alienation of 'species-life'" (Pálsson 2009:302). Arguably, in the current context of late capitalism, the body is yet another site of production and early Marxist conceptions of objectification and alienation of workers and labour can be applied to bodies and organs in the new "biotech" mode of production. This is supported by Jameson (1991) who argues that post-modernity is marked by "a prodigious expansion of capital into hitherto uncommodified areas" (Jameson 1991:36). In terms of the international trade in organs, there is an exploitation of the productive value of bodies of the underclass, while there is valuing of life for those with the capital to buy the organs they require. Thus, body parts are alienated and estranged from the poor individual and perceived as objects for sale.

The objectification of the body within the medical realm, and within the new biotech mode of production, has also served to change identities in regards to how one understands the body and how it can be altered, that is, one's relationship with biotechnology. Following the release of the Human Genome Project in 1990, Paul Rabinow (1996) claimed that we are now living in a "biosocial" world, where the "body as object" is an increasingly malleable thing. For example, the project made possible the creation of "designer babies" with all the best, socially defined, physical traits. Similarly, Pálsson (2009:291) states that, "humans now reinvent themselves in a new sense and on a fundamentally new scale, deliberately altering their bodily constitution and development by exchanging genes, tissues, and organs." The impact that this "reinvention-ability" has had on individual identities is astounding, such as the ability for anyone

to go online and pay to learn about their genetic makeup, predispositions to illness and ancestry, effectively creating new identities and ways of knowing the self where they would not have existed previously (Pálsson 2009). Thus, advances in genetic research and biotechnology are generally changing perceptions of what is available for knowing and, perhaps more importantly, for consuming. In today's biosocial world, social lives and identities are tied to biology through technology, which serves to change individual understandings of the body and perceptions of what is technologically and medically possible.

Particularly in the case of human organs, advances in medicine and the widespread use of the immunosuppressant drug cyclosporine beginning in the 1980's, have led to an increase in transplant surgeries and higher confidence in health outcomes of organ recipients (Fox and Swazey 1992). Knowing that the technology to procure an organ and survive transplantation exists has a significant impact on individual desire (and likely desperation) for treatment. One's identity becomes intimately tied to realizing a healthier life, which is a primary goal regardless of the cost (financial or human). Ultimately, knowing there is a relatively easy and safe cure for their illness, but that it is unattainable due to a lack of donated organs, presumably causes a great deal of frustration. Furthermore, when one is reliant on a system of donation that requires long wait times that threaten life itself, an alternative that can provide organs for a price (regardless of how, where, when and why they were produced) may begin to look like the only means for accessing treatment.

BODY AS COMMODITY

Participation in the organs trade is also facilitated by the pervasiveness of understandings of "body as commodity." In terms of understanding why someone might make the choice to purchase organs rather than wait for them, it becomes even more important to consider how organs became commodities in the first place. Social scientists have developed a number of theories to explain the process through which objects become commodities; how meanings change over time and how things once considered "sacred" are given a cash value. Arguably, since they are tied to life itself, organs ought to fall within the latter "sacred" category (and perhaps in the past they did), but are increasingly becoming mere objects for sale.

Using *exchange theory*, Marx (in Morrison 1995) explained that commodities have both a use value and an exchange value and are primarily social objects because these values rely on judgments, and because they circulate within social systems in response to desires and demand (Appadurai 1986). Arjun Appadurai (1986) argues that because of their social nature, we can map their movement, the "human transactions that enliven them" (Appadurai 1986:2). If we consider commodities as (1) socially defined and (2) always "in motion" in their trajectory, we can see how

all things can be said to move into, and out of, the "commodity territory."

Igor Kopytoff (1986) calls this movement in and out of the "commodity territory" the *cultural biography* of objects. The concept of cultural biography expands on Marx's exchange theory by adding the component of cultural context in determining an object's value as a commodity. Thus, Kopytoff explained that "Commoditization is best looked at as a process of becoming rather than as an all-or-nothing state of being;" and why something "becomes commodity" depends on context (Kopytoff 1986:73). For example, the slave is captured and is stripped of his previous identity. As a nonperson, he becomes a commodity to be purchased for his labour, but as he is integrated into a new society, he is reindividualized, and decommodified. However, at the moment he is traded among slave owners, he is recommodified. Thus, some objects become commodities only in specific social contexts, a process that is determined by culture and technology. Thus, objects on their trajectory can be said to be commodified, decommodified or recommodified as needed depending on the situation.

Building on Kopytoff's model of cultural biographies, Appadurai (1986) argues that assuming different cultures create different "social contexts," it is necessary to consider why some objects become commodities no matter the culture. Cultural frameworks are the moral, symbolic and classificatory standards of a particular time and place that determine whether something is exchangeable. Since people do not share one cultural framework, the "degree of value coherence may be highly variable from situation to situation," and thus, cultural frameworks break down (Appadurai 1986:14). In cases of *exchange across cultural boundaries* (Appadurai's emphasis), the only thing that can be "agreed upon is price." Contexts can exist apart from disparate cultural values and are necessary for some objects to enter into the commodity territory. In the case of human organs, they have entered the "commodity territory" because of the current organ shortage in most affluent nations. Presumably, organs will remain in the commodity territory so long as there is demand for them that is not met with an increase in available, donated organs. As Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2003:204) states, "what goes by the wayside in these new medical transactions is longstanding modernist and humanist conceptions of bodily holism, integrity and human dignity, let alone cultural and religious beliefs in the 'sacredness' of the body." Thus, where organs were perhaps once considered "sacred" and noncommodifiable, they have become commodities where the cultural frameworks protecting them have broken down.

GLOBALIZATION AND CONSUMER CULTURE

Other important enabling conditions facilitating the participation of buyers in the market for human organs include globalization and the spread

of consumer culture. Broadly speaking, processes of globalization over the last 30 years have included the breaking down of the modern welfare state through market liberalization (McKeen and Porter, 2003), the expansion of transportation and communication (Steger 2009), and the all important hunt for ever cheaper production costs. Globalization has been described as the "internationalization of capitalism" (Seidman 2009:19) and there exists a global socio-political class system arranged to maintain unequal positions of power and wealth.

Wallerstein (2009) provides a model for conceptualizing the global economy based on the relation of nation states to one another, coined as World Systems Theory. Essentially, the same profit motives and labour exploitation that prevail in national capitalist modes of production are said to exist on a global scale. The key distinctions being "economically, politically, militarily and culturally dominant" core states, politically and economically weak periphery states that are controlled by core states, and semiperiphery states that are a mix of the two and provide a kind of buffer zone (Seidman 2009:277). The subordination of semiperiphery and periphery states to core states has created global power imbalances that have severe social consequences such as cultural degradation, racialization, and the debasement of Native groups in favour of core state objectives. Core states maintain their position through hegemony, and by extracting surplus value from periphery states, they ensure their economic and political control. After World War II, the United States became the dominant core nation and more importantly, "capitalism [became the] world-economy" (Seidman 2009:280). Thus, today, we can conceive of a world united by economic and political power under a capitalist mode of production that is maintained by few, very powerful core states.

Since capitalism relies on exchange, whether of goods or of labour, the most important tool that core states have for maintaining dominance is a global emphasis on consumption. Richard Robbins (1999) discusses the historical shift in American consumerism and states that by the end of the 1930's, "the consumer was well entrenched…complete with… an intellectual rationalization that glorified the continued consumption of commodities as personally fulfilling and economically desirable" (Robbins 1999:22). Consumer culture intensified as corporate and political leaders sought to expand trade internationally so that by the late 20th century, consumerism had spread from the United States around the world.

The globalization of a consumer culture carried with it significant implications for local communities that soon became connected to the larger global community. For example, advances in communication and transportation removed the issue of distance in production and distribution. Manfred Steger (2009) also explains that:

> As images and ideas can be more easily and rapidly transmitted from one place to another, they profoundly impact the way people experience their everyday lives [and] culture no longer remains tied to fixed localities…but acquires new meanings that reflect dominant themes emerging in a global context (Steger 2009:40).

Thus, the spread of consumer culture, beginning in the early 20th century in the United States, has had a significant homogenizing effect on world cultures (Steger 2009), this is mostly due to the powerful influence of core states and corporations and their ability to maintain capitalist relations of production and distribution.

Scheper-Hughes (2002) provides an example of how the spread of consumer culture has intensified the organs trade in her discussion of "medical tourism." Generally speaking, medical tourism involves individuals with adequate resources travelling to foreign countries to procure medical treatments, when the same treatments are not available (i.e. not covered by insurance or cannot be paid for) in their own country. She describes a case where a covert transplant company operates between Turkey, Russia, Moldova, Estonia, Georgia, Romania and the United States. Over the course of five days, rich buyers and poor sellers are brought together for surgery, followed by recovery, and are then flown home. The organ package cost the buyer upwards of US$200,000 in 2001, with some of the money going towards bribing transportation officials, and renting hospital and hotel rooms. This example demonstrates that without the economic dominance of some, coupled with the spread of consumer culture that links disparate populations to a single market exchange, medical tourism might not even have been possible.

Perhaps another significant example of the influence of global context and changing local cultural frameworks may be found in a consideration of Canadian participation in the organ trade. In the past, national welfare systems, such as in Canada, tended toward valuing the donation of organs and altruism over commodification (Schweda and Schiktanz 2009; Titmuss 1970). While this is still reflected in the provincial donation systems, liberalization and the spread of consumer culture have enabled desperate people to travel elsewhere for their organs, as in the case of Canadians buying Chinese organs (Scheper-Hughes 2005; Zaltzman 2006). Thus, at least to some degree, previously held values, such as altruism and voluntarism, in organ procurement are breaking down, though further investigation is needed in order to determine the extent of the breakdown. Overall, globalization, as an economic and cultural process can have devastating effects, particularly as the spread of consumer culture is leading to the intensification of the global trade in human organs.

TRUST AND THE CONSUMER LIFESTYLE

Finally, discussing globalization and the spread of consumer culture necessitates a consideration of the

important role of trust in consumer lifestyles and how it relates to, and enables participation in, the market in human organs. Anthony Giddens (1991) discusses the role of trust in what he calls "high modernity" and the consumer lifestyle. He explains that an increasingly mechanized world relies on abstract systems, such as financial systems, and expert systems (Giddens' emphasis), such that technological knowledge enters into normal, everyday social relations. These systems are useful for participation in a society that relies on time and specialization, and participants rely on these systems to not breakdown (Giddens 1991). For example, Sayed Saghaian and Jonathan Shepherd (2009) discuss the concept of trust in consumer society in relation to food safety events, such as an outbreak of E.coli in a certain company's cured meat products. These events make consumers more aware of food risks and because consumers expect food safety and trust that this expectation will be met, these events often lead to a shifting of consumer alliances to new companies where their trust has not been broken. Similarly, Niklas Luhmann (1995) states that trust becomes a relevant factor in "situations where one must enter into risks one cannot control in advance" (Luhmann 1995:129). Dawn Burton (2008) goes on to add that "trust is [also] fundamental to human nature; it is the way in which people deal with the unpredictable freedom of others" (Burton 2008:47). Therefore, trust enables us to maintain relationships and operate within a world where risks are part of everyday consumption practices.

If the concept of trust is extended to the organs trade, we see that there are several relevant linkages. First, in the case of an organ buyer, the concept of trust works in the following way: due to the individual's understanding of commodities, exchanges of sale and typical relationships between free market agents in consumer society, the buyer trusts that the system will deliver what has been paid for that he cannot provide for himself, which in this case is a healthy organ. The reality of course is that organ brokers often distort the truth to reduce the negative realities of the trade, such as telling the buyer an organ was donated willingly from a healthy person (Scheper-Hughes 2002). Also, buyers are told that a significant portion of their payment will be given to the seller. Unfortunately, it is more often the case that what is promised is not paid and whatever temporary economic relief the seller had looked forward to, does not occur (Al Jazeera English 2009; Cohen 2006). Thus, trust can be seen as a necessary condition for participation in the trade in human organs as it is a feature common to all transactions in consumer society. Without trust in the market, such as its ability to provide safe, quality goods, buyers would likely not participate. However, considering that trust is implicit in capitalist societies that rely on expert and abstract systems, efficiency and specialization, potential buyers may not see the possible dangers associated with participating in the trade, which problematizes the trade further.

CONCLUSION

The trade in human organs is a phenomenon that has come into world recognition over the last half decade, and appears to be intensifying. Markets in organs are illegal and, therefore, necessarily underground; however, they are based on the exchange of objects that are arguably unlike other common objects. Understanding this relatively new development of globalization poses significant challenges because of the sensitivities around conceptualizing bodies as non-sacred, the difficulty in revealing social relations among people from disparate cultures and locations, and what is perhaps most troubling, coming to grips with exchanges of life and death.

A considerable amount of research has been done to identify the characteristics of organ supply, however, this article attempted to situate the buyer within the trade, to further understand why and how potential buyers come to participate within it. It is important to consider the fact that buyers are on one side of an unequal exchange. As researchers have pointed out, buyers and sellers in the human organs trade are divided between the North and South and Western and Non-Western Nations, respectively. Indeed, Scheper-Hughes (2000) explains that organs tend to flow through "the modern routes of capital: from South to North, from Third to First World, from poor to rich, from black or brown to white, and from female to male" (Scheper-Hughes 2000:193). Understanding the unique position of buyers within a global society dominated by consumer culture and views of the body as commodity is necessary in order to characterize organ demand. By focusing on demand, the analysis adds to the increasing body of literature aimed at identifying the nuances of the market and ways to deal with it.

Future research in the area of organ markets could continue to consider the important role of the buyer, such as considering how and why individuals make the decision to participate in the trade, according to their own accounts and experiences. Additionally, understanding why people participate, due to specific barriers to accessing needed treatments, could shed light on areas of concern to governments trying to increase organ supplies locally. Perhaps an initial question remains to be answered: exactly how prevalent is the consideration of buying organs among people currently waiting for organs in Canada? Evidence suggests that Canadians do participate in the trade (Scheper-Hughes 2006b), so another question might be, how might governments be able to reduce the likelihood of people turning to illegal markets? It is through government recognition and policy changes that organ supply might be more safely and efficiently secured. Thus this analysis, therefore, helps to both situate the potential organs buyer, and provides a useful starting point for investigating exactly how buyers come to realize their role within organ markets.

What are the conditions that make participating in the organs market possible, particularly for those who wish to purchase organs? This article

has shown that buyer participation is made possible by three main conditions: (1) objectification of the body; (2) commodification of the body; and (3) globalization, the spread of consumer culture and the necessary role of trust in consumer lifestyles. Each of these conditions plays a significant role in conceptualizing how people, particularly affluent Westerners, are able to participate in the trade in human organs. Given the analysis provided here, these conditions combine to enable potential buyers to fulfil a need, by way of an economic transaction, that they otherwise may never have been able to fill. Overall, these enabling conditions, coupled with what is known about the inequality in wealth and opportunity between buyers and sellers, serve to maintain and intensify a very dangerous exchange.

NOTES

[1] This second movement is most commonly explained in creative detail, that is, it equates to folklore in many places around the world, notably South and Central America where these stories are said to have developed in times of social and political turmoil (Campion-Vincent 2005). Though the media has been blamed for continuing the tradition of "organ theft legend," it seems that there may in fact be some truth to their origins, but the evidence is sporadic and further investigation is required (Scheper-Hughes 2006a).

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IAN SELLERS

BORDERING ON THE SUPERNATURAL: MERGING ANIMISM AND THE FRONTIER IN ARCHAEOLOGY

ABSTRACT

Animism, landscape and frontier have all been well studied in their various archaeological contexts. In spite of this isolated progress, however, there is little recognition of the overlap among these interest areas. I argue that new conceptions of boundary detailed in the field of frontier archaeology are useful in examining boundaries in animistic communities, and that conversely, advancements in the archaeology of animism can open new fields of analysis in frontier archaeology. The recognition and exploration of boundary and frontier in the archaeology of animism will add new perspectives to both fields and unite them in a comparative discussion on the nature of ethnic definition and interaction.

INTRODUCTION

Animistic beliefs are characterized by seamless and social relationships between humans and animals, cultural and natural entities (see Bird-Davis 1999). By examining art and explicit representation, archaeologists have explored these and other complex worldviews at length in their research (e.g., Clottes 1990; Holl 2004). However, archaeologists do not often encounter such direct evidence of worldview, as it can be all but invisible in the archaeological record. With this limitation in mind, it is important to pay close attention to alternative ontologies that may be hidden in methodological blind spots. Recent efforts to expose animism in the material record counter these difficulties through an overhaul of archaeological practice (Alberti and Bray 2009; Zedeño 2009). Yet, it is not necessary to abandon traditional archaeological practice in view of a holistic past. Instead, archaeologists can begin to explore the alternative worldviews of the past through the creative use of current archaeological theory. One means of reconsidering holistic ontologies is through the study of the categorizations and boundaries they create. Divisions in landscape are focal points for ethnic definition, and when visible in archaeological assemblages, they can provide insight into animistic belief.

Here, I argue that research on physical boundaries and borderlands can assist in the exploration of animistic landscapes in the past, if it is understood that interaction along boundaries can involve non-human entities. Physical remnants of borders among human or non-human groups offer unique perspective on the social interaction that created those borders. While archaeologists have utilized a

wide array of symbolic boundaries in their conception of border such as political (e.g., Trigger 1974), socio-economic (e.g., Smith and Berdan 1992), geographic (e.g., Cordy and Kaschko 1980), and technological and stylistic (e.g., Dietler and Herbich 1994; Kalentzidou 2000; Stark 1998), it seems that such interaction with non-human communities has remained relatively unaddressed. Conversely, studies on animistic landscapes have not made use of recent conceptions of boundary developed within frontier archaeology. Through a discussion of the archaeologies of the frontier, landscape and animism, and with particular reference to Bradley Parker's (2006) boundary schematic employed in *Toward an Understanding of Borderland Processes*, I will attempt to bring notions of animism into the frontier and generate discussion across these now isolated areas.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF FRONTIER

Since the aim of this discussion is to unite the archaeologies of animism, landscape and frontier, it is appropriate to begin the discussion with their common element – boundary. When defined within an open, cultural system, boundaries are semi-permeable divisions in data, occurring along any number of variables (Justeson and Hampson 1985:16). The convolution of boundary makes finding fluid yet meaningful divisions within webs of overlapping relationships difficult. At once, archaeologists are challenged to recognize the complexity of social relationships in the past and to establish important patterning within this sometimes-contradictory data. Appropriately, a new, open conception of border is emerging that is flexible enough to cover the range of overlapping relationships comprising archaeological boundary. Within it, the "animistic frontier" should be recognized as a key type.

The most widely studied aspect of border in North American archaeology is the "frontier." This field of research does not frequently extend to wider issues of division and boundary, but instead focuses primarily on centre-periphery relationships within colonial expansion. However, there have been several notable attempts to join frontier and other border research into a coherent discussion on the wider issue of boundary itself. One important step towards this goal is Stanton Green and Stephen Perlman's 1985 edited volume *The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries*. While much of the volume is devoted to macroscopic industrial studies, settlement processes, and systems-theory resource extraction models, the papers engage with an assortment of contexts and types of boundary. Throughout the case studies, social systems are characterized as fundamentally open, but crossed by a variety of economic, social and political boundaries, including colonial and non-colonial interaction. The range of papers included in this work attests to this variation, but most of this volume rests on economic foundations.

Kent Lightfoot and Antoinette Martinez's subsequent (1995) treatment

of boundary in archaeology takes the discussion of frontier from the relatively open and boundary oriented forum presented in Green and Perlman's volume (1985) and focuses it strictly on colonial frontier relationships. Lightfoot and Martinez' work foregrounds the periphery in centre-periphery schemes and emphasizes fluidity across home and hinterland areas. The authors put forward a model of "cross-cutting social networks" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:471) where boundaries are "socially charged places where innovative cultural constructs are created and transformed" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:472). Along similar lines as Mary Douglas (1966), Victor Turner (1967) and other anthropologists of ethnic creation and identity, Lightfoot and Martinez (1994:473) argue that the frontier is where culture is most visible and imbued with transformative power. Interactions in world-systems inspired peripheral zones (see Wallerstein 1977) cannot be characterized only as the edges of settlement, but as vital and defining centres of interaction. Certainly, Green and Perlman (1985) and subsequently Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) opened frontier research to encompass a wide range of social relationships that occur in peripheral areas. However, this recognition of individualized, agent-based, dynamic frontiers does not acknowledge two separate, yet important facets of boundary in archaeology. First, social interaction occurs among human and non-human communities. Second, a range of boundary exists in the archaeological record, from well to poorly defined.

It is necessary to introduce animistic communities into the complex mix of "scattered relationships" that comprise frontier according to Lightfoot and Martinez (1995). In their nuanced conception of the frontier, they do not afford landscape agency. For example, when dealing with "unoccupied lands," they ignore the possibility for cultural interaction of a different sort,

> Of course, there was a time when growing populations could expand into unoccupied lands, a time when there truly were empty spaces and 'frontier' was mainly a spatial term designating a physical margin, fringe, or outer boundary. However, when colonists began encountering other people in a more consistent and insistent manner, one person's homeland may have become another's frontier (Lightfoot and Martinez 1994:473).

This quote acknowledges the multiple perspectives of centre and periphery that exist when dealing with "frontier." Yet, when one considers the possibility that these "unoccupied lands" may have had social agency, it becomes difficult to maintain the assumption that movement into a new land did not require interaction along a cultural frontier. Following Tim Ingold's (1993) sensory animation of landscape, which explores environment through memory, bodily interaction, and daily routine, how can we not acknowledge the possibility of animistic projection of frontier? Lightfoot and Martinez' (1995) notions of dynamic and ambiguous boundaries take steps towards a more incorporative frontier, but miss the possibility for imagined landscapes instead of "empty spaces".

Along with introducing animism into frontier, finding it in the archaeological record requires us to go beyond Lightfoot and Martinez' (1995) fluid frontiers and acknowledge the range of types within boundary processes – static to dynamic, social to geographic. The range of borders visible in the archaeological record will be necessarily skewed towards boundaries that are relatively fixed and coherent, and thus, research models need to acknowledge the wider range of relationships that occur in peripheral areas. Here, Bradley Parker's (2006) new conception of boundary is essential, as he offers a new, incorporative scheme for borderlands that adds static notions of boundary to the fluid, dynamic boundaries of Lightfoot and Martinez' (1995) article.

At its base, Parker's (2006) scheme is similar to that of Lightfoot and Martinez (1995). Yet, he moves beyond the context of colonialism and opens the discussion to all boundary research. Parker's synthesis of the variety of frontier and boundary studies comes as a response to social scientific calls for comparative boundary research (see Lamont and Molnar 2002). This follows Green and Perlman's (1985) efforts, but adds a more coherent and consistent method of categorizing boundaries. First, Parker (2006:83) separates borders from frontiers, with borders representing strict divisions and frontiers characterizing lax ones. Within this scale of permeability, Parker (2006:82) lists several major attributes of boundaries: geographic, political, demographic, cultural and economic. From climatic to religious boundaries, Parker acknowledges the range of cases seen in Green and Perlman (1985) and elsewhere. His own work in Anatolia and an array of other archaeological studies of boundary (Parker 2006) provide a rich comparative base to explain the intertwined relationships among boundary attributes. In one case, resource extraction fuels demographic change, but in another linguistic boundary can prevent commodity exchange. Through all of his case studies boundary remains unstable, but it remains within his simply defined "boundary."

As well defined as boundary is among Parker's many examples, it still does not incorporate animism and imagined landscapes. Parker's interconnected and overlapping aspects of boundaries (**Figure 1**) do not address the question of empty landscapes drawn from Lightfoot and Martinez (1995). Geography is effectively barred agency. For instance, when detailing geographic boundaries, Parker (2006:83) merely accounts for the guiding nature of topographic features. Mountains may impede settlement while rivers enhance trade, but neither can be social entities. Animated landscape and non-human communities are boundary processes that drive the creation and maintenance of ethnicity and need inclusion in Parker's latest revision of the archaeology of boundary.

Parker (2006) has brought the discussions within Green and Perlman (1985) and Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) into a comprehensive and updated discussion. Essentially, he has incorporated Lightfoot and Martinez'

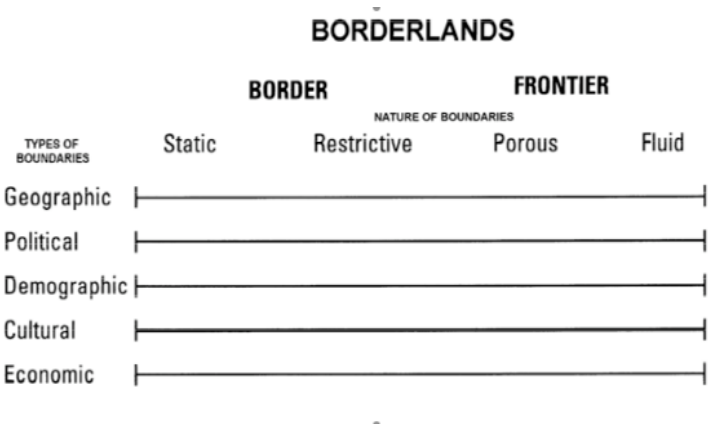

Figure 1 The Continuum of Boundary Dynamics. (Parker 2006:82)

ideas of a variable, complex, and defining periphery and also brought frontier back into the wider discussion on boundary, as seen in Green and Perlman's volume. He states that "boundary processes — the finite, if complex, set of dialectal interactions that take place in contact zones — ... bridges our fields, regions, and sub disciplines and makes us all students of the frontier" (Parker 2006:78, emphasis in original). The archaeologies of frontier and liminal materiality offer a visible place of transformation between social spheres in both ethnographic and archaeological datasets, places where social divisions are given physical form. Through ethnographic analogy and contemporary material culture studies, archaeological boundary can contribute to wider social scientific discussions on identity.

One bridge between the archaeology and ethnography of boundaries lies within E. Breck Parkman's (1994) ethnohistorical research on the ideologies of the Pomo bands of Northern California. This work is particularly notable for its elaboration of animistic boundaries and its relatively smallscale. In the Pomo's pre-contact history, the author found the presence of a distinct division in their worldviews of "wild" and "communal" lands, a division that did and still does reach across all aspects of life. This division between persons and animals can remind one of dualities of nature and culture, however the Pomo bring the "Outside People" into social engagement where a strict nature–culture divide would not. For example, Pomo origin stories such as *The Deer and the Bear* document a long and interwoven history between nature and culture, people and things. For Parkman, this story documents human migration out of the wilds and into communities and the forging of distinct and bounded social groups. In contrast with the wilds, the Pomo "in effect, became another world" (Parkman 1994:13). This separation can be understood as an interactive and cultural boundary, even if some of its participants are what many archaeologists would consider non-cultural.

Parker's (2006) and Lightfoot and Martinez' (1995) core and periphery frontier model is revealed in the pre-contact Pomo village's diametric and concentric structure. In a Levi-Straussian pattern, male–female, and sacred–profane worlds were divided in terms of core and periphery. Although matrilineal and matrilocal, the Pomo men's ritual structures were placed in the centre of the village, separated from peripheral women's domestic structures. Moreover, the outer limits of the village, out of view of gendered-separated structures, were the only places where alternative behaviour was regularly allowed.

In the centre of the village, ceremonial roundhouses were built as a microcosm of the larger world, with determined areas reserved for visiting bands. Social and geographic boundaries among neighbouring communities were recreated in the roundhouse (Parkman 1994). Accordingly, northern, western, and eastern neighbours all sat in their corresponding positions, yet the southern section was left unoccupied. This, Parkman argues (1994:19), may be due in part to the tense relationship the Pomo had with the ghosts who lived beyond the southern boundary of their territory. These ghosts had a tangible role in political negotiation and were considered participants in ritual activities within the roundhouse. The building's very construction required direct interaction with such "Outside people," and since the Pomo considered them to be a serious danger to humans (Parkman 1994:21), trips into their lands to gather resources were not taken without first negotiating peace through prepared feasts and offerings.

Since this example is taken from ethnographic survey, it is important to consider these interactions as they would appear archaeologically. There are strong material correlates for these interactions and liminal boundary zones. In light of the Pomo's negotiated relationship with the "Outside peoples," ritual architecture and offerings may indicate boundary in Pomo archaeology. For example, the centre pole of the roundhouse represented the focus of the world. During particular ceremonies, "ghost impersonators" would attempt to enter and remove this anchor point. Yet, the pole was not normally host to violent interaction. Attacks and negotiation usually occurred within the liminal, frontier zone, which suggests that the division ran through all of Pomo social life. In spite of this, however, the periphery was an important and real meeting point between spirits and humans (Parkman 1994). This bounded negotiation was apparent in daily practice, as well as in more unique events. For instance, around one mile from the village (Parkman 1994:21), there were many trailside offerings of beads and sticks where hunters prayed before entering the territory of the Outside people. Moreover, Parkman (1994) also documented rock art and cave transformer points. These locations also represented visible boundary zones, portals between human and non-human worlds employed by shamans to effect materially evident power. Architectural features within

the community, trail offerings, and transformer points all represent archaeologically visible boundaries between human and non-human communities.

Parkman's work on the Pomo (1995) gives a clear example of ethnographically and archaeologically visible boundaries in animistic worldviews. At this point, however, there needs to be a means of comparison to link this animistic boundary to other forms of cultural encounter and traditionally defined frontier interaction. Parker's (2006) discussion of the variable influence of frontiers in geographic, political, economic and cultural dimensions fits well with the complexities of Parkman's discussion of gender, ritual, and power in Pomo society. The overlapping, multiscalar characteristics of frontiers that Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) speak about are also evident in the Pomo's engagement along their frontier. The political negotiations taking place in the village centre and the close management of resources in dangerous and occupied territory expose a division between human and non-human communities that is comparable to situations found in frontier studies. Most importantly, however, the archaeological visibility of these interactions in settlement patterns, hunting shrines and transformer sites supports the need for an archaeology of boundary and animism.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF LANDSCAPE

While frontier studies have not yet incorporated landscape agency, phenomenological studies, such as Christopher Tilley's *Phenomenological Approaches to Landscape Archaeology* (1998), have discussed the idea in some detail. For Tilley, landscape is an ever-changing concept that defies individual definition. Imagined and experienced landscapes are constructed in innumerable ways and thus, they require flexible interpretive strategies. In his work, Tilley (1996; 1998) focuses on monumental architecture and demonstrates that prominent landscape features can act as orienting and "transition points" for their viewers. Following this view, he uses physical remnants of boundary to explore worldviews through landscape, in much the same manner as anthropologists and archaeologists can explore wider social divisions through physical boundary.

Employing notions of landscape brought forth by Tilley, Richard Bradley's (2000) *An Archaeology of Natural Places* details the importance of seemingly empty landscape through discussions of votives, rock art, and lithic production sites. Under the umbrella of landscape archaeology, Bradley uses boundary and boundedness in his attempt to expose worldviews through natural landscape. As with the archaeologies of frontier discussed previously, he remarks upon the difficulty of associating boundedness in artifactual groups and boundedness in cultural constructs such as gender, age and other divisions (Bradley 2000:147). Despite this, he also acknowledges the importance of physical boundary in his work on Salisbury Plain earthworks, where votives found in peri-

pheral areas contrast sharply with those in the settlements and point to an alternative spatial status that might even create a distinction between the individual and the community (Bradley 2000).

The difficulty of extrapolating worldview from archaeology is evident in Bradley's work, but of the options available, boundary markers prove successful. The attempt to "recover" (Bradley 2000:161) the cultural meaning of natural places through the material of liminality is a progressive process. An important first step has been taken through landscape archaeologies brought by Bradley and Tilley, as this pushed archaeology beyond the traditional categorizations of archaeological practice that isolate persons from their environments. However, their investigations utilize ideas of core and periphery in the same ways as researchers working on the frontier. Concepts of duality and boundedness can be applied to animistic concepts fruitfully when one realizes the limitations of the analogy. By comparing these core and periphery concepts in the animistic landscapes of Tilley and Bradley with conventional ideas of community interaction, we can arrive to a more vivid and complex picture of social interaction. When brought into Parker's (2006) continuum, these animistic engagements take their place among the interactive web of human and non-human relationships that make up the frontier.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ANIMISM

The third major research area in this discussion is the archaeology of animism. Like research in landscape archaeology, recent coverage on animism in the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* (2008) and the *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* (2009) centres upon the topic of methodological integration of alternative ontologies into archaeology. As suggested by Brown and Walker (2008), the cross-cultural prevalence of animistic religious belief documented by anthropologists in the ethnographic period should provide sufficient reason to explore its material correlates in the archaeological record. Adding to this view, I believe that by operating from a uniformitarianist, analogical perspective, we can use boundary to begin to approach these extremely clouded and complex topics.

In their introduction to the *Cambridge Journal of Archaeology*'s special section on animism, or "relational ontologies," Alberti and Bray (2009:338) isolate several major difficulties to the study of animism in archaeology: "(1) [...] modern 'dualisms'; (2) the nature of relational ontologies; (3) the problematic of 'object agency'; (4) and the methodological implications of researching relational and other ontologies." Taking a cue from Tilley (2008) and the archaeology of landscape, dualities employed discursively and non-discursively by archaeologists must be recognized, if not in specifics, then as a source of bias that may overwhelm evidence of animism. As a corollary, relational ontologies must be recognized in addition to

substantivist, modernist ontologies, as they contrast with earlier notions of animism by focusing on the "the ability of people, places and things to communicate with each other rather than [...] focus on the super-natural world of spirits" (Sillar 2009:369).

The most pertinent difficulty is the danger of applying dualist thinking onto unreceptive data. This statement comes up particularly clearly in Bradley's position on stretched associations (Bradley 2000:147) in his archaeology of natural places, but also in Green and Perlman (1985) and Parker's (2006) discussions on arbitrary division. These difficulties are, however, navigable, and researchers such as Bradley (2000), Tilley (1996) and Parkman (1994) have successfully brought animistic landscape constructions into focus. Finding boundaries within an animated and holistic landscape may seem contradictory, but these contradictions are necessary for comprehension of animism (Holbraad 2009). As Holbraad has stated on the subject, we must "explore the enormous conceptual wealth of the Western intellectual tradition in order to find concepts that may, after all, be appropriate to the analysis of animism" (Holbraad 2009:435). Cultural boundary is one such means of exploration.

Even though boundary is an excellent starting point for research on animism in archaeology, the basic problem of recognizing it in the archaeological record remains. How can one differentiate conventional social boundaries from animate ones? Recent contributions to the discussion on animism have manoeuvred around these problematic issues. For example, Maria Nieves Zedeño (2009) has developed several ethnologically derived criteria for the recognition of animism in the archaeological record. To do so, she has listed "inherently animate objects" such as red paint, crystals, fossils and copper; "objects that embody the soul of a living being, such as effigies and parts of animals;" and "objects that enhance communication, such as smoking pipes, smoking plants, roots of hallucinogenic plants and leaves of smudging or incense plants" (Zedeño 2009:412). In coordination with these material types, three association types are consistently defined as animistic: "spatial association between animate objects and any other object," "spatial association between any kind of object and certain landforms, such as springs, caves, lakes, prominent rock formations and rock crevices, mountaintops and erratic boulders," and "use in activities or contexts aimed at managing and transferring power" (Zedeño 2009:412). These categories are certainly broad, yet they can provide sufficient ethnographic analogy to recognize the possibility of animism in the past. Bradley (2000), Tilley (1996), and Parkman (1994) have all used one or another of these material traces as the foundation of their arguments for active landscapes, and researchers focusing more specifically on "animism" certainly do as well. These analogical associations are essential starting points in the search for animistic boundary in the archaeological record.

DIVIDING ANIMISM

The analogical reasoning put forward by Zedeño (2009) is apparent in all of the case studies presented in the corresponding special issues on animism in archaeology. Most work on animism in archaeology begins with such ethnoarchaeological research, because the materiality of animism is normally too complex to distill from the material record without some ethnographic analogy. Of these case studies, several exhibit particular reference to the archaeology of physical boundary. First, Bill Sillar's (2009) ethnoarchaeological study of central Andean animism seeks to complicate notions of supernatural with ideas of real, personified material agency. Sillar's (2009) study of the Highland Andean peoples suggests that the spirit world is not separated from the human world in terms of cultural ability. Rather, persons, animals and things can all possess animo, the "vitalizing animation" of life and the agent. In this perspective, Incan stone monuments at Huanacaure did not merely represent ancestors for the Highland Andeans, but rather embodied them. In descendent communities, offerings of food, drink and other goods can be transmitted to the animate receiver in several ways: surrogate, conflagration, scatter distribution and burial. These are relationships of reciprocity and active negotiation, what Sillar terms "social responsibility to other people, as well as the animate world" (2009:374). While he does not discuss boundary within these descriptions, there is a distinct and negotiated separation between the ritual guardians and the persons they connect. Through this, though, all agents are connected through animo. It is very possible that the offering sites described there exist in a liminal zone, bridging two communities along a material boundary, much like the caves among the Pomo (Parkman 1994) or transformer sites studied by Bradley (2000).

In contrast, Linda Brown and Kitty Emery's (2008) treatment of animism in the Guatemalan highlands directly explores boundaries within animistic belief. Following a logic similar to Zedeño (2009), Brown and Emery search for the material remains of animistic interaction in the archaeological record. In particular, they demonstrate that hunting shrines document a division between humans and the forest, as it is where the ritual negotiation with non-human agents occurs. As with the Pomo, the Maya "draw a sharp conceptual distinction between the social spaces occupied by humans and those of the forest wilds" (Brown and Emery 2008:303). Throughout their discussion of this situation, Brown and Emery (2008) emphasize thresholds, boundaries, and the spatial anchoring of ritual practice. They show that beings – human or non-human – navigate through these liminal spaces and foreign lands, and negotiations take the form of rituals and offerings in hunting shrines.

More so than in any other example, Brown and Emery present the potential of studying animism in the long-term, using a variety of historical, ethnographic and archaeological sour-

ces to explore animistic boundary. Widespread depictions of functionally separated forest–human realms and corresponding human–animal deities among the Lowland Maya from the Post-Classic period onwards link their ethnographic work with a well documented history of animistic belief (Brown and Emery 2008:305-306). Through a comprehensive project including the mapping of topographic and shrine features, analysis of faunal remains and ethnographic interviews with active users of such features, they manage to untangle animistic boundary from other social relationships using ethnographic analogy (as per Binford 1967 and Hodder 1982).

As we have seen in all cases so far, animate beings and the spaces they occupy, or embody, are involved in a complex, dynamic and consequential communication with their partnered communities. In Brown and Emery's (2008) work in the Guatemalan highlands, rock outcroppings, prey, hunting dogs, weapons and skeletal remains are all active agents enmeshed in a relational discourse with humans. Understanding boundaries between these groups allow researchers to see how such divisions are transgressed, as shown by Brown and Emery's (2008) study on new perspectives on "wild" material use in community settings. Here foreign products traded within an animate landscape, where subfloor caches of these materials take on new meaning as transgressions of an animistic boundary. The danger associated with these foreign economic encounters is again apparent. In Parker's terms (2006), this is a relatively sharp and impermeable boundary, one hinged upon resource acquisition. Yet, the political nature is inseparable from economic concern. Retribution for improper political negotiation can be dangerous and even deadly for Mayan participants (Brown and Emery 2008:332).

All these examples of boundary in the archaeology of animism show spatial liminality strictly between persons and things, "*between* humans and non-human agents" as Brown and Emery state (2008:300, emphasis added). Now when one considers the integrative nature of animistic belief, the notion of boundary becomes tricky. As noted before, western dualisms can effect division where it may not exist, and it is important to characterize such boundaries dividing human and non-human communities as Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) and Parker (2006) would for colonial frontiers. In view of frontier research, it is essential to explore the contradictions among the many relationships that comprise frontier and contrast multiple lines of animistic and other boundary relationships.

THE ANIMISTIC FRONTIER

The most useful way to bridge the complicated nature of boundary with the existence of non-human interaction in the archaeological record is through Parker's continuum of borderlands. Gender in Parkman (1994), gender and power in Bradley (2000), ancestral lineages in Sillar (2009), and resource extraction in Brown and Emery (2008) are all singular

explanations for boundary negotiation and liminality in the archaeological record. Yet, each of these foci cannot provide a complete picture. Just as with the negotiated and variable colonial landscapes put forward by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995), some of these may contain multiple, overlapping boundaries.

This is where Parker's "Continuum of Boundary Dynamics" (**Figure 1**) proves particularly useful. The merging of borderland discourse between archaeologies of animism, landscape and frontier studies can enrich all components through a characterization of boundary from static to fluid and from geographic to social. The possibility of comparing ontologies through boundaries is a complicated subject indeed; however, Parker's scheme can simplify comparative research. In frontier studies where material is considered as a possible source of agency in boundary dynamics, Parker's (2006) work can help refine the unique and multifaceted characteristics of boundary.

The use of Parker's continuum opens possibilities for research by associating animism with a range of interaction types. For example, ideas of constrained geography (Parker 2006:83) among the aforementioned case studies have not been adequately analyzed, although topographic associations are vital to boundaries in animism (Brown and Emery 2008:307; Zedeño 2009). The "lines of communication" Parker (2006:83) argues for river borders are strikingly similar to trade routes and associated hunting shrines in Brown and Emery's work (2008:316). In economic terms, the resource procurement strategies shown in borderlands in Pomo territory and Lowland Guatemala fit into a very economic description of animistic boundary. In his explanation of similar frontier studies, Parker argues, "Assyrian administrators had to travel far into enemy territory to acquire logs suitable for construction projects taking place in the Assyrian heartland" (2006: 83). Compare this with similar economic transactions in Brown and Emery's Lowland Mayan example: "the animal guardian protects the creatures of the forest by making sure hunters do not abuse them or take more creatures than needed. Hunters know they must maintain good rapport and positive dealings with this powerful actor..." (2008:311). These depictions of economic and social transaction across boundary are markedly similar. Often, notions of violence and danger are associated with any foray across these conceptual boundaries, animistic or otherwise. This sense of danger and economic opportunity aligns with Lightfoot and Martinez' (1995) characterization of frontier as a source of economic power and fits well within Parker's continuum of boundary. When dealing with issues of landscape interaction, ideas of resource exploitation carry over from world-systems studies. Throughout Green and Perlman (1985), Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) and Parker (2006), peripheral resource management in occupied territory is a key theme, just as it is in the archaeology of animism.

Along with economic borders, politi-

cal borders are also visible in the case studies. Offerings of food from the people of the Andean Highlands oblige animal guardians "to care for the house, the fields and the animals" (Sillar 2009:373). In the Salisbury Plains, changing distributions of votive deposits signified a move of small, peripheral and socially subversive activities to large, core, and government-sanctioned arenas (Bradley 2000). As for the Pomo, "corporate power was found in the community, personal power came from the wilderness" (Parkman 1994:29). This concept of individualism in peripheral areas of cultural interaction can be compared to Lightfoot and Martinez' (1995) characterization of frontier as a place of individual power. Adding yet another layer in Parker's (2006) boundary schematic, gendered descriptions of male and female power divisions in the Pomo followed strictly along spatial liminal zones, cross-referencing female puberty and fertility rights with the "wilderness" (Parkman 1994). It should be noted that the complexity of all of these boundary relationships is comparable to that of traditionally defined community boundaries. In light of this, work that has been done on boundary in animism should be re-examined through a simplified and comparative scheme such as Parker's (2006).

CONCLUSION

The variety and richness of boundary in animistic communities should encourage its inclusion in wider frontier research, and boundary should have a secure place in the archaeology of animism. The motivations and associations of boundary activities between animistic and other boundaries will spur a reconsideration of landscape interaction in all of its related fields. By integrating the new methodological insights on animism that highlight points of transformation and liminality in landscape with newly simplified concepts of overlapping and dynamic boundaries of frontier research, we can better approach the complexity of worldviews present in the archaeological past. In the archaeology of animism, it is interesting that the exploration of bounded animistic groups have not been couched in terms of frontier research. When animistic, active landscapes are inserted into typical colonial and frontier engagements, we can better analyze conflict and cooperation among groups. Conversely, the insights gained from colonial interaction can provide nuance to our understanding of boundaries in animistic societies. At the very least, we should follow Parker (2006) and Lamont and Molnar's (2002) calls for a synthetic conversation among those who study boundary processes. By merging discourses on boundaries between animism and frontier, we can broaden comparative research on the nature of ethnic identification through culture contact.

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JESSIKA TREMBLAY

STORIES THAT HAVEN'T CHANGED THE WORLD: NARRATIVES AND COUNTERNARRATIVES IN THE CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the arguments of six contemporary development experts who have sought and proposed solutions to extreme poverty. The paper argues, through the application of Emery Roe's narrative policy analysis, that though these solutions appear varied and innovative, they continue to be couched in mid-twentieth century evolutionist models of development. Two experts are singled out as offering original approaches to the "problem" of development: William Easterly and Amartya Sen.

INTRODUCTION

The international development community has been working to find solutions to poverty and improve the developing world's living standards for now over half a century. A panoply of "eureka" schemes designed by experts to eradicate poverty once and for all have emerged during this period, each one claiming to have learned from the errors committed by their predecessors to uncover the "real" solution to global (economic) inequality. The illusion created by this influx of development theories and approaches is that the mainstream development community is making progress and moving closer to the ideal scenario where poor countries, which represent one sixth of the world's population, will some day catch up economically to the richest countries. Simply put, this is not the case. Many of the ideas that are presented as new are merely slight variations on old ideas rehashed to make them look refreshing. An analysis of a variety of texts representing the most recent attempts to overhaul the system reveals the increasingly visible predicament of an industry that has repeatedly failed to deliver on promises to eradicate poverty and global suffering. Development experts such as Jeffrey Sachs, Robert Calderisi, Paul Collier, and Gregory Clark are representative members of this "eureka-scheme clique," having followed the mantra of development-as-economic-growth in their attempts to fix the industry. Significantly, the schemes that seem most promising are not schemes at all, but suggested alternatives that move beyond the clichés and outdated principles evinced by the former. Amartya Sen and William Easterly are renegades in their field, having proposed unconventional approaches to development that move away from the outdated and often deleterious

assumptions that pervade mainstream development theory.

Following Emery Roe's (1999) concept of counternarrative, I argue that the conventional solutions proposed by most economic practitioners continue to fail because despite being disguised as subversive, they are founded on tried and tired premises that have failed in the past. Meanwhile, the approaches that have actually proposed a radical break from the mainstream are still rather new and have yet to be popularized in the milieu and therefore, lack the authoritative weight to yet make a significant impact. The risk in this standpoint is of course the possibility that these alternative approaches will also prove fruitless in the future, but the fact that they represent a break from hackneyed economic panaceas gives some measure of hope.

This essay applies Roe's approach of using contemporary literary theory to examine development discourse in order to guide policy more effectively. At the same time it turns the approach back on itself to reveal a possible complicity in the perpetuation of a particular "teleological metanarrative" (Ferguson 1999:15) of development that touts *intervention* as the unique solution to economic backwardness. That Roe proposes a method of studying various (faulty) narratives to generate alternatives by guiding policy in a new direction makes the fundamental assumption that outside intervention is necessary and vital to improving the well-being of humanity worldwide. It is clear that without this assumption the international development community would not exist. Let me posit, therefore, that Easterly takes the most compelling approach to development by making light of the failures of big-push interventionist programs that have ruled development theory and practice in the past. Of the sample of development theorists I have examined, he is the only one who departs from the axiomatic view that an outside (white) hand is crucial to the betterment of the human condition. Sen (2000), on the other hand, makes the most compelling and original arguments from within the interventionist camp for changing the way we view development.

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT?

Before addressing the various development approaches, it is necessary to examine what development means. Development, both academically and colloquially, is often conceptualized as a linear, forward process of change, both on a local and a global scale, favouring economic growth or other avenues (such as foreign aid) for attaining a highly desired status of material, social, and personal well-being. Development is often seen as both a process and a state, especially at the country level, whereby developing nations are seen as lacking certain elements present in developed nations, while taking steps to gain those desired elements (i.e. high GDP per capita, low death rates, industrialization, high employment rates, etc).

Other popular definitions view development as "the end of poverty"

(Sachs 2005), modernization through economic growth (Rostow 1960), catching-up to the world's richest economies by increasing income (Clark 2007), etc. Unconventional definitions include viewing development as freedom (Sen 2000) and development as home-grown, non-interventionist solutions to poverty (Easterly 2006). The first set of preliminary definitions has emerged approximately in the last decade with the exception of Rostow. Yet their focus on economy, wealth, and income has its origins in 1940s economic development discourse and 1960s modernization theory.

The idea that poor countries suffer from some sort of affliction preventing them from climbing the ladder of prosperity or evolving past the universal primordial stage of poverty stems from a long tradition in the West of understanding social change from a teleological point of view. Anthropology has been good at pointing the finger at its own 19th century forefathers such as Spencer for erroneously applying Darwin's evolutionary principles to the study of societies. Yet these principles had a firm grip even up to the 1960s when Walt Rostow penned his *Stages of Economic Growth* (1959), which took an evolutionary approach to development and modernization. "For Rostow, the main thing is to move from tradition to modernity" (Rist 1997:96). From this point of view, society becomes developed when it has moved through the five stages of economic growth through which it acquires the necessary skills and technologies to sustain a level of economic growth that allows it to attain the desired final stage of "high-consumption" (Rist 1997:98). Modernization, then is a "nakedly evolutionist narrative" (Ferguson 1999:16) that views development as the shedding of the primitiveness and backwardness of tradition to don the high-speed progressiveness of modernity through economic growth.

According to Rist, the principles of modernization theory started to bud in politics on January 20th, 1949 at President Truman's Inaugural Address. In one speech Truman simultaneously started his presidential career and a half-century of development discourse that continues to permeate the international community today (Rist 1997:71-72). During his address he framed development in terms of economic growth and the improvement of material living standards for the world's most destitute, creating a platform on which subsequent development economists (like Rostow) would spring forth to propose action plans for boosting economic growth where it had been reduced to a trickle. The uncertainty that emerged as a result of attempting to apply a grand and simple solution to a highly complex issue was almost immediate. Failed attempts led to more earnest efforts at the same breed of solution, yet experts were always perplexed at the reasons for these disappointments.

There has been little divergence in the mainstream development community from this early conception of development. Those who deviate are a minority, but the force of their arg-

uments reveals a debate in the theories and practices surrounding development. The two counternarratives in this debate, I argue (using Roe's analytical framework), will serve the development community in generating a triangulated and synthesized conclusion. Triangulation occurs when divergent approaches, such as the ones mentioned above, converge (Roe 1999:41-44). I argue that the conclusion one must arrive at after scrutinizing the narratives of most modern development theorists is that structure-oriented, big-push approaches are ineffectual and should be replaced by the less popular agent-oriented, home-grown approaches foregrounded by Sen and Easterly.

NARRATIVES AND COUTNERNARRATIVES

This leads me to a brief but crucial discussion of Roe's analytical framework for understanding rural development programs, as I will be applying it to a number of development alternatives proposed in recent years. Roe proposes that the key to successful development requires a "politics of complexity" that is non-existent in the crisis scenarios or narratives that have guided policy to date (1999:4). Roe explains that when faced with highly complex and uncertain development scenarios, practitioners are often obliged to come up with a narrative or story that will stabilize policy-making. Evidence is often conflicting, contradictory, or sparse in these situations, which complicates decision-making. Crisis scenarios emerge as a solution to these conditions when they ignore the complexity of a situation and simplify the factors to make way for quick and (apparently) easy solutions. The desertification scenario, for example, proposes the "insidious, spreading process that is turning many of the world's marginal fields and pastures into barren wastelands" (Roe 1999:4-5). Where the development community has insisted for years that desertification is a major threat on the African continent, and that the problem is worsening each year, more recent studies suggest there is no evidence to support the claim. So why do we continue to act as if desertification is a major priority? Crisis scenarios and other narratives of the sort persist because no alternatives have emerged to replace them. Roe explains that simply criticizing the narrative by appealing to empirical evidence does nothing for policy; what is needed is a counternarrative, or a "rival hypothesis or set of hypotheses that could plausibly reverse what appears to be the case, where the reversal in question, even if it proved factually not to be the case, nonetheless provides a possible policy option for future attention because of its very plausibility" (1999:9).

If we follow Roe, then, in his application of literary theory to extremely difficult public policy issues such as development, it becomes evident that what is needed is not only a fastidious critique of the existing development narratives, but an alternative narrative that can act as a plausible solution to the repeated failures of previous development approaches (1994:1). Let me take it one step further in suggesting that a simple alt-

ernative is not sufficient in this sense; what is necessary is an alternative that breaks far enough away from the norm to escape the oft invisible and pernicious premises from which these narratives have sprung. And this is where my argument comes in: Sen and Easterly, in my view, have *actually* developed the counternarratives to which other authors have laid claim.

What will follow is a discussion of the various development approaches propounded by each author interspersed with a discussion of the various theoretical and axiomatic premises which have locked development approaches into a circular path of failure, and then, more cheerfully, the reasons why the "renegades" have a better chance of success.

THE PROBLEM

Though the concept of development appears simple, concrete, and certain in its concern with bringing the poor up to par with the wealthier segment of the human population, the concept itself is rife with uncertainty, complexity, and change. In the simplest terms, one would expect that the problem that development seeks to fix is poverty and that the solution to that poverty would be an injection of money. Yet a cursory examination of the development literature reveals that there are as many definitions of the problem as there are writers on the topic. The corollary, of course, is that there are just as many solutions to the problem as definitions (despite being variations on the same theme of economic growth).

James Ferguson's conceptualization of wealth and poverty provides a good illustration. Whereas most, as mentioned above, characterize poverty as largely the result of a lack of income, Ferguson argues that "the question of wealth cannot be separated from the wider sociocultural context within which different categories of wealth acquire their meaning" (1992:55). The "assumption of universal exchange," which pervades Western conceptualizations of wealth, is the belief that different forms of wealth, such as income, housing, labour power, clothing, etc, can be converted into each other to form a common currency (Ferguson 1992:56). What is often ignored, Ferguson explains, is that different goods mean different things in different contexts. In Lesotho, for example, he found it impossible to rank the various households in a village according to their levels of wealth because each had a combination of goods which were often nonconvertible and could not be transformed into a universal currency for evaluation. If one household had nice clothing but lived in a mud hut, while another wore rags while living in a lavish home that was inherited but could not be sold, how was the author to establish which was the wealthiest? This one example gives a sense of the complexity involved in understanding poverty itself, let alone attempting to understand what development is supposed to entail.

Just as Roe (1999) suggests, in the face of high complexity and uncertainty in development scenarios, stories emerge from the development experts to help stabilize policy making.

Each of the experts I examine has his own story about why such a large proportion of humanity remains underdeveloped, yet often with overlapping themes rooted in outdated philosophical assumptions.

Poverty Traps

For Jeffrey Sachs, it is "our task to help [the poor] onto the ladder of development" (2005:2). In *The End of Poverty* (2005), he tells the story of how the world's poor came to be, and still remain poor. He shares the view with many other experts that global poverty is a structural problem stemming from factors external to the agents who suffer its consequences. Sachs tells a story that seems aimed at refuting the notion (still popular in some spheres) that the poor are poor because they are lazy and undisciplined, or because their governments are corrupt, so all they need to do is be like "us" and they will prosper (Sachs 2005:56). He argues "the poor face structural challenges that keep them from getting even their first foot on the ladder of development" (Sachs 2005:226). He refers to these structural challenges as "poverty traps." Eight reasons (poverty traps) are listed for why there remains a growing gap between the rich and the poor: poverty as a cause for economic stagnation, physical geography, fiscal traps, governance failures, cultural barriers, geopolitics, lack of innovation, and demographics. Without going into too much detail, this story can be analyzed from two angles, the first having already been mentioned in suggesting that Sachs is seeking an alternative to the common instinct to blame the poor for their own poverty. The second angle reveals the underlying assumption permeating the entire book: the double-edged belief that extreme poverty results from a lack of economic growth, and that if a way to stimulate economic growth can be found, poverty will end. Currently, however, structural constraints such as geography, where some countries suffer economic stagnation due to high transportation costs accrued through being landlocked, or where poor countries cannot offer a market for their own technological innovations – resulting in an innovation gap between rich and poor countries – lie in the way of these countries achieving the necessary growth for them to get a foot on the development ladder so they can pull themselves out of poverty (Sachs 2005).

Sachs' approach is refreshing in two ways. First, it takes into account a variety of factors leading to the economic stagnation of the world's poorest countries, which adds an element of complexity to what could have easily been construed as a one-variable problem. Second, it recognizes the weakness in common development approaches that search for the magic-bullet solution. From this view, he argues it is necessary to invest in six types of capital rather than relying on the easy policy solution of looking for one "decisive investment that will turn the tide" (Sachs 2005:255). Sachs also proposes as a general solution that the development community should attack the eight poverty traps with solutions tailored to each in order to overcome global poverty.

From Roe's perspective, this would be an adequate counternarrative to the magic-bullet experts who seek a one-dimensional answer to a complex problem construed to be simpler than it is. The reason for this is that Sachs offers answers that are conducive to policy making; in fact, he even lays out a strategy for ending extreme poverty by 2025 by following the aforementioned advice (Sachs 2005:227). The problem, in my opinion, is that this same breed of solution has been tried before. Even though he differs in some minor respects in his approach, the basis of his argument is cemented in the hegemonic belief that economic growth is *the* answer to poverty.

Chutes and Ladders

Paul Collier wrote *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can be Done About it* (2007) to address why one billion people have failed to achieve economic growth that would bring them to the level of the five billion who have escaped extreme poverty. He draws on Jeffrey Sachs' concept of poverty traps and focuses on those traps which he deems to have received the least attention: the conflict trap, the natural resources trap, the trap of being landlocked, and the bad governance trap. Much like Sachs, Collier tells a story of how one small part of the world missed out on the wealth and riches that the rest of the world enjoys because of obstacles that got in the way. He advises the reader to "think […] of development as chutes and ladders," where the rich countries have managed to climb the ladders of growth while some unlucky poor countries have fallen down the chutes. He equates the reality of the poor folk with a 14th century reality, characterized by "civil war, plague, ignorance" coexisting with the 21st century, tacking the idea of social evolution to that of economic growth (Collier 2007:3-5).

Collier shares with Sachs a number of assumptions about poverty and how to eradicate it. First, because he takes the poverty trap approach, he believes there are structural constraints preventing the poorest countries from achieving the same levels of wealth as the rest of the world. Second, he believes economic growth is an important factor in the recovery of these countries from the brink of despair. According to Collier, "growth is not a cure-all, but the lack of growth is a kill-all" (2007: 190). And finally, he is a proponent of big-push strategies geared toward intervention schemes for attacking the obstacles to economic growth (Collier 2007:184). Where he diverges from Sachs is in his insistence on focusing not only on investment or aid to achieve these goals, but also on security, policy and charters, and trade. To break the conflict trap, for example, post-conflict countries need foreign military intervention to keep the peace, as well as long-term aid to help them get back on their feet after conflict (Collier 2007:177). And since "there is no world government […] remedying the problems of the bottom billion is a global public good," which means the world needs to find ways to legislate these big-push strategies and impose condition-

ality on aid in order to ensure they work (Collier 2007:183-184).

Collier, along with the critics who awarded him the Lionel Gelber Prize for his book, seem to find something innovative in this approach, despite the fact that it draws on the concept of the poverty trap, which he himself admits is an in-vogue approach to development discourse. He even claims that the global inequality that exists today will persist unless "we radically change our approach" (Collier 2007:5). To him, the poverty trap approach is the answer to that challenge. Yet again, Collier comes up against many of the same limitations as Sachs in his focus on economics and intervention. His solutions smack of the same assumptions and errors committed by the Breton Woods institutions that imposed strong conditionality on governments for loans in the 1980s, and which did virtually nothing to improve the living conditions of the poorest. These concepts have been tried repeatedly and have failed repeatedly, yet they continue to be recycled by economists like Sachs and Collier for lack of an alternative (counternarrative) that seems more effective.

Malthus-Resurrected

Gregory Clark also writes of traps when attempting to negotiate the reasons behind the current global income gap, but rather than a poverty trap he refers to a Malthusian trap. Clark traces the growing gap between rich and poor to the industrial revolution. Fundamentally, he believes that "there is ample evidence that wealth – and wealth alone – is the crucial determinant of lifestyles, both within and between societies" (Clark 2007:3). He claims that while the industrial revolution "reduced income inequalities *within* societies, it has increased them *between* societies," a process which he refers to as the "*Great Divergence*" (Clark 2007:3, emphasis in original). In response to the question - why are some countries richer than others? - Clark appeals to two main factors: technology and demographics. In his view, all societies were poor until the Industrial Revolution, after which an exponential increase in technological innovation in the West created a process whereby these countries experienced a rise in incomes while the rest saw a decrease.

Clark claims technological efficiency is a major factor in producing the income gap. The success of countries like England are attributed to "accidents of institutional stability and demography," where a combination of slow population growth and the fertility of the rich meant an increase in the "embedding of bourgeois values" into the culture, and even perhaps, he argues, the genes of the population. A low-population society permeated by values conducive to economic growth such as "hard work, patience, honesty, rationality, curiosity, and learning" meant that labourers were able to use innovative technologies efficiently because they had the know-how and the discipline to do so (Clark 2007:11). The same technologies transported to countries that were lacking these values with high population growth suffered from

poor productivity because the same machines needed a greater number of labourers to make up for their inefficiencies, which meant a lower return on labour (Clark 2007:334-35). Clark manages to inject a social and cultural dimension into the type of narrative common to the "poverty trap" theorists – that all of mankind shared in the existence of poverty but that some structural constraint, be it geography, conflict, demography or culture prevented one unlucky portion of the population from digging itself out of its own misery. Clark's story differs from the others in its ending; rather than proposing a big-push scheme or even a small-scale solution, Clark offers no solution at all:

> History shows […] that the West has no model of economic development to offer the still-poor countries of the world. There is no simple economic medicine that will guarantee growth, and even complicated economic surgery offers no clear prospect of relief for societies afflicted with poverty. Even direct gifts of aid have proved ineffective in stimulating growth (2007:373).

Though this approach diverges from the others, it hardly qualifies as a useful counternarrative given its lack of policy relevance. It offers an explanation (although not necessarily a new one, given its reliance on Thomas Malthus' 200 year old ideas) for why some parts of the world remain poor, but fails to offer an alternative for the development community. At this point we are caught between two extremes. If we follow the big-push schemes that promote direct foreign intervention from a top-down, governmental level, which will impose constraints and limitations on underdeveloped countries, we risk the same mistakes as the infamous Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). But if we follow Clark's point of view, we sit back on our haunches and cross our fingers, hoping for the best – not a viable option, especially from Roe's perspective

Blaming the Poor

Robert Calderisi is a former spokesperson on Africa for the World Bank. He wrote *The Trouble with Africa: Why Foreign Aid Isn't Working* (2006) as a critique of the popular assumption that the West is to blame for Africa's lack of development. The problem, according to Calderisi, is that the international community is suffering from white guilt and continues to blame Africa's problems on colonialism and neo-imperialist policy that has designed flopped programs like the SAPs. Because of this, rich countries continue to prescribe an increase in monetary aid to both ease their consciences and help the poor. Calderisi tells the story of a continent that has been independent now for forty years and has already overcome its biggest obstacles to development. It is now time to "throw the spotlight back on Africa" because "Africa is now responsible for its own problems" (Calderisi 2006:7). More aid, he believes, will not help Africa. The issue is not a lack of funds, but improper management of funds. He points out that "half of the world's aid has been reserved for Africa" in recent years and yet the development reports show no progress

in economic growth or living standards (Calderisi 2006:15).

The obstacles to growth then, are not poverty traps or Malthusian traps, structural problems stemming from external constraints, but rather are internal to the continent. Africa is poor because of "culture, corruption, and political correctness" (Calderisi 2006:77). In short, Africans share certain cultural traits like a desire to share, familial values, and respect for elders that predispose them to accepting bad governance, which would not happen in a region where individualism and rationality are dominant values (Calderisi 2006:77-99). Corruption prevents foreign aid from reaching its targets and thus impedes the development projects for which it was intended. And finally, because foreigners feel guilty for colonialism and racism, they feel obligated to compensate Africa for its misdeeds. Calderisi argues that corrupt Africans benefit from this "guilt-mongering" as it permits them to avoid taking responsibility for their own development (2006:92).

However counter-intuitive, Calderisi (2006:209) seems to advocate a strong alternative in proposing to reduce foreign aid by half instead of increasing it, as other prominent spokespersons like Stephen Lewis (2005) have recommended. The logic behind this is that countries receiving less aid are more likely to budget wisely and send the funds where they are really needed. Problematic in this approach is the conditionality that accompanies the aid as Calderisi proposes that foreign aid have strings attached. Countries receiving aid should be monitored for transparency and democracy, much like in the SAP era. So despite the appeal of a story with a different ending and strongly radical roots, the solutions have themes common to failed programs. Calderisi is also another proponent of the interventionist approach. He argues that development should not be left to a *laissez-faire* economy but that good public policy is crucial because it will "put young girls in school, provide clean water, and fight HIV/AIDS ruthlessly" (Calderisi 2006:9).

THE RENEGADES

Amartya Sen and William Easterly offer, in my opinion, the most interesting counternarratives to the dominant teleological metanarrative of interventionist development. They tell two completely different stories about what development is and what it should be. By "reversing old patterns of thinking" (Roe 1999:8) and taking as the starting point the failures of other approaches, Sen and Easterly have mastered the art of counternarrativizing. Yet their policy relevance remains questionable. One of the main facets of Roe's argument is that counternarratives should be geared toward producing alternatives that will promote plausible policy options to replace former ineffective ones. As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, the assumption that policy, and by extension external intervention, are necessary for the achievement of development may be somewhat problematic. Clark seems to take this view in his refusal to of-

fer concrete solutions to the problem of global poverty. But his approach reeks of defeat since he believes there simply *is no* solution, which gets us nowhere. Where Sen and Easterly depart from this continuum of extremes (from defeatist inaction to top-down policy intervention) is their ability to come up with novel ways both of conceptualizing and remedying the problem of development. Sen is unique in his conceptualization of development as a path towards increasing individual freedom, and Easterly in his formulation of alternatives for solving economic and material inequalities that lead to extreme poverty.

Capability Deprivation

Whereas Clark and the other development experts cited above make it clear that they believe "wealth – and wealth alone" is the determinant to consider in order to gauge the well-being of a population, Sen voices a different opinion. He believes that a focus on integrating poor economies into the global market to help improve the lives of the destitute misses the point (Sen 2007:3). It is too narrow of a perspective that ignores the other crucial elements that also have an impact on the quality of life. Sen zones in on freedom as a major determinant for assessing well-being. He argues this approach is broader and more inclusive because it takes "a view of development as an integrated process of expansion of substantive freedoms that connect with one another," so that "economic, social and political considerations" are integrated (Sen 2000:8). So rather than ghettoizing his field of investigation only into a market-oriented approach, he expands his gaze by using a determinant that acts as an explanatory umbrella for multiple spheres that affect development. Aristotle qualified this when he said: "wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else" (Sen 2000:14).

To summarize briefly his argument, Sen asserts that poverty is not simply the lack of economic resources, but occurs when an individual's elementary capabilities are deprived (2000: 20). By contrast to the poverty trap theorists who take a structural perspective on development, Sen focuses on the "agency aspect" of the individual; greater freedom means individual actors can help themselves and influence the world (2000:18). Sen argues, then, that "Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states" (2000:18).

Sen admits that income is indeed important to the development of personal well-being, but it does not trump the importance of the individual's capacity to help himself. He gives the example of Kerala, a large and populous province in India that benefited from the government's prioritizing of social services such as health care and education. Though personal income did not rise during this time, life expectancy rose to lev-

els higher than in richer countries like Brazil and South Africa (Sen 2000:46). What is more, this approach breaks away in a sense from the modernization metanarrative that describes development as a teleological process of economic accumulation for personal well-being. Development is no longer viewed as a means for obtaining income/wealth, but as a means for improving quality of life.

Sen's strength in argument is effectively his greatest weakness in terms of policy relevance. An approach this nuanced and thorough risks either being ignored by development practitioners who cannot fathom a way to incorporate all of the variables into an effective and plausible policy for action, or it risks being atrophied into a policy that has streamlined the complexity of the narrative in order to zone in on one or two seemingly approachable factors that would fit nicely into a development report. Where Sen's weakness leaves off, however, Easterly's strength begins.

Planners Vs. Searchers

Easterly has written an eloquent rebuttal to Sachs' end of poverty approach in his book *The White Man's Burden* (2006). He takes the position that there are two kinds of development specialists: those who take the blueprint approach by proposing big plans to solve world poverty, to whom he refers as "planners," and those who believe development should take place case by case from within the community that is concerned, referred to as "searchers." He would also sorely disagree with Calderisi's assertion that Africa, and by extension other post-colonial developing countries, are to blame for their backward slide into extreme poverty. In fact he blames colonization, and what he calls "white mischief" for the development problems faced by these countries today (Easterly 2006:347). He believes that decolonization left most developing countries - in Africa especially - in cultural and economic ruin, and that the combination of white man's guilt and superiority complex encouraged him to muddle in the affairs of these countries in order to help them: "Long-standing Western enthusiasm for bringing the Middle-Kingdom into the modern world has included the use of White Man's Burden brew of Christianity, civilization, and commerce" (Easterly 2006:351). More recent interventions by the West have focused on modern development programs based on big-push itineraries such as massive aid and loan programs run by the World Bank and IMF.

Easterly insists that it is time to stop with big, sweeping goals to change governments abroad. More productive would be to aim to help individuals achieve some level of security so that they can help themselves, much like Sen argues (Easterly 2006:368). Big plans like the ones developed by the West do not work, he explains, because they are too broad and infeasible. Specialists make their plans but do not have the manpower or resources to know, for example, just how many children have malaria in one town and how many doses

of medication they need (Easterly 2006:6). There are too many extraneous factors that outsiders could never predict which dooms these programs to failure. Those who take the "searchers" approach, however, are more likely to be successful because they are, of necessity, insiders (Easterly 2006:15). They know what is happening on the ground and understand the issue inside-out. "Homegrown development" (Easterly 2006:34), Easterly believes, is a more realistic way of approaching development. He proposes a decentralized, market-place style approach to development where there are no sweeping blueprints for ending poverty, but carefully chosen projects aimed at addressing specific issues in particular locales (Easterly 2006:377). "The only Big Answer is that there is no Big Answer," he states (Easterly 2006:382).

Easterly's most brilliant suggestion, in my opinion, which also has policy relevance, is to take Dennis Whittle and Mari Kuraishi's idea to make development act like a free market:

> They suggest a marketplace instead of central planning, a kind of eBay meets foreign aid. They see three types of actors: (1) social entrepreneurs close to the poor who propose projects to meet their needs; (2) individuals and institutions with technical and practical knowledge, and (3) donors who have funds they want to give away [they] envision […] a decentralized market in which each category has many players who seek out players in the other categories and spontaneously form matches (another possible metaphor: aid's version of an online dating service) (Easterly 2006:376).

This is one of many examples he proposes as an alternative to the blueprint syndrome from which the development community presently suffers. The home-grown, bottom-up perspective appears to hold more water than its alternative, he explains, because "even when the West fails to 'develop' the Rest, the Rest develops itself" (Easterly 2006:363). He gives the examples of Hong Kong and Singapore, two countries that never received aid or loans from the IMF and yet represent major success stories of development (Easterly 2006:349). In addition, much like in Sen's proposal, Easterly supports a view that moves away from the teleology of development schemes that seek to bring the "medieval" world into the "modern" world. Development is viewed as a personalized, case-specific endeavour to remedy specific issues on the ground without the grand-schemes associated with major development programs. Moreover, policy intervention in this case is relegated to the task of changing the nature of the development industry itself, rather than policies directed toward development programs per se. This means that Easterly's approach challenges even Roe's belief that development narratives need to be geared toward effective policy guidance, which in my opinion, is the ultimate counter-narrative.

CONCLUSION

The development narratives/theories/scenarios I have examined each seem at first glance to offer alternatives to the failed development schemes that have been floating around since the 1940s. They offer rebuttals and have

entered a debate in the community about what is the actual problem that needs fixing in order to achieve development. Most agree that development consists of economic growth, the hope being that an increase in income per capita is the "tide to lift all boats" so that extreme poverty can be eradicated. Each narrative appears to give *the* solution to *the* problem of poverty via some form of big-push (eureka) scheme. Yet taken together, all of these conventional approaches reveal an almost dogmatic adherence to assumptions dating back to 19th century evolutionism, which hinders the development community's ability to move beyond the narrow focus on the economy and attend to the other crucial determinants affecting human well-being, including social, political, and cultural aspects.

The real counternarratives that have emerged are the marginal views espoused by Sen and Easterly, who establish new ways of conceptualizing poverty and development, and new ways of approaching their resolution. Emery Roe's application of literary theory to policy analysis makes it possible to gauge each approach in terms of their merit regarding policy applicability. The theorists more geared toward economic growth fail to offer any real alternatives, while the renegades manage to stir at least a little bit of sediment in development discourse, by challenging even the presumption that development requires 1) policy, and 2) intervention from the West. By themselves, each approach offers a discrete and palpable solution, yet taken together, the uncertainty and complexity that is hidden behind a singular argument becomes blatant. When six development specialists come out with six (apparently) different ways of explaining what needs to be done, while adhering to the same evolutionist principles of the 1950s, it becomes patently obvious that the solution needs to come from somewhere new.

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REVIEWS

CONSUELO GRIGGIO

REVIEW OF BALDACCHINO'S "A WORLD OF ISLANDS"

Godfrey Baldacchino, Ed. *A World of Islands: An Island Studies Reader.* Charlottetown: University of Prince Edward Island. 2007. 640 pp.

Baldacchino's *A World of Islands* (2007) represents a valuable instrument for all scholars interested in islands across disciplines, from biology to anthropology. Within the newly-born sub-discipline of Nissology (after νησί – [*nisi*] the Greek word for island), the aim of which is to study islands on their own terms, leading scholars introduce the audience to a wide range of debates related to "islandness," such as environmental issues and political governance.

In this work, islands are approached as particular and essential physical and cultural loci within a global context. One quarter of the world's states are islands or archipelagos, and 10% of the world's population live on islands. Islands are thus "hotspots" for biological and cultural diversity, as well as for international politics. Through their physical, cultural, economic, and political particularities, islands are propelled into a relational discourse in which the physically bounded spaces that constitute them are overcome. Thus, islands are presented as complex physical and cultural spaces that interact locally and globally.

The book is divided into four sections. In the first, *Identities, Locations & Landscapes*, Stephen Royle, reader in geography at Queen's University Belfast, explores island typologies, including their possible benefit as laboratories for many disciplines. Christian Depraetere and Arthur Dahl, who work for the United Nations Environment Programme, classify in intricate details the uneven distribution and characteristics of islands around the world. The numerous maps, diagrams, and illustrations provided are very illuminating particularly for non-cartographers. Furthermore, Patrick Nunn, a geography professor at the University of the South Pacific, gives a clear explanation of the diverse models of island formation and the effects of tectonic climatic change on the evolution of their environments.

Section two, *Island Life*, comprises contributions on particular aspects of life on islands. Andrew Berry, a researcher at Harvard University's Museum of Comparative Zoology, presents some of the unique biological and evolutionary features of islands, such as genetics, hybridization, and extinction patterns, using the Hawaiian Islands as an illustrative case. Andrew Cliff explores islands' epidemiology, while islands' particular flora and fauna are illustrated by Sam Berry, a specialist in genetics. Finally, the archaeological record is dis-

cussed by Athol Anderson to highlight the often-dramatic impact of human activity on islands' fragile ecosystems.

The third section, *Island Development*, includes chapters ranging from governance to tourism. In the chapter entitled *Island migration*, John Connell, a geographer based at the University of Sydney, asks how migration can impact small and remote islands such as the Cook Islands. Of particular interest is the approach taken by Eric Clark, of Lund University in Sweden in his article *Gentrification and Space Wars* where he highlights how the often-limited space on islands becomes central in claims made on land and customary rights by both islanders and outsiders.

The final section, composed by Graeme Robertson, is an annotated list of institutions and resources for islands studies: a tool that can become an extremely useful guide for scholars around the world.

A World of Islands is multipurpose. For established experts in island studies, the book represents a comprehensive work that delineates the different aspects (physical, economic, political, and cultural) that constitute islands and their interactions within local, national, and global scales. In fact, as Baldacchino claims in the introduction, "island peoples continue to make significant contributions towards global cultural diversity." For future islands scholars like myself, A World of Islands is an important and exhaustive compendium on the many, and often contradictory, elements that constitute islandness. Its kaleidoscopic and interdisciplinary overview can thus be of great help to young researchers in orientating and building their future research, and to all those interested in island studies on a general scale. In pointing out how the different parts that constitute islandness influence and are influenced by each other, this work shows a wide breadth of interpretations and visions that can be used to support one's particular argument or study. From an anthropological perspective, however, the book is missing a broader cultural and ethnographic approach. Issues of self-representation, tourism, community development, heritage, cultural landscapes, and cultural, economic, and environmental sustainability are not approached in depth, nor are they developed following anthropological theoretical and methodological approaches. Rather than seeing this as merely a fault, I consider it an invitation for their audience to expand and differentiate the discipline of nissology. Having read A World of Islands, I now feel that it is my task to contribute to the study of islands from an anthropological point of view and to develop an interdisciplinary dialogue that both expands and moves beyond my own discipline.

RACHEL HAASE

REVIEW OF YAN HAIRONG'S "NEW MASTERS, NEW SERVANTS"

Yan Hairong. *New Masters, New Servants: Migration, Development, and Women Workers in China*. Durham: Duke University Press. 2008. 328 pp.

In *New Masters, New Servants* (2008), Yan Hairong explores the discursive and material conditions under which Chinese domestic workers labour, both physically and mentally. In the years following Mao's death in 1978, she argues, the discourse of Development[1] has become hegemonic, structuring practices, relationships, and subjectivities around the teleology of capitalist accumulation. Yet Yan's analysis of the keywords[2] involved in this discourse shows that, while in many ways China has embraced the ideology of capitalism and of Development, it remains clothed in the language of Marxist-Leninist socialism. This produces what Yan, following Derrida, terms "catachresis" – "literally, the improper or strained use of a word" (2008:5). As does Derrida, Yan uses the term in a specialized political sense to refer to "a violent production of meaning, an abuse which refers to no anterior or proper norm" (p. 251).

Through the analysis of a wide range of textual materials – ethnographic field notes, interview transcripts, letters, magazine articles, and short stories – collected between 1998 and 2000, Yan builds her argument that the keywords of socialism, and the associations they still possess with the social order that produced their meanings, have been transformed into discursive support for the expansion of neoliberalism in China. Furthermore, she argues that through these ideological contortions, peasant women migrating to the cities find themselves in deeply exploitative subject positions in which their worth as persons is linked to their value as both a part of the apparatus of capitalism and as a symbol of it – yet their ability to fully embrace this subjectivity is constrained by these same discursive and material conditions.

Yan begins with a description of the violence, both symbolic and material, that has been perpetrated against the countryside. While the countryside was the ideological centre of Maoist China, serving as a training ground for party elites and as a symbol of the collectivity and equality promised by Chinese communism, in the post-Mao era both the economic and ideological futures of the nation-state are predicated on the centrality of cities. Although cities are constructed as reliant on surplus labour from the countryside, Yan argues, this posited transfer of surplus does not really occur. Instead of taking excess labour power and valuing it, the city attracts the youngest and strongest – those most needed in the countryside. In

addition, this labour power is not, in fact, greatly needed in the cities. While rural workers are indeed cheaper to employ than urban workers, rising urban unemployment and the difficulty of finding work attest to the fact that the supply of workers may in fact be greater than the demand.

The material depletion of the countryside of its populace (and their wages) is mirrored by its ideological construction as a place of backwardness and poverty – a place where a future cannot be found. Young rural women cannot reconcile the modernized subject positions they develop with remaining at home. The construction of the rural as backward contributes to the unwillingness of the young to base their futures there; this in turn causes material scarcity and justifies and reinforces the discourse of rural poverty.

In chapter 2, Yan shifts her focus from the countryside to the city. Here, she discusses the historical and political context that surrounds the position of *baomu* (domestic worker), and follows this with a close examination of what it means to be a "good" or "proper" baomu (p. 70). Again she bases her analysis in a contrast between the practices of the late Mao-era and the post-Mao economic reforms, focusing on the construction of domestic work and attending particularly to its gendered and class-based facets.

Initially, Yan argues the introduction of domestic wage labour was justified through the discourse of "the intellectuals' burdens" (p. 57). This was the idea that, because China's progress depended so heavily on the work of particular highly educated members of society, expecting them to fulfil household duties in addition to their work outside the home placed them under unreasonable strain and endangered China's economic future. Drawing on a 1980 novella by Shen Rong, in which a female doctor collapses under the dual burden of her work outside the home and her gendered responsibilities within it, Yan argues that using the bodies of uneducated domestic workers to relieve this burden was validated as a necessary practice in order to allow the "intellectuals" to do their work of moving the nation forward. In order for a baomu to fulfil this role, she should ideally be a "blank slate," able to uncritically adopt the desires and practices of her employers until she is "of one heart and mind" with them (p. 93). Today, Yan writes, "domestic work as a burden has … changed from being a central part of the discourse of intellectuals' burdens, which issued a moral appeal for state concern and social sympathy, to being part of an individualized cost-benefit calculation of time management" (p. 80). While the idea that the interests of the nation are being served by relieving intellectuals of domestic work has faded, parts of this discourse have lived on. Baomu are still expected to be "blank slates" on which employers' tastes, desires and interests can be inscribed, but the ideological justification has changed. The individual exchange between baomu and employer is emphasized, with the needs of the state downpla-

yed. The employer receives the labour power, while the baomu earns not only her (meagre) wage, but increases her *suzhi*, a term that "refers to the somewhat ephemeral qualities of civility, self-discipline, and modernity" (p. 113).

The discourse of suzhi is the focus of the third chapter. The claim is often made by Chinese journalists and academics that the level of suzhi among the Chinese population, particularly in the countryside, is low. But what is suzhi, exactly? How can it be measured? Yan claims that, "as a catch-all discursive basket, suzhi, empty in itself, is a mode of expression that aspires to shape all expressions" (p. 119). It is in suzhi's capacity to contribute to the teleology of development that it can be defined, and its presence or absence identified. In practice, however, it seems that suzhi is predicated more on the consumption aspects of development than on those of production, and demonstrated through one's habits of dress, self-presentation and acquisition of commercial goods.

Chapter 4 deals with the relationship between consumption and production, arguing that, while Mao-era political practices emphasized production as the path to modernity, reform-era policies place consumption at the centre of the equation. The entrepreneurial development of the self as a consuming subject is viewed as necessary for the progress of the nation, rendering commodity purchases vital to one's identity as a modern Chinese citizen. Chapter 5 follows this by further outlining the notion of self-development, and linking it to "the spectre of class" (p. 187). Yan notes substantial changes to understandings of material inequality from the Maoist era to the present. Under Mao's rule, class was understood as an inevitable, and inevitably negative, attribute of the capitalist state – the primary attribute that necessitated the (also inevitable) process of revolution. As a communist state, China was not to have "classes." As increasing inequality has emerged in the post-Mao reform era, politicians and intellectuals have had to account for this divide in a country that still claims to be communist. Thus class, in both its past and present incarnations, is reframed. Rather than being viewed as an inherent feature of economic systems that privilege private ownership, its existence in the pre-communist period is blamed on "backward" productive forces: the material conditions of possibility did not allow for an equal or just society (p. 194). In the present era, social differentiation is framed as "strata," a term with less baggage and no revolutionary connotations. This transition is supported by the discourse of self-development through placing responsibility for transformation on the individual rather than on the collective social structure. "When one recognizes the self as one's biggest enemy, the need for radical change in the self replaces the potential demand for social change: self-antagonism takes the place of social antagonism" (p. 198).

The sixth and final chapter ties together the strands of discourse and

social structure, materiality and ideology, into Yan's overarching argument: that Chinese domestic workers are caught up in the teleology of development as its "liminal subjects" (p. 221). They are both producers of wage labour and producers of selves for consumption, subordinated and exploited in a society that refuses to acknowledge the existence of class and so locates the responsibility for their inferior position in their own efforts and quality. These women are thus trapped between an "emaciated countryside" that once was home but holds no future and an idealized city that will allow them entry only as players of the least valued roles – and sometimes not even that.

Yan does a thorough and compelling job of joining the threads of her argument together, drawing on what appears to be a vast body of ethnographic data to support an incisive critique of China's neoliberal reform policies. Although her area of focus is the realm of the discursive, she effectively balances attention to ideology and representation with the material realities of China's cities and countryside. Initially, I was doubtful of the relevance of a Foucauldian governmentality framework in a non-Western context. Foucault's own disinterest in "grand theory" and his heavy reliance on European history in formulating his own arguments make it risky to apply them to regions where the development of political rationalities has been so different from the West. However, Yan's careful use of this theoretical orientation comes off, in the context of her topic, as entirely appropriate, as well as implying points of comparison that resonate with Western readers. By pairing insights from post-structural theory with a non-teleological reading of Marx, Yan provides a nuanced analysis of the structures of power, both internal and external, that operate on her subjects, though it is not a standpoint that allows much hope for change. While stiff and jargon-laden at first, her writing also warmed up appreciably throughout the text, conveying with a certain eloquence her dismay at the misappropriation of socialist discourse to validate what she convincingly argues are exploitative policies.

My sole criticism of *New Masters, New Servants* is one that applies to a great deal of recent work in anthropology: I refer here to the broad lack of engagement with linguistic theory. Traditionally, one of the strengths anthropology has claimed has been its "four field" nature, which allowed scholars to examine issues from multiple angles. In recent decades, however, the discipline has fragmented. Archaeology and physical anthropology now occupy a theoretical ground much removed from cultural anthropology, and the two poles often fail to converse with one another. Linguistics has retreated in another direction, forging its own space where language, an inherently social practice, is treated as a self-contained system separate from social life. Anthropologists, in turn, may feel uncomfortable with the admittedly reductionist cognitive models linguists employed to understand the production and interpretation of

language.

A field of research that has attempted to breach this divide is critical discourse analysis (CDA). Scholars working within this program employ both linguistic and social theory to understand how language is both reflective and constitutive of social life (see, for example, Wodak & Meyer 2009 for an introduction). There exists a fairly well recognized division, however, between discourse analysis that takes Foucauldian theory and the post-structuralist work of Derrida and Lacan as its theoretical core, and CDA, which relies more heavily upon grammatical theory and, in some cases, cognitive linguistics (Graham 2008:3). Clearly, Yan's work falls into the first category, and I do not mean to imply that this approach is less valuable. There are unresolved questions within CDA about its ability to make the types of truth claims it sometimes aims to, and for this reason (as well as, perhaps, a lack of training in linguistic methodologies), anthropologists have often avoided it. However, the grounding of social analysis in the micro-level features of discourse could potentially add a further dimension to a great deal of discourse-based social science. While CDA may not provide a model all scholars wish to embrace, it does, at the very least, demonstrate the depth of insights that can be gained through attention to linguistic detail.

A lack of engagement with CDA is hardly a gaping hole in Yan's book. Yet her work does appear to me to be illustrative of the type of research for which a micro-level analysis of the features of texts as well as their contexts could be illuminating. A more concerted effort to reintegrate linguistic scholarship with anthropology would, in my view, benefit both disciplines, providing innovative methodologies to anthropologists with which to triangulate broad claims about social structure, while reminding linguists that their study of the technicalities of language as a system must remain relevant to the world in which that system is used.

NOTES

[1] Yan notes: "I use 'Development' with a capital D to refer to a certain discourse of developmentalism promoted by organizations of North-dominated international capital, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank" (Yan 2008:115).

[2] Raymond Williams defines these lexical items as "keywords in two connected senses: they are significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation; they are significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought" (Williams 1976, in Yan 2008:1-2).

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