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# Editorial

Die Jahrestagung 2019 war die 40. unserer Gesellschaft, und sie markierte gleichzeitig den 40. Geburtstag der Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien. In seiner Einleitung zu *Twenty-Five Years Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien. Achievements and Perspectives* (2004) zeichnet Konrad Gross die bewegte Geschichte nach: vom „legendären" Kanadistiktreffen in der Theodor-Heuss-Akademie Gummersbach, initiiert und im Februar 1977 ausgerichtet vom damaligen Botschafter von Kanada John G.H. Halstead, der Gründung der Gesellschaft 1979 ebendort und der Wahl des ersten Präsidiums (bestehend aus dem Politikwissenschaftler Rainer-Olaf Schultze, dem Geographen Karl Lenz und dem Anglisten Franz K. Stanzel) ein Jahr später, bis zur frühen Internationalisierung im Kontext des von der GKS mitgegründeten *International Council for Canadian Studies*, der Gründungen der *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien* 1981 (seit 1992 *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien*), der Schriftenreihe 1991 sowie der Stiftung für Kanada-Studien 1995 wird deutlich, welch eine institutionellen Erfolgsgeschichte die Gesellschaft zu verzeichnen hat – und welche neuen Herausforderungen seitdem auch anstehen. Eine ausführliche Würdigung der Entwicklung der letzten fünfzehn Jahre ist an dieser Stelle nicht möglich, aber hervorgehoben sei doch die grundsätzliche Veränderung der Rahmenbedingungen sowohl der Kanadastudien in der Tradition der *area studies* allgemein als auch der GKS als einer ihrer zentralen institutionellen Manifestationen im Besonderen. Die Anfänge der GKS fielen in die Zeit einer intensiven kanadischen Kulturförderungspolitik. Als Konrad Gross 2004 die ersten 25 Jahre der Gesellschaft rekapitulierte[1], war diese institutionelle Aufbruchszeit zwar bereits vorbei, aber es förderte das *Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade* im Rahmen seines *Canadian Studies Program* nach wie vor kanada- und québecbezogene akademische und kulturelle Aktivitäten und Institutionen. Diese für die GKS und ihre Mitglieder so wichtigen kulturdiplomatischen Fördermaßnahmen wurden unter der konservativen Regierung Stephen Harpers 2008 zunächst in das nachfolgende *Understanding Canada* Programm überführt und schließlich ganz beendet – und unter der liberalen Regierung Justin Trudeaus bisher auch nicht, wie viele gehofft hatten, wieder eingeführt. Gleichzeitig änderten sich die Wissenschaftslandschaft und die finanziell geförderten regionalen Schwerpunktsetzung: Die klassischen *area studies* wurden vielfach, wie auch vom Wissenschaftsrat in seiner entsprechenden Studie 2006 empfohlen, in deutlicher projektzentrierte und zeitlich begrenzte Strukturen überführt.

1 Dirk Hoerder, Konrad Gross, Twenty-Five Years Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien: Achievements and Perspectives, Wissner, 2004.

Die Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien blieb von diesen Entwicklungen natürlich nicht unberührt, und sie reagierte mit Flexibilität und Kreativität auf die veränderten Anforderungen an ein Feld, das sich über seinen regionalen Gegenstand definiert. Drei wichtige Aspekte seien hier exemplarisch genannt. Bereits 2005 wurde von Kanadistinnen und Kanadisten in der Qualifikationsphase das „Nachwuchsforum" gegründet, das sowohl auf den Jahrestagungen als auch mit eigenen interdisziplinären Konferenzen nach wie vor außerordentlich präsent ist und dessen Aktivitäten deutlich machen, dass die Kanada-Studien trotz erschwerter Rahmenbedingungen ein fester Bestandteil der in der GKS vertretenen Disziplinen sind. Die konstitutive Multidisziplinarität der Gesellschaft – mit ihren sieben Sektionen „Sprache, Literatur und Kultur im anglophonen Kanada", „Sprache, Literatur und Kultur im frankophonen Kanada", „Frauen- und Geschlechterstudien", „Geographie und Wirtschaftswissenschaften", „Geschichtswissenschaften", „Politikwissenschaft und Soziologie" und „Indigenous and Cultural Studies" – wurde in eine veränderte Konferenzstruktur übersetzt, indem etwa das Prinzip der sektionsgebundenen Ko-organisation der Panels durch eine stärker thematisch ausgerichtete Achsenstruktur ersetzt wurde und 2017 die Aufgabe des bis dahin nicht nur für die Plenarvorträge, sondern auch für die Panels praktizierte Einladungsprinzip zugunsten eines *Call for Papers* zu einer breiteren Öffnung der Konferenzen führte.

Die Veränderung von Strukturen ist immer umstritten, und auch die oben genannten Modifikationen wurden erst nach längeren Deliberationen der Mitglieder umgesetzt. Dies ist in der 40jährigen Geschichte der GKS nicht neu, und die heutigen Diskussionen um die Tagungsstruktur sind kaum der Rede wert verglichen mit so manchen Auseinandersetzungen in der Vergangenheit. Die kontroversen und emotionalen Diskussionen um die Etablierung einer Sektion „Frauenstudien/ Women's Studies" in der GKS sind hierfür ein Beispiel. Seit dieser Debatte, die zum einen die breitere Auseinandersetzung um das ‚neue' akademische Feld der *Women's Studies* in der deutschsprachigen Wissenschaft spiegelte und zum anderen eine Herausforderung an die an Fachdisziplinen organisierte Struktur in der Gesellschaft darstellte, ist viel geschehen, wie schon Doris Eibl 2004 in ihrem Beitrag zu *Twenty-Five Years Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien* resümieren konnte. Die Sektion heißt heute „Frauen- und Geschlechterstudien" und ist eine hochdynamische ‚Querschnittssektion', die aus der Struktur der GKS nicht mehr wegzudenken ist und die als ausrichtende Sektion der Jubiläumsjahrestagung 2019 zum Thema „Intersektionalität" fungierte. Das Thema ermöglicht nicht nur einen erneuten Blick auf einige Schwerpunkte vergangener Tagungen – „Soziale Gerechtigkeit" (2016), „Mehrheiten und Minderheiten" (2015), „Räume der Differenz" (2012) oder „Nachdenken über das Soziale" (2005), um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen. Die Themenwahl und deren Bestätigung durch die Mitgliederversammlung zeigen auch, wie Kontroversen von 1989 zwanzig Jahre später zu konsensfähigen Schwerpunkten werden können.

Das vorliegende Heft dokumentiert die theoretischen und thematischen Facetten der Jubiläumstagung durch einen von Prof. Jutta Ernst (Mainz-Germersheim) und Prof. Florian Freitag (Duisburg-Essen) herausgegebenen und im Folgenden eigens eingeführten Schwerpunktteil. Darüber hinaus enthält es drei thematisch und disziplinär breit gefächerte ‚freie' Beiträge.

Louise-Hélène Filion analysiert in ihrem Beitrag „The Uses of German in Contemporary Québécois *Bildung* Narratives: Eric Dupont's *Bestiaire* and Diane-Monique Daviau's 'Colères!'" zwei Prosatexte als Bildungsnarrative, in denen die deutsche Sprache eine Rolle spielt. Beide Texte, so Filions Argument, lassen auf eine Verschiebung in der symbolischen Funktion des Deutschen in Québecs intellektuellen Diskursen der letzten Jahrzehnte schließen, eine Verschiebung von einer Darstellung radikaler Differenz hin zu einer Ermöglichung der Exploration kultureller und familiärer Nähe.

Der Beitrag von Stefanie Schäfer, „Knots and Knowledges: The Canadian West, Settler Colonial Intimacies, and Aritha Van Herk's Calgary Stampede", widmet sich der jährlichen Calgary Stampede als einer regional fokussierten Fallstudie zur Analyse von Repräsentationsstrategien ‚des kanadischen Westens'. Anhand von Aritha van Herks Prosagedichtsammlung *Stampede and the Westness* (2017) stellt sie feministische Dekonstruktionsstrategien einer Weißen, männlichen Kulturhegemonie in den Mittelpunkt.

Der diesen Teil abschließende Beitrag „Wie sich Kreativität entfaltet. Städtische Innovations-Ökosysteme in Montreal und München" von Christoph Barmayer, Maria Wilhelm und Allain Joly begreift Städte als wichtige Orte von Kreativität und Innovation und die Akteure, die sie räumlich zusammenführen, als „Innovations-Ökosystem". Er entwickelt ein branchenübergreifendes Drei-Ebenen-Modell für die Analyse solcher urbanen Innovations-Ökosysteme und illustriert dies anhand der Beispiele München und Montréal mit Blick auf ihre jeweiligen sozioökonomischen Besonderheiten.

In ihrem Forumsbeitrag analysieren Steffen Schneider und Martin Thunert die kanadischen Parlamentswahlen vom 21. Oktober 2019. Mit dem Verlust der parlamentarischen Mehrheit erhielt Premierminister Justin Trudeau einen gehörigen Dämpfer, der mit 157 Sitzen für die Liberale Partei indes geringer ausfiel als aufgrund zahlreicher Skandale (u.a. SNC-Lavalin oder ‚blackface') zunächst angenommen. Schneider und Thunert zeigen, dass Trudeau sein politisches Überleben in erster Linie dem noch immer sehr soliden Abschneiden seiner Partei in der bevölkerungsreichen Provinz Ontario zu verdanken hat. Für Justin Trudeau könnte das überraschend schmeichelhafte Wahlergebnis die Chance für einen Neustart sein. Doch was das Regieren für ihn erheblich erschweren wird, argumentieren Schneider und Thunert, ist die kaum noch übersehbare, mehrfache Spaltung des Landes. Westlich von Ontario ist die Liberale Partei kaum noch präsent, in Québec erstarkte der schon fast totgeglaubte Bloc Québécois, die Forderungen der zur Tolerierung einer libera-

len Minderheitsregierung bereiten NDP und Grünen dürften die Entfremdung des Prärieswestens – insbesondere der Energieprovinz Alberta – von Ottawa und Zentralkanada noch weiter vorantreiben.

Ob es in diesem Kontext zu einer Wiederbelebung der Förderung der internationalen Kanada-Studien kommen wird, scheint einerseits fraglich, ist aber andererseits auch nicht unmöglich, da Minderheitsregierungen auf mögliche Unterstützer mit inhaltlichen Angeboten zugehen müssen. In einem Jahr werden wir vielleicht mehr wissen, was dies für die Kanada-Studien in Europa bedeuten könnte.

Katja Sarkowsky Martin Thunert Doris G. Eibl

# Intersectionality: Theories, Policies, Practices – Introduction

In February 2019, the Association for Canadian Studies in German-speaking Countries (GKS) celebrated its 40th anniversary with a four-day conference that brought together established and emerging scholars, artists, teachers, professionals, and diplomats from Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, and North America, thus allowing for a stimulating academic exchange among society members and guests. With "Intersectionality: Theories, Policies, Practices," the theme proposed by the Association's "Women and Gender Studies" section, the conference was dedicated to a topic which, for Canada, has dramatically increased in relevance over the past decades, impacting decision-making on local, regional, and national levels, leaving its traces in the country's literature and art – but also impinging on Canadian Studies in a variety of disciplinary approaches. In fact, intersectionality might be considered the organizing principle of the GKS, with its seven disciplinary sections (on "Language, Literature, and Culture in Anglophone Canada," "Language, Literature, and Culture in Francophone Canada," "Women and Gender Studies," "Geography and Economics," "History," "Political Science and Sociology," and "Indigenous and Cultural Studies"), one forum (for emerging scholars of all disciplines), and one caucus (for teachers in secondary education) crossing, overlapping, and enriching each other, hence offering multifaceted perspectives on Canada and Canadians. The program of the anniversary conference clearly testified to this, giving rise to the idea of reserving a special section in the next *ZKS* number to a selection of papers presented at the 2019 Grainau meeting in order to commemorate this special event and to document its results. As guest editors of this special section, we would like to thank the current editors of the *ZKS*, Katja Sarkowsky, Martin Thunert, and Doris G. Eibl, as well as the publishing house Wissner for this opportunity. Before providing an overview of the articles to follow, however, a brief introduction to the concept of 'intersectionality' seems in order.

As Ange-Marie Hancock specifies, intersectionality is "both an analytical framework and a complex of social practices" (6). Intersectionality's roots lie in U.S. Black feminism, where, since the late 1980s, it has been used to address issues of inequality such as disparate access to social resources. The term 'intersectionality' was coined by law expert Kimberlé Crenshaw in order to draw attention to the fact that common practices of identity ascription systematically neglect and discriminate against specific groups of people, e.g. women of color. In her influential article "Mapping the Margins," published in July 1991 in the *Stanford Law Review*, Crenshaw writes: "Although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they

seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices. And so, when the practices expound identity as woman or person of color as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling" (1242).

Despite the relative newness of the term, the idea or concept of intersectionality is by no means a recent phenomenon in U.S. Black feminist circles (Hancock 24). Rather, it can be traced as far back as the 19th century, when female African-American abolitionists such as Harriet A. Jacobs and Sojourner Truth tried to achieve greater visibility for their peers. In her 1861 autobiography *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, for instance, Jacobs notes: "Slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women. Superadded to the burden common to all, *they* have wrongs, and sufferings, and mortifications peculiarly their own" (Brent 119). Why this is the case becomes obvious in Jacobs' depiction of her master's behavior: sexual harassment was a common form of violence, used to exercise control over female slaves, their bodies and psyches.

Applicable to both individuals and groups, then, intersectionality focuses on interlocking categories of difference and their impact on a plethora of decision-making processes. Apart from race, gender, and class, the following, mutually constitutive categories have been proposed in intersectionally oriented scholarship and activism: ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, bodily ability, religion, education, culture, nationality/citizenship status, language use as well as geographical and environmental location. Next to the relationship between categories, internal differences within categories have been considered, with scholars trying to assess power relations, for example in terms of voice and agency, and thus identifying advantaged and disadvantaged social positions.

Following its origins in U.S. Black feminism, intersectionality has not only developed into a key concept of women's and gender studies, but has left its mark on many other disciplines, including history, political science, geography, sociology, psychology, philosophy, cultural studies, and postcolonial studies. Moreover, intersectionality has been adopted to describe situations beyond the U.S. and with reference to other racial or ethnic groups. Given this extension, historicizing and contextualizing have been perceived as important steps in intersectional analyses, with some scholars proposing different levels of investigation such as agents and their interactive practices of identity formation, societal structures and the role of institutions, and discourses and symbolic representations (Lutz 10; Degele/Winker 2).

In Canada, the experience of discrimination shaped by multiple identities has been recorded in volumes such as Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed* (1973), Makeda Silvera's *Silenced: Makeda Silvera Talks with Working Class West Indian Women about Their Lives and Struggles as Domestic Workers in Canada* (1983), Monique Proulx's *Le sexe des étoiles* (1987), Dionne Brand's *No Burden to Carry: Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario, 1920s–1950s* (1990), or Orville Lloyd Douglas' *Under My Skin* (2014). During the time span covered by these publications, Canada also witnessed an increasing institutionalization of intersectionality, with, for instance, the Ontario

Human Rights Commission now calling "an intersectional approach to a multiple grounds complaint […] the preferred one." Even though the Government of Canada has adopted a different term, speaking of "Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+)," it nevertheless uses the concept of 'intersectionality' as an "analytical tool […] to optimize the impact and effectiveness of all federal initiatives." Scholarly analyses of Canadian society through an intersectional lens no doubt contributed to this development. Thus, Olena Hankivsky and Renée Cormier pointed to health inequities which, for instance, deny Aboriginal women in nonurban environments vital health care services (16), and Rita Dhamoon underlined the importance of intersectionality for Canadian solidarity politics.

Recent trends in intersectionality research include, first, a more dynamic view on processes of marginalization and privileging, acknowledging that a particular group or person might be disadvantaged in one social context but advantaged in another, and, second, a more nuanced perspective on visibility, which is no longer seen as an asset in its own right: depending on the circumstances, invisibility might lead to beneficial societal positions and might thus be an individual's or group's choice. The strategic and creative use of multiply encoded identities at a particular time in a specific social location calls for a more flexible concept of intersectionality, one that allows including transsectional and transnational experiences. The contributions in this special section will, hopefully, add to these revisions, broadening our views on theories, policies, and practices of intersectionality.

We open our special section with a group of three articles that take an intersectional approach to medial depictions of, cultural artefacts by, and experiences of Canada's First Nations – as well as, in some articles, of Native Americans. Indeed, the field of Indigenous Studies, with its complex relationship towards the modern nation state, seems to make a particularly pertinent case for a flexible concept of intersectionality, one that may also override and cut across the established boundaries of academic disciplines such as American and Canadian Studies. In his contribution on contemporary Indigenous North American cinema, Christoph Straub thus analyzes movies released in both Canada – Mi'gmaq director Jeff Barnaby's *Rhymes for Young Ghouls* (2013) – and the United States – Navajo director Sydney Freeland's *Drunktown's Finest* (2014). Both movies invite a reading through an intersectional analytical lens because, Straub argues, as narrative feature films produced by Indigenous directors and actors and starring Indigenous women and Two-Spirited persons as their main protagonists, they already themselves follow the logics of intersectionality on both the level of narration and production. However, *Rhymes for Young Ghouls* and *Drunktown's Finest* not only address the problem of "representational intersectionality" by challenging the colonial cinematic gaze and transcending stereotypical depictions of Indigenous women on the screen, they also offer "decolonizing perspectives that emerge from and emphasize Indigenous conceptions of gender." This particularly applies to *Drunktown's Finest*, which focuses on

Felixia, a nádleehí or Two-Spirited person, and thus also revisits the forced restructuring of traditional, non-binary Indigenous systems of gender as an important aspect of European colonization.

Geneviève Susemihl's contribution, entitled "Intersectionality and the Construction of Cultural Heritage," takes us from cinematic to museal depictions of Indigenous people in general and of Indigenous women in particular. Discussing four Indigenous heritage sites in Canada – two exhibitions on the Iroquois in Ontario and two exhibitions on the Blackfoot in Alberta –, Susemihl applies an intersectional analysis to the representational practices of educational murals and dioramas in order to show that not all sites have progressed beyond the colonialist exoticization, passivization, or even complete silencing of Indigenous women in multimedial heritage discourses. Like Straub, however, Susemihl simultaneously considers the level of production as well as the level of representation, finding that while issues of class and socio-economic status may restrict the engagement of Indigenous women in the administration and operation of these heritage sites, their participation is important not only for overcoming representational stereotypes, but also for giving them agency and a voice. Straub thus confirms that "'heritage construction and protection processes have a real and distinct impact upon the lives of people.'"

In the final contribution from the field of Indigenous Studies in our special section, Sonja John links an intersectional approach with Critical Race Studies and Critical Prison Studies to address the over-representation of First Nations women in North American and specifically Canadian prisons. Drawing on Foucault's fundamental prison critique in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975/1991) as well as on Canadian incarceration reports for the years 2016 to 2018, John makes a passionate argument for the consideration of incarceration as an "extended form of Indigenous femicide and elimination of Indigenous willfulness for the completion of the settler project." Multiply othered, Indigenous women are also multiply exposed to what the article describes as a "murderous system." John thus also contrasts the Western prison system and its re-colonizing effects on Native North American populations with alternative, pre-colonial Indigenous responses to conflicts that do not involve either containment or killing, relying on restoring community relationships instead.

The issue of Native North Americans' complex relationship to the modern nation state comes up again in Lianne Moyes' contribution on the Toronto-based feminist journal *Fireweed* (1978–2002), which was particularly known for inviting guest collectives to edit special issues of the magazine. For the 1986 special issue on and by "Native Women," guest editors Ivy Chaske (Dakota) and Connie Fife (Cree) refused to comply with the existing editorial parameters of *Fireweed*, printing contributions from Indigenous women from both Canada and the U.S. and thus seeking to build a community across nations. Conflicts between the magazine's regular editors and guest editorial collectives had already erupted over the 1983 "Women of Colour" special issue, and Moyes' essay detects several parallels in the production processes.

Perhaps most importantly, Moyes argues, the editorials to the special issues reveal "a common struggle for editorial autonomy and a shared frustration with the supposed race, class, and settler neutrality of feminist aesthetics."

While the guest editorial collectives of *Fireweed* practised intersectional thinking *avant la lettre*, the feminist scholars and activists featured in Chantal Maillé's contribution discuss the reception of the concept, specifically within Francophone feminisms. Drawing on fieldwork conducted among Francophone feminists between 2014 and 2018, Maillé discovers a deep skepticism towards intersectional theory and practice – a skepticism that stems from both a belief in the difference between the French universalist tradition and the specific Anglo-Saxon cultural milieu from which intersectionality emerged as well as from a lack of confidence in the actual practicability of intersectional analysis and activist work. At the same time, she also detects several points of contact or openings for intersectional theory within Francophone feminist thinking. Ultimately, however, Maillé points out that it is through actual fieldwork projects that a specifically Francophone intersectional feminist approach may take shape – projects such as the ones by Quebec women's groups that Maillé examines towards the end of her essay and that have developed strategies to address both the theoretical and methodological challenges related to intersectionality.

Focusing on artistic and, more specifically, performative renderings of intersectionality in Quebec, Jane Koustas' "Carole Fréchette on the Global Stage: Quebec Theatre Performs Intersectionality" primarily focuses on the Quebec playwrights' *Le collier d'Hélène* (2002) and *Je pense à Yu* (2012), but also revisits her earlier career as part of the feminist theatre collective Théâtre des Cuisines, which produced such classics as *Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons* and *Môman travaille pas, a trop d'ouvrage* (both 1975). In her own plays, Koustas argues, Fréchette affirms her "deep roots in her home environment of Quebec and in history with a small h" while simultaneously taking the audience "beyond the confines of national identity and beyond geopolitical, linguistic boundaries and their commensurate link to national identity, thus participating in an active reorientation of a traditionally nationalist theatre." In short, through staging intersectionality, Fréchette stages global theatre.

In the final essay of this special section, René Schallegger investigates the virtual intersectional spaces of Canadian videogame developer BioWare. Previously known for its inclusive game designs particularly among "players favouring a diversity of representations and complex, critical discourses," the Edmonton-based company alienated much of its core audience with *Mass Effect: Andromeda* (2017), a rather hegemonic game that depicts "privileged positions in an unreflected manner" while "reducing marginal groups to undifferentiated images." Drawing on theoretical reflections about the interrelationships between postcolonialism and videogames as well as on quantitative (sales figures) and qualitative (player comments on the BioWare Social Network) responses to the game, Schallegger concludes that the designers of the rumored sequel to *Mass Effect: Andromeda* may wish to take their

inspiration from the kaleidoscope with its complex, ever-changing intersections of various shapes and colours – i.e., from the very dynamic, flexible notion of intersectionality that also already constituted the starting point for this special section.

Before we leave the reader to the individual essays, however, the guest editors would like to warmly thank the copy editors for their diligence, the peer reviewers for sharing their expertise, and the contributors for their inspiring scholarship – and their willingness to meet our deadlines. Merci!

Jutta Ernst Florian Freitag

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Christoph Straub

# An Intersectional Approach to Contemporary Indigenous Cinema: Decolonizing Representations in *Rhymes for Young Ghouls* and *Drunktown's Finest*

**Abstract**

*This article focuses on two recent narrative feature films by Indigenous filmmakers that are conscious of intersectional power dynamics on both the level of narration and production:* Rhymes for Young Ghouls*, directed by Jeff Barnaby (Mi'gmaq) and released in Canada in 2013, and* Drunktown's Finest*, directed by Sydney Freeland (Navajo) and released in the United States in 2014. Both films present their stories through the perspectives of female or Two-Spirited lead characters. In consequence, the two movies not only challenge the still prevalent colonial gaze, but, more importantly, also re-center decolonizing perspectives that emerge from and emphasize Indigenous conceptions of gender. In doing so, both films reframe Indigenous women and Two-Spirited persons by illustrating the intersectional dynamics affecting their lives and allowing them to draw strength and develop agency through exposure to Indigenous storytelling and the epistemologies informing it.*

**Résumé**

*Cet article porte sur deux longs métrages récents de réalisateurs autochtones qui sont sensibilisés à l'intersectionnalité des dynamiques du pouvoir aussi bien au niveau de la narration que de la production :* « Rhymes for Young Ghouls » *réalisé par le Micmaque Jeff Barnaby et sorti au Canada en 2013, et* « Drunktown's Finest » *réalisé par le Navajo Sydney Freeland et sorti aux États-Unis en 2014. Dans les deux films, la narration se déploie, du moins pour des grandes parties, à travers le point de vue des personnages principaux féminins ou bispirituels. Par conséquent, les deux films contestent non seulement le regard colonial toujours courant, mais ils recentrent surtout des perspectives dé-colonisatrices qui émergent de et soulignent des conceptions autochtones du genre. Ainsi, les deux films recadrent les femmes autochtones et les personnes bispirituelles par l'illustration des dynamiques intersectionnelles qui affectent leur vie et qui leur permettent de tirer leur force et de développer leur capacité d'agir (agency) par l'exposition à la narration autochtone et ses épistémologies.*

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**Introduction**

For the longest time, cinema has shown Indigeneity through a colonial lens. If Indigenous characters were not omitted entirely from the plots, they were constructed along the lines of certain recurring types: wild and uncivilized savages, mystic creatures, obedient servants, or silly figures for comic relief. The portrayal of Indigenous women usually followed such stereotypical depictions, but they were often 'othered' even further by the racism and sexism of the colonial imagination. Hollywood films and Westerns were at the forefront of such practices. In her study *Killing the Indian Maiden*, M. Elise Marubbio illustrates how female Native characters were often reduced to the trope of a 'Celluloid Maiden,'[1] a figure that is frequently shown as "a young Native American woman who enables, helps, or aligns herself with a white European American colonizer and dies as a result of that choice" (2009, xi). Beyond that, as film scholar Lee Schweninger points out, narrative films from the past century that included First Nations and Native American characters represented them predominantly through male points of view: "The films are male centered, male oriented, male dominated, and inevitably told from a male perspective" (2013, 145). Adding to his observation, Schweninger points to a study by Angela Aleiss that recognizes a significant increase of Native actors in the American film industry during the late 1980s and early 1990s, while it also demonstrates that from 1985 to 2003, the number of Native women among those actors did not exceed one third of that of Native men. On both the levels of diegesis and production, Indigenous women and their perspectives were granted only marginal roles.

Schweninger further elaborates that it was not only narrative cinema by non-Native filmmakers that marginalized female Indigenous characters. Up to the early 2000s, many Native American filmmakers focused predominantly on male characters as well, and, accordingly, showed almost exclusively male perspectives. In many of these movies, as the film scholar elaborates, Indigenous women

> are present, but they remain secondary to the film's main action. They mostly facilitate the film's almost exclusive interest in the father-son and grandfather-grandson relationship and the son's coming of age story. (2013, 148)

1 In her study Marubbio also shows how the stereotypical representation of Native women in Hollywood Western has changed in the course of the 20th century. In the century's early decades, she identifies a 'Celluloid Princess' (2009, 7) whose alliance with a white hero symbolizes the acceptance of the sovereignty of the United States, and whose death stands for the inevitable demise of Native culture. Towards the middle of the century, this princess figure is gradually replaced by the 'Sexualized Maiden' (2009, 7), a fetishized *femme fatale* figure, often of mixed blood, whose moral and social depravity stand for the perceived dangers of Native America and thus justify her death. From the 1970s onwards, the 'Celluloid Maiden' appears as a hybrid form of the 'Celluloid Princess' and the 'Sexualized Maiden.'

Schweninger illustrates his point by listing several convincing examples, including Chris Eyre's *Smoke Signals*, Sherman Alexie's *The Business of Fancydancing*, and John Hazlett's *In a World Created by a Drunken God*.[2] Even though these films are important in that they center Indigenous stories, they fall short of representing the perspectives of Native women.

These Indigenous productions seem to follow intersectional logics as they were conceptualized by Kimberlé Crenshaw. In her 1991 article "Mapping the Margins,"[3] the critical race theorist already notes that the problem of intersectionality extends to issues of representation. She admits that scholars by then had begun to examine some of the ways in which representation can affect and perpetuate gender hierarchies. In doing so, however, most of the analyses have neglected the ways in which race and gender intersect in the construction and imagination of women of color in popular culture. In order to be able to bring such issues to light, Crenshaw points to the need of an analytic framework cognizant of this problematic:

> [A]n analysis of what may be termed "representational intersectionality" would include both the ways in which these images are produced through a confluence of prevalent narratives of race and gender, as well as a recognition of how contemporary critiques of racist and sexist representation marginalize women of color. (1282–1283)

2 To some degree, Schweninger's argument seems to hold at least some truth even until more recently and beyond a North American context. Among Indigenous films in New Zealand, for instance, Taika Waititi's highly successful feature films *Boy* (2010) and *Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) are also restricted to male perspectives and focus on the relationship between father(-figure) and son and the son's coming-of-age. At the same time, it needs to be stressed that Indigenous cinema in Australia has presented strong female perspectives right from its early days: Tracey Moffatt's experimental short films, most notably *Nice Coloured Girls* (1987) and *Night Cries – A Rural Tragedy* (1990), "foreground connections between history, race, and gender" (Knabe 2015, 81), deliberately exploring them through female points of view. A few years later, in 1998, Rachel Perkins' widely acclaimed movie *Radiance* brought the story of "three strong but flawed Aboriginal women [who] are portrayed with a complexity that eschews cliché and stereotype" to Australian cinemas (Marsh 2012, 6). There seems to be a tendency in the Indigenous cinemas of settler societies to focus on male characters, but there are exceptions. In Australia this becomes obvious at an earlier point in time; in North America the tipping point appears to be around the turn of the millennium.

3 In this article, Crenshaw expands her conceptualization of the intersection of racism and sexism, which she had first explored in her article "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex" (1989). Intersectionality, as she elaborates, aims to raise awareness for the problem that the lives of real people are regularly affected by the interplay of racism and sexism; and yet, feminist and anti-racist practices too often retain an exclusive focus that ignores this intersectionality. Crenshaw notes: "[W]hen the practices expound identity as 'woman' or 'person of color' as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling" (1991, 1242).

While Crenshaw's theories emerged primarily from her observations of the experiences of African American women, they are also applicable to those of other women of color. In the case of Indigenous women, narrative discourses have often followed gendered logics as well: Julia V. Emberley, for instance, points to the colonial heteronormative logic that regards "the indigenous female body [as] coded as sexual object and the indigenous male body [as] reduced to a representation of primitive male aggression" (2007, 218). Shari M. Huhndorf comes to similar conclusions, but highlights the internal power dynamics even more poignantly. She notes that "Native cultural authenticity and political resistance have been gendered male," whereas Native women came to represent either sexual victimization or "colonial complicity" (2010, 183). While popular culture's depiction of Indigenous men frequently shows them as fighting for their own people, the female Native heroines that are best remembered have usually sided with white male colonizers, assisting them in defeating their own people.[4]

The logics of such 'representational intersectionality' are also evident in the films M. Elise Marubbio and Lee Schweninger point to. However, the past decades have witnessed a significant growth of the Indigenous film scene in and beyond North America. As the films have diversified, so have the perspectives that are shown by contemporary Indigenous filmmakers: an increasing amount of these films focus on female protagonists, and film festivals nowadays highlight the rising number of women among Indigenous directors, actors, and producers.[5] By changing the perspectives, these films also become more aware of the problem of 'representational intersectionality,' showing female protagonists and Two-Spirited characters[6] in roles

4 In her article "Taming Aboriginal Sexuality," Jean Barman notes that historians working on Aboriginal peoples often almost inevitably fall in the trap of a male bias: "Records almost wholly male in impetus have been used by mostly male scholars to write about Aboriginal men as if they make up the entirety of Aboriginal people. The assumption that men and male perspectives equate with all persons and perspectives is so accepted that it does not even have to be declared" (1997–98, 238). Along similar lines, Shari M. Huhndorf emphasizes that there is a gendered division in the representation and remembrance of Native peoples: "[T]he role of the traitor falls most frequently to Native women, who are remembered, if at all, almost exclusively as collaborators in the invasion. They stand in stark contrast to the chiefs and warriors, gendered male in popular memory but not always in historical fact, who resisted the invaders and became objects of an ambivalent American fascination with so-called savagery" (2010, 281).

5 In 2017, almost three quarters (72%) of films shown at the Toronto-based Indigenous film and media art film festival *ImagineNATIVE* – the largest of its kind – were directed by Indigenous women (imagineNative 2017, n.p.).

6 The term 'Two Spirit' is an umbrella term used to describe non-binary gender identities and the traditional roles associated with them in Native and First Nations communities. As Qwo-Li Driskill (2010, 72) explains, the term emerged in the early 1990s out of contemporary Indigenous communities as an alternative to problematic colonial terms, such as 'berdache' (see also Morgensen 2015, 43–44). While some prefer terms like 'Native queer' or 'Native trans,' many have adopted 'Two Spirit,' which is also meant as a challenge "to the white dominated GLBTQ community's labels and taxonomies" (Driskill 2010, 73). The meaning of the Western concepts is usually restricted to sexual and gender identities, whereas the meaning of the term 'Two Spirit'

that help to renegotiate their public perception. Contemporary Indigenous films often reflect on the characters' multiply marginalized statuses, and, accordingly, raise awareness of the heightened impact of colonial violence, institutional as well as individual discrimination, and other kinds of intersecting power dynamics that have left their mark on the cinematic representation of Indigeneity in the past and the present.

Two recent feature films that successfully work against such 'representational intersectionality' are *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*, directed by Jeff Barnaby (Mi'gmaq) and released in Canada in 2013, and *Drunktown's Finest*, directed by Sydney Freeland (Navajo) and released in the United States in 2014. In both films, the narration unfolds – at least for significant parts – through the perspectives of female or Two-Spirited lead characters. In consequence, I argue, they not only challenge the still prevailing colonial gaze, but, more importantly, they also center decolonizing perspectives that emerge from and emphasize Indigenous conceptions of gender. In doing so, both films reframe Indigenous women and Two-Spirited persons by illustrating the intersectional dynamics affecting their lives and by allowing them to draw strength and develop agency through exposure to Indigenous storytelling and the epistemologies informing it.

***Rhymes for Young Ghouls***

*Rhymes for Young Ghouls* is set on a fictional Mi'gmaq reserve during the 1970s, called the Red Crow reserve. The film essentially tells a revenge story. It centers on Aila (played by the Mohawk actress Kawennáhere Devery Jacobs), a young Mi'gmaq woman who decides to stand up against the evil Indian agent Popper (played by Mark Antony Krupa) who mercilessly runs the reserve, is responsible for her father's incarceration, and exerts violence and terror on Aila and everyone else in Red Crow.

In a press statement, director Jeff Barnaby explains his decision to write this story with a strong woman as its lead character:

> All the cinematic Native heroes that I've encountered in my life up to this point have worn buckskin, have been men, and were more often [than] not, not actually Native. The real heroes I've encountered in my life,

deliberately aims to point to "gendered experiences and identities outside dominant European gender construction" (2010, 73) along with their cultural significance in the respective Indigenous communities. While the experiences of Native queer and Two-Spirited people differ from those of Native women, they, too, are affected by expressions of 'representational intersectionality.' In "Mapping the Margins," Kimberlé Crenshaw points to intersectional dynamics affecting Black gay men, who are targets of homophobic humor emerging from prominent representatives of the Black community. Crenshaw notes that "[c]ritics have linked these homophobic representations of Black gay men to patterns of subordination within the Black community" (1991, 1294, fn. 177).

> growing up on reserve, have been women and every inch of them Indian. (Prospector Films 2009, n.p.)

Reflecting upon his own experiences and these role models of his youth, Barnaby explains that his motivation for constructing Aila's character in the way he did is essentially rooted in his awareness of the intersectional dynamics that are at play. He elaborates:

> I think about the era these women grew up in, the 60's and 70's, where you were sub-human for being Native, and sub-atomic for being a Native woman, and I marvel their will. And it was out of that will that Aila was born, it was the brutal reserve life that she was born into that necessitated the will to be something other than just another girl, to see all the full contact ugliness of being Indian and turn it into humor, or pride, to turn it into something beautiful and not be ashamed of where she, where we come from. (Prospector Films 2009, n.p.)

Barnaby emphasizes that he, too, recognizes that the Native women of his youth were particularly exposed to intersectional dynamics. The problem of being located in this position, as Kimberlé Crenshaw has repeatedly emphasized, "is greater than the sum of racism and sexism" (Crenshaw 1989, 140), and accordingly requires a will to survive that is particularly pronounced.

Right from the beginning of the film, this will to survive in conditions that are everything but inviting is perhaps the strongest trait in the character of Aila. The story is set into motion seven years prior to the main action, at a time when Aila is eight years old. In the dark prologue of *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*, Aila recounts the night her mother Anna (played by the Métis/Cree actress Roseanne Supernault) accidentally kills her own son while she tries to back the family car after a night she has spent drinking with Aila's father Joseph (played by the Mi'gmaq actor Glen Gould) and her uncle Burner (played by the Mohawk actor Brendon Oakes). On the day that follows, Aila awakes to the screams of her father, who is about to be arrested by the Indian agent. When Aila goes outside to find out about what is going on, her father's warning not to look cannot stop her from finding her mother hung from the rafter of the house. Following Aila's gaze, the prologue ends with a close-up of the dead mother. Just before the scene turns to black, Aila states in the voice over: "The day I found my mother dead, I aged by a thousand years" (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:07:10).[7] From the age of eight, as Christopher E. Gittings adequately puts it, Aila has to "confront trauma head on" (2018, 232) – but as one of very few other characters on the re-

7 Christopher E. Gittings (2018, 232) points to an interesting parallel: Aila also introduces the character of Old Man, a friend of her grandfather, as "aged by a thousand years" after he survived and returned from a World War II-battle in Japan. She thus aligns herself with a 'warrior' figure.

serve, she finds ways of coping without getting lost in the rampant drug and alcohol abuse most of the other people in her community seem to have adopted as a way of dealing with their situation.

This, however, is not meant to suggest that Aila is a perfectly innocent character. Quite the contrary is the case. Even though she does not take drugs herself, she is actively involved in the drug economy on the reserve. Not long after her father is sent to prison, as the spectators learn later, she has not only joined her uncle in his business of selling marijuana to members of their community, but she has really taken the operation into her own hands. After her father Joseph returns home, he witnesses in disbelief how his daughter has taken a role he had neither suspected nor hoped for. Surprised and reproachful, he demands to know of his brother Burner how Aila came to participate in this line of business: "Where'd she learn how to do all that!? You're supposed to be taking care of her, Burner, not her taking care of you!" (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:30:20). Burner can only apologetically respond that he was not the one pushing her into this job, but that she has really taken over herself:

> Do you even know your girl, man? Huh, Joe!? She's a coupling of Anna, Ceres, and you're a fucking hardhead. She can beat people after the apocalypse. What makes you think any of this was my idea? […] You've been gone a long time, Joe. That ain't no little girl no more. (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:30:35)

Only a few moments later in the same scene, it becomes obvious just how clearly the roles in their operation are divided. The conversation with Joseph leaves Burner with a guilty conscience, and he walks over to the table where Aila is preparing and selling the drugs. When he asks her to let him take over, Aila only replies: "You can't roll for shit" (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:31:40). Burner, after being shown his place by his adolescent niece, is only allowed to take over when he points out that all of their potential customers are in a drunken and ignorant state anyways. In *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*, it is the young Mi'gmaq woman Aila who is given the role of the strong, warrior-like figure. Her character thus inverts the classical representation of the 'Celluloid Maiden.' But at the same time, her morally questionable behavior – she takes, after all, a leading role in supplying her own community with drugs – defies both classical Western and Indigenous expectations of this figure. Transcending the clichés, Aila instead reflects Jeff Barnaby's vision: To survive on the reserve, she cannot act in ethically flawless ways. Her role as a transgressive young woman forces her to embrace the "ugliness of being Indian" (Prospector Films 2009, n.p.).

Her uncle's comment points to the sources of Aila's will to survive: her mother Anna and the elderly, grandmother-like figure Ceres. Aila's strength is predominantly rooted in the unique bond the film's protagonist maintains with these two women. In the case of her mother Anna, this strong bond even transcends death. Even though the Aboriginal woman has committed suicide early on in the story, she

retains a forceful and seemingly empowering presence in Aila's life. The first time Anna reappears is in the dreams of her daughter. On Halloween, Aila dreams about visiting her mother's grave. As she is standing there, her mother emerges from the earth in the shape of a zombie. When the dead Anna approaches her daughter, Aila steps back only for a brief moment, after which she is no longer afraid to get closer and to listen to her mother's demand: In Mi'gmaq, Anna asks her daughter to take vengeance (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:34:10).

Kaiama L. Glover explains that in Haitian voodoo mythology, where the figure of the zombie finds its origins, such living corpses are seen as "being[s] without essence" (2011, 59):

> Not at all the crazed, bloodthirsty monster of Hollywood fame, compelled to hunt down humans and feast on their brains, the zombie in Haiti is a victim – deserving of pity more than fear. Without any recollection of its past or hope for the future, the zombie exists only in the present of its exploitation. It represents the lowest being on the social scale: a thingified non-person reduced to its productive capacity. (2011, 59)

The zombie is the white, enlightened man's 'other,' signifying the social death – the non-humanity – of African slaves and Indigenous peoples (Maddock Dillon 2019, 626). However, as Elizabeth McAlister contends, the zombie is also "an example of a non-western form of thought that diagnoses, theorizes, and responds mimetically to the long history of violently consumptive and dehumanizing capitalism in the Americas from the colonial period until the present" (2012, 468). In consequence, as Elizabeth Maddock Dillon proposes, the zombie is not as silenced as it appears to be: It "speaks to the long histories and current crises of human and inhuman assemblages, to forms of life and capitalist contestation articulated at a biopolitical level" (2019, 628). What is more, it is not necessarily stuck in-between life and death for eternity. Kaiama L. Glover elaborates:

> If the zombie ingests even a single grain of salt, it is brought out of this state of lethargy and is immediately transformed into a *bois-nouveau* [new wood], suddenly awake and aware of its situation. As such, while the zombie's subjugation is profound, it is not necessarily definitive. (2011, 59-60)

Pointing to the scene when Aila dreams of being visited by her mother's living corpse, Christopher E. Gittings suggests that it is really the entire Mi'gmaq community on the reserve that is zombified in *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*. They are transformed "into something unrecognizable through their retreat into alcohol and drugs to repress the evil of trauma caused by residential school" (2018, 236) – a behavior that represses their recollection of the past as well as their hope for the

future. The physically zombified mother that appears to Aila, on the other hand, is shown as "a source of energy" (2018, 236) that has regained her sense of identity and therefore literally calls Aila to act against the terrorism exerted by the colonial regime. To Aila, the apparition of her dead mother is the 'grain of salt' that opens her eyes to the need to work against the apathy within her community and reclaim agency.

The connection to her mother remains Aila's strongest 'source of energy' throughout the film. The most prominent signifier for the strong bond between the two Aboriginal women is a sketchbook Aila carries with her at all times.[8] In one scene, when Aila visits the elderly Ceres, the empowering presence of the mother becomes apparent through the book. As Ceres tells Aila a tale in Mi'gmaq about a bloodthirsty wolf that eats Mi'gmaq children, Aila discovers that her mother's sketches depict the very same story. At the end of the tale, during which a subjective camera showing the sketches in the book changes from Aila's point of view into a sequence that transforms Anna's sketches into a graphic animation, Ceres emphasizes the connection between the young woman and her mother, saying "[b]efore they took me off to school, my mother told [the story] to me. Your mother is telling it to you, too" (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:23:10). Christopher E. Gittings reads the scene "not just [as] an allegory for the residential school system, but for the entire Canadian capitalist industry and economy that is dependent upon consuming First Nations and their territories to live" (2018, 236). Beyond that, and just as importantly, the scene illustrates the significance of transmitting Indigenous stories and the knowledge they contain via the community's women.

The lasting bond between the women seems to be what gives Aila the strength to be "something other than just another girl" (Prospector Films 2009, n.p.), as director Jeff Barnaby emphasizes in his statement. It is this knowledge, transmitted by the Mi'gmaq women from her family and community, that helps Aila *not* to be as easily victimized by the colonial system and its various ways of exerting epistemological and physical violence, but to gather the strength to subvert it instead. Referring to Indigenous writers, Julia V. Emberley points to the strong pedagogical objective in Indigenous storytelling: "Engaged in a process of retelling, that is, in fact a 'telling' of the stories that hold the teachings, Indigenous literatures today are restoring a sense of balance to Indigenous urban and remote communities" (2010, 4). In *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*, this function of 'retelling' is ascribed to three generations of Mi'gmaq women: By hearing the story Ceres has already heard from her own mother, and by discovering the very same one in the sketchbook, Aila is not only exposed to the Indigenous perspectives that are transmitted through the tale, she also understands more clearly what it is she needs to fight for. At the same time, Aila – as

8 Christopher E. Gittings also points to the "ever-present sketchbook" (2018, 234) that he reads as a totem that emphasizes "that even though colonialism has taken Anna away from Aila, the connection cannot be severed" (236).

protagonist and occasional narrator – retells a personalized version of this wolf-allegory herself, translating her own experiences into the story the two women have taught her.

However, Aila's version of the story deviates in some crucial passages from the original. In Anna's and Ceres' version, the wolf first eats all the paralyzed Mi'gmaq children in a state of delusion before he ultimately devours himself:

> The wolf was all alone. Sick and alone. He leaves and goes to the forest. As he's walking around, he sees a tree. He begins to hallucinate. Mi'gmaq children are hanging from the tree. The wolf, so hungry, blacks-out. And he shakes the tree real hard. Until the children begin to fall. He sees them as though their heads have become mushroom caps and their bones as stalks. He begins to eat, and eat. Until finally, he's eaten all the children.
> […] Not knowing what to do, he continues to eat. As he sits there, he begins to eat his tail, he gets to his stomach, and begins to eat his stomach. He finishes his stomach, then gets to his heart and eats his heart. He has finished his heart completely, and then has finished eating himself. (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:22:20)

Anna's sketches of the wolf emphasize its connection to industrialized capitalism: he lurks through a dystopian urban environment, has chimneys growing out of its back, and does not shake the Mi'gmaq children down from an actual tree but from a set of power poles. Greedily consuming the Mi'gmaq children, this figure is really a personification of the monstrous qualities of colonialism, which are particularly harmful to Indigenous families.

In Aila's version of the story, Popper is a personified version of the wolf, and the devouring of children symbolizes the assimilationist practices of the residential school he administers. Until the 1980s, residential schools like the fictionalized one on the Red Crow reserve were a grim reality in Canada: They were used as a strategic tool to separate Indigenous children from their parents in order to assimilate them into white Canadian society. The motivations to do so were ultimately economical: "If every Aboriginal person had been 'absorbed into the body politic,' there would be no reserves, no Treaties, and no Aboriginal rights" (Truth & Reconciliation Commission 2015, 3). In its final report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission therefore declares these institutions to be a constitutive element of the country's "cultural genocide" (1) against its Indigenous peoples.[9] Like the wolf in the story, the schools

9 "Cultural genocide," as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission explains, refers to targeted measures aimed at "the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group" (1). The measures implemented by Canada and directed against its Indigenous peoples included the seizure of and forcible removal from Indigenous lands, the banning of Indigenous languages and spiritual practices, as well as the disruption of families "to prevent

were devouring Indigenous children, aiming to strip them off all ties to their culture, and more often than not exposing them to the physical, psychological, and sexual abuse by the persons running the institutions. In *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*, the Indian agent is shown to engage in all of these forms of abuse against the Mi'gmaq children in school and the people on the reserve.

Aila, on the other hand, is not like the paralyzed children from the story. For her, hearing the Mi'gmaq story from Ceres in her own language constitutes a subversive act, as Christopher E. Gittings points out: This "storytelling in a language that [the residential school] St. Dymphna's works to kill, is a testimonial narrative that repairs the matrilineal transmission between Anna and Aila ruptured by the trauma of colonialism" (2018, 236). The story does indeed seem to play a crucial role in empowering the Aboriginal girl. Once Aila is familiar with it, it does not take long until Anna appears in her dreams and asks her daughter to take vengeance (*Rhymes* 2013, 00:34:10). From then on, Aila takes matters into her own hands and mobilizes support for the rebellion against the despotism of the Indian agent Popper, who is ultimately killed in the film's final showdown – in the moment he is about to rape her. In Aila's version of the story, Popper – just like the wolf in Anna's and Ceres' version – also goes down because of his insatiable greed.

Towards its ending, the film once again highlights the significance of the bond between the three women for the transmission of knowledge and the maintenance of a purpose in life. Just before the final showdown, as Aila looks through the sketchbook, Anna appears to her daughter one last time. The 15-year-old Aila observes a scene from her memory, watching her younger self and her mother. As Christopher E. Gittings (2018, 236) points out, the scene shows a loving and caring mother who is neither zombie-like nor intoxicated. Aila watches as the two characters from her past are painting one of her mother's sketches onto a door – the facial features of a stereotypical Indian man wearing a headdress. The older Aila watches her younger self as their mother teaches her how to paint; but she also learns about the meaning of the images she produces: it is a practice that has a subversive, decolonizing significance. The stereotypical Indian is not originally an image from their culture, as Anna has to admit to her daughter. However, it is an image that, when reappropriated by two Mi'gmaqs, may evoke a fear of losing control in non-Native people. Anna explains to her daughter: "Drawing an Indian on some piece of wood isn't that big of a deal. Two Indians drawing an Indian is" (*Rhymes* 2013, 01:15:35). In this scene, Anna teaches her daughter to reclaim authority over representations of Indigeneity. For the older Aila, re-witnessing this scene seems to trigger an epipha-

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the transmission of values and identity from one generation to the next" (1). Residential schools were the key instrument for reaching the last goal. At the core of these inhumane measures were economic interests. The Commission elaborates: "The Canadian government pursued this policy of cultural genocide because it wished to divest itself of its legal and financial obligations to Aboriginal people and gain control over their land and resources. […] [It is] estimated that at least 150,000 First Nation, Métis, and Inuit students passed through the system" (3).

ny: She realizes that the bond with her mother has always been a key factor for maintaining a meaningful connection to her own culture – and beyond that, it has now become the source for her strength to continuously subvert colonial powers and discourses.

*Rhymes for Young Ghouls* strongly emphasizes this mother-daughter relationship, and it ascribes a significant decolonizing power to the female transmission of Indigenous knowledge between Ceres, Anna, and Aila. The ending of *Rhymes for Young Ghouls* does not pretend that Aila has been liberated from all predicaments and disadvantages. Her father, despite being innocent of the crime, takes the blame for the killing of Popper and is sent back to prison, so that Aila is once again left without parents. Even though there might be hope, and even though the monstrous antagonist is gone, Aila remains in a situation that is not all that different from the one she was in at the end of the film's prologue. However, by centering the narration on Aila and by highlighting the subversive potential of this all-female bond, the film consciously counters the representational intersectionality that has functioned as a void for celluloid Indigenous women in the past.

***Drunktown's Finest***

There are several parallels between Jeff Barnaby's *Rhymes for Young Ghouls* and Sydney Freeland's *Drunktown's Finest*: Both films are set on reservations/reserves, both try to point to the absurdity of simplistic and stereotypical portrayals of Native communities as dysfunctional, and both films approach their subjects from points of view that are still only rarely seen in narrative cinema. *Drunktown's Finest* is set on and around the place from which it derives its name: Dry Lake – a fictionalized version of the New Mexican city of Gallup, immediately bordering the Navajo Nation reservation and once infamously labeled 'Drunk Town USA.'[10] The film follows the lives of three quite different Navajo characters whose paths ultimately cross at a traditional initiation ceremony in the film's final scenes. The three protagonists include Luther 'Sick Boy' Maryboy (played by the Navajo/Omaha actor Jeremiah Bitsui), an impulsive young man who is constantly getting into trouble and, by doing so, jeopardizes his young family; Nizhonie (played by the Navajo actress Morningstar Angeline), a young woman who is raised by white Christian foster parents and eventually comes to the reservation to find her biological family – against the will of her adoptive parents; and Felixia (played by the Two-Spirited Navajo actress

10 In an article for the *Native Peoples Magazine*, Tara Gatewood elaborates on how Gallup, NM, which is also Sydney Freeland's hometown, has gained a nation-wide reputation "as a place mired in alcoholism" (2014, 44). The city was even labeled 'Drunk Town' in a controversial segment of ABC television's current affairs magazine *20/20*. While the community has changed significantly, the notorious name stuck. In Gatewood's article, Freeland explains that she wanted to contribute a more holistic perspective: "I'm not trying to change people's minds about any particular subject. I just want to do an honest portrayal of this community, where there's good stuff and bad stuff" (Freeland qtd. in Gatewood 2014, 44).

Carmen Moore), a promiscuous Two-Spirited woman whose dream it is to become a photo model and to be featured in the 'Navajo Women of the Tribe' calendar.

From a perspective that focuses on representational intersectionality, the character of Felixia is particularly interesting. In several scenes, Felixia's life is affected by her Two-Spiritedness. While her life on the reservation does provide spaces where she can be herself, she is also frequently discriminated against because of her sexual identity. Felixia has multiple affairs with several local men, but attitudes on the reservation require all of them to keep these liaisons secret.[11] When she meets one of them in the casino, who just a few scenes earlier paid her for a sexual encounter in his car, he gets visibly uncomfortable and tries to get away from her as quickly as he can (*Drunktown* 2014, 00:19:40). When she seduces Sick Boy – who, at the time, is under the influence of alcohol and marijuana and willing to betray his pregnant girlfriend – he is shocked to find out that Felixia has a penis and causes a scene (*Drunktown* 2014, 00:37:50). Also when she spends the night with a notorious gang member who has previously been shown as acting tough, Felixia is rudely kicked out of the motel room in the morning (*Drunktown* 2014, 00:40:45). The various Navajo men Felixia encounters come from very different backgrounds. They are all quite keen on engaging in sexual relationships with the Two-Spirited woman, but none of them is willing to admit to these affairs publicly. In the already underprivileged space of the reservation, a prevalent transphobic climate pushes Felixia even further to the margins.

The scene that illustrates Felixia's struggles on the reservation best is the casting for the 'Navajo Women of the Tribe' calendar. It is Felixia's greatest dream to have her photo featured in the calendar. However, she is well aware of the fact that her Two Spiritedness may stand in the way of reaching this goal. Accordingly, she has organized a fake ID card that identifies her as a woman. Initially, during the first round of the casting, things seem to go as planned. While many of the other candidates are quickly dismissed because they are unable to speak Navajo, and are thus deemed unsuitable as representatives of Navajo culture, Felixia – who was raised by her traditional grandparents – impresses the jury with her eloquence in the language and the details she can provide about her Navajo background (*Drunktown* 2014, 00:26:40). Eventually, however, things take a different turn. In the early stages of the casting, Felixia runs into Karah (played by the Dakelh actress Shauna Baker), another

11 As Brian Joseph Gilley elaborates, Christian moral values played a crucial part in undermining and vilifying Native perceptions of Two-Spiritedness/gender diversity on reservations: "By 1883 the Indian agents overseeing Native populations on reservations and the Christian missionaries they supported were using the Code of Religious Offenses, or Religious Crimes Code, to aggressively attack Native sexual and marriage practices. The Code outlawed many of the ceremonial and public gatherings that Native people used to maintain their social and religious organization. The Code also attempted to restrict tribal practices of polygamy and pressure Natives to adopt Euro-American ideals of monogamy and lifelong marriage. Tribal peoples who did not abide by the Code were arrested and punished" (2006, 14). See also FN 13.

contestant she still knows from her high school days – a time when she was not yet Felixia but Felix. Karah is visibly irritated and slightly appalled by Felixia's new identity. Later, in the casting's second round, as the contestants get dressed for a photo shooting, Karah tricks Felixia into drinking her energy drink – into which she has mixed a Viagra-like substance. Shortly afterwards, as Felixia starts to pose for the shooting, she develops an erection that is impossible to miss. Everyone's gaze along with the photographer's camera lens is directed at her loins. Felixia's secret is exposed and she rushes to leave the scene. She does so because she knows that even the jury – who earlier on insisted on casting only 'authentic' representatives of Navajo culture – will now no longer accept her as a Navajo woman.

The tragic irony of the scene, and of most of Felixia's experiences on the reservation up to this point, is that Two-Spirited people have taken key roles in traditional Navajo communities up to and beyond the point of colonization. Will Roscoe's study *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Gender in Native North America* illustrates that people transcending the binary distinction between male and female have always existed in Navajo tradition. Known as nádleehí, Two-Spirited people often held highly significant roles in their communities. Roscoe elaborates:

> Female *nádleehí* gained prestige in men's pursuits such as hunting and warfare, while male *nádleehí* specialized in the equally prestigious women's activities of farming, herding sheep, gathering food resources, weaving, knitting, basketry, pottery, and leatherwork. Many *nádleehí* combined activities of men and women, along with some traits unique to their status. By engaging in both farming and sheepherding, along with the manufacture of trade goods, they were often among the wealthier members of the tribe. The only activities that male *nádleehí* did not perform were warfare and hunting, which were strictly male, and carding and spinning wool, which were reserved for women. (1998, 41; emphasis in the original)

Non-Indigenous people, educated according to the norms of the European-Christian tradition, regarded such Indigenous gender perceptions for the longest time to be at odds with their own ideas of morality and, accordingly, often saw them as aberrant. As Scott L. Morgensen elaborates, some of the key aspects of the colonization of the Americas were structured around the European/Western binary of male-or-female. Referring to Deborah Miranda's investigation of the "Extermination of the *Joyas*" during the Spanish colonization of California, Morgensen points out that the early colonizers deliberately singled out gender-variant men, classified them as 'sodomites,' and practiced a form of 'gendercide' upon them.[12] These brutal

12 Scott L. Morgensen borrows the term from Deborah Miranda, who explains that Two-Spirited people were specifically targeted in the process of the Spanish colonization of California. The

realities of colonial expansion, as Morgensen suggests, were not only directed at the Two-Spirited individuals who were killed, but really sought to fracture Native communities at their core: "Colonial violence against individuals also sought to violently restructure Indigenous peoples as a whole, so that the shared values that had accepted gender or sexual diversity would disappear" (Morgensen 2015, 43).

Morgensen further argues that the forms of European masculinity (or, for that matter, European conceptions of gender) retained a colonizing impact that eventually led Indigenous communities to accept the moral superiority of European gender systems, while internalizing the view that aspects of their own systems – and particularly the central role of gender diversity – were inferior. Morgensen describes this process of gradually accepting and reproducing European gender norms in Native communities:

> [European masculinities existed] on others' territories, while affirming their own morality as well as the immorality of those whom they ruled through intimately colonial relationships. Violence continued, because colonization itself is violence; but it also was elaborated, as modes of policing, reeducating, and assimilation became methods for colonizers to secure an integrity they still perceived to be under threat. Targeting indigeneity as an origin of an "immorality" colonizers knew resided, or originated in, themselves, "colonial masculinity" served to control Indigenous people through the moral education of subordinates, even as this educative activity served to prove that colonial morality was secure. (2015, 45)

In the Navajo community, there is evidence for at least this latter, epistemological colonization of its traditional gender delineations. By the 1930s and 1940s, as Will Roscoe elaborates,

> white ridicule and changing Navajo attitudes had created significant pressures on *nádleehí* not to cross-dress. In the absence of this traditional marker of their status, one finds them described simply as "bachelors" or men "not interested" in women. (1998, 43; emphasis in the original)

A recent report on *The Status of Navajo Women and Gender Violence* by the Navajo Nation Human Rights Commission points out that such internalized attitudes – despite being limited in understanding of the nádleehí's cultural significance – were gradually institutionalized and imposed upon Indigenous communities as laws and

Spanish colonizers sought to brutally kill gender-variant Natives, whom they called 'joyas,' (Spanish for 'jewels') and regarded as 'sodomites.' Miranda considers this a form of gendercide, as her insights lead her to the conclusion that the Spanish practices were "an act of violence committed against a victim's primary gender identity" (2010, 259).

policies: "[U]ntil recent times, many indigenous peoples, and simultaneously, indigenous nations, do not acknowledge or recognize the presence of multiple genders within their communities" (Navajo Nation Human Rights Commission 2016, 16). As a consequence, this loss of knowledge also worked in favor of the emergence of a climate of homo- and transphobia on Navajo reservations.[13]

Speaking about her own experiences, *Drunktown's Finest*-director Sydney Freeland confirms both the loss of knowledge about the role of Two-Spirited people in Navajo society and the now prevailing trans- and homophobic climate on reservations. During the promotion of the film, the Two-Spirited woman is repeatedly asked about her motivation for including Felixia among the film's three protagonists, and whether or not the character is based on her own experiences. In an interview with *Filmmaker Magazine*, she can only partially confirm this:

> I grew up on the reservation but had no idea about this aspect of Navajo culture. The first time I really heard about it was when I moved to San Francisco. I met a trans woman who, when learning that I was Navajo, was like "Wow, the reservation must be so loving and accepting of the trans people!" I didn't know what she was talking about at the time, but I was able to research and learn more about this. It ended up that I had to move to San Francisco to learn about my own culture. (Freeland qtd. in Wissot 2014, n.p.)

Unlike Freeland, her character Felixia does not have to leave the reservation to find out about the nádleehí's roots in Navajo culture. Nonetheless, there seems to be some connection between the experiences of the writer/director and those of the character. The opening shot of *Drunktown's Finest* shows a time-lapsed sunrise over the city of Dry Lake, filmed from an elevation next to the town. In the voice-over, a person that sounds like Felixia wonders: "They say this land isn't a place to live, it's a place to leave. Then why do people stay?" (*Drunktown* 2014, 00:00:06). At this point, Felixia's experience on the reservation is predominantly negative. Despite her traditional and accepting grandparents, she, too, is not familiar with this part of Navajo tradition.

Felixia's grandfather Harmon (played by Yuchi/Muscogee-Creek actor Richard Ray Whitman), a medicine man who is firmly grounded in Navajo epistemologies, on the other hand, is well aware of both of the general attitudes towards Two-Spirited

13 The report by the Navajo Nation Human Rights Commission (2016, 9) points to an unpublished survey among Navajo LGBTQI people who reported a significant number of instances of suicide and violence that resulted from their identities and sexuality. As illustrated above (FN 11), trans- and homophobia on reservations is rooted in the attempts to assimilate Native people from the late 19th century onwards. Back then, Indian agents and missionaries tried to enforce heteronormative gender conceptions that were acceptable to Christian moral values, while they vilified and punished any deviations from that (Gilley 2006, 14).

people on the reservation and their real significance in their culture's tradition. When he learns that Felixia is about to audition for the 'Women of the Tribe' calendar, he does not stop her, but warns her that "what we look for and what we get aren't always the same thing" (*Drunktown* 2014, 00:09:50). After her hopes are crushed in consequence of the false perceptions of 'authentic Navajo culture' held by the jury, Felixia regards the reservation indeed as nothing but "a place to leave." In this place, the intersection of her Navajo identity and her gender identity as Two-Spirited become unbearable for her, and she arranges an escape with a man whose acquaintance she has made on the internet, whom she has never met in person, but who promises to take her along on an extended trip to New York. Close to the film's ending, just as Felixia is about to leave, her grandfather visits her to tell her the traditional Navajo narrative that preserves the knowledge about the role of the nádleehí:

> Did grandma ever tell you the story about the nádleehí and the river? […] A long time ago, all Navajo lived alongside the great river. The men, the women, and nádleehí. One day they began to argue over who is more important than the other. The men said they were, because they had it [sic]. And the women said they were, because they tended the crops. On and on they argued until finally, they decided that maybe they were better off without each other.
>
> The men rafted across the great river, and they took the nádleehí with them. And for a while, everything was fine. Then the men began to miss their wives and children. But they were too proud to go back. So they sent the nádleehí back to check on things. And the nádleehí returned with the message that things weren't so well with the women. And that they missed the men, and that they had no one to hunt for them.
>
> It became apparent that both sides needed each other. The men needed the women, and the women in turn needed the men. And they both needed the nádleehí. To this day, we carry this lesson, this balance. And I know you, you're struggling with acceptance. This world can be cold and hard on our people. But you must always remember: Wherever you go, whatever you choose to do, you always have a home here. (*Drunktown* 2014, 01:18:45)[14]

By telling the story to his granddaughter, Harmon does not only provide Felixia with a sense of purpose and a reason to stay. He also implicitly contextualizes the

14 The Navajo narrative related by Harmon is also mentioned in the report by the Navajo Nation Human Rights Commission (2016, 17-18), which identifies the narrative as part of the Navajo creation story.

discriminations she experiences as grounded in colonialism and the epistemic violence that comes along with it.

Showing Felixia's traditional grandparents in such an accepting role does not only emphasize the importance of a decolonial understanding of Navajo traditions, it also seems to be a starting point for Felixia to reconfigure her position within her community: Harmon's story is shown as an impetus for her to move out of a place that seemingly resists to accept her – where she has to be careful to keep her affairs secret and where she has to hide her identity as a Two-Spirited woman during the casting for the calendar – and into a culturally safe and meaningful space. For the revelation of the intersectional dynamics standing in the way of this move, a decolonized understanding of Indigenous gender is essential. Mark Rifkin emphasizes the central role Indigenous stories play to achieve that:

> The stories of the oral tradition provide a way of reframing nationhood, queering the matrix of peoplehood by dislocating it from the "values" normalized by the United States, which […] cover over the past while naturalizing that elision. Such storytelling, therefore, takes part in a process of counterhegemony. (2011, 286)

Harmon's story does not merely open up a different perspective on the tradition of Two-Spiritedness, but emphasizes the nádleehí's significance in Navajo history and understandings of social order. For Felixia, this contextualization provides an answer to the question raised in the film's opening shot: People stay because this land is their home, and it provides them with a purpose. However, just like *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*, *Drunktown's Finest* does not end on false illusions. In the film's final scene – the initiation ceremony of Sick Boy's sister – Felixia can feel safe and at home because she is surrounded by her extended family. Among them, she will most likely be accepted from now on, even if they held prejudices against her before. At the same time it seems unlikely that her new awareness will immediately trigger a more widespread acceptance of and interest in the role of the nádleehí in her community. Accordingly, it remains uncertain whether or not she will manage to stay on the reservation forever. Nonetheless, knowing her story is an important first step, and the film's emphasis on the significance of Two-Spirited people in Native societies provides another important perspective that is not yet seen often enough on cinema screens.

**Conclusion**

*Rhymes for Young Ghouls* and *Drunktown's Finest* serve as good examples of the decolonizing perspectives contemporary Indigenous cinema provides. The lead characters of both films are constructed in ways that are conscious of how 'representational intersectionality' has affected the portrayal of Indigenous women and Two-Spirited people in the past, and they transgress such portrayals. Neither Aila

nor Felixia fits the cliché of the sexualized/victimized 'Celluloid Maiden.' Instead, the two characters are the ones to exert the primary agency and thus take a role that was previously all-too-often restricted to (European) male characters in much of Hollywood cinema.

Interestingly, in both films, the agency of these lead characters is grounded in Indigenous epistemologies and its intergenerational transmission through storytelling. Aila's motivation to rebel against the Indian agent and the colonial powers is ultimately triggered by the subversive message of the story she hears from Ceres and reads about in her mother's sketchbook. In *Drunktown's Finest*, Harmon's story helps Felixia not only to accept her own identity, but to recognize how the knowledge about her own culture provides her with a purpose in life. Both films center the significance of decolonizing epistemologies, presenting them as meaningful ways forward.

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Geneviève Susemihl

# Intersectionality and the Construction of Cultural Heritage: Indigenous Women's Presentation and Participation at Canadian Heritage Sites and Museums

**Abstract**

*Indigenous women experience multiple layers of discrimination. In their struggle for self-determination and recognition, they are fighting to maintain control over their identities and cultures. In that respect, heritage is of great significance, as it can be used to create a sense of community, to foster respect for cultural and social diversity, and to challenge prejudice and misrecognition. The dominant discourses and representations within museums, however, often present the past in stereotypical manners, especially in relation to gender. This "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (Smith 2006) is conceived as an 'official' way of understanding heritage, stressing the importance of expert knowledge, involving only a limited scope on gender relations and representations. One way of challenging this discourse is to critically analyze the curatorial and management practices of museums from an intersectional perspective. Examining four Indigenous heritage sites in Canada, this paper looks at the representation of Indigenous women and their engagement with these sites, exploring questions of visibility and representation as well as their roles in site management.*

**Résumé**

*Les femmes autochtones vivent plusieurs niveaux de discrimination. Dans leur lutte pour l'autodétermination et la reconnaissance, elles se battent pour maintenir le contrôle sur leurs identités et cultures. A cet égard, le patrimoine revêt une grande importance pour les communautés autochtones, puisqu'il peut servir de base pour créer un sentiment de communauté, pour consolider le respect de la diversité culturelle et sociale et pour défier les préjudices et la méconnaissance. Cependant, les discours dominants et les représentations muséographiques continuent majoritairement à présenter le passé de manière stéréotypée, notamment en ce qui concerne la question du genre. Ce « discours autorisé sur l'héritage» ("Authorized Heritage Discourse", Smith 2006) est conçu comme manière 'officielle' de comprendre le patrimoine et souligne l'importance du savoir spécialisé. Toutefois, les représentations de genre et leurs interrelations n'y sont prises en compte que de façon très réduite. Une manière de contester ce discours est*

*l'analyse critique des pratiques curatives et des modes de gestion des musées d'une perspective intersectionnelle. Par l'étude de quatre sites de patrimoine autochtones au Canada, cet article observe la représentation des femmes autochtones et leur implications sur les sites, tout en explorant les questions de visibilité et de représentation, ainsi que leur rôle dans la gestion de ces sites.*

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**1. Introduction**

"I am My Own Celebration" is the title of Mohawk artist Amanda Marie Flynn's painting that was shown at the First Nations Art Exhibition at the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ontario, in 2017. The mixed media painting is a self-portrait of the artist in a feathered headdress. Her face is white, with a red stripe across her eyes. Her head and shoulders appear to be floating in front of a white background, almost like an apparition or dream; there is no reference to a particular time, location, or space. Her eyes are dark and it is difficult to say whether she is looking at the observer or into the distance as she is wearing the red paint[1] like a mask. Her gaze is serious, maybe questioning, maybe reproachful, yet strong and attentive. The title is a reference to the Canada 150 celebrations, criticised by many Indigenous people for ignoring Indigenous history and downplaying the contemporary hardships faced by Aboriginals.

Inspired by the life of the artist's grandmother, a full-blood Mohawk, the painting "represents the celebration of individuality and of Native American women living in the modern world," as Flynn describes it: "We are of the wolf clan and both my mother and aunt raised their daughters to be strong wolf women" (A. Flynn, personal communication, 2018). The feathered headdress or war bonnet, traditionally worn by male Plains warriors, is appropriated by a woman, and, as Flynn states, "the warrior woman in my painting wears it proudly," while the red stripe "connects her to the element of spirit, as represented in the traditional medicine wheel" (ibid.). The headdress and the red stripe can also be seen as references to North American popular culture[2] and modernity. With the painting the artist is celebrating herself, for everything she is – a woman, an Indigenous woman, a Mohawk from Tyendinaga, a

1 The colour red symbolizes both violence and strength and is considered by many Indigenous people as the colour of war, but also of festivity and joy, the sun, light, life, energy, and power.

2 In popular culture, the mask can be linked to the fictional character of Zorro, a masked vigilante created by American pulp writer Johnston McCulley in 1919, and to the Lone Ranger, a fictional, masked Texas Ranger, based on a radio show and books written by Fran Striker in 1933, who fought outlaws in the American Old West with his Native American friend, Tonto, and has become an enduring icon of American culture.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lone_Ranger - cite_note-7

Figure 1: Amanda Marie Flynn, *I am My Own Celebration* (2016 Mixed Media, 61 x 96,5 cm), Part of the First Nations Art Exhibition at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 2017 (Photo by Susemihl 2017). Printed with permission of the artist.

female artist, a Canadian, and more.[3] She is celebrating her Indigenous identity – her culture, language, and heritage – the three things that make a person, as Han Gwich'in Chief Isaac Juneby believes (Panel, Dänojà Zho Cultural Centre, Dawson City, 2018).

Inspired by this painting of a strong Mohawk woman I started to look more closely for representations of Indigenous women in museums and exhibitions. After visiting a number of museums and heritage sites dedicated to Indigenous culture and history in Canada, I realized that at many sites Indigenous women are hardly visible – a situation that suggests several questions, among them: How are Indigenous women represented, and how do they present themselves in the context of museums? To what degrees have they been given agency and are allowed and enabled to participate in or interact with exhibitions?[4]

In this paper I will take a closer look at the representation of Indigenous women in and their involvement with exhibitions at four museums and heritage sites in Canada – two exhibitions on the Iroquois in Ontario, and two exhibitions on the Blackfoot in Alberta. While the management and ownership situations at the four sites are different, they all tell a story of traditional and, to a certain extent, contemporary Iroquois and Blackfoot life, using mural paintings and dioramas. Examining the curatorial and management practices, I will argue that the participation of Indigenous women in the administration and operation of the exhibitions are significant for giving Indigenous women a voice and are thus eminent in terms of self-determination and empowerment. Applying an intersectional approach to representational practices, this article will identify, critically analyse, and deepen the understanding of how the social categories gender and ethnicity are inscribed and

3 Amanda Marie Flynn is of mixed-blood heritage, Mohawk and Italian/Croatian. She is a graduate of Sheridan College and OCAD University, Toronto, and a tattoo artist (Personal communication with A. Flynn 2018).

4 This project is part of a larger research project on cultural heritage and Indigenous empowerment that I have been working on for the past few years.

interlinked in the narratives outlined and performed by the various actors in the field of museums and cultural heritage. The analysis of this condition can thus contribute to the existing knowledge and raise the level of awareness of the construction of identities that are present at a structural level of representation, which may increase the understanding of how the societal feeling of being Indigenous is created.

**2. Intersectionality and Indigeneity**

Intersectional theory asserts that the concerns of one group of people, for example, Indigenous women, differ based on various factors and that all aspects of a person's identity are relevant (Rodenbeck 2017). Cultural concepts such as race, gender, and socioeconomic status interact in various ways, influencing a person's experiences and shaping her identities. Intersectional approaches thus try to move beyond examinations of singular aspects of identity and power, since "inequities are never the result of single, distinct factors," but "the outcome of intersections of different social locations, power relations and experiences" (Hankivsky 2014, 2).

The terms 'intersectionality' and 'intersectional theory' refer to American scholar Kimberlé W. Crenshaw's (1989) concept, which claims that people inhabit multiple interacting spheres that shape and determine identity. While the central ideas of intersectionality have long historic roots, Crenshaw underscored the "multidimensionality" of marginalized peoples' lived experiences. Critical race theorists such as Crenshaw, Collins, and others applied intersectionality to explain intersections of race and gender, particularly in the context of US history, law, and politics, arguing that cultural patterns of oppression are bound together and influenced by the intersectional systems of race, gender, class, and ethnicity (Collins 2000). An intersectionality approach to the study of politics and culture generally refers to "the complex […] effects which ensue when multiple axes of differentiation – economic, political cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts" (Brah and Phoenix 2004, 76). This approach, then, shifts the analysis from one factor to multiple interacting factors and to the relationship between them at individual and structural levels of analysis (Crenshaw 1991).

Indigenous feminism is a growing field with a significant decolonizing message, and a number of Indigenous scholars have written about intersecting powers as they relate to the lives of Indigenous peoples, focussing on Indigenous feminism, roles of women, or different aspects of gender identity.[5] Yet few Indigenous scholars have explicitly used the term intersectionality, which has resulted in a relative lack of Indigenous voices in intersectionality scholarship.[6] In 2012, a group of Indigenous people gathered in Coast Salish territory (in downtown Vancouver) for a "Dialogue

5 See Buffalohead 1983; Goeman 2007; Green 2007; Medicine 1983, 2001; Simpson 2014a, 2014b; Stewart-Harawire 2007; and Suzack et al. 2014.

6 See for example Anishinaabe-Métis scholar Karine R. Duhamel (Duhamel and Peristerakis 2017).

on Intersectionality and Indigeneity." Their purpose was an examination of the complexities of extending this analysis in the context of colonial relations and the possibilities and limitations of accounting for Indigenous systems of knowledge using the frameworks of intersectionality. The stories shared by participants demonstrated that Indigenous and Western worldviews are founded on distinct categorizations, which are expressed in language. Indigenous participants were uncertain about how Indigenous knowledge corresponded with intersectionality and expressed that the language of intersectionality may be alienating to Indigenous people because of its academic framework, as Hunt states: "Whereas the language of intersectionality might be needed to make sense of western ideologies [...], in Indigenous worldviews, concepts of intersectionality already exist. Understanding the animation and cross-fertilization of categories (of race, gender, animal, human, law, etc.) is the foundation of intersectional frameworks" (Hunt 2012, 3).

Hence, participants at the workshop were rather inclined to use Indigenous concepts and ways of knowing. They believed that "Indigenous epistemologies allow for diverse forms of knowledge to be valued, including the wisdom of elders, dreams and spiritual guides" (ibid.). Using a variety of metaphors to describe the interrelatedness of diverse aspects of life in Indigenous knowledge, including 'weaving our knowledge together,' intersectionality "might be useful for understanding how colonial systems or axes of power work together, but it is not needed to validate the inherent complexities of Indigenous knowledge" (ibid.). English and Indigenous languages are expressive of ontologically distinct concepts of identity in relation to the world, and Indigenous traditional knowledge is indicative of moral and ethical teachings that cannot be captured in the English language. Thus the expressive potential of intersectionality may be limited by its Western, academic foundation. Indigenous worldviews are inherently intersectional, and intersectionality within an Indigenous context and framework might be visualized as a Blackfoot dream catcher, an Iroquois basket, or a Coast Salish blanket, the interwoven threads symbolizing the interrelatedness of Indigenous women's lives.

### 3. Intersectionality and the Construction of Cultural Heritage

Heritage is of great significance to Indigenous communities, as it can be used to give a sense of belonging to disparate groups and individuals, to create jobs on the basis of cultural tourism, to foster respect for cultural and social diversity, and to thus challenge prejudice and misrecognition. Cultural heritage is essential to the restoration and permanence of Indigenous people's cultural distinctiveness (Susemihl 2013, 2019). The dominant discourses and representations within museums and heritage sites, however, often present the past in rather reduced, stereotypical manners, especially in relation to gender. Even if the contexts are different, the stories are often told in the same way they have been narrated before – a way that has been termed the "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (AHD) by Laurajane Smith (2006). Conceived as an 'official' way of understanding heritage, the AHD is, according to

Smith, stressing the importance of expert knowledge and privileges the cultural recollection of a limited social stratum, including a limited scope on gender relations and representations. One way of challenging the AHD is to critically analyze the curatorial and management practices of museums and heritage sites from an intersectional perspective (Crenshaw 1991; Lykke 2010; Grahn 2011; Grahn and Ross 2018), and ask questions of how exhibitions and community participation configure and shape our remembrance and perception of the intertwined relations of social identities such as gender and ethnicity.

Several scholars have applied intersectional theory in Museum and Heritage Studies,[7] contesting that women have generally received less space (literally on the tapestries and figuratively), and that their roles have been simplified or understated. According to Porchia Moore, museums are dedicated to collective cultural heritage – but, she asks, "whose cultural heritage and how does that answer correlate to the politics of visibility within museum spaces" (Moore, in Jennings 2016)? Moore considers two notions embedded within intersectional museum work as important, namely who is rendered visible and invisible by museum policies and structures, and what marginalized identities are muted within museum spaces. The representations of Indigenous women in exhibitions can thus be read as intersectional from a Western theoretical framework, and Moore posits that "employing intersectionality as the catalyst and container for action and change within institutional systems is the key to unlocking the kinds of revolutionary participation and engagement needed for the growth of the future of museums" (ibid.).

Intersectional theory in this context implies that the practices of curation are intrinsically rooted in a Eurocentric and androcentric tradition. Not only are Indigenous women exoticized and 'othered' by historically Eurocentric curatorial practices that emphasize the experience of the white settler society while treating Native American cultures as consumable objects (Cobb 2005; Jenkins 2009; Rodenbeck 2017). Indigenous women are also partially erased from history, since "museums, and Western culture as a whole, privileges [sic] male experience" (Rodenbeck 2017, 4), which results in androcentric idealization and stereotypical representation (Bergsdóttir 2016; Horowitz 2017; Machin 2008; Torreira 2016). Rodenbeck asserts that "the intersections of these factors of identity cannot be divided into discrete parts" and thus it is important to "understand how both of these spheres of oppression work in tandem to downplay the unique and important contributions and experiences of Native American women" (2017, 4). This results in a unique phenomenon where Native American women face multiple spheres of repression and White supremacy, which has distinct effects on identity formation and societal narratives that influence their lives.

7 See for example Bünz 2012; Davalos 2001; Dhamoon and Hankivsky 2015; Rodenbeck 2017; Thedéen 2012.

Indigenous women in Canada today still face a high amount of discrimination and prejudice. Compared to non-Indigenous women, they are less likely to have a post-secondary qualification and more likely to endure higher unemployment rates, to receive lower median incomes, to be diagnosed with at least one chronic illness, and to die of violence (Arriagada 2016; Suzack et al. 2014). In their struggle for self-determination and recognition, they are fighting to maintain control over their identities, cultural heritage, and ancestral land. Indigenous women's social positionings, however, are dynamic and complex, informed by culture and post-colonial politics; gender and ethnicity intersect with age, socioeconomic status, and social hierarchies. These intersections are not merely "products of chance or a naturalized way of being – but rather multiple oppressive institutions which function to systematically push these women […] into the margins of society where their position is more than likely to be maintained by the same systems" (Price 2017).

Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank states that "museums and anthropology are undeniably part of a Western philosophical tradition" (1992, 6). And while Christina Kreps argues that "western museology is rooted in the assumption that the museum idea and museological behavior are distinctly Western and modern cultural phenomena," she also points out that "many cultures keep objects of special value and have created complex structures or spaces for the objects' safekeeping as well as technologies for their curation and preservation" (2005, 1), which is true for the Blackfoot (Onciul 2015), amongst others. In any case, ownership and control, community involvement, and visitors' expectations have significant implications and consequences for Indigenous empowerment and independence and, consequently, for the modes and contents of the site's storytelling (Susemihl 2013, 2019), as will be illustrated in the subsequent discussion of my case studies.

## 4. Indigenous Women's Representation at Museums and Heritage Sites: Case Studies

Examining the representation and participation of Indigenous women in four museums and heritage sites in Canada, I will in the following part consider the ways museums as a cultural form frame Indigenous female voice and comment on different ways of female Indigenous involvement with exhibitions and galleries. Exploring two exhibitions on the Iroquois at the Crawford Lake Conservation Area and the Woodland Cultural Centre and two exhibitions on the Blackfoot at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump and the Glenbow Museum, I will show that female Indigenous involvement in the curation, administration, and organization processes will make their representations and narratives more diverse and inclusive.[8]

8 For reasons of space, I will predominantly focus on a mural or diorama in the discussion of each case study, even though representations of Indigenous women can be found at several points throughout the four exhibitions.

### 4.1. Crawford Lake Conservation Area

The Crawford Lake Conservation Area (CLCA) near the community of Campbellville in Milton, Ontario, is owned and operated by Conservation Halton, a community-based management agency. Besides Crawford Lake (a meromictic lake at the heart of the park), a reconstructed 15th-century Iroquoian village is the main attraction of the area. This heritage site invites visitors to "explore local history" and "learn about what daily life was like over 600 years ago" (Halton Conservation, 2018). Archaeological excavations uncovered remains of eleven longhouses and countless Iroquoian artefacts, which are interpreted in archaeological terms. Furthermore, texts on plates throughout the village describe the use of different tools or the life inside a longhouse, an interpretive program takes the visitor through the site, which includes a fire-starting demonstration and the examination of pottery and plastic replica corn, and school groups may use the village green for a traditional game of lacrosse.

In one longhouse, a wall is draped with a large painting depicting daily life in a longhouse. Not only does the interior of the house look empty (there are no provisions stacked against the walls), but the whole atmosphere seems to be dreary. The people in the painting – the women are in the foreground – seem to be fading and disappearing into the shadows of the past. They look rather dull and depressed, low-spirited and miserable, as the non-Indigenous guide explicitly pointed out to a

Figure 2: Wall painting at a reconstructed longhouse in the Iroquoian village at the Crawford Lake Conservation Area, Milton, Ontario (Photo by Susemihl 2017).

group of students on a tour.[9] The women in the painting are depicted squatting on the earth and working, tending the fire, preparing a meal, and caring for the children, while two men are shown standing at the side, empty-handed, watching the women. Short texts describe the use of different tools or the life inside a longhouse; there are no explanations contextualizing the painting.

CLCA management is aware of the dated and stereotyped representation of Indigenous people in general, and the need to revise visual images and texts. Recently, interpretations have been updated, as a sign explains, since "new information from archaeological investigators, consultation with First Nations scholars and elders and historical documentation is revealed" (Plate, CLCA, 2017). Throughout the village, however, there are no references to Iroquoian women who played important roles in Iroquoian society, planting corn, beans, and squash, processing the food, or making clothing and basketry, as cultural objects throughout the village suggest.

On special occasions, visitors may have the opportunity to experience the modern space of the Deer Clan House and have lunch of "Three Sisters Soup"[10] with a local Indigenous caterer, engaging with the Iroquois women who are preparing and serving the food.[11] This encounter and conversations about recipes and the catering business brings Indigenous women back into modern life. Most visitors, however, do not get to have this kind of experience, as Indigenous women are not involved in the management of the site. Every year, more than 32,000 students aged from 6 to 16 and other visitors thus receive a somewhat ambiguous message: While the archaeological remains, paintings, and panels narrate the story of a vanishing people, a panel at the exit advises the visitor to acquire more information about Indigenous people today without really engaging with them, stating: "After you leave the village we would encourage you to continue to learn about the rich and diverse cultures of the First Peoples who live across Canada today" (Plate, CLCA, 2017).

### 4.2. The Woodland Cultural Centre

The Woodland Cultural Centre (WCC) in Brantford, Ontario, tells a different story, one in which Iroquois women feature prominently. The Centre was built in 1952 as overflow classrooms for the Mohawk Institute, the adjacent red-brick residential school. The latter is one of 17 established residential schools in Ontario (Sponagle 2018), and is currently turned into an education centre through the "Save the Evi-

9 I visited the site during the 2017 Canadian History and Environment Summer School (CHESS) on "Gender and Indigenous Landscapes in Southern Ontario" on June 1, and was present at a tour for a school class.

10 The term refers to the three main crops of the Iroquois, corn, beans, and squash.

11 Our group at the CHESS workshop had a lunch of Three Sisters Soup during our visit on June 1, 2017.

dence" Campaign (Brown 2016).[12] When the school closed in 1970, the WCC moved in. Established under the direction of the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, the centre is governed by three Haudenosaunee communities[13] and employs 21 people within the departments of administration, museum, language, education, library, and maintenance. As other Indigenous cultural centres, the WCC is a critical community hub, tasked with an array of cultural chores, from teaching language and craft, to housing archaeological objects and art, providing historical resources, and hosting contemporary art. With over 35,000 artefacts accessioned in the collections, the museum is one of the largest facilities in Canada managed and administered by First Nations (WCC Museum 2019).

Presented in a dramatic storyline beginning with the Iroquoian and Algonquian pre-contact past to the 21st century, the centre displays archaeological specimens, ethnological and historical material, documents, furniture, photographs, and fine crafts, along with contemporary paintings and installations. This combination of past and present draws a powerful picture of Indigenous knowledge, inclusiveness, and sharing of First Nations cultures that leaves the visitor with a notion of the cultural and social strengths and the vulnerability of Indigenous people and women in particular (Gunaratnam 2013). The exhibition starts with a life-size diorama of a pre-contact Haudenosaunee village scene.[14] In it, two women are depicted in the foreground; one woman (an actual figure) is shown sitting and talking to a boy (also a figure), the other (a painting) is leaving the place. On the painting in the background, four boys are playing lacrosse, an Iroquois man seems to be coming home from a hunt, carrying a bow and a dead animal and looking at the clouds, and two women are processing corn. Women are in the majority and seem to be running the place. The caption explains:

> Life in the Village: You have just entered a palisaded village of Neutral-Iroquoians during the Woodland Period just before the arrival of the Europeans. It is a settled village life with a clear division of labour: women remain in the village caring for the children, raising corn, beans, squash and sunflowers, making clothing and pottery; men prepare the fields and journey away from the villages to hunt and fish, or perhaps engage in war. The village and its adjacent field of crops are the concern of the women while men's interests are beyond the boundaries of the clearing.

12 Launched in 2013, the "Save the Evidence" Campaign seeks to raise funds for repairs and renovations to turn the former Mohawk Institute into a space for learning and reconciliation and to ensure that the physical evidence of the dark history of Residential Schools in Canada is not forgotten.

13 The WCC is run by three support or member communities, the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, Six Nations of the Grand River, and the Wahta Mohawks, who serve on the board of the Centre (WCC, About the Centre 2019).

14 The Woodland Cultural Centre did not grant permission to print a photo of the diorama.

> As a result, by the time the first Europeans set foot on the area, women had a primary voice in all matters concerning the welfare of the village, although public business and dealing with other Nations remained the responsibility of the men. (Plate at the WCC, 2017)

In this text, the different roles of women in pre-contact times as nurturers and family-providers are explained, and visitors get a sense of women's importance and significance. Throughout the labyrinth of galleries, there are also many artefacts displayed that are used or made by women such as baskets, blankets, and clothing, as texts point out.

In the Woodland Cultural Centre, Indigenous women are visible and audible. Their ideas and voices are not only seen and heard throughout the galleries, they also narrate their own stories. Mohawk women are involved in the management of the centre, and thus in the storytelling. Working at the cash register, as cultural interpreters and museum educators, and teaching arts and crafts workshops, they represent modern Indigenous world views and interpret their heritage and culture.[15] Executive director Paula Whitlow and Education Program Coordinator Lorrie Gallant, both Mohawk, keep a keen eye on the accuracy of the displays and the interpretations. As the WCC serves as "an emblem of the gulf between Indigenous communities and mainstream Canada" (Whyte 2017), the representation of Indigenous women and their stories are of great importance to all visitors.

#### 4.3. Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump

At Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (HSIBJ), located in Southern Alberta, by contrast, Blackfoot women are rarely visible. The site is one of the oldest, largest and best preserved buffalo jumps in North America and was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1981.[16] First explored in 1938 by members of the American Museum of Natural History, since the 1950s, HSIBJ has been the object of systematic excavations which have considerably enriched the knowledge of prehistoric arms and tools and transformed current thinking on the use of game as food and in clothing and lodging. In 1987, a multi-million-dollar Interpretive Centre opened. It depicts and interprets the ecology, mythology, lifestyle, and technology of the Blackfoot within the context of archaeological evidence. Its galleries were planned by non-Indigenous archeologists with little Blackfoot input (Brink 2008; Susemihl 2019).

15 I visited the Woodland Cultural Centre in 2010, 2011, and 2017. In 2017, I was able to participate in a tour through the centre, a screening of the film "Mohawk Institute Virtual Tour" (55 min) with a subsequent discussion, and a beading workshop with cultural interpreter Kaley Reuben (Mohawk/Cree), who talked with our group about her experiences with visitors and residential school survivors.

16 As part of a larger study, I visited the site and conducted interviews at HSIBJ in 2011 and 2012.

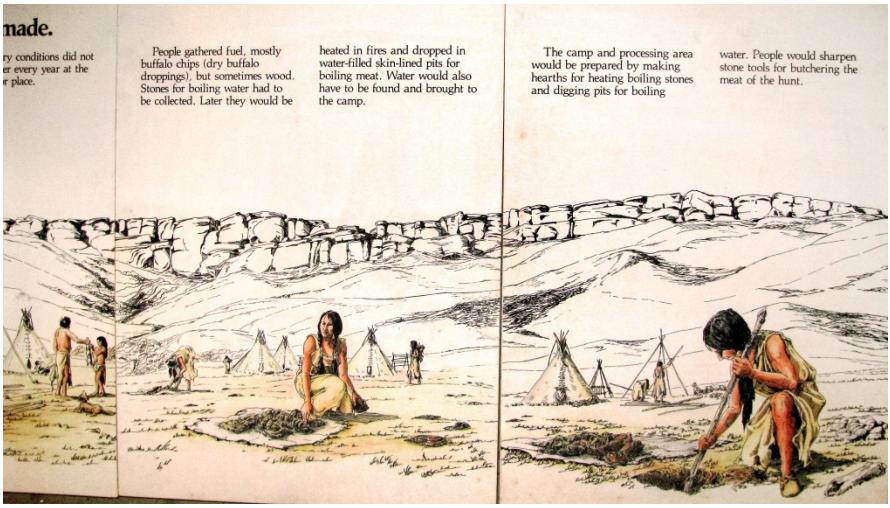


Figure 3: Mural of a Blackfoot camp at the Interpretive Centre at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Fort Macleod, Alberta. (Photo by Susemihl 2012.) Printed with permission of Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump.

At HSIBJ, only few representations of Blackfoot women can be found throughout the exhibitions. One mural depicts a village scene at the foot of the jump. Women are shown in a crouching position, working at a fire pit or scraping hides. In the background, small and almost unnoticed, they are carrying fire wood and setting up tipi poles. There appear to be very few women in the village; indeed, the village looks deserted. Women are busy, but seem to be without much power, considering their positions and size, and almost lost within the landscape. Moreover, the women are depicted as wearing inaccurate clothing, as Piikani guide Stan Knowlton explained: "Women would never have worn clothes exposing their shoulders; that would not have been considered appropriate" (interview with Stan Knowlton 2011). The mural is thus not an accurate self-image, but the imagination of a white artist. The women appear Pocahontas-like, tanned and slender, with beautiful black hair and exposed cleavage. The text accompanying these inauthentic representations of Blackfoot women reads:

> People gathered fuel, mostly buffalo chips (dry buffalo droppings), but sometimes wood. Stones for boiling water had to be collected. Later they would be heated in fires and dropped in water-filled skin-lined pits for boiling meat. Water would also have to be found and brought to the camp. The camp and processing area would be prepared by making hearths for heating boiling stones and digging pits for boiling water. People would sharpen stone tools for butchering the meat of the hunt. (Exhibit HSIBJ, 2012)

The text is as problematic as the visual image. Women are not mentioned, only "people," although the tasks described would typically be performed by women. There are also no explanations of the roles of Blackfoot women or their positioning within the community. Considering that HSIBJ is a major tourist attraction with more than 50,000 visitors annually, there is a clear message communicated: Blackfoot women did not seem to play a major role in the past.

The site of HSIBJ is owned, controlled, and managed by the Government of Alberta with minimal Indigenous involvement in the executive decision making process. Holding the majority of jobs at the centre, including those as site interpreters, however, the Blackfoot play a key role in the operation of the site, although there are few Blackfoot women employed there. While some work at the cash register and in the gift shop and others put on traditional dance shows for tourists once a week, they rarely work as guides. There are several reasons for this: The wages are fairly low, it is expensive to travel to the site, as the two Blackfoot reserves (Piikani and Kainai) are both about 50 kilometres away, and women often have to find child care when working at HSIBJ. Moreover, engagement with a government-run site can be a double-edged sword for Indigenous community members. Sometimes, their reputations are in jeopardy through their engagement, and Blackfoot people have been credited, but also criticized and ostracised for working at and collaborating with a government-run site (personal interviews at HSIBJ, 2011; Onciul 2015). Indigenous involvement with a museum is thus not always as empowering as museums would like it to appear. Cultural anthropologist Nancy Mithlo critiques:

> The policy of inclusion, anticipated by both Natives and non-Natives as *the* solution to representational divides places an undue and often unworkable burden upon Native museum professionals to 'bridge' broad conceptual gaps. Museums are self-perpetuating institutions that generally maintain authority, despite efforts to 'give Natives a voice.' (Mithlo 2004, 746, emphasis original)

At HSIBJ the "gap" is further widened as the exhibitions represent Blackfoot people generally as people of the past, thus reinforcing existing stereotypes (Susemihl, 2019). Throughout the galleries Indigenous women are not given a voice; they are silenced and almost invisible.

#### 4.4. *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* at the Glenbow Museum

The permanent exhibition *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* at the Glenbow Museum[17] in Calgary, as the fourth site to be discussed in this study, shows that Blackfoot women can be represented as strong and powerful. Here, the different roles of women in traditional Blackfoot society are explained and recognized and in doing

17 I visited the exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary in August 2018.

so they have been given a voice. Located in downtown Calgary and opened in 2001, Glenbow serves as an example of "how sharing power and repatriating cultural material can enhance Indigenous community representation and museum community relations" (Onciul 2015, 106). Acknowledging the site of the public museum on Treaty Seven territory, visitors may journey through the Blackfoot Gallery and uncover the traditions, values, and history of the people who have lived on the Northern Plains for thousands of years. In this exhibition, the Blackfoot share their story in their own words, with artefacts and interactive displays that guide visitors through Nitsitapii history into the present. Over a four-year period, a team of Glenbow staff and the Blackfoot community worked together to develop the exhibition. Of the thirty-two members of the team, seventeen were from the Blackfoot community, five of them women. All of them are individually acknowledged with a photo, framed and displayed in the museum gallery.

Throughout the exhibition, visitors encounter many representations and depictions of Blackfoot women – as mannequins in a tipi, exhibited as sitting next to the men; on historical photographs, their attire of beaded and decorated clothes described in detail; or in stories or anecdotes, narrated by women, that can be listened to over earphones or viewed on screen. In a diorama, a woman is sitting on the ground as part of an enlarged photograph in the background of the display. She is tanning hides, as the accompanying text explains, which "was a very skilled task and one that brought esteem to women who were talented at it" (Panel, Glenbow 2019). While her activity is given credit, another panel provides further explanations on the tasks of Blackfoot women:

> Our women's roles were focussed on the camp. They were the foundation of the family; nurturing the children. Women always brought food to those who had none. Visitors to our camps were entitled to a meal, a bed and rest. They also cared for our Sacred Bundles, which are regarded as living beings. Our women's skill at making dry meat and *moki-maani* (pemmican), at tanning hides, and sewing clothes and tipi covers kept us fed, clothed, and sheltered. Many women were herbal healers, as well, caring for the wellness of our people. (Exhibit *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*, Glenbow Museum, 2018)

By way of texts and visual images, visitors learn about the diverse and vital roles that Blackfoot women played throughout history. In Blackfoot society, men and women had different, yet complementary roles and had "great respect for each other and for the differences in their roles," as "they knew and understood how much they needed each other to survive" (The Blackfoot Gallery Committee 2013, 32). While women's roles focused on nurturing the family, they also were well-respected healers and leaders of community life.

Figure 4: Diorama at the the permanent exhibition *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary (Photo by Susemihl 2018). Printed with permission of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta.

The use of different media throughout the gallery makes it especially interesting and easy for visitors to understand women's lifestyles. Visitors also encounter Blackfoot women through storytelling. The Blackfoot and the museum staff have produced videos to help people understand how the Blackfoot learn through stories, and to help preserve their language and oral traditions. In a circular room, resembling the space of a tipi, visitors can choose from a number of films. In one film, Rosie Day Rider and Louise Crop Eared Wolf tell the "Story of the Wolf Trail" in Blackfoot and English, and visitors are invited to listen.

At this exhibition, people have the opportunity to listen to Elders' pre-recorded stories in Blackfoot or English via phones placed around the gallery and on films, in addition to Blackfoot guides providing tours of the exhibit in both Blackfoot and English. Even though represented in smaller numbers than men, Blackfoot women are thus visible and audible throughout the exhibition – visitors can hear their voices and see their faces, both in the past and in the present. Despite the primary audience being non-Blackfoot, the exhibition team made a conscious decision "to use first person narrative and Blackfoot terms to emphasise to visitors that the exhibit comes from a Blackfoot perspective" (Onciul 2015, 129), and community voices can be heard throughout the exhibition through different audio-visual presentations.

**5. Discussion of the Four Case Studies**

Indigenous women's (self-)representation at the four sites is complex, and the exhibitions are layered with meaning and seek to simultaneously achieve multiple goals. At a first glance, Indigenous women's representations on the paintings and dioramas may appear to be rather similar in content and proposition. Women are shown pursuing their work chores such as tending a fire, preparing a meal, caring for children, or tanning hides. When considering further depictions of and information on women throughout the galleries and when compared to representations of men, however, the differences between the various representations and the messages become obvious. At two sites (CLCA, HSIBJ), Indigenous women, whether in the past or present, are rarely visible, and visitors are left with little information on Indigenous women's roles and little connection to contemporary Indigenous women's lives. Besides, at these two sites, men's stories seem to be privileged as there is more information on men. In the displays at the two sites men are depicted in an upright position next to the women who are sitting or crouching, thus appearing smaller and less important. At the other two sites (WCC, Glenbow), the dioramas focus on women in both the visual representations and the accompanying texts, which explain their roles within traditional society. Additionally, visitors learn more about women's traditional roles and responsibilities in different displays and texts throughout the galleries and encounter Indigenous women today, through photographs and texts or in person (e.g. as guides).

Women's representation thus depends on the discourses and the storytelling at the sites. Two of the sites investigated – CLCA and HSIBJ – tell a complex story of history, science (i.e. archaeology), and environment within the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith 2006), stressing the expert knowledge of archeologists and historians. Both sites are stimulating introductions to traditional Indigenous cultures and lifestyles; yet, the exhibitions present Iroquois and Blackfoot history and culture from an archaeological perspective and generally remain within the past (Peers and Brown 2003). At HSIBJ, interpretation intends to describe life at the camp and processing site within an archaeological framework (Susemihl 2013, 2019) and the UNESCO designation of HSIBJ is predominantly based on archaeological findings; cultural aspects were only included in 1987 when the centre opened. Archaeology, however, is a Western concept, containing both a record of the past and the interpretations and values that people apply to that record today. Many Indigenous people do not view archaeological artefacts or sites as things of the past, though, but as active elements of their contemporary world. These objects, places, and stories are valued as much for their heritage values as for "being repositories of beings and powers of importance within their worldview" (Nicholas 2006, 218). Both the Iroquoian village at CLCA and HSIBJ might thus satisfy the expectations of tourists who are looking for "people of the past," but the sites leave them without a connection to contemporary Indigenous women's cultures and challenges.

Visitor's perception of the relations of social identities such as gender and ethnicity are shaped by visibility and voice. All four sites strive to tell the story of Indigenous people to interested visitors, who can learn about history and culture at the sites, take this knowledge home, and pass it on. Since, as Bird (2003) and Brady (2009) emphasise, people tend to recreate what they know and evaluate new situations by using frames of references based on existing knowledge, visitors read exhibits based on past experiences or assumptions. This behaviour holds the danger that people not only undervalue Indigenous women's roles in history, but also place Indigenous women (and men) in the past. Functioning as "a public face, for non-Indigenous audiences" (Lawlor 2006, 5), the exhibitions thus either confirm or challenge existing views and stereotypes. Hence, women's (self-)representations have "to negotiate with colonial constructs that remain in the public imagination about who 'Others' are" (Onciul 2015, 63), and the ability for women's voices to be heard within the museum is "limited by the audience's ability to understand what is said" (ibid.). Women's voices are not always heard, however. At the Glenbow Museum, Krmpotich and Anderson, for example, found that "visitors rarely recognized the extent of the collaboration, and thus rarely equated *Nitsitapiisinni* with concepts of self-representation or self-determination" (2005, 377). Even within community settings, self-representation must deal with colonial stereotypes, instilled through assimilation politics and popular culture that still have an impact on identity constructions. Visitors from the Indigenous community may relate with the narratives of their culture through images and language, and Indigenous (self-)representation thus needs to produce exhibits that speak to different audiences.

Crucially, representation seems to be determined by Indigenous women's degree of engagement with the site, the degree to which they have been allowed to articulate their own perspectives, challenge misinformation, and tell their own stories. Women are engaging in a conversation with the public through the creation of exhibits and, as Onciul puts it, their voice "is both framed through the cultural form of the exhibit and mediated by the need to communicate cross-culturally" (2015, 195). At the four sites, different ownership and management structures can be found. While the WCC is owned and managed by the Indigenous community, the other three sites are owned and managed by non-Indigenous organizations. This has consequences for the curation and representation of Indigenous women, as the owner determines how the processes of curation and operation are organized. At the two sites of WCC and Glenbow, women have been engaged in the curation, management, and organization, working as guides or administrators, and they are involved in the storytelling and interpretation of the sites. Here, Indigenous women are allowed, required, and empowered to tell their own stories; they are involved in shaping visitors' perceptions of Indigenous women in modern Canadian society.

Representation matters, because it influences how people interact with each other. Presenting Indigenous women as less able and in control has an impact on visitor's perceptions and on women's self-perception. For a long time, storytelling at

museums and heritage sites was characterized by streamlined and simplified, and even 'whitewashed' representation of Indigenous women, and as part of the AHD their marginalized identities were muted within the museum space. Even today, women are still made visible or invisible by the sites' policies and structures. Indigenous women, though, have a lot to gain or lose in the way their heritage is defined, understood, managed, and controlled, because the representation and interpretation of their heritage is significant for their own identity constructions. Heritage can be seen as "a process in which meaning and identity are continually constructed and negotiated anew as political and cultural circumstances dictate" (Smith 2006, 297). It thus holds the power "to represent and validate a sense of place, memory and identity" (ibid.). As a process of remembering, heritage also helps to support "the ways in which individuals and groups make sense of their experiences in the present" (Smith 2006, 276) and thus strengthen identity. The ability to control this heritage process is, as Smith argues, "an integral element of the heritage process itself":

> Without control over this process, or a sense of active agency in it, individuals and communities become subjected to received notions and ideas about who they are or should be – control is vital if the heritage process and the identities it constructs are to have real personal and cultural meaning for those associated or engaged with particular heritage places. (Smith 2006, 297)

Control over the heritage process not only means exercising power over identity constructions, but it also has political implications, as the power to legitimize (or delegitimize) identity claims may be important in negotiations over access to economic and other resources. In this process, both authorized or subaltern heritage discourses "grant or withhold power to other conceptualizations of identity and social and cultural experiences," as Smith explains: "These discourses compete with each other for authority and legitimacy, so that the meanings about the past and present they represent are validated, and this in turn will help to validate present social and cultural experiences" (Smith 2006, 297-298). Depending on the defining discourses, the identity that is created may revolve around a sense of gender, ethnicity, and other collective experiences of Indigenous women.

Cultural concepts such as gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status play an important part in women's involvement in museums and heritage sites. These concepts, however, intersect with community structures. Tribal communities are not void of patriarchy. In fact, Indigenous women experience unique challenges when it comes to patriarchy as there are often cultural or traditional beliefs that surround the dynamics between men and women, and asserting power becomes a sensitive

issue for women (Begay 2018).[18] Calling for the deconstruction of patriarchy and "toxic masculinity" in communities and beyond, Diné filmmaker Jade Begay states that "patriarchy and colonization are no longer vague, hidden structures," but "exposed and vulnerable" (ibid.). Indigenous women, therefore, "need to stretch" their "imaginations to envision a world where the systems are completely dismantled because […] these systems do not work and are oppressive by design" (ibid.).

**6. Conclusion**

The four sites discussed in this paper fall within traditional First Nations territory and have engaged in living and dynamic relationships with non-Indigenous communities and museums to help shape the representation of First Nations and the management of their cultural material and history. As powerful places of (self-) representation they play an important role in the healing processes of Indigenous communities. They give inspirations, facilitate the process of reconciliation, and are important sources of empowerment and capacity building for Indigenous peoples (Susemihl 2013, 2019).

Applying an intersectional approach to the critical study of museum exhibitions has revealed that because of their gender and ethnicity Indigenous women at two sites have been exoticized or presented as passive or absent from history. Other aspects such as class or socioeconomic status have not been taken into consideration, but they play a role when it comes to the engagement of Indigenous women with museums and heritage sites. Indigenous women with a higher education, for example, have a higher chance of getting hired as guides or being involved with the curation. The four sites I have examined confirm the need to maintain different perspectives of the use of Indigenous heritage, which is useful as a post-colonial trope, making visible the specific cultural gaze of museums and heritage institutions and processes. Since "heritage construction and protection processes have a real and distinct impact upon the lives of people" (Ween 2012, 257), certain aspects of the course of these processes such as opportunities of co-management, the continuation of cultural practices, and opportunities for economic development are of great significance for Indigenous women.

This study has also shown that while gender studies constitute a broad and dynamic interdisciplinary research field, the influence of gender issues within the field of heritage studies are still understudied. Questions concerning how gender and heritage are intertwined and have been created and transformed in the past and present, and what consequences this has, need to be emphasized. Not only historical connections between heritage and gender need to be focussed on, but also visual representations and heritage discourses. Consequently, gender constructions

18 At some heritage sites such as at Taos Pueblo, New Mexico, USA, Indigenous women have acquired leading positions in the site management due to their formal education, but are only marginally involved in tribal politics (interview with Ilona Spruce, Tourism Director at Taos Pueblo, 2017).

within the heritage field and their implications for cultural heritage management and community engagement need to be analyzed.

Relationships between museums and Indigenous communities tend to be sensitive as "they are built upon personal relationships between individuals which are subject to change" (Onciul 2015, 242). The observations in this study indicate that the relations between museums and heritage sites and communities can be further improved. At every site, Indigenous involvement is distinctive, yet changes to the museological approaches to engagement, curation, and representation of Indigenous women would make relations easier. Indigenous people and women in particular must be actively involved in the development of exhibitions, because, as this paper has shown and as Battiste and Henderson (2000) correctly note, "their participation will develop new sensitivities to what is sacred, to what is capable of being shared, and to what is fair compensation for the sharing of information among diverse peoples" (292).

Heritage sites and museums are meant to be spaces of creativity, conversation, and confidence, bringing together different voices, knowledge, perspectives, and methodologies to educate, entertain, and offer unique experiences. If the practices of exhibiting and representing Indigenous women change, if they draw a more diverse and inclusive picture free from colonial stereotyping, we might be able to see more strong and independent Indigenous women at heritage sites and museums in the future – women such as the one painted by Mohawk artist Amanda Flynn, women that help to strengthen the rights and visibility of Indigenous women in Canada. The use and control of heritage and the cultural, social, and political work that heritage does is important for Indigenous women. It is part of the "urgent decolonizing project of Indigenous feminism today," in which, as Maori scholar Makere Stewart-Harawira argues, "Indigenous women warriors […] re-weave the fabric of being in the world into a new spiritually-grounded and feminine-oriented political framework" (Stewart-Harawira 2007). In this process, intersectional approaches to representations in the heritage field can be vital to the reshaping of the future of Indigenous museology and the use of heritage for Indigenous communities.

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Sonja John

# The Elimination of the Other – Penalizing Indigenous Willfulness

**Abstract**

*Since its inception in the Western world, the prison has proven ineffective in its pronounced goal to reduce crime. Its basic deficiencies have been documented between 1820 and 1845, commented on by Michel Foucault and, ever since, restated with changing foci. Intersectionality and Critical Race Studies have added an analysis of the reasons for mass and hyper-incarceration of racialized groups. Here, these approaches are being linked with Indigenous critique which exceeds concerns of over-representation of marginalized groups and challenges the very legitimacy of the prison system. Understanding Indigeneity as an axis of discrimination offers productive correctives for critical prison studies through the degree to which Indigenous subjects are being controlled and contained. Incarceration, I argue here, is an extended form of Indigenous femicide and elimination of Indigenous willfulness for the completion of the settler project. I suggest including the aspect of willfulness as a category in intersectional studies of multiple discrimination. The ambition of this argument lies in theorizing, understanding and interrupting incarceration.*

**Résumé**

*Depuis son instauration dans le monde occidentale, le prison s'est prouvé inefficace dans son objectif de réduire la criminalité. Ses lacunes principales ont été documentées entre 1820 et 1845, commentées par Michel Foucault et, depuis, réaffirmées d'angles différents. Les études de l'intersectionnalité et les études critiques de race ont rajouté une analyse des raisons de l'incarcération de masse des groupes racialisés. Cet article fait le lien entre ces approches et la critique autochtone ce qui dépasse le problème de la surreprésentation des groupes marginalisés pour contester la légitimité même du système carcéral. La compréhension de l'appartenance autochtone comme axe de discrimination offre des correctifs productifs pour les études critiques du prison par le degré de contrôle et de détention des sujets autochtones. L'incarcération, je proclame ici, est une forme extensive du féminicide autochtone et de l'élimination de l'intentionnalité (willfulness) autochtone pour la complétion du projet colonisateur. Je propose d'inclure l'aspect de l'intentionnalité comme catégorie dans les études intersectionnelles de dis-*

*crimination multiple. L'ambition de cet argument se situe dans la théorisation, la compréhension et l'interruption de l'incarcération.*

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## 1. The Elimination of the 'Other'[1]

For the past thirty years the number of First Nations' inmates in Canadian prisons has risen annually (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2017, 50). Indigenous people are vulnerable to incarceration and, worse, to death in custody. The neglect of state institutions to provide needed care to inmates has been characterized by Sherene Razack (2015, 112f.), an expert on racial violence, as "killing indifference." The extension of criminal jurisdiction has long been central to the subjugation, displacement, and elimination of Indigenous polities. As interventions in Indigenous studies have demonstrated, the Western carceral system (re-)colonizes in a classical sense, upholding state violence and racialized hierarchy (Ross 1998; Monture-Angus 2011; Nichols 2014; Dhillon 2015; Razack 2015). Through an analysis of Canadian incarceration reports for the years 2016 to 2018, I will engage Indigenous prison critique with Michel Foucault's (1991) fundamental prison critique and, in a second step, link them to advances put forth in Critical Race and intersectional studies. By combining these critical approaches to think through carceral power, this paper intends to lay out a foundation for theorizing and interrupting (Indigenous) imprisonment and death in custody. This is based on my hypothesis that Indigenous people are particularly affected by incarceration because of their specific oppression as 'other' and willful.

The state manages 'disorderly populations' through criminalized capture and isolation. The prison forms a place and technique of disciplining and – in cases of persistent willfulness and insubordination – of elimination. The term 'elimination' is here used quite literally in its deadly connotation since criminal justice not only often causes civil death,[2] often inmates also die in prison. In his 1991 book *Discipline and*

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1 Over the past years, I had opportunities to discuss thoughts on incarceration, intersectionality, and willfulness in different contexts. Constructive comments at these conferences helped to restructure the ideas: *The Art of Resistance and Resurgence* (American Indian Workshop, London, 2017), *Prejudice and Expertise – Discrimination in the West, 1850-2000 (*University of Warwick, 2018), and *Intersectionality: Theories, Policies, Practices* (Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien, 2019). For stimulating comments, I am especially thankful to Claudia Brunner, Magdalena Freudenschuss, Asher Goldstein, Nkiruka Ngozi Eziakor, and the blind peer reviewers. A German version of this text with a feminist focus will be published in 2020 in the book *Intersektionale und postkolonial-feministische Perspektiven als Mittel politikwissenschaftlicher Macht- und Herrschaftskritik* edited by Heike Mauer and Johanna Leinius.

2 In many democracies inmates' voting rights are seized. Critical Race scholars have described how the seizure of the right to vote for felonies after incarceration in the US has particularly affected communities of people of color (Richman 2018: 491). In Canada, however, all prisoners

*Punish – The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault found that violence and killing is bound up with penal practice; an element that justice tolerates, despite difficulties in accounting for it (9). According to Foucault, since the birth of the prison, sentencing and penal practice are no longer consequences of legal theory, but results of political anatomy (28). This political anatomy, in a first step, defines the "normal" and differentiates it from the "abnormal," "villain," "madman," or "monster" (101, 184). Those deviating from the norm are criminalized, punished, (re)educated, and – should all of this be in vain – eliminated. The offender becomes the common enemy, opposed by society in his/her entirety – "he is nothing less than a traitor, a 'monster.' How could society not have an absolute right over him? How could it not demand, quite simply, his elimination?" (90). Canadian annual penal statistics attest to the common recurrences and stable rates of deaths of Indigenous inmates in custody.

Foucault's critique of the prison system had already been formulated in the years from 1820 to 1845. It proceeds as follows: prisons do not lower crime rates; on the contrary, they cause recidivism and produce milieus of delinquency; the conditions to which inmates are released cause recidivism; and incarceration affects the relatives[3] negatively, producing new poverty-related delinquency (265ff.). Since 1820, countless prison reports repeat these raised objections – in the following, simply termed 'Foucauldian primary prison critique' – with different foci and for different contexts. However, all reforms have failed to transform inmates to 'orderly' members of society.

Although the prison failed to diminish delinquency, it was and is absolutely successful when understood as a governance function aiming at homogenizing behavior (183). In what Foucault termed the "carceral archipelago" and the "great carceral continuum" (297, 303) the fields of medicine, psychology, education, welfare and 'social work'[4] take over the functions of surveilling, punishing, and correcting 'abnormal' behavior. These mechanisms of normalization and disciplining are central to the disciplinary society (301) and serve to construct the 'criminal' as embodied before, and even outside, the crime (252). By around 1840, inmates had already been analyzed from biographic and ethnographic perspectives; criminals were identified as a separate species and as inherently criminal (253, 258). At the same time, white settlers and white anthropologists defined the Native as 'abnormal' and applied quite similar disciplining mechanisms to 'civilize the savage.' This paper develops the argument that Indigenous people – stigmatized as uncivilized, criminal, vagabond, wild, savage, thief, cannibal, or willful (Mihesuah 2015; Pöhl 2018) – are at higher risk of experiencing disciplinary violence.

Today, these practices of labelling, discriminating, and excluding all who diverge

are entitled to vote, and the Canada Elections Act contains various provisions to facilitate the franchise of prisoners.

3 This text is inspired and informed by own experiences in institutions of the disciplinary society (orphanage, foster care), by secondary prisonization, and the death of close relatives in prison.

4 Social work in quotation marks as in the original (Foucault 1991: 304, 306).

from the norm is called 'othering' and will be the topic of the subsequent part. Here, I want to establish that the early sources Foucault quoted already stated that it is the 'other' who is most targeted by the police, ends up in custody, and might not survive incarceration. Foucault confirmed the existence of class justice and the criminalization of the poor, orphans, homeless, and mentally ill who lack the opportunity to avoid imprisonment (1991,101, 61).

An aspect that had not been touched upon by Foucault is the prison system's racialized and gendered violence. Especially in the US-American context, engagements with racist mass incarceration and state-sanctioned reinvention of slavery (Wacquant 2002; Alexander 2011), murderous police violence (Zimring 2017), the so-called 'prison industrial complex' (Davis 2003; Wilson Gilmore 2009), and ethnic-based discriminatory persecutions (Aviram 2018) have inspired and provoked extensive and differentiated analyses of the carceral system. Critical Race scholars have highlighted racist disparities in the US justice system; the implicit racial bias operating on each of its levels is regarded as the overwhelming reason for hyper-enforcement of criminal laws on non-white people (Benders 2018). As a result, many Black US Americans do not live in a society with prisons but in a "prison society" (Wacquant 2002, 60). What Foucault (1991, 270, 301) described as the carceral system is termed "prison nation" by the Black scholar Beth Richie (2012, 3). The conception of a prison nation reflects the increased criminalization of disenfranchised communities of color, the undermining of civil and human rights of marginalized groups, and aggressive law enforcement strategies for norm-violating behavior. The term refers to the strategic use of the power of law, public policy, and institutional practices to advance hegemonic values and to overpower efforts that challenge the status-quo. Threatening hegemony is always a willful act and, as this article argues, punishing willfulness is a central feature of the disciplinary society.

Another aspect not included in the Foucauldian primary prison critique is a recognition of gendered violence. Gender is an important construct to be analyzed for the complex ways it is associated with criminalization and incarceration that are not always visible at first sight. Most empirical studies on incarceration from Critical Race and intersectionality approaches focus on boys or men of color. For example, it is reported that in Canada, the probability of young Indigenous men going to prison is four times higher than graduating from high school (Razack 2015, 209). Yet, women of color are the fastest growing group in US prisons (Annamma 2018, 308) as are Indigenous women in Canadian prisons (Correctional Investigator of Canada 2017, 59). Hence, analyzing reports of incarcerated Indigenous women in Canada against the background of prison critique promises insights into the elimination of the 'other' through criminalized capture.

By disregarding racialized and gendered systemic violence, Foucault also did not foresee the overlapping and intersecting forms of multiple discrimination that in effect compose the prison population in Canada and other Western democracies. In general, the starting point of prison critique is the problem of over-representation

of members of marginalized groups in prisons. The conclusions tend to repeat Foucault's primary critique. Remarkably, most Critical Race Theory and intersectional approaches do not question the system *per se* (Benders 2018; Richman 2018). Angela Davis (2003) and Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2009) are among the few abolitionists. Reformist approaches reinforce a violent system that is fundamentally asymmetrical in its re-production of the disciplinary society and, thus, blocks abolitionist attempts to recognize the need for a (re-)thinking of conflict transformation systems open to restorative justice agendas. Reversing this asymmetry requires elucidating the initial causes of differential criminality and differential criminalization: poverty, deprivation, institutional racism, white supremacy as well as a lack of empathy for the 'other' (Aviram 2018, 338). It requires addressing the underlying causes of criminalization and imprisonment: the de-humanization of those diverging from the norm.

The majority of Critical Race literature on incarceration is based on the intersectionality approach developed by the Black lawyer Kimberlé Crenshaw. Crenshaw (1991, 1245) focussed on race and gender but also mentioned that "the concept could and should be expanded." With this text, I want to partake in this project of expanding the intersectionality concept to add the category of *willfulness* as a determining factor for vulnerability. Intersectionality offers a productive perspective and method of conceptualizing the relation between systems of oppression that construct 'other' identities in order to uphold systems of power and privilege. I use intersectionality to examine the ways in which interlocking mechanisms of 'othering,' oppression, racism, and criminalization work to multiply marginalize Indigenous women into criminalization, incarceration, and elimination. One central aspect appears to be their entrapment as *willful*; this will be discussed in the subsequent part.

**2. The Elimination of the Willful**

In the US, numerous executions of People of Color by the hands of police officers in public have gained notoriety (Zimring 2017). Less attention is being paid when death occurs in prison. Sandra Bland is a prominent example of death in custody; her death occurred in 2015 during the height of the *Black Lives Matter* movement. The Black activist was stopped by traffic police and arrested after being perceived as too willful during a verbal exchange. Shortly after, she was found dead in her cell. Even though the state carries the legal responsibility for the well-being of inmates, it does not take responsibility nor account for so-called 'suicides.' Hitherto, the relatives of Sandra Bland demand an investigation into the causes of this 'suicide' under state supervision, control, and care. It is assumed that in cases of 'suicide' in prison inmates freely choose to die. However, I argue that within the 'total institution' (Goffmann 1973) of the prison, inside a surveilling, coercive, and violent racial re-

gime, there cannot be entirely voluntary, un-coerced self-killing.[5] These killings are tolerated because the victims are the 'others,' the willful, those who are not "eminently grievable" (Butler 2009, 24). Willful people are not only targeted, marginalized, and discriminated against in the larger carceral system but also within penal institutions. Willful inmates who do not subordinate themselves to the required discipline are placed into solitary confinement, a place designed and meant to break the will. Foucault (1991, 289) quoted the *Phalange* which stated in 1837: "'The social order dominated by the fatality of its repressive principle continues to kill through the executioner or through the prisons those whose nature robustness rejects or disdains its prescriptions.'" Women of color and Indigenous women are often perceived as robust and willful. Therefore, to include the aspect of willfulness as a separate category into the intersectional study of multiple discrimination in the context of criminal justice reveals a specificity of their axes of domination.

Sara Ahmed (2014), in her book *Willful Subjects,* describes the deadly aspect in European social disciplinary traditions. By reviewing popular literature, she points out how the disciplinary society normalizes obedience as virtue and disdains willfulness as problematic and destructive (63). Interpreting the grim tales of the Grimm brothers, she finds that eliminating willfulness does not only mean to eliminate independence from the general will but also to destroy even the memory of an independent will (65). This is supposed to help children and spare them trouble since the only time in the referenced tale the child is at peace is when it is dead (71). Ahmed explains how mentioning and challenging injustice is seen as a symptom of willfulness and that, therefore, all who wish to be regarded as civilized and educated, distance themselves from any sign of willfulness (90). "It is 'the others' who are willful and capricious" (95). Even the suspicion of willfulness could deny one the opportunity to be heard (94).

Ahmed does under no circumstances distance herself from the 'other,' on the contrary: she wants to activate and animate the *feminist killjoys* to be willful, to leave traces and to use the disturbing facets of willfulness in a creative manner. She insists on the transformative power of willfulness, although she is aware that willfulness is often criminalized and interpreted as an orientation towards a crime (2014, 135). I only partly approve of Ahmed's instigating because crossing the fine line between willfulness and refusal without being harmed is a privilege which is not available to all.[6] As intersectional studies have documented, multiply discriminated subjects acting resistant and willful are risking their lives; too many do not survive acts of resistance. Ahmed knows Audre Lorde's quote in her book *The Black Unicorn*, in which she states that *some* were never meant to survive (1978, 32). Incarcerated

5 The author is currently working on a text dealing specifically with the phenomenon of lack of accountability for death by so-called 'suicide' in prison.

6 Several activists and activist academicians call for radical actions while enjoying the privilege of having access to settler society's institutions (i.e. through their white, middle-class mothers or jobs) – institutions that tend to harm and kill 'others.'

Indigenous women belong to these *some*. Their survival is regarded as willful, as a threat to the settler nation's sovereignty (Simpson 2014).

Since the beginning of colonization on the American continents, laws have been formulated and implemented in a way to weaken First Nations communities. Since then, Indigenous peoples have been subjected to extremely violent normalizing and disciplining practices. All institutions of the disciplinary society – the military, the school, the hospital, the psychiatric asylum, the church – collaborated to subordinate and eliminate Indigenous life, cultural practices, traditions, languages, and knowledge systems. Still today, Native peoples are continuously subjected to surveilling, disciplining, and exterminating practices (Monture-Angus 2011; Nichols 2014; Dhillon 2015; Razack 2015; Simpson 2018). Incarceration, as I argue here, is an extended form of eliminating Indigenous willfulness. Penalizing willfulness by itself is an aspect of settler governance mechanisms; those unwilling to conform to established norms are, from the settler perspective, seen as willful and a threat to hegemonic values, hence, deserving of punishment. For problematizing and overcoming containment, linking the Foucauldian primary prison critique with Indigenous perspectives promises a productive angle. The subsequent part will clarify the connection between the practices for 'civilizing' and 'normalizing' Indigenous communities on the one hand and the disciplining functions of the carceral system of the Canadian settler state on the other.

### 3. The Elimination of the Native

From an intersectional perspective it is obvious that willful or 'other' constructed subjects are vulnerable to marginalization, discrimination, and elimination. The extension of the criminal justice system has played a central role in the subordination, removal, and extermination of Indigenous polities. Interventions in Indigenous Studies have shown how the Western prison system (re-)colonizes in a classical sense. Patricia Monture-Angus stresses that the Canadian justice system neither represents nor respects Indigenous people (2011, 244). She interprets this as another means of "oppression of First Nations People under a system of law to which we have never consented" (2000, 57). Politics around the prison system are formulated in a way that perpetuates institutionalized violence and racist hierarchies. Members of First Nations possess their own inherent rights based on their own justice and value systems; a situation which bears potential of constant conflict with Canadian policing. However, the Native was represented as a potential criminal in need of disciplining; the legacies of this 'othering' affect First Nations people today (Ross 1998). Nickita Longman, communications coordinator at the Indigenous student Center of the University of Manitoba, commented in July 2019 through social media that Indigenous death will always be associated with criminality. She mentions as examples Colten Boushie, who was framed as a thief (though nothing was officially stolen) when he was murdered, Tina Fontaine, whose toxicology report was made public and used against her in the media and in the courtroom (despite being un-

der state care and guardianship) when she was murdered, and Nadine Maschiskinic, who was assumed a sex worker and whose death was not reported to the police for 60 hours. First Nations people who are already constructed as sick, criminal, and members of a dying race are afforded neither care nor grief. Where does this indifference towards the death of the 'other' with whom one seemingly has nothing in common derive (Mbembe 2014, 331)?

After the publication of *Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native* by the comparative historian Patrick Wolfe (2006), the aspect of elimination moved into the foreground in the academic discourse on Indigenous incarceration. In the following, I will first depict insights gained in Indigenous Studies based on Wolfe that reveal the ongoing genocidal structure of Canadian society. Secondly, I will describe the specifics of Indigenous femicide and summarize current literature on Indigenous incarceration in order to suggest combining both strands of research with the Foucauldian primary prison critique. This could be productively applied to understand the continuous elimination of the 'other' through containment in order to formulate a more radical prison critique. Wolfe describes the nature of settler colonialism as an ongoing structure, not an event. The existence of the settler nation is only possible through the elimination of the Indigenous, and this pertains to the individual physical presence as well as to its political forms, governance systems, and land rights. Land is the essential and indispensable element of the settler project. Continuous expropriation of Indigenous land and resources as well as mass incarceration are tools to separate First Nations people from their land. Wolfe explains the existence of contemporary settler colonialism with the "logic of elimination" which wants to contain, control, and regulate all that is Indigenous (2006, 387). According to Wolfe, the logic of elimination is enforced through strategies of settler colonialism which include the breaking down of Native title, Native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, and resocialization in total institutions (388). The specific ways in which the elimination of the 'other' occurs varies in terms of the target group, its methods and according to the historical moment.

One of the specifics of incarcerating members of First Nations is that their 'othering' is not only based on phenotype, ethnicity, gender, poverty, or disability. Critical Race Studies tend to submerge Indigenous positions under the People of Color term. However, Indigenous people(s) enjoy an extra-constitutional status resulting from bilateral international treaties; hence, their status is of political and not ethnic nature (Wilkins 2002, 59). Through this history, they can offer specific experiences and arguments relating to the carceral continuum within settler nations in the Americas that are grounded in Native sovereignty. The strongest embodiment of Native sovereignty is through Indigenous women leaders. Hence, Indigenous women are disproportionally targeted and affected by incarceration.

Kahnawake anthropologist Audra Simpson talks about conflicting "multiple sovereignties" (2018, 74) to describe the Indigenous femicide in the Canadian settler state. An important step towards the legalization of femicide was taken in 1876 with

the change from matriarchal/matrilineal to patriarchal/patrilineal governance through the introduction and implementation of the Indian Act in Indigenous territories (Simpson 2016). In her book *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, Simpson (2014, 156) explains how the body of Indigenous girls and women has historically been depicted as less valuable and, simultaneously, as threat. Indigenous women represent land, reproduction, and relationship, as well as, even more importantly, a different form of governance which does not follow Victorian rules of descent. Simpson follows Wolfe (2006) in the argument that Indigenous presence recalls the incomplete settler project, and that elimination and judicial confinement of First Nations requires new techniques (Simpson 2018, 80). She argues that missing and murdered Indigenous women[7] have not simply 'disappeared' but that Canadian governance is guilty of Indigenous femicide in order to secure its sovereignty (Simpson 2016). Indigenous survival, in particular that of Indigenous women who have been characterized as 'disorderly' subjects, is, according to Simpson, understood by the Canadian state as resistant and willful (2016).

Jaskiran Dhillon (2015) does not investigate incarceration but, instead, its preliminary stage, namely the way the Canadian police practices of racial profiling discriminate and criminalize Indigenous women and girls. She highlights cases of police violence documented by the NGOs Justice for Girls and Native Women's Organization of Canada. Questioning the violence committed by state organizations at the expense of Indigenous girls offers narratives that profoundly destabilize the hubristic portrayal of Canada as a humanitarian nation cleansed of all crimes against humanity committed under imperial colonial rule (3). Dhillon traces how violent, abusive, exploitative, and extractive encounters between Indigenous girls and the police represent characteristics closely linked to land appropriation (4). Dhillon follows Simpson in interpreting the continued settler mentality and settler politics as the principal cause of the reality of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Canada (2015).

The Canadian political scientist Robert Nichols (2014) argues that although incarcerated members of First Nations share some experiences with racialized groups, Indigeneity offers a broader foundation for a normative critique of the prison system. Indigenous critique is a political critique that exceeds socio-economic explanations and questions the bio-political categorization of racialized groups. Even more importantly in the present context, it interrogates the ideological differentiation between the war logic and social pacification on which the expansion of the carceral system is based. Hence, Nichols argues, Indigeneity locates Critical Prison Studies within a greater horizon of settler colonialism and territorial sovereignty since it offers normative foundations for formulating a more general critique of these pro-

7 The final report of the National Inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls with the title *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* was published in 2019: http://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report.

cesses (437). Nichols maintains that the focus on overrepresentation of racialized groups among the prison population makes it appear as if the prison system is part of an ahistorical mechanism of state violence and hence, obscures the connection between incarceration, state formation, and (contested) territorial sovereignty (444). However, according to Nichols, the expansion of the carceral system in North America is inherently linked with the history of settler colonialism (454f.).

This link is also established in Sherene Razack's (2015) book *Dying from Improvement: Inquest and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody*, in which she analyzes narratives of Indigenous death within Canadian prisons. She finds that patterns of death in custody involve a repeated failure to care, a systematic indifference and neglect, and sometimes outright murder. Indigenous people with addiction or psychological problems tend to get in conflict with the criminal justice system more often and stand a lesser chance to survive such encounters (117, 134). Personnel working in the justice system describe deceased Indigenous inmates as "vanishing Indians," who are unable to exist in modernity. Individual physical weaknesses or inappropriate behavior (i.e. alcoholism) are named as causes of death while structural reasons like racism or colonialism are consequently concealed (80, 163). The prison administration does not acknowledge any mistakes on its part, instead claiming to have taken on the difficult task "to save" these people (79). This narrative serves the legitimation of continued dispossession. Further, Razack argues, it helps support the Canadian settlers' narrative of the passive 'disappearance' of First Nations people in two ways: they obscure the guilt of genocide, and, simultaneously, imagine their own superiority (5).

The prison critique of these three (as well as other) authors presented here is maintained without recourse to the Foucauldian primary prison critique. A cross-reading of Foucault (1991) reveals that elimination has since its inception been an essential part of the prison and the carceral system and that multiply marginalized subjects tend to be more vulnerable to imprisonment. Indigenous inmates are multiply exposed to the murderous system: as Indigenous, as poor, as criminalized, as gendered, as a political threat, and as willful. "Aboriginal people are the most vulnerable of the vulnerable" (Razack 2015, 35). Ironically, Natives are 'othered' and criminalized on their own land on which effective forms of restorative justice without recourse to isolation existed and continue to exist. Therefore, an analysis of incarceration from an Indigenous perspective – and especially from the experiences of Indigenous women – is particularly fruitful because Indigenous people(s) have deep experience of being constructed as the 'other.' While other marginalized groups may experience dehumanization – notably other racialized groups, poor people, and people with disabilities –, the violence that is meted out to Indigenous people in settler societies is a paradigmatic and foundational violence. Indigenous people(s) have been *othered* in multiple ways, their discrimination is based on several intersecting categories which expose them to ongoing genocide. Minding this

extreme form of structural and institutionalized violence helps us to see more clearly the power and indifference at work in other liberal democracies' carceral systems.

Further, the Indigenous prison critique offers in its conflict transformation mechanisms – restoring relationships – a conception of women that allows thinking about alternatives to imprisonment and overcoming incarceration. In the following, I will draw from two reports of the Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada for the years 2016 to 2018 in order to determine what has changed about incarceration practices since the Foucauldian primary critique – and what remains the same.

**4. The Elimination of the 'Othered', Willful Native Inmate**

The data from the reports of the Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada for the years 2016 to 2018 are read here against the background of the theoretical assumptions presented above. My hypotheses propose that, firstly, not much has been added to the main findings and objections formulated since the Foucauldian primary prison critique in the middle of the 19th century and that, secondly, Indigenous people are particularly affected by incarceration due to their specific subjectification as 'other' and willful. Within the settler state, both the carceral continuum as well as the administration of First Nations have the essential element of elimination in common. That is why I suggest that the extinction of the willful Native through incarceration serves as a logical instrument in the continuous settling of Indigenous land.

During the decade between March 2009 and March 2018 the Indigenous prison population has increased by 42.8 percent while the ratio of the Indigenous population in relation to the general Canadian population has increased by only 1 percent. On March 31, 2018, Indigenous inmates accounted for 28 percent of all inmates while they represent only 4.3 percent of the Canadian general population (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2018, 61). The numbers in the report come as no surprise; they are a continuation of a penal praxis as it has been handled since 1820. The name 'correction' itself testifies to the continued desire of educating and transforming the sentenced persons. These reports state that there remains a "significant, seemingly intractable, performance gap" (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2017, 50) in administering Indigenous versus non-Indigenous inmates. Members of First Nations are overrepresented in prison, are more often subjected to use of force interventions, are more often moved to high security units, more often victims of self-harm, are being released later, and tend to return to prison sooner and more often.

The last two annual reports of the Correctional Investigator contain all essential aspects of the Foucauldian primary prison critique. Recidivism remains a common phenomenon; 10.5 percent of Indigenous inmates return to prison within two years after their release; this rate is nearly twice the national average (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2018, 62). Further, it holds true for Canada of the 21st century as it did for France in the 19th century that those who are more likely to be en-

tangled in the justice system do not understand it well; wealthier people, especially those located at the intersection of several privileged subject positions, can more easily avoid imprisonment. Members of more vulnerable groups tend to lack a clear understanding of the justice system; this creates "barriers to innocence" and results in longer sentences (Annamma 2018, 54). According to the report, Indigenous inmates, on average, spend five months in prison before they can start the correctional programming; this is much longer than non-Native inmates wait for their program to start. Parole requests filed by Indigenous inmates are less likely to be granted than if requested by non-Indigenous inmates. Only 12 percent of Indigenous inmates prepare for a parole hearing when they are eligible. An overwhelming 83 percent of First Nations inmates postponed their parole hearings (2017, 48). Also, the release practices critiqued in the Foucauldian primary prison critique have not been *corrected* in today's penal system in Canada. Of those released on statute, 79 percent were released into the community directly from a maximum or medium security institution, without benefit of a graduated and structured return to the community (2017). With such a status quo, high rates of recidivism are inevitable.

For Indigenous women, the incarceration rates have risen more drastically. Over the past decade, their number in federal custody has increased by 60 percent, from 168 in March 2009 to 270 in March 2018. Currently, 40 percent of all imprisoned women in Canada are Indigenous (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2018, 61). I present these numbers from the Correctional Investigator Canada reports to demonstrate how Indigenous femicide in Canada (Simpson 2016) is exercised through incarceration. Indigenous women make up half of the maximum-security population and are more routinely placed in high- or maximum-security units – even though they "were not posing an imminent threat or risk of harm" (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2018, 37), which is usually the justifying reason for placing inmates in solitary confinement. The rate of imprisoned Indigenous women placed into solitary confinement has increased significantly. The Correctional Investigator concludes: "the year-to-year increase in the over-representation of Indigenous people in Canadian jails and prisons is among this country's most pressing social justice and human rights issues" (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2017, 6).

The 2016-2017 report includes interviews with incarcerated women who state that they turned suicidal while kept in solitary confinement/segregation units (2017, 63). It is well-documented that isolation triggers or worsens psychological problems; cases of self-harming and 'suicides' are common. In the years 2016-2017, two 'suicides' by women occurred in the secure unit (62). I would like to dedicate a distinct section to solitary confinement – or, in the Canadian carceral terminology, 'separation' – since the separation unit makes up a prison within the prison – or isolation within isolation. This practice is the total opposite of Indigenous conflict transformation which is based on restoring relationships.

The practice of isolation in separation units is an important indicator for the argument I have formulated regarding the elimination of the 'other' through imprisonment as a continual praxis since the birth of the prison. The 'other,' the 'resistant,' the 'willful' are being criminalized and locked up. In cases of insubordination they are further punished, isolated, separated, and exterminated. In March 2017, 414 Canadian inmates were placed in separation units, of which 151 (36.5 percent) were Indigenous (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2017, 41). Since the abolition of death penalty and torture, solitary confinement remains the harshest form of punishment in Canadian prisons.[8]

What does the report suggest for improving detention conditions of Indigenous people? Still today, there are no demands for fundamental changes and the suggested reforms remain cosmetic in nature: inmates should be corrected through educational measures under the supervision of trained personnel and experienced administrators. The report suggests preparing personnel better to deal with the *unique* needs of Indigenous inmates (2017, 49; Dhillon 2015, 5). Interventions regarded as "effective, culturally appropriate" for better reintegration include measures to improve the relationship of prison administration to Indigenous communities on surrounding reserves and to offer healing lodges operated by these communities (CSC 2017, 1). However, the community approach cannot be very effective when working with communities on reserves when, as is the case here, the released Indigenous inmates come from the cities and are returning to these urban areas (The Correctional Investigator of Canada 2017, 50).

Regarding attempts to integrate Indigenous approaches in penal programs, Patricia Monture-Angus (2000, 56) has remarked that healing lodges cannot hide the fact that the institution remains within the legal and bureaucratic Canadian prison system. Further, the responsibility for the well-being of the Indigenous inmate is transferred to the Indigenous community operating the healing lodges. In so doing, the *white* institution escapes its responsibility. And even though these approaches have been used for a long time, Indigenous people are continuously placed into solitary confinement, are still being isolated, and left to die.

The practice of solitary confinement has long been criticized, especially due to the often-occurring cases of self-harming and 'suicides' (Guenther 2013). I argue here that the over-representation of Indigenous people among the prison population in general, and among female inmates in particular, must be understood as effectively excluding and eliminating Native lives and sovereignties.

## 5. Conclusion

The state administers 'disorderly populations' through arrest and isolation. Although it has been well-known for a long time that the prison system does not

8 While many practices occurring in solitary confinement have been criticized and outlawed as torture, the practice of separating and isolating inmates continues.

lower crime rates – on the contrary, it increases them – liberal democracies do not attempt to dismantle the carceral system; they actually expand it. Through a reconstruction of the Foucauldian primary prison critique I have shown that analyses from the 19th century have already included asymmetric class relations, but not the categories of gender and race. Drawing on Foucault and the prison critique formulated in Critical Race and Indigenous Studies, I have shown how the elimination of the 'other' continues to represent an essential element of the carceral continuum. Intertwining these perspectives opens an investigation into the historic justifications and normative foundations of the construction of the 'other' (i.e. criminal, enemy, vagabond, savage, Indigenous), which play a central role in understanding the acceptance of elimination through incarceration. This text is an attempt to expand approaches from Critical Race and Intersectionality Studies by including the Indigenous prison critique which questions the very existence of the carceral system. Indigeneity as an axis of discrimination offers robust and productive arguments for Critical Prison Studies, because the resources applied to control Indigenous subjects allows a clearer view of the deadly practices within the prison archipelago. Indigeneity can also offer alternative responses as conflicts have been transformed and resolved without containment and killing through restoring relationships before the arrival of European settlers in the Americas. The essential aspects of community, belonging, and relationship are central for conflict transformation and also for Indigeneity in general. Building and restoring relationships, community and commonality are necessary in order to overcome 'othering' processes and the subsequent incarceration which might end deadly for the most marginalized. Understanding others as community members and people worthy of relationships can help to emancipate oneself from being used to the death of the 'other' with whom one seemingly has nothing in common (Mbembe 2014, 331).

Critical Prison Studies use different approaches that so far have failed to offer a convincing critique that makes the prison obsolete. Prison critique formulated in postcolonial and Critical Race Studies can benefit from Indigenous perspectives and its normative critique and, if incorporated, might be able to avoid the tendency to ignore Indigenous presence. Indigenous perspectives on incarceration identify gaps in intersectional and Critical Race analyses regarding imprisonment and, through the specifics of the elimination of Native willfulness through incarceration, contribute productively to close these gaps. Especially analyses regarding Indigenous femicide will help Critical Prison Studies to develop legal theories and practices that operate without killing.

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Lianne Moyes

# Intersectional Thinking in Guest-Edited Issues of *Fireweed*[1]

**Abstract**

*Drawing links between two special issues of the Toronto feminist magazine* Fireweed*, "Women of Colour" (1983) and "Native Women" (1986), this essay details the resistance of their guest editors to the discourses and practices of the host magazine. Although the two special issues—and the writing communities they help build—are distinct, their respective editorials reveal a common struggle for editorial autonomy and a shared frustration with the supposed race, class, and settler neutrality of feminist aesthetics. These special issues were crucial for giving Indigenous women, Black women, and Women of Colour access to publication and for analyzing the workings of intersectionality, years before the term itself was in circulation. In this essay, intersectionality is less a methodology 'applied' to the editorials than a mode of analysis undertaken by the guest editors themselves to understand and convey the complexity of their positioning.*

**Résumé**

*Tissant / Tirant des liens entre deux numéros spéciaux de la revue torontoise* Fireweed – "Women of Colour" *(1983) et* "Native Women" *(1986) –, cet essai se penche sur la résistance de leurs rédactrices invitées face aux discours et pratiques qui sous-tendent la revue. Bien que soient distincts ces deux numéros et les communautés d'écrivaines qu'ils aident à bâtir, chacun de leurs éditoriaux révèle à la fois une lutte commune pour l'autonomie éditoriale et une frustration face à la prétendue neutralité de l'esthétique féministe vis-à-vis des questions de race, de classe et de colonialisme. Ils étaient par ailleurs essentiels pour donner aux femmes autochtones, aux femmes noires et aux femmes de couleur un accès à la publication, mais aussi pour analyser le fonctionnement de l'intersectionnalité avant même que le terme ne circule au sein de l'institution. Dans cet essai, l'intersectionnalité est donc moins une méthodologie « appliquée » aux éditoriaux qu'un mode d'analyse entrepris par les éditrices invitées pour tenter de comprendre et de transmettre la complexité de leur positionnement.*

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**Introduction**

At a time when 'intersectionality' is used widely in scholarly and non-scholarly contexts, it is helpful to return to the period of the 1980s, the years just before the term gained currency. This return to the 1980s is not intended to arrive at the 'truth' or 'origins' of intersectionality. After all, the analysis that underpins the term could be traced back to much earlier interventions such as Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech "Ain't I a Woman," which highlighted both her relationship as a Black woman to the whiteness of the suffrage movement and the masculine bias of the abolitionist movement (2006, 177–179).[2] Rather, the return to the 1980s is a way of situating an increasingly mobile term by reading it through a particular moment and a particular set of texts. In the twentieth century, the theorization of intersectionality emerged in the field of Law (Crenshaw 1989; 1991) where, in the words of Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall in their introduction to the 2013 special issue of *Signs*, "it exposed how single-axis thinking undermines legal thinking, disciplinary knowledge production, and struggles for social justice" (787). Over the past thirty years, the term has found purchase in many disciplines and, in what follows, I approach it from perspectives in Literature, Feminist, and Queer studies, Indigenous studies, and Black Women's studies. My reading is shaped by what the guest editors of the 2013 special issue of the *Du Bois Review* call a "work-in-progress understanding of intersectionality," an understanding that recognizes the activist dimensions of this theory, the work it is able to do (Carbado et al. 2013, 304-305). Revisiting the 1980s, in the context of my essay, becomes a way of grounding intersectionality in the specific conflicts and solidarities that animated the production of small magazines such as *Fireweed*.

*Fireweed* was a Toronto-based feminist journal which played a key role in negotiating the politics of race in the Canadian women's movement of the 1980s and 1990s.[3] Active from 1978 to 2002, *Fireweed* characterized itself first as "A Women's Cultural and Literary Journal" and then, from 1980 onwards, as "A Feminist Quarterly of Writing, Politics, Art and Culture." *Fireweed* came to be known for inviting guest collectives to edit special issues of the magazine. As the short history which appears on the Canadian Women's Archives website explains, "Beginning in 1982, *Fireweed* invited guest collectives to edit issues of the journal. This was an opportunity for under-represented groups to define their own issues" ("History" 2016). However, relations between guest editors and editorial collectives were far from easy, especially in the early to mid-1980s, and the terms of difficulty are worth pausing over.

2 See also bell hooks' *Ain't I a Woman* (1981); and Akasha Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith's *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* (1982).

3 Among the literary landmarks in this history of negotiation are the 1988 "Telling It" conference (Andrea Beverley 2012), the 1988 conflicts at The Women's Press (Marlene Nourbese Philip 1992, 211-231) and The Third International Feminist Book Fair (Lise Weil and Linda Nelson 1990), and the 1994 "Writing Thru Race" conference (Larissa Lai 2014, 211-227; Monika Kin Gagnon 2000, 66-68).

After all, guest editors, by taking charge of the production of knowledge in the field of feminism, were in the process of transforming that field. This essay, in highlighting the intersectional analysis carried out by the guest editors themselves, explicitly values the work of activist writers and demonstrates that ground-breaking thinking often takes place in small magazines before it is articulated in scholarship.

The research for the present essay began with my reading of the 1986 Native Women issue of *Fireweed*. Guest-edited by Ivy Chaske (Dakota) and Connie Fife (Cree),[4] this special issue brings Indigenous women's perspectives to bear on a journal that defined itself as feminist and, at the same time, brings the desire and the resistance of Indigenous women into dialogue with Indigenous sovereignty. As well as articulating these intersectional dynamics, the editorials of the issue speak to the guest editors' struggle with the *Fireweed* collective for autonomy in their editorial process. By insisting on decolonial editorial practices, Chaske and Fife effectively weave the problem of colonialism into their intersectional analysis.[5] In reading "Native Women," I noticed a number of connections to the Women of Colour issue published three years earlier.[6] One of the most obvious was the figure of writer, activist, and editor Makeda Silvera. Having been co-managing editor of "Women of Colour," Silvera understood what was at stake for the Indigenous guest editors and supported them in working through conflicts with *Fireweed*. Indeed, the Acknowledgements which close the Native Women issue thank "the *Fireweed* Collective for their patience and support" and give "special thanks to Makeda Silvera (*Fireweed* Collective member) for her understanding support" (Chaske/Fife 1986, 129).[7]

Another striking connection between the two special issues is the preoccupation in their editorials with the question of why the editors agreed to guest edit an issue of the magazine. Chaske and Fife open their editorial: "Our decision to accept the responsibility of being a guest collective of *Fireweed* came from our belief that our words as Native Women have been unheard, silenced and invalidated too often" (1986, 5). And Nila Gupta and Silvera explain: "Despite our doubts, we decided […]

4 Chaske and Fife are listed as managing editors of special issue 22 of *Fireweed*, and Jan Champagne, Edna King, and Midnight Sun (Anishinaabe/Métis) as co-editors. The issue has two editorials, one signed by Chaske and Fife, and the other by Midnight Sun.

5 In her work on Métis/Salish writer Lee Maracle, Janey Lew argues that "By positing colonialism (and, more recently, ongoing settler colonialism) as an axis of oppression, Indigenous intellectuals intervene significantly in the theorization of intersectionality" (2017, 250n3).

6 Special issue 16 of *Fireweed* appeared in 1983 under the title "Women of Colour" and was republished in 1989 in book form as *The Issue is 'Ism: Women of Colour Speak Out, Fireweed's Issue 16* with Toronto's Sister Vision Press. Throughout this essay, I cite the 1989 book version. The book title *The Issue is 'Ism* finds important intertexts in Arun Mukherjee's introduction to *Oppositional Aesthetics* with its reference to "colonialism, racism and classism" as 'isms' that need to be part of the feminist conversation about literature (1994, x), and in Roy Miki and Fred Wah's play on the word "issue" in the title of their 1994 special issue of *West Coast Line*: "Colour: An Issue."

7 Silvera was part of the eight-women collective which took over in 1982 (prior to the publication of the Women of Colour issue which she helped guest edit).

to guest edit this issue. We decided to use this medium, first to reach out to women of colour and second, to educate white feminists" (1989, 6). In both cases, the guest editors make explicit that their willingness to act as guest editors of special issues cannot be taken for granted. If they accept, it is to build a network among Indigenous women, among Women of Colour. Intersectionality, in this context, articulates the complexity of their positioning: their experience, for instance, of not being heard either by white middle-class feminists or by the men in their own communities; and their solidarity with those men at the same time that they resist the colonial, heteropatriarchal gender apparatus at work in their communities. The links between these two special issues afford an example of how an understanding of intersectionality—indeed, how intersectional understanding—can build productive alliances among women and, at the same time, account for the very real differences in their relationships, as Indigenous women, Black women, and Women of Colour, to feminism.[8]

**Contemporary Connections**

Before pursuing this discussion of the special issues, I would like to turn briefly to the contemporary moment and consider its links to the 1980s. The kinds of connections I foreground above have become pressing questions in the contemporary moment as Indigenous activists and Black/of Colour activists grapple with questions of allyship. Consider, for example, the analysis offered by contemporary Nishnaabeg thinker, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson:

> We have to create material bases for the nationhoods we want. We can't rely on the culture that capitalism creates. […] We can't achieve Indigenous nationhoods while replicating antiblackness. We can't have resurgence without centering gender and queerness, and creating alternative systems of accountability for sexual and gender violence. Therefore, we need to create constellations of connections with other radical thinkers and doers and makers. We need to build mass movements with radical labor, with Black communities, with radical communities of colour. We need to stop providing space for the "What can white allies do" questions and set up spaces where we can connect with other social movements and create constellations of mutual support and co-resistance. (2016, 30-31)

If I cite Simpson at length, it is because she analyses the imbrication of capitalism, colonialism, racism, nationalism, and heteropatriarchy, and responds with the agency of solidarity and coalition-building. She registers how resistance movements can

8 The word "feminism," in fact, occurs rarely in the editorial of "Women of Colour" and even less in that of "Native Women."

themselves produce sexual and gender violence, how they can themselves racialize and erase. Simpson also explores how linkages might be made across communities in ways that honour and mobilize differences. The "nationhoods" she evokes are built on "mutual support and co-resistance" (2016, 31). Importantly, Simpson does not use the term 'intersectionality'; her discourse is rooted elsewhere, in Indigenous understandings of resistance and resurgence. But nor does she have to use the term, mortgaged as it is by some of its feminist academic appropriations.[9] As my readings of the *Fireweed* guest editorials demonstrate, it is possible to engage the critical lens of intersectionality without using the term itself.

In *As We Have Always Done*, Simpson writes further about listening to and learning from the Black Lives Matter network based in Toronto (2017, 10; 66; 252n13). Her words lend contemporary relevance to links forged in the early to mid-1980s between the editorials of the Native Women and Women of Colour issues. They also remind us that decolonial anti-racist struggles and alliance-building have been ongoing throughout the 1990s and 2000s. I am thinking, for example, of the crisis at Kanehsatake, the Writing Thru Race conference, the Idle No More protests, the Black Lives Matter movement, and the Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Indeed, such events and actions suggest that the institutionalization of intersectionality and its legitimacy within the academy have not produced significant social change.

This is not to say that the academy has been inactive. In 2017, at the Mikinaakominis/TransCanadas conference, scholar and activist Rinaldo Walcott publicly "quit" Canadian Literature on the grounds that the latter field has consistently failed to recognize how integral Black writers are to it (Barrett et al. 2017). And in 2018, the Indigenous Literary Studies Association (ILSA) organized, jointly with the Canadian Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies (CACLALS), a roundtable titled "Sovereign Solidarities: Autonomy and Accountability in BIPOC Alliances." In framing the challenge of such alliances, the ILSA conference program foregrounded the words of Phanuel Antwi and David Chariandy from their introduction to a special issue of *Transition* on "Writing Black Canadas":

> […] the foundational and still profoundly visceral colonizing practices directed towards Indigenous peoples [in Canada] frequently intersect with the long legacies of anti-Black and also anti-Asian prejudice. As a result, many Black Canadian writers and critics have concertedly sought to understand and engage with Indigenous decolonization movements and coalitional anti-racist initiatives, while also confronting a white and multicultural elite occasionally prepared to entertain token gestures of

9 See Sirma Bilge's analysis of academic discourses and practices in which 'intersectionality' is "systematically depoliticized" to serve white settler-colonial interests (2013, 405).

> 'diversity' but unwilling to attend critically to the cultural and political specificity of blackness. (2017, 34)

Again I cite at length in order to underline the gesture of solidarity in response to histories of colonial violence. Whereas Simpson avoids the term 'intersectionality,' Antwi and Chariandy make oblique reference to it through the verb 'intersect.' It is significant, however, that in building a syntax of solidarity, they use the *verb* rather the noun, the action word rather than the established entity. Their words, too, offer a contemporary context for reading the limits and possibilities for Indigenous Women and Women of Colour of collaborating with the host collective at *Fireweed*.

The citations from Simpson, and from Antwi and Chariandy, pose an important challenge to the white woman settler scholar that I am. Instead of "danc[ing] for whiteness" (2016, 31) and telling me what, as a "white ally," I might do, Simpson leaves me with the question, and in this way obliges me to rethink the terms of my feminism. The present essay is one possible response: a reading of activist editorial and publishing practices on the part of Women of Colour and Indigenous Women, a reading that looks for links between their special issues, addresses their intersectional dynamics, and attends to the specificity of the guest editors' conflicts with the predominantly white host collective.[10] Rather than presume allyship with Women of Colour and with Indigenous women, I try instead to bear witness to the complex forms of allyship between them—as well as between them and the *Fireweed* collective.

**"Reaching Women outside the So-called Feminist Network"**[11]

In the editorial to issue 16, "Women of Colour," managing guest editors Gupta and Silvera ask why the *Fireweed* collective had not welcomed the offer made in 1981 by Dionne Brand and Silvera to guest edit a special issue, yet had turned around in 1982 and invited them to do precisely that. Among their questions: "Why now?"; "Would this issue be seen as 'taking care of' the matter?"; and "Having been 'discovered' by white feminists would women of colour then see the repetition of a […] pattern within the feminist movement which has consistently dealt with our concerns in a token fashion at best and most often not at all?" (Gupta/Silvera 1989, 6). Given that they had asked from the beginning for "full editorial control over the production of an issue which would explore [their] lives" (1989, 6), Gupta and Silvera wanted to know on whose terms they were being invited to serve as guest editors. When their special issue appeared in print, it provoked another set of questions from the women's literary scene: "Why are they angry? What have we done? Why don't they direct their anger at men?" (Silvera 1986, 10). Reading the Women of

10 It would be beyond the scope of this paper to closely analyse the content of the special issues; the focus is rather on the terms of production and, specifically, the editors' accounts of their process and their relationship to *Fireweed*.

11 Gupta/Silvera 1989, 7.

Colour issue and its history, I am reminded of a comment by Arun Mukherjee in her analysis of oversights in feminism: "how wide the gulf of misunderstanding is between those who find racism and colonialism in women's writing objectionable and those who do not notice it" (1994, xi). Also relevant is Janey Lew's account of "a shared sense of alienation [among Indigenous, Third World, and Women of Colour feminists] from middle-class white feminists, who at once fetishize difference and in the same breath willfully repress and marginalize difference" (2017, 228).

The Women of Colour issue was something of a first for *Fireweed* because it required the regular collective "to hand over the reins of editorial control to a non-white guest collective!" (Silvera 1986, 11).[12] In this sense, the special issue raised all the problems of the guest/host relation at work within the settler-state, that is, the state's built-in hostility toward writers it considers 'guests' and its measures of control over how 'guests' become 'hosts.'[13] The regular collective had difficulty allowing the guest collective to take up the role of host for the duration of production. That the regular collective preferred to be the ones inviting the guest collective, rather than accepting the initiative of Brand and Silvera, is significant: it is symptomatic of a Canadian cultural field organized around "whiteness" (Brand 1998, 187–190) and the 'guesting' of racialized and ethnic minority writers who are in fact "at the forefront […] of rethinking and reformulating the meaning of Canada as a nation state" (Mukherjee 1994, xiii-xiv). What is key to this special issue of *Fireweed*, is the gesture of Women of Colour extending to other Women of Colour an opportunity to publish which they might not have had otherwise—either at *Fireweed* or in the broader field. The title of the introduction to issue 16, "We Were Never Lost," is an answer to excuses on the part of feminist presses and organizations that "they cannot find women of colour" (Gupta/Silvera 1989, 6). Finding contributors, the introduction explains, involves "reaching women outside the so-called feminist network" (1989, 7) and, in some cases, publishing texts unsigned. Although the reasons for anonymity vary (domestic violence, fear of coming out to family and community), the act of publishing these texts in the Women of Colour issue provides a much-needed sense of community and foregrounds the intersectional tangle of racism, homophobia, and sexism, that is, the way each compounds the effects of the others.

Although Silvera and Gupta regret that the guest collective was not able to meet more often, the issue does open with the transcript of a conversation from a meeting[14] among guest editors Himani Bannerji, Brand, Gupta, Prabha Khosla, and Sil-

12 "Women of Colour" was not the first guest-edited issue at *Fireweed*: that was "Lesbiantics" in 1982. In her introduction to *Fireworks*, Silvera celebrates "Lesbiantics" but wonders "Where are the dykes of colour in this anthology? Where are the experiences of rural lesbian women?" (1986, 10).

13 For further discussion of the conditions of "hospitality," see Gillian Roberts' engagement with Brand's *Bread Out of Stone* and Nourbese Philip's *Frontiers* in *Prizing Literature* (2011, 25-28).

14 See Lew on the significance of meetings: "Meetings are a common trope across many genres of feminist writing, and have been important sites for representing the ambivalent politics of col-

vera. This conversation, in its attention to class and race, sexuality, and nation, shifts the subject of feminism. There is discussion, for example, of women workers involved in collective organizing; women who are already working in "non-traditional" occupations (Gupta/Silvera 1989, 28); women who work in their own homes as well as in the homes of others; women who place considerable importance on taking care of their children; and women who feel solidarity with men who are also fighting for their rights (Gupta/Silvera 1989, 9-29). In Brand's words,

> Any immigrant woman / woman of colour analyzing her situation in the world has to analyze it beyond the point of being a woman, because there are other people who are in the same condition and some of them are men. We cannot analyze the world as though men of colour are not oppressed too, because that way of analyzing the world gives us no way out of it. (Gupta/Silvera 1989, 13)

This exchange among guest editors anticipates the theorization of intersectionality in its refusal of "single-axis" analysis (Cho et al. 2013, 787).

At the time of the meeting among the guest editors of "Women of Colour," a meeting transcribed and published as "We Appear Silent To People Who Are Deaf To What We Say," there was considerable internal struggle at *Fireweed*, not only between guest and host collectives but also within the newly-formed host collective.[15] Silvera, who was a member of both the guest and the host collective, remembers: "There were heated arguments over content, over definitions of aesthetics. Did aesthetics include race and class? Or was it colourless and classless (meaning white and middle-class)?" (1986, 10). In the introduction to *Fireworks: The Best of Fireweed*, Silvera was nonetheless able to assert that "Since [the publication of "Women of Colour"], *Fireweed* has had strong multi-racial and international representation and continues to make the links between race, class and sex—that multi-layered oppression of women not represented in the dominant culture" (1986, 11). Similarly, when Gupta and Silvera sign the 1989 book version of their special issue, they underline the range of contributions from "Black women, Asian women, Native women[,] [s]isters from the Philippines and Central America" who speak of issues such as "racism, sexism, classism, imperialism and other 'isms" (Gupta/Silvera 1989, 5). This emphasis on interlocking relations among "axes of power and inequality" (Cho et al. 2013, 795) is a further instance of intersectional thinking at work in the pages of *Fireweed* throughout the 1980s.

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lectivity, especially for queer, Indigenous, Third World Women and women of colour who have actively contested feminist assumptions about subjectivity, collectivity, and solidarity" (2017, 225).

15 In 1982, after the departure of most of the founding collective, a new collective was formed of eight women, two of whom were women of colour. The eight women had no prior experience of working together and, for the most part, different political views (Silvera 1986, 10).

**Recognition among Indigenous Women Writers: Beyond the Nation-State**

The struggles at *Fireweed* over the process of editing the Women of Colour issue had a definite impact, including opening a space for Indigenous women to guest edit issue 22 on Native Women. More specifically, the struggles opened rifts in the discourse and editorial practice of the magazine that are evident not only in the hesitation of the guest editors to accept the invitation of the magazine but also in debates over editorial control, selection criteria, and literary and cultural value. Indeed, just as the guest editors of "Women of Colour" reject "white male literary standards that have been used to still the voices of peoples of colour of both sexes" (1989, 7), the guest editors of "Native Women" refuse judgements of their words "based on non-Native literary standards" (1986, 5). Perhaps the most practical evidence of a newfound opening comes in the range of material the Native Women issue is able to include. The Women of Colour issue features a personal essay by Karen Pheasant (Odawa/Ojibway), the Executive Director of the Toronto Native Friendship Centre, and an unsigned text prepared by the Ontario Native Women's Association and presented in January 1983 to the Sub-Committee on Sex Discrimination Against Indian Women.[16] Not surprisingly, the Native Women issue makes available a far wider range of material: poems, short stories and essays, as well as accounts of events such as the 1985 Indigenous Women's Gathering in Yelm, Washington. Arriving at such a range involved reaching out to women beyond the usual circuits of the magazine, and fostering and gathering new writing. In their introduction to *Editing as Cultural Practice in Canada*, Dean Irvine and Smaro Kamboureli discuss small press editing as "the ability to imagine a manuscript when none yet exists" and as "acts of mentoring that foster the creation of a work" (2016, 7). The same could be said of guest editing small magazines; in effect, guest editors create a space of publication where none seemed previously to exist. Their ability to imagine relates not only to the object they are putting together, the special issue, but also to the links created through the process of contacting potential contributors.[17]

Beth Brant (Bay of Quinte Mohawk), in her editorial to the 1983 special issue of *Sinister Wisdom*,[18] the issue that would become *A Gathering of Spirit: A Collection by North American Indian Women*, is explicit about the way her work as editor secures

16 A committee which reported to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Donna Phillip, an Oneida activist involved with the Native Women's Association is listed in the Contributor's Notes and is possibly the source of this unsigned text (Chaske/Fife 1986, 189).

17 Antwi and Chariandy argue that "the most necessary and radical work for the articulation of Black writing in Canada has been the work of anthologies and special issues" (2017, 35).

18 This special issue 22/23 of *Sinister Wisdom* first appeared in 1983 under the title "A Gathering of Spirit: North American Indian Women's Issue" and was republished in 1988 in book form as *A Gathering of Spirit: A Collection by North American Indian Women* with Toronto's The Women's Press. Throughout this essay, I cite the 1988 book version.

much-needed resources for a project that challenges and transforms feminist ways of knowing:

> I buy another roll of stamps. Send out the flyer to Indian newspapers, journals, associations, organizations, for I know what I am looking for will not be gotten from feminist or lesbian/feminist sources. I write personal letters requesting support and help in this important project. I buy yet another roll of stamps, more envelopes, have to get more flyers printed. And the fact is, if *Sinister Wisdom* were not paying for these endless stamps, Xeroxing, printing, etc., this would be impossible for me to do. (1988, 9)

In reading Brant, I am reminded of observations made by Kate Eichhorn and Heather Milne about editing as a "labour of love" (2016, 189), a form of affective work "integral to the building of communities, both political and aesthetic" (2016, 190). For Indigenous women, editing a special issue of a feminist magazine such as *Fireweed* involves taking over the means of literary production and, in this way, finding the resources needed to form networks and publish their writing.

Whereas Brant had a good relationship with editors Michelle Cliff and Adrienne Rich of *Sinister Wisdom*, the guest editors of the Native Women's issue encountered resistance from the *Fireweed* editorial collective. As Chaske and Fife explain,

> Initially we were asked to focus on Native Women in Canada. After opening to submissions from all Native Women on the continent, we went back to *Fireweed* to educate them on the issue of imposed boundaries. We informed them that as Women of sovereign nations we would not recognise these infringements on the submissions of Native Women. (1986, 6)

Or, in the terms of Midnight Sun, "The women in this book are a diverse group representing over twenty nations. We wanted to include work by American women, in a journal usually featuring Canadians, to acknowledge the fact that we do not recognise the border that separates us" (Chaske/Fife 1986, 6). The guest editors refuse to fit "Native Women" into the existing parameters of *Fireweed*, into a logic of belonging on the model of the nation-state. They do not feel the imperative to 'publish Canadian'; they are not working against an American other; and the Canada-US border is not part of their imaginary. What is at stake for them is building a sense of community among Indigenous women, a community across nations. Their vision,

like Brant's, is continental. Indeed, if one compares the two special issues—of *Sinister Wisdom* and of *Fireweed*—, one finds contributors in common.[19]

This episode in the production of the Native Women issue, which nearly placed the issue in jeopardy,[20] helps illustrate what is at stake for Indigenous women in feminism, and why some do not identify as feminist. As Kate Shanley explains in an essay published in Brant's *A Gathering of Spirit*, although the issues key to the women's movement are also key to Indigenous women, there are important gaps and incompatibilities:

> equality *per se* may have a different meaning for Indian women and Indian people. That difference begins with personal and tribal sovereignty—the right to be legally recognized as peoples empowered to determine our own destinies. Thus, the Indian women's movement seeks equality in two ways that do not concern mainstream women: 1) on the individual level, the Indian woman struggles to promote the survival of a social structure whose organizational principles represent notions of family different from those of the mainstream; and 2) on the societal level, the People seek sovereignty as a people in order to maintain a vital legal and spiritual connection to the land, in order to survive as a people. (1988, 214)

Shanley's emphasis upon personal and tribal sovereignty is echoed in the editorial comments of Chaske and Fife. As well as educating the feminist collective at *Fireweed*, the guest editors contest the latter's practices and refuse to reproduce white settler-colonial relations. When Chaske and Fife refer to themselves as "Women of sovereign nations" who will "not recognise these infringements on the submissions of Native Women," they are asserting their survival as Peoples with distinctive social structures and connections to the land (1986, 6). They are also demonstrating, in intersectional terms, how discourses of cultural nationalism which aim to foster Canadian literature can have the effect of limiting networks of literary production among women.

The very fact that the guest editors have to argue for the inclusion of Indigenous women writing beyond the boundaries of Canada is significant. It suggests that *Fireweed* functions within a Canadian context of publication funding and tends to

19 For example, Chrystos, Karen Cooper, Linda Hogan, Lenore Keeshig-Tobius, Midnight Sun, Marcie Rendon, A. Sadongei, Kateri Sardella, Joan Shaddox Isom. It is worth noting that the guest collective of the Native Women issue does work to include more Indigenous writers from the lands known as Canada than does Brant. Of the sixty writers published in *A Gathering of Spirit*, approximately four are from Canada, whereas approximately eleven of the thirty writers published in the Native Women issue are from Canada.

20 Midnight Sun's section of the editorial suggests that there was a moment "when it seemed the issue would never see print" (Chaske/Fife 1986, 7).

serve the broad interests of the nation-state, even as it reimagines space and subjectivity in feminist terms. *Fireweed* was funded both by the Canada Council for the Arts and by the Ontario Arts Council, and the collective felt bound to work within their guidelines.[21] As far as I can determine from my experience of writing grant applications for the feminist bilingual magazine Tessera and from exchanges with Frank Davey about *Open Letter: A Canadian Journal of Writing and Theory*, it was not stipulated by either arts council that contributors should be living in Canada (Davey 2018). However, among editors of magazines receiving funds from these two councils in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a sense that the money should be going to publish Canadians. More specifically, there was a sense that juries would tolerate 15%, perhaps 20%, 'foreign' content but that they could raise questions and penalize magazines that published too many writers living outside Canada (Davey 2018). Publisher and scholar Greg Younging, of the Opsakwayak Cree nation, explained to me that Theytus Books was expected to use its Canada Council block grant toward the publication of writers living in Canada but that the Council did not raise questions about the annual anthology *Gatherings: The En'owkin Journal of First North American Peoples* which was able to publish writers from across the Americas (2018b). And, in fact, *Fireweed* was able to publish a special issue composed of more Indigenous women living in the United States than living in Canada without losing its funding.

In contrast to *Fireweed*, the Native Women issue is not in the business of reimagining Canada, and moves beyond such designations toward decolonizing the space of the Americas. To borrow the terms of feminist scholar Andrea Smith, drawing on the work of Dené political theorist Glen Coulthard, this special issue is not looking for recognition from the nation-state but rather is working to generate forms of recognition among women writers (2011, 57).[22] What strikes me most about the editorials to the Native Women issue is the way they honour the words of the contributors. Whereas editorials often dwell on the views of editors and the expectations of the magazine's readership, these editorials give priority to Indigenous women contributors who in many cases have only just begun to write: "We celebrate with those of our sisters who are being published for the first time. Their courage has opened doors not only for themselves but for us, our daughters and granddaughters" (Chaske/Fife 1986, 6). The pronoun "we" refers not only to members of the guest collective but also to the community of writers and readers created by the issue. In other words, the issue is not so much about native women as constituted by them. Similarly, in the Acknowledgements, published in the final pages, the editors ad-

21 In the editorial to *Fireweed*'s issue 24 the collective speaks of "drumming our collective fingers on the table and worrying about funding, 'if we don't get this issue out soon…'" (Block et al. 1986, 6).

22 For Smith, "Native activists often articulate Indigenous forms of nationhood organized around a logic of citizenship based less on rights within a nation and more on a system of interrelatedness and mutual responsibility" (2011, 58).

dress the contributors directly, in the second person, and in this way centre Indigenous ways of seeing: "Your words are not simply ink on paper rather they have carried us through those times when it seemed this issue would never be published. Your vision made this project a reality long before we were approached by *Fireweed*" (Chaske/Fife 1986, 129). By attributing the special issue to a shared vision that existed well before the editors became the 'guests' of *Fireweed*, the editors move beyond a logic of linear time and give precedence to the writing of Indigenous women. And importantly, the latter writing is not something *Fireweed* has discovered or given rise to, but something that was already underway.

The practices of the Indigenous guest editors of the 1986 Native Women issue anticipate many of the practices that have been formalized more recently in Younging's *Elements of Indigenous Style* (2018a) and in Anishinaabe writer and publisher Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm's essay, "'We think differently. We have a different understanding'" (2016). For Akiwenzie-Damm, it is crucial that Indigenous writers working with her "feel respected, empowered, validated as artists, treated as equals and heard" (2016, 34). In her terms, "success cannot be defined except in terms of the collective goals and aspirations of the group or community" (35). Reaching out and opening a piece of work to as large a circle of Indigenous collaborators as possible, Younging writes, is key to Indigenous editorial practice—and takes time (31). When Chaske and Fife, in their editorial, address the slow initial response to their call for contributions, they attribute it to the lived realities of Indigenous women writer-activists: "just how busy each of us is and how carefully we choose our words" (1986, 5).[23] Their editorial offers an intersectional gendered approach to collaboration, whereby Indigenous women "hear each other" even if they are not always heard by their people, and whereby they "ensur[e] that despite racist attitudes the voice of our sisters will be heard" (5). In this sense, the editorial practices of the Native Women issue take into account colonial gender bias in Indigenous contexts as well as racism in feminist and other publishing contexts.

**Forms of Solidarity: Dis-articulating the Incommensurable**

What becomes clear in reading the editorials of the Women of Colour and Native Women issues of *Fireweed* is the close link between intersectional thinking, social justice activism, and the building of alliances. In the 1980s, before the term 'intersectionality' became current, activist writers and editors were clearly looking for terms that would allow them to discuss what it means to live and write at the juncture of overlapping and interlocking positionalities. The proceedings of the 1983 "Women and Words" conference, for example, includes a section titled "Writing Against Double Colonization" (Dybikowski 1985, 51), which addresses such positionalities.

23 The slow initial response also has to do with Akiwenzie-Damm's point that prior to the 1980s, "few writers found opportunities for getting published" (2016, 30), and that Indigenous publishing was, and continues to be, isolated and underfunded (31).

Brant's contribution to this section explains how much it meant for her to come out as a lesbian alongside eleven other Indigenous women writers from across North America, through the publication of her collection *A Gathering of Spirit* (1985, 58-59). Also in this section, Silvera addresses the way her community belittles "thinking women writers" (1985, 69) and the way white women "remain blind to racism—to white skin privilege" (1985, 72). If Brant's essay brings sexuality and class into conjunction with the feminist anti-colonial analysis of the section title, Silvera's exposes the "internal contradictions" (1985, 72) that structure collaboration among women.

Introduced at the end of the 1980s, the term 'intersectionality' allows for a systematic capture of the imbricated structures of injustice as well as the oversights of specific social justice movements. But the term cannot, in itself, bring about social transformation. It needs to be situated and 'particularized' (Carbado et al. 2013, 304); it needs to be activated in the form of grounded, in situ practices rather than allowed to settle into a static concept; and it must not solidify into something feminism 'has going for it.' For all of these reasons, I have found it productive in this essay to return to a moment in the 1980s in which activist practices of writing, editing, and publishing were integral to the way women conceptualized and worked toward social change. It is not that this moment has been lost but rather that it needs to be remembered in all its complexity; and it needs to be connected to the ongoing work of contemporary activist writers and scholars.

In 1986, in the editorial to issue 24, an open issue published at the same time as Silvera's *Fireworks*, the *Fireweed* collective itself reflected on their relationship with guest collectives:

> Essential to *Fireweed*'s development has been the contribution of guest collectives. Opening the magazine to guest collectives was instrumental in shaping the journal and its various perspectives. This process of turning editorial control of the magazine over to a guest collective was often tumultuous and full of strife. And yet, these were exhilarating and productive times for *Fireweed*. We have done this on four occasions—Issue 13, Lesbiantics; 16, Women of Colour; 22, Native Women; 23, Canadian Women Poets. Each time surrendering was a little easier. We owe a great deal to the guest collectives: it is largely through their efforts that we have succeeded in broadening our audience and pool of writers as well as drawing out new perspectives and concerns for *Fireweed*. (Block et al. 1986, 6)

This retrospective is worth foregrounding insofar as it illustrates a danger in feminist discourses of celebration: the tendency to smooth over voices of dissent and the rougher points of struggle, the moments, for example, in which a special issue was refused or placed in jeopardy. In their retrospective, the *Fireweed* collective does acknowledge the conflicts that came with "opening the magazine to guest

collectives" and the need to move over and "surrender" the space of the journal. Yet they downplay the points of contention—so clearly present for readers of the editorials to issues 16 and 22—by reframing them as the magazine's own growing pains. They also instrumentalize the work of guest collectives through the reference to "broadening our audience and pool of writers." Although questions of sales, subscriptions, and submissions are important, issues 16 and 22 are about *access to publication* for those who historically have had little access[24] more than about access to a (white) feminist audience. Ultimately, the excerpt cited above reminds us of the need to read the editorials written by the guest editors themselves alongside any retrospective account written by the host collective, and in this way—through a reading attuned to their intersectional thinking—to retain the history of difficult collaboration.

Questions of collaboration surface on almost every page of this essay: collaboration in the sustained form of coalition-building as well as in the strategic form of short-term cooperation. Such questions are integral to a discussion of intersectionality. Without offering solutions or reconciling differences, intersectional thinking helps account for the ambivalence expressed both by the guest collectives and by the host collective at *Fireweed*. For guest editors, entering into a working relation with *Fireweed* and establishing a temporary alliance means registering the difference of their editorial practices, exposing the oversights of the host collective, and setting out the limited terms on which they are willing to collaborate. Increasingly, in the 2010s, activist writers and scholars sideline the (white) gatekeepers—of feminism, of the publishing industry, of the academy—and focus on building "non-oppressive" coalitions (Bilge 2013, 407) among Black communities, Indigenous communities, and "radical communities of colour" (Simpson 2016, 31). Working both within and without the academy, they call for consideration of how diverse experiences of settler colonialism "urge forms of solidarity while complicating the parameters of alliance" (Indigenous Literary Studies Association 2018). As well as taking apart and analyzing enmeshed mechanisms of injustice, intersectional thinking facilitates alliance. By 'dis-articulating' the incommensurable elements within social movements, it helps explain why collaboration is difficult, even precarious, and, in doing so, makes collaboration more possible.

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Chantal Maillé

# Les féminismes de la Francophonie, espace de résistance et de resignification de l'intersectionnalité

**Abstract**

*This text aims at documenting the complex relationships between Francophonie feminisms and intersectional analysis. The first part explores definitions of intersectionality and its positioning within Francophonie. The second part is supported by fieldwork and documents openings and criticisms formulated towards intersectionality. In the third part, the text looks at some issues related to the development of an intersectional feminist analysis in the francophone context and, more specifically, the problem of categories, a problem we examine from the perspective of political culture. In the fourth part, the paper looks at projects developed by Quebec women's groups with an intersectional perspective and identifies strategies used to deal with some difficulties related to theoretical and methodological stakes emerging in the development of an intersectional analysis. We conclude that fieldwork projects bring new meanings to intersectional feminist analysis, which, moving away from an orthodoxy grounded into its original theory, is finally taking shape.*

**Résumé**

*Ce texte vise à rendre compte de la complexité des rapports qu'entretiennent les féminismes de la Francophonie avec l'analyse intersectionnelle. La première partie porte sur les définitions de l'intersectionnalité et son positionnement dans la Francophonie. La deuxième partie s'appuie sur une recherche sur le terrain pour documenter les ouvertures et les critiques formulées à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité. La troisième partie du texte porte sur certains enjeux liés au développement d'une analyse féministe intersectionnelle dans un contexte francophone et aborde plus spécifiquement le problème des catégories, appréhendé à partir de la culture politique. Enfin, dans la quatrième partie, l'analyse se tourne vers des projets sur le terrain menés par des groupes de femmes québécois dans une perspective intersectionnelle et identifie les stratégies mises en place pour contourner les difficultés liés aux enjeux théoriques et méthodologiques que pose le déploiement d'une analyse intersectionnelle. Nous concluons que le travail sur le terrain contribue à une resignification de l'analyse féministe intersectionnnelle qui, dégagée d'une orthodoxie fondée dans la théorie d'origine, prend enfin forme.*

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**Introduction**

Au cours des années 1990, très rapidement après la diffusion de textes fondateurs, l'intersectionnalité a accédé au statut de théorie quasi-universelle dans les féminismes anglo-saxons. La réception de ces idées a été bien différente dans les féminismes de la Francophonie. Certains éléments liés à la culture peuvent expliquer le succès fulgurant de l'intersectionnalité dans le monde anglo-saxon, comme par exemple sa filiation avec les politiques de l'identité (*identity politics*) propres à la pensée politique de cette sphère. Les politiques de l'identité désignent une approche qui met l'accent sur les expériences d'injustice de différents groupes minorisés, qu'ils soient raciaux, ethniques, sexuels, ou autres. On peut situer le projet de l'intersectionnalité à l'intérieur des théories de l'identité, elles-mêmes perçues comme appartenant au postmodernisme et à ses politiques :

> S'expriment dans le postmodernisme une grande sensibilité envers le langage en tant qu'il déploie le pouvoir ; l'idée que les idéaux des Lumières (…) sont en réalité oppressifs et constituent le masque du colonialisme, du sexisme, du patriarcat, du capitalisme, du racisme et ainsi de suite ; un relativisme des valeurs fondé sur un rejet de l'idée de progrès chère aux Lumières parce qu'elle serait illusoire ; un rejet du libéralisme politique et de sa prétention universelle ; et une prééminence accordée à la subjectivité. (Baillargeon 2019)

Ces idées ont ouvert la voie aux politiques actuelles de l'identité et ont changé les termes dans lesquels se conçoivent et se mènent les luttes sociales et politiques des mouvements qui se situent à l'intérieur de ces courants :

> Là où, au nom d'un universalisme libéral, on réclamait pour l'individu la fin des injustices qu'il subissait (…) on en vient à ne considérer l'individu qu'en tant que membre d'un sous-groupe donné, à demander que l'on lui accorde de la valeur, voire toute la valeur à ce qui caractérise ce groupe et son expérience particulière. (Baillargeon 2019)

L'approche intersectionnelle et ce qu'elle implique lorsqu'appréhendée dans une perspective féministe, soit le processus de décentrement du genre comme point de départ pour évaluer l'expérience de l'inégalité au profit de l'inclusion d'autres catégories comme la race, la classe et l'orientation sexuelle, suscite actuellement énormément d'intérêt et de débats dans les cercles féministes au Québec et dans le reste de la Francophonie. Toutefois, bien que l'on puisse observer l'adhésion de plusieurs à l'analyse intersectionnelle, on notera également des résistances et des critiques sévères à l'endroit de ce cadre. Certaines critiques ont à voir avec une volonté de continuer à penser le féminisme autour d'une femme universelle comme figure

centrale pour refléter les principes de la philosophie des Lumières : «Au Québec, les luttes féministes et de gauche ont souvent été traversées par une conception républicaine de l'universalisme selon laquelle des principes tels l'égalité, la solidarité et la liberté s'appliquent de manière universelle» (Conradi 2019, p. 17), alors que d'autres critiques se situent dans des registres proches des théories postcoloniales et décoloniales, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

Ce texte, qui vise à rendre compte de la complexité des rapports qu'entretiennent les féminismes de la Francophonie avec l'analyse intersectionnelle, est organisé autour de quatre parties. La première partie, plus théorique, comprend deux sous-sections. L'une propose de définir l'intersectionnalité et l'autre réfléchit au statut de l'analyse féministe intersectionelle dans la Francophonie. La deuxième partie s'appuie sur une recherche sur le terrain (Maillé 2019) pour documenter les critiques formulées à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité ainsi que les ouvertures et les usages qu'en font plusieurs groupes féministes francophones dans leurs pratiques. La troisième partie du texte porte sur certains problèmes liés au développement d'une analyse féministe intersectionnelle dans un contexte francophone et plus spécifiquement le problème des catégories, que nous appréhendons à partir de la culture politique. Nous montrons qu'au Québec, la désignation des identités autres que genrées, comme la race ou la classe, est un travail laborieux; l'adoption de termes très larges et souvent problématiques pour désigner les personnes racisées rend difficile le travail d'intersectionnalisation de l'analyse féministe. Enfin, dans la quatrième partie, l'analyse se tourne vers des projets sur le terrain menés avec une perspective intersectionnelle par des groupes de femmes québécois et identifie les stratégies mises en place pour contourner les problèmes liés aux enjeux théoriques et méthodologiques que pose le déploiement d'une analyse intersectionnelle, contribuant ainsi à sa resignification.

## Intersectionnalité : Définition et statut dans la Francophonie

### Quelques éléments de définition de l'intersectionnalité

Dhamoon appréhende l'intersectionnalité comme un paradigme analytique mais aussi comme un cadre d'analyse applicable à différentes relations de marginalité ou de pouvoir :

> Ce paradigme analytique peut être appliqué à l'étude des groupes sociaux, des relations et des contextes, et aller au-delà du regard conventionnel que l'on porte aux femmes non-blanches. Sur cette base, en tant que cadre d'analyse largement applicable aux différentes relations de marginalité et de privilège, l'intersectionnalité peut être intégrée aux façons de conduire la recherche et de construire le savoir dans les sciences sociales. (Dhamoon 2011, 230; notre traduction)

On peut trouver au moins quatre dimensions distinctes dans une analyse intersectionnelle. Il peut s'agir d'identités, comme par exemple femme musulmane, de catégories de différence comme la race et le genre, de processus de différentiation comme la racialisation ou le gendering ou enfin de systèmes de domination comme le racisme, le colonialisme et le sexisme. Ces dimensions peuvent être considérées simultanément ou bien séparément (Dhamoon 2011, 233). Le terme intersectionnalité appelle à une variété d'appréhensions et d'utilisations, qu'il s'agisse d'une approche méthodologique, d'une pratique militante ou d'un outil analytique (Bourque et Maillé, 2015, 1). Au centre de l'idée d'intersectionnalité se trouvent des concepts comme ceux de cartographie sociale ou de théorie de la position sociale, lesquels permettent de révéler des identités qui se situent aux intersections de différents marqueurs (Manuel 2019, 34).

Pour plusieurs auteures, dont Dhamoon, la trilogie race-classe-genre est à la base de l'analyse intersectionnelle, laquelle met en relief les positions multiples et les relations de pouvoir complexes qui façonnent les interactions entre individus. Mais puisque chaque contexte est spécifique, l'approche intersectionnelle ne peut se résumer à une formule universelle; la nature de son projet exige en effet qu'elle demeure un cadre flexible capable de saisir et de traduire la spécificité de chaque contexte. Dans l'usage, la question de la race semble être devenue la question prédominante dans l'analyse intersectionnelle, éclipsant d'autres relations de pouvoir liées à la classe, à l'identité sexuelle ou de genre et à d'autres identités, lesquelles sont souvent reléguées à la périphérie de l'analyse ou littéralement omises, comme le démontrent les travaux de Tourki et al. sur les expériences de personnes migrantes trans et racisées (2018) et ceux de Masson sur les luttes de reconnaissance menées par un regroupement de femmes handicapées au sein du mouvement des femmes québécois (Masson 2015). Dans l'analyse intersectionnelle, les rapports de pouvoir produits par les identités de race sont placés au centre de l'analyse, en relation avec les origines de cette approche dans le texte *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex : A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* (1989) de la juriste afro-américaine Kimberlé Crenshaw.

Puisque la théorie de l'intersectionnalité a émergé d'abord autour des enjeux liés à la race et dans le contexte très spécifique des États-Unis, il s'agirait donc là de la dimension implicitement la plus importante de l'analyse intersectionnelle. Mais c'est aussi précisément l'une des raisons pour lesquelles plusieurs féministes francophones expriment des réserves à l'endroit de cette approche, inscrite dans l'histoire et la dynamique très spécifiques des relations raciales aux États-Unis, laquelle n'a pas nécessairement une résonance universelle.

**Féminismes, Francophonie et théories de la postcolonialité**

L'une des difficultés liées à la production et à la circulation d'une analyse féministe intersectionnelle à l'intérieur de la Francophonie se situe dans le cadre de l'espace

francophone, où certains rapports de pouvoir, notamment ceux liés aux héritages de la colonisation française, sont enfouis dans un discours, celui de la Francophonie, imprégné de la philosophie universaliste des Lumières, et qui joue sur une identité commune créée par la langue française en dépit du fait qu'il s'agit souvent d'une langue imposée par la colonisation. Ainsi, même si la langue française a été l'arme du colonisateur dans la construction du territoire de la Francophonie, elle demeure toujours un territoire impensé (Maillé 2012). Alors que les théories identitaires héritées du postcolonial ont servi de matrice pour penser l'analyse intersectionnelle, elles surgissent plus tardivement dans le contexte francophone (Fordsick 2005), avec la promesse de nommer les intersections qui sont spécifiques au contexte francophone.

Une analyse féministe intersectionnelle vise à mettre en relief la centralité des rapports de genre construits par la race et la classe, alors que les théories postcoloniales permettent de conceptualiser les positions occupées à l'intérieur de ces mêmes catégories, pour relativiser les catégories raciologiques traditionnelles et y ajouter d'autres points de vue, comme l'expérience de l'ethnicité, une dimension essentielle à la compréhension de l'histoire des oppressions dans le contexte du Québec. Les cadres intersectionnels et postcoloniaux ouvrent sur de nouvelles analyses de l'oppression des femmes, revisitant les positions historiques du féminisme de la majorité, au Québec, qui a longtemps confiné sa compréhension des dynamiques de pouvoir à l'intérieur du récit de l'oppression nationale, peinant à se représenter comme un groupe capable d'exercer une certaine forme de domination à l'endroit de groupes minoritaires ou des Premières Nations (Pagé 2015). C'est un élément d'explication possible de la résistance d'une partie du féminisme québécois, proche du mouvement nationaliste, à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité, auquel s'ajoute la perception que l'intersectionnalité est un cadre d'analyse qui prétend à l'universel mais qui est culturellement spécifique, s'imbriquant dans la logique des politiques de l'identité propres au monde anglo-saxon. C'est ce qui ressort des entrevues qui seront analysées dans la partie suivante.

### Des féministes francophones expriment leur résistance à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité

### Recherche sur le terrain

Dans une recherche sur le terrain réalisée entre 2014 et 2018 (Maillé 2019) et pour laquelle nous avons effectué une série d'entretiens avec des féministes connues provenant de différents territoires se rattachant à la grande Francophonie institutionnelle, nous avions présumé d'une migration massive vers le paradigme intersectionnel. Nous avons plutôt constaté une réception critique des théories féministes de l'intersectionnalité. Cette observation va dans le sens des conclusions d'une étude de Lépinard qui montrait que la perspective féministe intersectionnelle était reçue avec une certaine distance par les organisations féministes majoritaires québécoises (Lépinard 2014).

Au cours des entretiens que nous avons réalisés, des répondantes ont mis en cause la possibilité de réaliser une véritable analyse intersectionnelle, considérant la complexité de l'entreprise. Pour d'autres, il s'agit d'un paradigme appartenant à une tradition culturelle spécifique, anglo-saxonne, vue comme irréconciliable avec la tradition universaliste française. Peu ont envisagé l'analyse intersectionnelle comme une orientation incontournable, ou bien comme un outil nécessaire pour bonifier l'analyse du genre. Pour certaines, il s'agit d'un terme valise qui se traduit surtout par l'ajout d'une perspective sur la race mais qui laisse dans l'ombre d'autres dimensions qui sont pourtant au cœur du projet intersectionnel comme la classe. La dimension normative de l'analyse intersectionnelle est perçue comme le reflet d'un contexte spécifique, les États-Unis :

> Moi, je n'utilise pas le terme intersectionnel. C'est la partie prescriptive qui me dérange dans l'intersectionnalité, parce que c'est une théorie qui est issue des États-Unis. La théorie de Crenshaw sur l'intersectionnalité et comment elle est portée aujourd'hui n'est pas applicable dans plusieurs parties du monde, parce qu'elle est issue d'une structure sociale et d'une histoire très précise. (…) La dimension centre-périphérie n'est pas incluse dans l'intersectionnalité.

Par ailleurs cette même répondante fait le constat qu'entre la théorie de l'intersectionnalité et son application, il y a une zone infranchissable : «Appliquer l'intersectionnalité ça n'existe pas comme tel, comment tu fais ça, ça devient extrêmement complexe». Évoquant le contexte français, une autre personne a relevé la difficulté de mettre en application une véritable analyse intersectionnelle :

> Je ne comprenais pas cet agacement que j'avais avec ce terme de l'intersectionnalité. J'ai très vite vu qu'il y avait ce mot qui était comme un mot clé, mais que le gros problème c'était que c'est impossible à faire. L'intersectionnalité explique très bien comment il faut faire en fait, mais c'est difficile à mettre en œuvre, comme politique.

L'intersectionnalité est même parfois utilisée comme un discours d'intimidation, entre les mains d'un groupe majoritaire : «C'est plutôt l'universitaire blanc qui, pour parler de tous, va dire oui, il nous faut une intersectionnelle.»

Les racines anglo-saxonnes du terme sont aussi vues comme un problème et plusieurs apportent une série d'arguments critiques pour dénoncer l'hégémonie de l'analyse intersectionnelle et son inadéquation pour rendre compte des situations de subalternité en France et des dynamiques autour des questions de race en Afrique noire :

> Le problème que je vois avec ce terme, c'est que ça fait rentrer de façon extrêmement puissante et d'une manière incontrôlable l'ensemble de l'hégémonie anglophone dans l'espace français. Dans les formes d'imposition, il y a aussi des formes de réduction au silence, et moi ce que je vois dans tout ça c'est que là, il y a une espèce de prédominance du paradigme États-Unien qui s'impose et qui en fait réduit au silence d'autres expressions, et qui hiérarchise aussi. Qu'est-ce qui se passe lorsqu'on n'utilise pas cette méthode ?
> Pour une autre répondante, l'intersectionnalité ne permet pas de bien traduire la nature des luttes de pouvoir dans un pays comme le Sénégal, où les luttes ne s'inscrivent pas à l'intérieur d'un binome blanc/racisé : « Je n'aime pas le terme. L'intersectionnalité est un débat qui est né en Amérique du Nord qui a une minorité de femmes de couleur. (…) Le problème au Sénégal, ce n'est pas un problème de Noirs et de Blancs.»

Parmi les motifs invoqués pour rejeter la notion d'intersectionnalité, une militante impliquée dans les mouvements décoloniaux donne comme explication que le terme intersectionnalité empêche de bien voir les rapports genre-race :

> Je n'aime pas du tout cette expression, je ne l'aime pas parce que je pense qu'il faut parler de rapports de race. Quel est le moment où l'on racise? L'expression me semble un peu problématique. Moi, je dénonce le fait que l'on dise : sexe-race-classe dans beaucoup de papiers et comme, d'une certaine façon si on en avait traité. C'est bien plus compliqué que ça et il ne suffit pas de dire qu'il faut considérer : sexe, race et classe pour en avoir traité, pour l'avoir analysé. Et je trouve que beaucoup se contentent de dénoncer, de dire, sexe-race-classe… Ça reste superficiel.

Une universitaire rejette complètement le terme en expliquant la dynamique qui a été présente en France autour des enjeux liés à la race, à la classe et au genre :

D'abord le mot intersectionnalité ne passe pas, enfin, passe difficilement. En 2010, tous les courants universitaires féministes matérialistes refusaient le terme intersectionnalité. Ils refusaient d'utiliser ce terme, c'était un terme qui venait de l'anglo-saxon, donc ils ont parlé d'articulation, d'agrégation, enfin, chacun a utilisé son terme, mais il était hors de question d'utiliser le terme intersectionnalité. (…) Le vrai problème de fond, je crois, c'est la question du racisme en France. Le vrai vrai vrai problème je pense que c'est ça. En France, genre et classe, je pense qu'on assure là-dessus, voilà. Mais sur la question du racisme, on n'assure pas. Non pas qu'il n'y ait pas des collègues qui travaillent sur cette question. C'est que la question du racisme, si l'on compare avec le monde anglo-saxon, ou du moins avec les États-Unis, plus précisément, la question du racisme c'est presque les classes sociales en France.

C'est la question sociale majeure du 20e siècle quoi, c'est ce qui a animé l'histoire. C'est quand même la grande question sociale aux États-Unis, enfin, de mon point de vue, c'est la grande question sociale aux États-Unis. Et en France, la grande question sociale ça a quand même été historiquement les classes.

Pour une intellectuelle militante dont les travaux, publiés en France, sont associés au postcolonialisme, l'intersectionnalité est un terme qui manque de spécificité, coopté pour servir des intérêts blancs et occidentaux alors qu'il devient une stratégie pour éviter de nommer la question de la race, comme dans l'usage qui s'est répandu du terme diversité :

> L'intersectionnalité commence à prendre place dans un certain discours universitaire, pour ne pas nommer la race carrément. Parce que ce qui est intéressant de l'intersectionnalité c'est qu'elle ne nomme pas toutes les différences à partir desquelles elle opère. C'est un peu le remplacement de diversité. C'est le cache-sexe qui permet de ne pas parler de sexisme ou de racisme. Maintenant l'intersectionnalité permet ça. Parce que ça fait partie d'une sémantique très occidentale, très blanche.

On retouve des similitudes dans la pensée de plusieurs répondantes qui ont examiné la question de l'intersectionnalité selon la perspective des femmes du Maghreb et de l'Afrique noire, à savoir que l'intersectionnalité ne fait pas partie des outils analytiques choisis ou recherchés :

> Cette problématique de l'intersectionnalité, je ne l'ai pas sentie quand j'étais en Tunisie. Nous avons une population noire, c'est maintenant qu'on commence à en parler, on commence à découvrir qu'on a un racisme systémique par rapport à la population noire en Tunisie.

Une autre répondante tient des propos similaires :

> Faire de l'intersectionnalité qui part de la race c'est normal quand tu es aux États-Unis, ça peut être normal pour une femme noire vivant en France. Mais moi si je suis une femme noire vivant en Afrique noire, j'ai d'autres facteurs d'oppression qui sont beaucoup plus importants. Moi ça va être le patriarcat dans un contexte où l'on dit toujours que le matriarcat est là. (…) Dans la Francophonie africaine, on ne parle pas d'intersectionnalité. Ce sont des théories qu'elles ne connaissent pas, qu'elles n'utilisent pas. Pour ça, il faut être resté dans le monde de l'académique pour parler d'intersectionnalité. Les Africaines, elles peuvent être prêtes à vous parler *d'empowerment*, elles peuvent vous parler de *Gender Awareness*. Parce que ce sont des termes qui sont connus, elles peuvent parler d'autonomisation des femmes qui est un terme, à

> mon avis, absolument mal traduit pour signifier *l'empowerment*. Mais l'intersectionnalité comme théorie pour comprendre la situation des femmes, c'est resté dans l'académie et encore là, même dans l'académie ce n'est pas un concept qui est souvent discuté.

Les propos recueillis dans cette série d'entretiens ne prétendent pas être représentatifs d'une position qui serait partagée par l'ensemble des féministes de la Francophonie à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité. Ils nous permettent néanmoins de prendre le pouls des résistances présentes et des arguments retenus contre l'intersectionnalité. Au-delà des résistances, nous avons également perçu des ouvertures au sein des féminismes de la Francophonie à l'endroit de l'analyse intersectionnelle, les deux positions s'exprimant à travers un continuum complexe de nuances et de pratiques.

**Ouvertures à l'intersectionnalité au Québec**

Au-delà des réserves exprimées à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité dans la partie précédente, on peut observer l'émergence de voix demandant une meilleure prise en compte de la complexité des réalités des femmes, particulièrement de celles provenant de groupes minoritaires, et qui revendiquent une filiation avec l'intersectionnalité (Maillé 2018). Cette volonté de produire des analyses intersectionnelles s'exprime bien clairement dans la parole de plusieurs groupes et actrices du mouvement des femmes au Québec (Pagé et Pirès 2015). Des groupes comme Parole de femmes ont été créés avec l'objectif de proposer un féminisme pluriel, inclusif et intersectionnel et où les revendications des femmes qui ont été historiquement poussées aux marges se retrouvent au centre des combats féministes (Lopez 2016). Alexa Conradi, qui entre 2009 et 2015 a été la présidente de la Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ), la plus importante organisation féministe au Québec, a identifié deux points tournants qui ont amené le féminisme québécois de la majorité à adopter de nouvelles grilles d'analyse :

> En 2004, avec l'adoption d'un protocole de solidarité entre Femmes autochtones du Québec et la Fédération des femmes du Québec, le mouvement féministe québécois a amorcé un virage décolonial. Ce changement d'analyse et d'approche s'est approfondi lors des États généraux de l'action et de l'analyse féministes, en 2013. (Conradi 2019, 17)

Plus récemment, une étude sur la réception de l'analyse intersectionelle auprès des membres de la FFQ a montré une adhésion majoritaire à cette grille, alors que 80% des répondantes ont dit considérer cette approche comme nécessaire et enrichissante (Pagé et Pirès 2015).

Mais cette question de l'intersectionnalité et du décentrement de l'analyse féministe par rapport à un sujet-femme universel a entrainé des tensions au sein du

mouvement des femmes québécois, ce qui a conduit à la création d'un mouvement de dissidentes qui ont quitté la FFQ afin de militer pour un féminisme recadré, lequel place au centre de son analyse une femme dite générique (Yanacopoulo 2014). L'une de ces féministes dissidentes parle des dérives du féminisme intersectionnel, qu'elle accuse de faire la promotion des droits individuels au détriment des droits collectifs et d'avoir fait dévier la lutte féministe (Sirois 2019, 57). L'intersectionnalité est ici perçue comme une source de fragmentation pour le mouvement féministe :

> On était parti d'une analyse intersectionnelle censée enrichir l'analyse et la pratique du féminisme, et on se retrouve en présence d'une idéologie binaire et à la limite du sectarisme : il y a les bons et les méchants, les privilégiées et les victimes. Et contrairement au slogan maintes fois martelé d'un féminisme pour toutes les femmes, on exclut en fait les femmes dites privilégiées pour accorder la priorité aux personnes identifiées comme étant à la marge et dont les diverses causes prennent le pas sur la lutte à l'oppression spécifique et universelle des femmes. Les tenantes de l'intersectionnalisme ont donc délaissé l'idée à la base du féminisme, c'est-à-dire le fait que l'infériorisation des femmes est un phénomène universel, résultat d'un système patriarcal qui doit être remis en question. (Sirois 2019, 62)

D'autres féministes québécoises rencontrées dans le cadre des entretiens relatés précédemment ont exprimé des réserves à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité tout en adhérant à un féminisme sensible à l'expression des différences, mais sans vouloir se situer à l'intérieur du dogme de l'intersectionnalité.

**Réaliser une analyse féministe intersectionnelle : l'enjeu des catégories**

Après avoir évoqué les résistances et les ouvertures à l'analyse intersectionnelle dans les féminismes québécois et de la Francophonie, la troisième partie de ce texte s'intéresse aux pratiques de l'analyse intersectionnelle dans le féminisme québécois et explore certaines difficultés liées au développement d'une analyse féministe intersectionnelle pour ce contexte dont le problème des catégories. Comment peut-on ouvrir le débat lorsque les identités autres que celles de genre ne sont pas nommées? Comment les sujets racisés peuvent-ils devenir visibles sans être reconnus et intégrés aux théories qui cherchent à représenter le social? Où en sommes-nous dans le travail de conceptualisation des classes sociales selon une perspective féministe? Si la réflexion sur les catégories et les termes est une étape essentielle pour produire une analyse féministe intersectionnelle, où en est le travail sur la désignation des groupes minoritaires au Québec?

À cette question, nous répondons par une autre question: qu'arrive-t-il aux théories et aux concepts qui sont au centre de nos constructions lorsqu'ils voyagent à travers les frontières géographiques et celles des disciplines (Tomlinson 2013)? Voilà

qui suggère de porter attention aux termes dans lesquels sont appréhendées les identités, qu'elles soient de genre, de race, de classe ou que l'on fasse référence à d'autres identités en lien avec l'ethnicité, la capacité, l'âge, etc. Au Québec, la désignation des identités autres que genrées, particulièrement autour de la race ou de la classe, est un travail laborieux et l'adoption de termes très larges et souvent problématiques pour désigner les personnes racisées rend difficile le travail nécessaire pour produire une analyse féministe intersectionnelle. L'explication que nous avançons par rapport à ce constat se situe au niveau de la culture politique propre au Québec et distincte du Canada, ce qui oblige à faire un détour pour relater la querelle entre le multiculturalisme, une politique du gouvernement canadien qui met l'accent sur les différences et se plaît à faire l'exercice de les nommer, et l'interculturalisme, la politique adoptée par le Québec basée sur l'idée d'une majorité culturelle francophone.

À défaut d'avoir un langage catégoriel précis, l'État québécois a adopté des termes très larges et souvent problématiques par les amalgames qu'ils sous-tendent pour désigner les personnes racisées, comme le terme «communautés culturelles», qui regroupe en un tout indistinct toutes les personnes qui ne sont pas associées à l'identité blanche majoritaire. L'utilisation du terme « diversité » est un autre exemple de catégorisation problématique. Jusqu'à récemment il y avait un Ministère québécois de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, dont le nom a été changé pour Ministère Immigration, Diversité et Inclusion Québec. Le terme «diversité» est très populaire auprès des institutions de l'État, au Québec mais pas uniquement à cet endroit. Il est utilisé comme stratégie pour contenir ou enrayer les tensions raciales et il sert à obscurcir certains rapports de pouvoir à travers l'amalgamation en un tout, celui de la diversité, de personnes construites comme «différentes» par des institutions où la blanchité institutionnelle est la norme, une remarque formulée par Sara Ahmed pour décrire le contexte britannique (2012) qui s'applique tout autant au contexte québécois, comme en témoignent les programmes gouvernementaux qui définissent les fondements de la société québécoise dans ces termes :

> Tout en valorisant sa diversité et en respectant les différences, le Québec requiert que l'ensemble de la population respecte son cadre civique commun qui constitue un ensemble d'institutions partagées et de normes collectives balisant les relations sociétales. (Immigration, Diversité et Inclusion Québec)

On peut voir dans le choix fait par l'État québécois d'utiliser activement le terme « diversité » une tentative d'occulter une question frontale et politique comme celle de la désignation des groupes minoritaires, le terme « diversité » invitant à amalgamer dans un tout indistinct l'ensemble des rapports de pouvoir produits par la race, la classe, le sexe et par d'autres systèmes comme les religions.

La culture politique distincte du Québec peut nous aider à comprendre certaines des difficultés qui se posent par rapport à l'analyse intersectionnelle. L'intersectionnalité peut être vue comme une perspective proche de la sensibilité multiculturaliste, une politique adoptée par le gouvernement du Canada qui suscite toujours de fortes résistances au Québec, qui y a toujours vu une tentative de réduire la culture québécoise à une culture qui serait sur le même pied que toute autre culture minoritaire. La Loi canadienne sur le multiculturalisme, adoptée en 1988, propose de reconnaître le fait que le multiculturalisme est une caractéristique fondamentale de l'identité et du patrimoine canadien et constitue une ressource inestimable pour l'avenir du pays (Rocher et Salée 1993). Le multiculturalisme canadien met l'accent sur la catégorisation des différences. Dans le lexique de l'État canadien, on retrouve les expressions telles que race, groupe racial, minorité raciale, communauté raciale, race noire et minorités visibles (Labelle 2015). La politique du multiculturalisme canadien a été rejetée en bloc par tous les gouvernements du Québec, au nom de la protection du français, langue officielle du Québec, ainsi que des caractéristiques politiques et culturelles de la nation québécoise. L'approche multiculturaliste canadienne situe toutes les cultures sur un pied d'égalité ; elle met la culture québécoise au même niveau que les cultures de groupes immigrants, une approche qui a été interprétée par plusieurs comme un refus de reconnaître et de valoriser la spécificité culturelle historique du Québec.

Le multiculturalisme canadien a beaucoup en commun avec la théorie de l'intersectionnalité, tous deux ayant un ancrage bien net dans les théories de l'identité. Le gouvernement du Canada a d'ailleurs intégré l'intersectionnalité à ses politiques de genre il y a plus de vingt ans (Hankivsky 2012), avec le développement et l'adoption de l'analyse comparative entre les sexes «plus» (ACS+), une méthode d'analyse qui permet d'évaluer les effets éventuels de politiques, de programmes, de services et d'autres initiatives sur les femmes et les hommes de différents horizons parce qu'elle tient compte du genre et d'autres facteurs identitaires. L'ensemble des fonctionnaires du gouvernement du Canada doit utiliser cette approche dans leur travail «en se posant des questions de base et en remettant en question leurs suppositions sur divers groupes de femmes et d'hommes» (Condition féminine Canada). Le «plus» dans le nom sert à souligner que l'ACS+ va au-delà des sexes et comprend l'examen de tout un éventail d'autres facteurs identitaires qui se recoupent (comme l'âge, l'éducation, la langue, la géographie, la culture et le revenu) (Condition féminine Canada). Le point de départ de l'ACS+ est que les femmes et les hommes ne forment pas des populations homogènes; le genre n'est jamais le seul facteur à définir l'identité de quelqu'un, il interagit avec d'autres facteurs comme l'origine ethnique, l'âge, le handicap, le lieu de résidence et d'autres aspects de l'identité des individus et des grandes structures sociales. L'ACS+ tient compte de ces facteurs et remet ainsi en question les notions d'homogénéité au sein des populations de femmes et d'hommes. Le gouvernement du Canada a récemment créé le Centre des statistiques sur le genre, la diversité et l'inclusion, qui fait partie de Statis-

tiques Canada, et qui permet de produire les données croisées nécessaires à la réalisation de l'ACS+.

De son côté, le Québec a choisi l'interculturalisme comme politique de gestion de la diversité, avec un lexique identitaire qui utilise les notions de communautés culturelles, de diversité et de majorité francophone plutôt que de chercher à différencier les groupes par le développement de catégories ethno-raciales. L'interculturalisme cherche à renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance au Québec dans un contexte de nation minoritaire. L'une des critiques que l'on peut formuler à l'endroit de l'interculturalisme et des termes « diversité » et « communautés culturelles » est la difficulté de rendre visibles les personnes racisées et leurs expériences, ces dernières étant amalgamées dans un tout indistinct. Une seconde critique de l'interculturalisme porte sur le rapport majorité/minorités qui y est suggéré. Enfin le terme « communautés culturelles » cher au projet interculturaliste culturalise les personnes qui ne sont pas originaires de la culture majoritaire francophone québécoise de souche mais seulement elles, alors que le groupe majoritaire n'est jamais désigné comme une communauté culturelle et que les groupes minoritaires sont identifiés et répertoriés à partir de l'identité culturelle uniquement.

Après le genre et la race, la classe constitue la troisième catégorie incontournable de l'analyse intersectionnelle. C'est un enjeu complexe qui demande un travail de réflexion alors que des voix de la gauche québécoise ont relevé qu'au XXIe siècle, au Québec, le thème des classes sociales est à peu près disparu du paysage intellectuel et politique des dernières années, les termes ouvriers et patronat étant eux aussi relégués à l'arrière-plan dans l'analyse politique (Collectif 2009, 52). Afin de pouvoir élaborer une analyse féministe intersectionnelle pour le Québec qui intègre une analyse des classes sociales, il faut d'abord questionner la capacité de la théorie marxiste à révéler certaines complexités liées au genre et aux réalités des femmes – nous pensons ici au travail de reproduction ainsi qu'au travail invisible. Certains débats comme celui sur le statut du travail domestique sont-ils encore pertinents? Est-ce que les notions de classe ouvrière et de bourgeoisie demeurent utiles dans le contexte actuel et du point de vue des femmes? Nous posons ces questions tout en faisant le constat que la gauche féministe québécoise actuelle, au sein de groupes comme Québec solidaire ainsi que des organisations féministes dans la mouvance de la Marche mondiale des femmes, ancrent leurs analyses des inégalités autour de la notion de pauvreté plutôt que dans l'analyse de la lutte des classes, en rupture avec les analyses féministes marxistes du siècle passé**.**

**Resignification de l'intersectionnalité : projets sur le terrain**

Après avoir soulevé un ensemble de questions de nature plus théorique qui surgissent en lien avec le développement d'une analyse féministe intersectionnelle pour le Québec, nous proposons d'examiner un échantillon de projets sur le terrain réalisés par des groupes féministes présents sur le territoire québécois et qui ont intégré une telle analyse. Hankivsky et Cormier écrivent que le développement et la

mise en application de politiques publiques intersectionnelles en sont encore aux premiers stades (2019, 69) alors que se posent certaines barrières conceptuelles. Comment ces projets composent-ils avec les problèmes de nature plus théorique liés aux catégories et à la méthodologie? Quatre exemples ont été empruntés au Conseil des Montréalaises et au Conseil interculturel de Montréal, deux créations de la ville de Montréal, et à la ville de Montréal elle-même. Le Conseil des Montréalaises agit en tant qu'instance consultative, sur demande auprès de l'Administration municipale de la ville de Montréal en ce qui a trait à l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et à la condition féminine. Le Conseil des Montréalaises intègre à ses études l'analyse différenciée selon les sexes plus (ADS+), qu'il définit comme un processus d'analyse visant à mettre en lumière les interactions entre le genre et d'autres différences sociales ou d'autres marqueurs identitaires tels que le statut socio-économique, le handicap, le statut autochtone ou l'ethnicité. L'ADS+ est une forme d'analyse qui rejette le postulat selon lequel le genre est la seule forme valide de discrimination à combattre et qui reconnaît la complexité de l'identité et du statut pour les femmes et les hommes (Conseil des Montréalaises 2016). Le Conseil interculturel de Montréal est une instance consultative de la Ville de Montréal qui s'intéresse aux questions relatives aux relations interculturelles au niveau municipal et qui conseille la ville sur les politiques à mettre en œuvre afin de favoriser l'intégration et la participation des personnes de toutes origines à la vie politique, économique, sociale et culturelle de la ville.

Dans une recherche rendue publique en 2017, le Conseil des Montréalaises s'est intéressé à l'itinérance des femmes à Montréal. Le groupe s'est engagé à pratiquer des analyses intersectionnelles et différenciées selon les sexes qui tiennent compte des discriminations croisées vécues par les femmes de diverses origines et conditions. L'analyse porte attention à des catégories identitaires et plus particulièrement aux femmes autochtones et aux femmes issues de l'immigration. Une autre étude, *Montréal une ville festive pour toutes. La sécurité des femmes et des jeunes fennes cisgenre et trans lors des événements extérieurs à Montréal,* aborde la question de la sécurité des femmes dans l'espace public et s'articule principalement autour des catégories de genre, désignant expressément les femmes cis et les femmes trans. L'analyse porte également attention à l'appartenance à une minorité visible. Dans son *Mémoire sur la politique de développement social de la ville de Montréal* présenté en 2017, le Conseil interculturel de Montréal demande à la ville d'intégrer une analyse intersectionnelle et différenciée selon les sexes lors de l'adoption des orientations et des actions de la future politique plutôt qu'une simple ADS. Dans ce document on utilise les catégories personnes immigrantes, personnes racisées, et les problématiques liées à la classe sociale sont examinées indirectement par le biais d'indicateurs comme le revenu. Dans les trois documents analysés on fait usage de catégories selon le sujet abordé :

> Recherche sur l'itinérance : femmes autochtones/femmes issues de l'immigration ;
> Recherche sur la sécurité des femmes dans l'espace public : femmes cis/femmes trans/femmes des minorités visibles ;
> Document sur la politique de développement : personnes immigrantes/personnes racisées/classe sociale (via revenu).

On peut à ce stade formuler certaines observations sur la façon de faire une analyse intersectionnelle sur le terrain. Chaque étude porte sur certaines catégories de l'analyse intersectionnelle et non sur toutes les catégories possibles en même temps. On note une prédominance des catégorie liées à l'identité de race (dans les trois études), lesquelles sont appréhendées à partir des catégories suivantes : femmes autochtones, femmes issues de l'immigration, minorités visibles et personnes racisées. La classe est abordée indirectement à l'aide d'indicateurs comme le revenu. Les identités de genre (cis/trans) sont abordées dans une seule des trois études. Ce qui est bien en évidence dans le design de ces trois études c'est la grande flexibilité et la créativité qui se reflètent dans le choix des catégories identitaires.

En novembre 2018, la ville de Montréal, dirigée depuis 2017 par une équipe progressiste et par une mairesse, Valérie Plante, qui a travaillé plus de 10 ans dans le mouvement féministe au Québec, a annoncé qu'elle va intégrer l'analyse intersectionnelle dans son analyse d'impact des chantiers et aménagements de la ville :

> L'aménagement de cette rue discrimine-t-il les femmes ou les personnes transsexuelles? Et ce projet de logement social tient-il compte des personnes ne s'identifiant ni comme un homme ni comme une femme? Pendant deux ans (2018-2020) la ville de Montréal mènera un projet-pilote pour vérifier si certaines de ses décisions risquent de discriminer une partie de la population. (Normandin 2018)

À la lumière de ce rapide survol de projets réalisés avec la volonté d'appliquer une grille intersectionnelle, on peut mesurer l'ampleur des difficultés qui se posent, tant pour le design des recherches que pour la collection de données. Face à ces défis, la créativité dont font preuve le Conseil des Montréalaises et le Conseil interculturel de Montréal sont une source d'inspiration. Par ailleurs, l'annonce faite par la ville de Montréal de réaliser des analyses intersectionnelles de ses politiques permettra de générer de nouvelles données sur la mise en application de telles analyses et de bien identifier les problèmes qu'elles posent et les solutions qui sont apportées.

**Conclusion**

Ce texte avait comme objectif d'identifier et d'analyser les résistances et les ouvertures présentes au sein des féminismes de la Francophonie à l'endroit de l'analyse intersectionnelle. Nous avons montré en quoi la culture politique peut être un élé-

ment d'explication de la réception différenciée de ce cadre dans les univers francophones et anglo-saxons. Nous avons utilisé des extraits d'entretiens réalisés pour un projet de recherche en cours afin de documenter la diversité des perspectives exprimées par des féministes de la Francophonie à l'endroit de l'intersectionnalité.

Quelques conclusions peuvent être tirées à partir de l'analyse déployée précédemment. Tout d'abord se pose la question de la difficulté de l'exercice, qui se présente à la fois au niveau de la conceptualisation et dans les objectifs définis pour l'analyse intersectionnelle. Le projet de produire un modèle dynamique intégrant plusieurs axes de domination qui soit en même temps sensible à l'impact de chaque forme de domination sur les autres, ce qui correspondrait à la définition orthodoxe que l'on peut donner d'une analyse féministe intersectionnelle, peut sembler impossible à réaliser et c'est une des raisons souvent évoquées contre l'intersectionnalité, à savoir qu'il s'agirait d'une théorie impossible à mettre en application. Dans leur pratique, les groupes québécois que nous avons étudiés et qui se sont engagés sur la voie d'une telle analyse ont opté pour un certain pragmatisme dans la conceptualisation de leurs projets de recherche sur le terrain. Ils ont composé avec les moyens à leur disposition, contribuant à une resignification de l'analyse féministe intersectionnnelle qui, dégagée d'une orthodoxie fondée dans la théorie d'origine, prend enfin forme.

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Jane Koustas

# Carole Fréchette on the Global Stage: Quebec Theatre Performs Intersectionality

**Abstract**

*Carole Fréchette, a Quebec playwright, actress, theatre critic, and theatre scholar, began her career in the early 70s with the feminist theatre collective Théâtre des Cuisines, which produced plays such as* Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons *(1975) (*We will have the children we choose to have*) and* Môman travaille pas, a trop d'ouvrage *(1975) (*Mom doesn't have a job, she has too much housework*). Her first single-authored play,* Baby Blues *was published in 1989. From 13 earlier plays to her more recent* Je pense à Yu *(2012), inspired by the story of Yu Dongyue, a Chinese journalist who was incarcerated for 17 years for having defaced a poster of chairman Mao, Fréchette has remained a major player on the Quebec theatre scene and an important contributor to its international recognition. Her theatre is translated into many languages and has travelled widely. From the mining regions of northern Ontario and Quebec in* Violette sur la terre *(2002) to the bombed-out neighbourhoods of Lebanon in* Le Collier d'Hélène *(2002), to silence and the impossibility of communication in* Small Talk *(2014), Fréchette takes the audience beyond the confines of national identity, through poetic, unstructured plays and beyond geopolitical, linguistic boundaries and their commensurate link to national belonging.*

*This paper argues that Carole Fréchette is a major player on the transnational theatre network not merely because her plays are popular worldwide but because her theatre stages global theatre. Poised on numerous sites of intersectionality, Fréchette's work raises questions about nationality, place and belonging, about language and culture, about women's rights and roles across geopolitical boundaries, about cross-border dynamics and about the intersection of drama, cinema, and social discourse. She finds a new, or additional, role for women and women's theatre which must continue to negotiate the space between the personal and the political, between the local and the global and between the national and the transnational. In doing so, she brings Quebec and women's theatre into the intersectional space of global theatre.*

**Résumé**

*Dramaturge, comédienne, écrivaine et universitaire québécoise, Carole Fréchette s'est lancée dans le domaine théâtral en participant au Théâtre des Cuisines, une troupe collective et féministe, dans les années soixante-dix. Ce collectif a connu un grand succès*

*avec des pièces comme* Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons *(1975) et* Môman travaille pas, a trop d'ouvrage *(1975). En 1989, après avoir abandonné le projet collectif, Fréchette publie sa première pièce,* Baby Blues. *Auteure de plus de 13 pièces, comme, plus récemment* Je pense à Yu *(2012) inspiré par un fait réel, à savoir l'incarcération de Yu Dongyue, journaliste chinois détenu pendant I7 ans pour sa participation à la dégradation d'une affiche de Mao pendant les événements de la place Tiananmen, Fréchette continue à jouer un rôle important dans le théâtre québécois et international. Traduite en plusieurs langues et montée sur les scènes en Europe, en Amérique et en Asie, l'œuvre de Fréchette participe au rayonnement international du théâtre québécois. Des régions minières du nord de l'Ontario dans* Violette sur la terre *(2002) jusqu'aux quartiers bombardés au Liban dans* Le collier d'Hélène *(2002) et au silence et à l'impossibilité de la communication dans* Small Talk *(2014), elle met sur scène des individus qui se sentent seuls dans un monde où la violence, l'injustice et la pauvreté dominent. Ainsi, Fréchette transporte le public au-delà des frontières nationales, géographiques, politiques, linguistiques et culturelles conventionnelles.*

*Situées à l'intersection de plusieurs zones de conflit, de domination, d'abus de pouvoir et de violence, ses pièces s'interrogent sur l'affiliation nationale, sur le nationalisme, sur la mondialisation, sur le rôle de la femme et sur l'importance de la langue et de la culture. Ainsi, elle crée un nouveau rôle pour les femmes et pour le théâtre féministe qui doivent continuer à négocier l'espace entre le personnel et la politique ainsi que celui entre le national, le transnational et le mondial.*

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**Introduction**[1]

Carole Fréchette, commenting on the inspiration for her 2012 play *Je pense à Yu*, reflects on the role of theatre on the global scene and on the playwright's connection with, and responsibility in, the increasingly complex, unavoidably interconnected space of the 'global village':

> *Je pense à Yu* is at the heart of the question that haunts me as an author. How can one talk about the world without including oneself? How can one talk about oneself without including the world? At the junction of history as the big picture, with a capital H, and history with a small h, of the real world and the one I invent, this adventure has led me into unexplored zones of drama, between fiction and documentary; it has led me to the limits of theatre. (Fréchette 2010)[2]

1 The author thanks the anonymous reviewers for their valuable input and acknowledges the support of the SSHRC and the Ireland Canada University Foundation through the Flaherty Visiting Professorship for their support of this research.

2 "*Je pense à Yu* se situe au cœur de la question qui me hante comme auteur: comment parler du monde sans faire abstraction de soi? Comment parler de soi sans oublier le monde ? À la jonc-

Fréchette is identifying a new, or additional, role for women and women's theatre which must negotiate the space between the personal and the political, between the local and the global, and reflect, as well as operate on, the intersection of different, and not universally shared or understood, sources of oppression. This paper argues that Carole Fréchette is a major player on the transnational theatre network not merely because her plays are internationally esteemed but because her theatre is rooted in global concerns. Poised on numerous sites of intersectionality, Fréchette's work raises questions about nationality, place and belonging, about language and culture, about women's rights and roles across geopolitical boundaries, about cross-border dynamics and about the intersection of drama, cinema, and social discourse. In doing so, she brings Quebec and women's theatre into the intersectional space of global theatre.

Fréchette's global success, itinerary, and recognition are not attributable, however, solely to the breaking down of national barriers and identities or to the global focus of her work, but also to her understanding, interpretation, and staging of the intersectionality of the issues addressed. Intersectionality focuses on the layering and interaction of multiple sources of power, oppression, and marginalization. Neither gender, language, socio-economic status, race, political affiliation, sexual orientation, nationality, nor geopolitical identity, therefore, can be isolated as the sole factor in personal or societal conflict.

As a white, western, educated, privileged woman, Fréchette is keenly aware of her need, both as a writer and a global citizen, to understand, and thus to stage, not only her own relatively comfortable position, including the personal, or small h stories but, more importantly, to create a dramatic universe in which fact, the capital H stories, and fiction overlap and in which "the events and conditions of social and political life […] are shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways" (Lopez). In sum, Fréchette, in her theatre, "gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves" (Collins 2) through the staging of intersectionality. While affirming her deep roots in her home environment of Quebec and in history with a small h, she ponders and promotes the responsibility to look further. She takes the audience beyond the confines of national identity and beyond geopolitical, linguistic boundaries and their commensurate link to national identity, thus participating in an active reorientation of a traditionally nationalist theatre.

Patrick Lonergan, in *Theatre and Globalization: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger*, convincingly argues that theatre is changing worldwide in four general directions. He contends that globalization has created new opportunities for writers, that audiences are coming to terms with social changes wrought by globalization such as

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tion de la grande histoire et de la petite, du monde réel et de celui que j'invente, cette aventure m'a menée dans des zones dramaturgiques inédites pour moi, entre fiction et documentaire; elle m'a menée en quelque sorte aux limites du théâtre." All translations are by the author unless indicated otherwise.

asylum seeking and human rights and that this is evident both in the plays and in their reception, that globalization has produced formal changes such as an increased emphasis on the visual spectacle, and that categories such as nation and region previously used to study theatre have become obsolete because of globalization (5). This essay argues that Fréchette consciously embraces globalization, including its many challenges, in terms of tropes, theatricality, and itinerary.

**Fréchette's Early Contributions to Quebec Theatre**

Fréchette (born Montréal, 26 July 1949), a Quebec playwright, actress, theatre critic, and theatre scholar, began her career in the early 70s with the feminist theatre collective Théâtre des Cuisines, which produced plays such as *Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons* (1975) (*We will have the children we choose to have)* and *Môman travaille pas, a trop d'ouvrage* (1976) *(Mom doesn't have a job, she has too much housework)*. Her first single-authored play, *Baby Blues*, was published in 1989. From 13 earlier plays to her more recent *Small Talk* (2014), Fréchette has remained a major player on the Quebec theatre scene and an important contributor to its international recognition. Widely travelled, Fréchette, particularly in her more recent work, "dramatizes the moral and material distress of solitary individuals living in a world filled with social injustice, poverty and political violence" (Moss). From the mining regions of northern Ontario and Quebec in *Violette sur la terre* to the bombed-out neighbourhoods of the Middle East in *Le Collier d'Hélène* and to silence and impossibility of communication in *Small Talk,* Fréchette takes the audience beyond the confines of national identity and borders through poetic, unstructured plays. Translated in over fifteen languages,[3] staged in theatres across four continents and in locations as varied as France, Lebanon, Slovenia, Argentina, Iceland, Japan, and in no fewer than 24 other countries, Fréchette's work well deserves the description given by Gilbert David in his superb collection of essays, *Carole Fréchette: Un théâtre sur le qui-vive*, namely, the oeuvre of a dramaturg on high alert as a global citizen.

Le Théâtre des Cuisines was created in 1974 in the spirit of collective creation in and with the community. In the introduction to *Môman travaille pas*, *a trop d'ouvrage,* the authors state:

> We do not wait for the audience; we go to the audience. Most women are housewives even if they have jobs outside the home. They have neither the money nor especially the time to go to the theatre. Further-

3 For the purposes of this study, the original titles in French will be used. All references to critical reception refer to productions of the original play in French. The discussion of the accuracy and success of the translations is beyond the scope of this study. English translations will be used, however, for readers' comprehension.

> more, theatres are usually reserved for the elite who go there to be entertained. (7)[4]

The participation of women between the ages of 25-54 in the Quebec labour force in 1974 was 40%, but this would include unmarried women and women without families. Veronique O'Leary, one of the original members, estimated that 30% of 'housewives' worked outside the home at the time of the first plays. According to their website, Le Théâtre des Cuisines' most recent production was in March 2018 and Veronique O'Leary was still involved. As Gilbert David notes (*Un nouveau territoire* 147-148), the impact of women's theatre collectives went beyond bringing new, often amateur, voices to the stage, and to voicing frequently taboo subjects including abortion and lesbian relationships. These groups also initiated the democratisation of theatre by taking it outside conventional theatre spaces; they frequently went on tour to areas where theatre was largely unavailable. *Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons,* for example, was first staged on 8 March 1974, International Women's Day, in the basement of Saint-Edouard church in Montreal at the corner of St Denis and Beaubien, a decidedly non-elitist neighbourhood, before an audience of about 3,000, mostly women.

If Michel Tremblay is credited with bringing the urban, working-class Quebec kitchen to the stage with his *Les belles-sœurs*, first produced in 1968 at Le Théâtre du Rideau Vert, Le Théâtre des Cuisines can be recognized not only for bringing the kitchen to the stage (*Môman travaille pas, a trop d'ouvrage/Mom doesn't have a job, she has too much housework* is set in a kitchen), but also, and perhaps more significantly, for having brought the women who found themselves in working-class kitchens in Montreal tenements to the theatre. No statistics are available on the socio-economic status, level of education, or leisure and cultural activities of the 3,000 or so women in attendance at the premiere of *Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons*. Given the location, however, it may be assumed that for many of them, attending a performance at Le Rideau Vert was well beyond the scope of their usual geographic path, social experience, and financial means (even if a theatre ticket in 1960 was only $1.98, including coat check and program, it cost about eight times the price of a quart of milk which sold for 24 cents). An event in the parish hall was undoubtedly, therefore, more accessible monetarily (many theatre collectives were non-profit) and more within the audience's social and cultural comfort zone; arguably, many women would have already attended events, perhaps even bingo (made famous by Tremblay's *Les belles-sœurs*), in this very space. Furthermore, if Tremblay deliberately shocked the Théâtre du Rideau Vert audience with his use of *joual* (Montreal working-class slang spiced with curse words and Anglicisms), collec-

4 "On n'attend pas le public: on va là où il est. La majorité des femmes sont ménagères, qu'elles travaillent à l'extérieur ou non. Elles n'ont généralement ni l'argent ni surtout le temps d'aller au théâtre. D'ailleurs, les théâtres sont généralement des lieux réservés à l'élite de la société, élite qui va au théâtre pour se distraire" (7).

tives such as this one, which also used *joual*, minus the swearing, were not addressing, and hence scandalizing, an elite, theatre-savvy audience but were instead staging the everyday language of the parish hall crowd for whom the social setting and frequently elevated language register of theatres such as Le Rideau Vert may have been out of reach.

In addition to staging women's concerns through women's voices, given the attendance, these productions and collectives also demonstrated the interest, and arguably the market potential, of a segment of the population previously marginalized and ignored by conventional theatre. While there are no gender-based statistics readily available, the staging of women's issues may well have attracted women either to careers in theatre or to amateur theatre which also grew (David 147-148). Indeed, Fréchette was an amateur. In addition, collectives such as TDC also staged, wherever the stage was located, the attainability and potential of women's collective voice. Fréchette and others called for solidarity through the intersection of the theatre and domestic space. Women, marginalized by their gender, socio-economic status, and language, a sign of their lack of education, found themselves not only in a theatre space as an audience but also represented on stage as subjects 'worthy' of the prestigious, frequently elitist, drama medium, whose message here was the recognition of intersectional oppression and a call for solidarity.

Fréchette did not, however, remain with Le Théâtre des Cuisines largely because they, like many other collectives, adopted a strong political stance, in this case Marxist. Women's collectives in particular were frequently divided, and ultimately disbanded, because they identified a single source of oppression rather than recognizing the intersectionality of the problem and hence of the solution. For the Marxists, the fault lay with the capitalist system; for the separatists, English Canada was responsible; and for radical lesbians, male power was the oppressor. While she did not necessarily discuss it in theoretical terms, Fréchette did not see Marxism as the sole solution to the intersectional oppression and marginalisation of women and its endorsement as the sole objective of theatre. Nor did she choose to embrace, at least creatively, the strong nationalist argument that pitted francophone Quebec against the English-language ROC.[5]

In *French-Canadian Theatre*, Jonathan Weiss underlines the importance of the relationship between nationalism and Quebec theatre from the early days to 1984.[6] Commenting on the more recent period, he observes: "it is characteristic of Quebec literature in general that nationalism as an inspirational force produces far more than political statements" (1). During the 70s in particular, theatre was considered a means by which the nation became and remained conscious of itself and pressure was frequently placed on theatrical representations to serve as evidence of the

5 The "rest of Canada"; a term coined by Philip Stratford (131).

6 The first play was published in Quebec in 1776. See Lemire, Maurice (ed.). *La vie littéraire au Québec 1764-1805*, Vol. 1,181-206.

nation's very existence and its right to independence. Indeed, Michel Tremblay's *Les belles-sœurs* is credited with having launched "le nouveau theatre québécois" (Bélair), firmly rooted in the nationalist movement and in which *joual* had a politically charged symbolic value as the language of the 'people.'[7] Tremblay's *belles-sœurs* are marked and marginalized by their language, oppressed by the Catholic Church, a political system that does not fully recognize them, and by crushing socio-economic class structures that leave them trapped in near poverty.[8] Left behind by the sweeping social changes and economic boom resulting from Quebec's Quiet Revolution in the 60s, they, like their neighbours, relatives, and entire community, were destined to "une maudite vie platte" (Tremblay, *Les belles-sœurs* 23; "this stupid, rotten life," (Glassco and Van Burek 16). As Mario Girard's study, *Les belles-sœurs, l'œuvre qui a tout changé* suggests, Tremblay's staging of this struggle began a new era in Quebec theatre in which the fight for an independent Quebec, and the language that best expressed it, took centre stage. Playwright Claude Levac identified the connection between theatre and Quebec's independence in 1969, around the time of the premiere of Tremblay's play:

> When Québec playwrights will have found an armature, a theatrical structure that is our very own and the equal of our collective dorsal spine, we will not only have found an authentic dramaturgy which is our own, but also a country.[9] (Loranger et Levac 16 qtd. in Lieblein)

Zeilda Heller, a theatre critic at the English-language newspaper *The Montreal Star*, grasped Tremblay's importance and his role in the affirmation of Quebec nationalism and identity:

> It is now easy […] to talk about significance or about *Les belles-sœurs* being a turning point in Quebec theatre, in Quebec literature, even in Quebec thinking. […] A Quebec landmark. Not to be overlooked. (qtd. in Tremblay 1972, 156)

7 Laurent Mailhot notes: "*joual* is not a carnival costume which the author [Tremblay] has arbitrarily and artificially put on his heroines; it is their everyday- wear, it sticks to their skin; it very literally is a part of them" (qtd. and trans. in Weiss 29).

8 As Mario Girard notes : "arrivée au bon moment, cette pièce a donné à ceux qu'on appelait encore des Canadiens français la permission de s'exprimer avec leurs mots à eux. À partir de là, cette société québécoise en devenir n'a plus besoin des autres, particulièrement de la mère patrie, pour parler, pour chanter, pour dire sa poésie, pour jouer sur scène comme sur les écrans, ses drames et ses comédies" (14).

9 Quand les dramaturges québécois auront trouvé une armature, une structure théâtrale qui nous soit propre, à l'égal de notre épine dorsale collective, nous aurons non seulement une dramaturgie authentique et nôtre mais aussi un pays.

**Fréchette's New Direction**

Fréchette, however, chose another path, one that was far removed from the Quebec-centered, politically motivated theatre staged by Tremblay and others. Instead, she took the audience beyond Quebec's struggle for nationalism and *joual*, the language that had become emblematic of the fight for independence.

While she chose another course, the theatre experience, begun when she was 26, was an awakening. Reflecting on her personal journey in 2017, she states:

> Participated in 'théâtre engagé' on the status of women. For ten years, strongly affirmed that *Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons* and that *Môman travaille pas, a trop d'ouvrage.* Became a mother in 1980, the year of the beginning of the end of the utopias. Began to write. Felt, on a morning in May 1983, that I had finally found my place in the theatre. A moment of vertigo and joy. Have never stopped writing since. (https://carolefrechette.com/)[10]

In addition to plays, she has also written poetry, novels, particularly for children, and has worked as a translator.

Her first single-authored play, *Baby Blues*, was published in 1989 and staged at the Théâtre d'Aujourd'hui in 1991. In 2015, contemplating the importance of this play which recounts a woman's post-natal trauma, Fréchette states: "the mantra that took shape in *Baby Blues* continues to resonate within me; it was the matrix for everything that followed" (*Baby Blues* 8).[11] Her second play, *Les quatre morts de Marie,* awarded the Governor General's award for French-language drama in 1995, was first produced in English in Toronto, Ontario, in 1997, and then in French in Montreal and Paris in 1998.

If breaking down the barriers between domestic and theatre space, between actors and audience, and indeed between professionals and amateurs inspired this earlier work, the concept of reconfigured, reimagined space and its commensurate link to intersectionality underlines her extensive oeuvre. The physical space of the theatre stage affords an exceptional opportunity to perform intersectionality; space is a concept as well as a physical delineation. For example, the kitchen in the earlier plays was not simply a set design but a bold statement, identifying women's traditional space and role as manager and captive of the kitchen as theatre-worthy.

10 "Fait du théâtre 'engagé,' sur la condition des femmes. Pendant dix ans, affirmé bien fort que 'Nous aurons les enfants que nous voulons' et que 'Môman travaille pas, a trop d'ouvrage.' Devenue mère en 1980, année du début de la fin des utopies. Commencé à écrire. Senti, un matin de mai 1983, que j'avais enfin trouvé ma place dans le théâtre. Moment de vertige et de joie. Jamais arrêté d'écrire depuis."

11 "Mais la musique qui a pris forme dans *Baby Blues* continue de chanter en moi; elle a été la matrice de toutes celles qui ont suivi."

**Intersectionality in *Le collier d'Hélène* and *Je pense à Yu***

Subsequently, I will focus on two of Fréchette's plays: *Le collier d'Hélène* and *Je pense à Yu*.[12] In the former, Hélène, the female protagonist, unwittingly finds herself amidst the bombed ruins of a city in the Middle East. A visitor in this devastated and devastating landscape, she has been thrown out of her personal safety net on to the global stage where women's sorrow intersects with racial and religious conflict and political upheaval. In *Je pense à Yu,* the outside world infiltrates the confined, isolated, and even claustrophobic space of Madeleine's Quebec apartment; she finds herself confronted with human rights issues, the exploitation of women, and language and border crossing.

As Louise Forsyth demonstrates, in both plays the characters' space is blown apart, fragmented, or splintered, exposing the fragile threads that held it together (291). There are no scene or set changes in either play. While their physical environment remains the same, however, Hélène and Madeleine must reconfigure their understanding of their physical, cultural, linguistic, social, and geopolitical space as they are confronted with their position in a network of overlapping, intersecting sectors of identity and oppression. Fréchette, and/or her characters, recognize themselves as outsiders and thus avoid the pitfall of assuming, as white, educated, and privileged westerners, an understanding of all women's and other's victimhood, a stance for which early western feminists were roundly criticized by scholars such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (see Spivak), and which led to the concept of intersectionality developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw and others. The breakdown of 'comfortable' borders, which results in the infiltration or interference of the foreign or outside, is reflected as well in the transgressing of language barriers. 'Comfortable and at home' in French as a marker of cultural, social, and – particularly in Quebec – geopolitical identity, Hélène, in *Le collier d'Hélène,* and Madeleine, in *Je pense à Yu*, are forced to reach beyond their linguistic comfort zone. Words in Arabic are interspersed in the conversations Hélène conducts and overhears. In a production in Beirut, the dialogue switched back and forth between French and Arabic. Hélène was played by an actress from France and the other actors, who spoke Arabic, were Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian (Dolbec). Madeleine, in turn, is a translator who works from French to English and is thus accustomed to thinking, working, and reconfiguring her space in English. The infiltration of Chinese through the internet and a visitor challenges however this stable, professional, and domestic space.

In *Le collier d'Hélène*, Hélène, a university professor who attends a conference, finds herself in "a city of chaos and heat" (63),[13] bombed out, "wounded" (73),[14] and

12 For the purposes of this study, the English language versions by John Murrell will be quoted without critical comment on the translations. The late (2019) Murrell was a renowned playwright, director, and theatre translator.

13 "dans une ville chaude et chaotique" (7).

14 "une maison percée de partout" (17).

in ruins.[15] Having realized that she has lost a fake pearl necklace of little monetary and even sentimental value, she attempts to find it in the piles of concrete that used to be homes with the help of Nabil, a local taxi driver. Utterly destabilized in both time and space, she has lost all sense of orientation and claims:

> I have no idea where I am going. Sometimes I recognize a building or a street corner or a terrace. I was there, once […] When? I can't recall exactly. […] I try to get my bearings. We weave through streets. (71)[16]

As Forsyth points out, Hélène, having been uprooted from the security of academic life in a familiar environment, has lost sight of, and hence touch with, all of the familiar markers that delineated her stable existence – namely, her comfortable home, job, social and affective life in a secure, stable, peaceful environment where she was isolated from the intersectional oppression of racism, violence, human rights violations, and political upheaval on both the personal and global scale (Forsyth 292).[17]

Inquiring about her necklace, she meets several local inhabitants, whose small h personal tragedies fit into the larger, capital H picture of global crises. Her first encounter is with a woman who initially seems to be on a similar search for an object of little monetary value. The red ball she is seeking, however, belonged to her son who has 'disappeared' amidst the violence and under the rubble. Unable to accept her child's death, she hopes to find the ball in the hand of her son, still alive. Hélène also meets a nameless man, a Palestinian living in a refugee camp, who expresses his own overwhelming and soul-searing loss of place, identity, space, and agency:

> Look at me. I have lost my place. My place on earth […] I have lost the place where I can stand and say, "This is mine." […] And I have also lost "Someday I will have a house with a garden." and "Some day, I will travel to a cold Northern land where snow falls in big flakes." and "Some day, my children will have real jobs, they will be doctors or teachers or truck drivers." […] And I have also lost the ability to cry out […] to beat my fist

15 This is based on Fréchette's own experience. Invited for a writing workshop entitled *Écrits nomades* held in Beirut in 2000, Frechette actually did lose a pearl necklace and, for a brief moment, thought of retracing her steps to find it, although she quickly realized that it would be a waste of time and waste of energy in a hot, stifling city (see Petrowroski).

16 "Je ne sais pas du tout où on va. De temps en temps je reconnais un édifice, un coin de rue, une terrasse. Je suis passée par là déjà […] Quand? Je ne sais pas exactement. J'essaie de me repérer. On tourne et on tourne" (15).

17 "Ironiquement, tous ces espaces réels ou symboliques sûrs sont remarquables chez Fréchette du fait qu'ils sont déjà perdus" (Forsyth 292).

> against the wall. Did you happen to find my cry in your purse […]? (81-82)[18]

Confronted with the crushing loss and suffering wrecked upon the landscape and its inhabitants caught at the intersection of political conflict, racial, gender, and religious persecution, as well as physical destruction, Hélène, contemplating the loss of her necklace and her frenzied, hopeless, and unsuccessful search, is forced to reposition herself in the more complex system of intersecting, overlapping global sectors of tension and oppression. The scattered pearls of her broken necklace symbolize the now scattered fragments that made up her previously solid space: the search for them becomes the need to reconnect and to find herself and others on the global stage:

> And now I can cry […] for years. As if I had lost everyman that ever smiled at me, and every blissful afternoon when I believed I had a place on earth, and all my assumptions, one assumption for each tiny pearl: that the world will get better and that we have a thousand years of life, everyone of us, in which to love, to change, to accomplish something […] that we can cross over the borders which separate me from you. (87)[19]

She cannot return to "[her] house which has never had a bomb dropped on it, to [her] country which still has all its pieces" (69)[20] unscathed by her encounter with searing loss, crippling oppression, and all-pervading and indiscriminate violence. Her deeper understanding of suffering beyond her own is symbolically matched by her new comprehension of the language of the victims. At the end of the play, realizing she understands what Nabil is saying, she asks him:

18 "Moi, j'ai perdu ma place sur la terre. J'ai perdu le carré où je peux poser mes pieds et dire ceci est à moi. […] Et j'ai perdu 'plus tard, j'aurai une maison avec un jardin,' 'plus tard j'irai voir les pays froids et la neige qui tombe à gros flocons' et 'plus tard mes enfants auront un métier ils seront médecin, professeur ou camionneur. […] Et j'ai perdu ma capacité de crier, de frapper le mur avec mon poing. Vous ne l'auriez pas trouvé, mon cri, dans votre sac […]." (25).

19 "Hélène : […] je pourrais pleurer […] des années. Comme si j'avais perdu tous les hommes qui m'ont souri, et tous les après-midi joyeux où je me sentais à ma place sur la terre, et toutes les certitudes, une pour chaque perle, que le monde ira mieux et qu'on a mille ans devant soi pour aimer […], pour retrouver les morceaux égarés […], qu'on peut traverser la frontière qui nous sépare les uns des autres" (30-31).

20 "dans votre maison qui est encore debout, dans votre pays qui a tous ses morceaux" (25).

> You are speaking […]. You seem to be able to … Or is that I am suddenly able to understand Arabic? (89)[21]

She then turns to the audience and repeats, "We cannot go on living like this. We cannot go on living like this" (89),[22] words entrusted to her by the elderly Palestinian refugee trapped in despair and suffering.

If Hélène's contact with a world beyond her own solid, geopolitical, social, and linguistic space is the result of an imposed change of physical space, Madeline, in *Je pense à Yu*, has chosen self-confinement. A freelance translator who works from home, she is surrounded in her apartment by boxes to unpack, bookshelves to install, books to be shelved, and numerous other reminders of her need to settle in although she has been in the space for three months. Furthermore, she has obligations to contact the outside world to settle financial and personal affairs. Paralysed by inertia, Madeleine welcomes a snowstorm that will give her further reason to remain isolated and confined. Like Hélène however, Madeleine is forced to break down the barriers of cultural, emotional, linguistic, and indeed physical space. She had agreed to offer French language lessons to Lin, a newly arrived Chinese immigrant who, anxious to pass a required language exam, frequently calls and arrives unexpectedly. Jérémie, a previously unknown neighbour, delivers her a poster of Chairman Mao which arrived at his address by mistake.

The link with Mao is the most significant intrusion into Madeleine's life. While working on the internet to complete her translation of "les déchets domestiques"/domestic waste, she haps upon the true story of Yu Dongyue, a Chinese journalist who, at the time the play was written, had just been released from prison after a 17-year sentence for having defaced a poster of Mao around the time of the Tiananmen massacre. The title, *Je pense à Yu*, refers to Madeleine's obsession with the story but, of course, also to her work as a French-to-English translator, hence the play on the word Yu, and to the infiltration of Chinese into her life and space that is rapidly fragmented, splintered, expanded, or blown apart. Moved to distraction by Yu's story, which overtakes her own space through the internet, Madeleine is confronted with overwhelming issues of human rights, political persecution, and the clash of cultures and values as she tries to comprehend the tragedy. It is through Lin, whose somewhat annoying insistence on language instruction, threatens or invades Madeleine's insulated space, that the latter better comprehends not only Yu's story but her own place, if not role, in a wider, wired, interconnected web of sources of oppression. As an immigrant, Lin faces issues of racism, segregation, possibly borderline poverty, and human rights violations as she struggles to survive in Madeleine's supposedly secure home and geopolitical space. Indeed, it is through

21 "Vous parlez… Est-ce que c'est vous que… ou bien est-ce que c'est moi qui comprends l'arabe, tout d'un coup" (33).

22 "On ne peut plus vivre comme ça. On ne peut plus vivre comme ça" (33).

her final explanation to Lin of the conditional clause in French ("si"/if followed by the past perfect, followed by the conditional in the main clause) that Madeleine understands global intersectional, interconnected oppression and its transformative role in her life. She states: "If you [Yu] had not thrown the paint at Mao, I would not be the same" (124). Lin repeats: "I would not be the same" (124).[23]

The two women are united in their appreciation of Yu's sacrifice and its importance in their lives both as individuals and as members of a collective. Their 'shared' language and understanding reflect the importance of the overlapping, globally connected sectors of oppression of human rights, political upheaval, and violence.

*Le collier d'Hélène* is among the most widely travelled of Fréchette's plays with at least 20 productions in locations as varied and dispersed as Iceland and Senegal (Lavoie 371-374). If *Je pense à Yu*, a more recent play, has been produced fewer times and in fewer locations, it has nonetheless been staged at least ten times, as of 2017, outside Canada and Quebec and has been translated into three languages (Lavoie 384-85). Commenting on Fréchette's well-established international success in 2008, Sylvie St Jacques, a journalist and theatre critic with Montreal's *La Presse*, notes:

> There is nothing new about Carole Fréchette's international influence. Most of her plays have been translated into over fifteen languages and are continually staged in France, Iceland, Austria, Venezuela. It might give the impression that she is better known internationally than at home.[24]

St. Jacques contrasts Fréchette's international success with her recognition at home. Unlike authors such as Michel Tremblay,[25] who remained committed to the nationalist cause, Fréchette eschewed a Quebec-centered, nationalist, political stance – hence her broad appeal beyond the borders of a province where theatre was indeed, as suggested by the title of Jacques Cotnam's *Le théâtre québécois, instrument de contestation sociale et politique*, an instrument for national social and political protest. Fréchette's work did not stage or contribute to the nationalist cause and therefore did not receive as much recognition as theatre that was firmly rooted in Quebec separatism. Furthermore, by employing standard French, as opposed to *joual,* and its concomitant link to the nationalist cause, Fréchette rendered

23 "Si vous n'aviez pas lancé la peinture sur Mao, je ne serais pas la même. Lin: Je ne serais pas la même" (70-71).

24 "Le rayonnement de Carole Fréchette ne date pas d'hier, presque toutes ses pièces traduites en plus de quinze langues sont sans cesse jouées en France, en Islande, en Autriche, au Venezuela. Même qu'on peut avoir l'impression qu'elle est mieux connue à l'étranger qu'ici."

25 Tremblay's *Les belles-sœurs* has enjoyed tremendous success internationally but arguably at the expense of the political message which was central to his motivation and inspiration (see Bosley; Koustas).

the theatre translator's task considerably more manageable and, therefore, her theatre more transferable. Translating Tremblay's politically charged and geographically and socially specific *joual,* for example, was a daunting task as noted by his English-language translators, Bill Glassco and John Van Burek. Glassco stated:

> He [Van Burek] warned me however, that it would be difficult to translate because of the *joual,* a peculiarly vibrant québécois French which had become the language of the Quiet Revolution.

This problem was far from surmounted. Tremblay himself claims that his plays "will never be as good in English as in French" ("Interview" 37). When asked for his opinion of the translation, André Brassard, Tremblay's friend and collaborator, stated: "Fatal. With a text whose main asset is the language, you lose at least a third of it" (41).

Fréchette did not openly demonstrate the level of nationalist commitment conveyed through *joual* by other Quebec playwrights and perhaps expected by the audience. Instead, she was, and remains, firmly 'engagée' as a global citizen eager, like Hélène, to "cross over the borders which separate" (87).[26] She belongs to those playwrights who, as described by Lonergan, write for a global audience on global issues, as suggested by her success on the international stage.

Lonergan observes that there is an increased emphasis on the visual spectacle in global theatre. Both plays studied made considerable use of technology in the staging. A Beirut version of *Le collier d'Hélène* included video and projected text in simultaneous translation, thus emphasizing the interaction, colliding, and overlapping of the languages. The audience experienced two languages and the blurring of the borders between them. Images of the characters were also projected on a screen on the side and the audience thus went back and forth between the 'real' characters on stage and their depictions. Seascapes and scenes from the bombed-out city were also included, thus adding further dimension to the bare stage while encouraging the audience to visually accompany Hélène on her voyage (Vais). Productions of *Je pense à Yu* incorporated video projections of the events in Tiananmen Square as well as shots of Madeleine's computer screen, her Google searches, and the letters to Yu that she never sends (Boulanger). Hence, the audience is, hence, moving between Madeleine's personal space and concerns and the larger picture. As noted above, the plays do not have scene changes. Thanks to these staging techniques, however, the audience is exposed and transported to events beyond the geographical and social scope of the stage.

The use of computer technology not only contributes to the plays' contemporaneity but also to their transferability; Fréchette rejected the standard, western proscenium theatre model and chose instead to mount her plays in less defined, less

26 "on peut traverser la frontière qui nous sépare les uns des autres" (30-31).

traditional, and more flexible spaces. Furthermore, there are very few stage directions, particularly concerning the set; both plays are staged in vague, nameless locations thus placing the audience beyond a specific, easily identifiable context and geographic and time zone. *Le collier d'Héléne* opens in:

> A street corner at a busy intersection. In a city of chaos and heat. Constant sounds of traffic, aggressive honking. (63)[27]

It is only "the pulsating Arab music" (65)[28] that situates the play somewhere in the Middle East and the infiltration of Arabic into Héléne's space, as discussed above, that forces her out of her comfort zone.

> Similarly, Madeleine is found:
> [In her] apartment. A large, empty wall. In front of the wall and scattered about the floor are boxes, stacks of books, and unassembled shelving units. A work table. A computer. (74)[29]

These vague, empty, and anonymous sets challenge the traditional mimetic function of theatre space; Hélène initially appears to be in any city anywhere and Madeleine is seen in a blank indoor space that could be an office or an apartment in an undetermined locale. The sets do not provide identity markers allowing the audience to immediately situate the play in space and time and therefore to delineate the distance between their own and the characters' location and timeframe. Madeleine seems as lost and disoriented in her empty and disordered apartment as Hélène in a chaotic and noisy urban scape. Because of the only vaguely identifiable, largely non-representational stage sets, the audience experiences a similar disorientation. This deliberate non-specificity contributes to the plays' transferability and to their global significance, trajectory, and success. Not only do they not require elaborate, potentially expensive sets that would be difficult to transport, but the 'anywhere' of the plays easily becomes a 'somewhere' for any audience. This is, therefore, reflexive, global theatre that invites the audience "to relate the action to their own preoccupations and interests, as those preoccupations and interests are determined locally" (Lonergan 87).

The plays stage issues of human rights (unjust imprisonment in the case of Yu), violence resulting from war (in the Mid-east) and political persecution (Yu), asylum seeking (the Palestinian refugee) and immigration and the subsequent consequences of alienation and isolation (Lin's desperation to pass the French-language

27 "Au coin d'une rue, à une intersection achalandée. Dans une ville chaude et chaotique. Bruit intense de circulation. Klaxons à répétition" (7).

28 "Une musique arabe très rythmée se fait entendre" (9).

29 "Chez Madeleine. Un grand mur blanc et vide. Au pied du mur et un peu partout sur le sol, des boîtes des livres empilés, des étagères en morceau" (12).

test in order to find a place in Quebec society), and family conflict resulting from social change (Jérémie is a single father). Fréchette and her characters, however, neither encounter these global issues solely from the standpoint of white, western, privileged women with a sense of entitlement nor do they engage with them to moralize or exploit the misery of the 'other' to showcase their own sense of empathy, understanding, and superiority. Firstly, both Hélène and Madeleine are uprooted and experience a sense of alienation. Hélène has gone 'AWOL' (Absent Without Leave) from her conference, leaving her colleagues only a short note confirming, although not explaining, her early departure. Her overreaction to the loss of her necklace is, as she herself realizes, a result of the fragmentation of her own life and the shattering of her assumptions ("one assumption for each tiny pearl" 87).[30] Although back 'home,' Madeleine, who has returned from an extended stay and failed venture in Inukjuak, refuses to settle in. She inadvertently finds herself engaged in a conflict in China when she unintentionally, and only as a distraction from her work, reads Yu's story on the internet and, again unwittingly, allows China to intrude on her solitude through the arrival of Lin and Mao's poster. Like the other characters they encounter, both Hélène and Madeleine are wanderers, lost and placeless in potentially threatening surroundings they do not understand. They do not, therefore, approach the foreign territory and the 'others' with the typical tourist gaze but rather as self-aware outsiders who engage with, rather than attempt to cure, moralize, or explain, the 'other's'suffering: Hélène accepts that "we cannot go on living like this" (83) and Madeleine "would not be the same" (124). Rather than clinging to their own identity and its concomitant assumptions, the women are transformed into concerned global citizens.

This led to the plays' international success, especially that of *Le collier d'Hélène* in Beirut, where it was described as "a little jewel of humanity" (Vanasse).[31] Similarly, *Je pense à Yu* has been recognized as a play about engaging with global concerns (Siag),[32] and about having the courage to stand up to injustice, rather than as a dramatization of one Quebec woman's identity crisis amidst local issues such as the provincial, nationalistic debate around the future of Quebec.

The problems of individuals are not, however, subsumed by the global message. The audience is not meant to feel guilty about its ongoing concern with personal problems in the face of global issues; Hélène, even after having accepted her responsibility as a global citizen, still laments the loss of her necklace. In an interview, Fréchette explains:

30 "et toutes les certitudes, une pour chaque perle" (31).

31 "un petit bijou d'humanité."

32 Fréchette "nous propose un texte sur l'engagement."

> Interviewer: Could we say that the pain we each feel in various circumstances is nothing but a drop of water in the world's suffering? Isn't that the play's philosophy?
> Fréchette: I will let the audience decide for itself what is the suffering and the philosophy of the play. I address a free and responsible audience and I do not want to contradict myself by saying, this is what you are supposed to think. I wrote this play with all of my own suffering whether it was from my own western 'ill-being' or from my experience in Lebanon. (J.M.)[33]

None of the characters are one-dimensional and their complexity, as well as that of the situations in which they find themselves, reflect the plays' intersectionality. For example, the woman Hélène encounters is not just another woman – she is an Arab woman, and therefore a product of that culture and its attitude towards women; she is a mother, a mother who has lost a son; and she is an essentially homeless person whose habitat has been destroyed by war. The man she meets is, as a Palestinian refugee, a product of that culture, a foreigner in a country that does not want him, a victim of religious persecution deprived of fundamental freedom, a father who laments his children's dismal future, and a homeless person uprooted and left destitute as a result of armed conflict. Yu is a Chinese male, a student, a freedom fighter unjustly punished who unintentionally sacrificed his youth to a futile cause and who, once released from prison, becomes an outsider. Fréchette not only engages with global issues, as discussed by Lonergan, but explores their societal as well as individual implications and their interaction. Because of this intersectionality, not anchored in one specific locale or set of social and political circumstances, the plays resonate on the international stage.

**Conclusion**

In an article entitled "Around the World" (Labrecque), Fréchette comments on the inspiration for her dramaturgy:

> I have, however, the feeling that I am always talking about myself. But about a me who is looking at the world. With time, I realize that the

33 "JM: Peut-on dire que la douleur ressentie en chacun de nous, dans les circonstances diverses, n'est qu'une goutte d'eau au regard de la douleur du monde? N'est-ce pas la philosophie contenue dans la pièce? Fréchette: Je laisserai les spectateurs eux-mêmes décider ce qu'il en est de la douleur et de la philosophie de la pièce. Je m'adresse à un public libre et responsable: je ne veux pas me contredire en lui disant, voilà ce qu'il faut penser. J'ai monté cette pièce avec toute la douleur contenue en moi, qu'elle vienne de mon 'mal être' occidental ou de mon vécu libanais."

> more I talk about things that are deeply personal, the more it is universal.[34]

The journalist notes: "The international appeal of her work has already been proven" (Labrecque).[35]

Fréchette does not begin by writing about global issues for a global audience any more than she chose a particular ideological path (Marxist, separatist, radical feminist) when she first began to write on her own. Nor does she plot out the vectors of intersectionality and map her own position across various levels of oppression. When in 2002 Fréchette was awarded the Elinore and Lou Siminovitch Prize, one of the most important awards on the Canadian arts scene, the jury noted that

> [her] plays negotiate that delicate balance of the known and the unknown, the forever accessible and the forever exotic. (Radz)

As this study has demonstrated, by beginning with her own, or her characters' small h, personal stories, she arrives at the universal, the capital H, global issues. Fréchette stages the intersectionality or the layering and interaction of multiple sources of power, oppression, and marginalization, thus successfully taking Quebec theatre across linguistic, geopolitical, social, and cultural boundaries to the global stage or from the known and accessible to the unknown and exotic.

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34 "J'ai pourtant le sentiment de toujours parler de moi. Mais de moi qui regarde le monde. Avec le temps, je me rends compte que plus que je parle des choses qui sont profondément propres, plus c'est universel."

35 "Le caractère international de son théâtre n'est plus à prouver."

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René Reinhold Schallegger

# Only Human After All? The Surprising (and Avoidable) Failure of *Mass Effect: Andromeda*

**Abstract**

*The Canadian developer BioWare is known for inclusive videogame designs, but* Mass Effect: Andromeda *(2017) has damaged the brand so considerably that the* Mass Effect *series was put on hiatus. While technical difficulties generated online ridicule, much more devastating was the alienation of BioWare's core audience: players favouring a diversity of representations and complex, critical discourses. After two already problematic trailers, the game represented privileged positions in an unreflected manner, attributing voice, agency, and power to hegemonic characters, and reducing marginal groups to undifferentiated images. Reports from inside the design team confirmed that questioning voices were silenced. BioWare failed to appropriately recognise the intersecting categories of gender, sexuality, race, and class in what could have been a postcolonial re-framing of an inherently colonialist narrative. Theories of gender and sexuality in the medium and of interrelationships between postcolonialism and videogames allow for a comprehensive understanding of why* Mass Effect: Andromeda *failed, refusing to acknowledge multiply-encoded identities.*

**Résumé**

*Le studio Canadien BioWare est connu pour des jeux vidéo inclusifs, mais* Mass Effect: Andromeda *(2017) a tellement endommagé la marque que la série* Mass Effect *a été suspendue. Même si des difficultés techniques ont généré du ridicule, c'était l'aliénation du public cible de BioWare qui faisait des ravages: celles et ceux qui favorisent des représentations diverses et des discours complexes et critiques. Après deux bandes-annonces déjà problématiques, le jeu n'attribue voix, capacité d'action, et pouvoir qu'aux personnages hégémoniques en réduisant des groupes marginaux à des images peu différenciées. Des récits de l'intérieur de l'équipe ont confirmé que des voix critiques étaient réduites au silence. BioWare n'a pas reconnu de manière suffisante les catégories intersectionnelles de genre, sexualité, race, et classe dans un jeu qui aurait pu être un rencâdrement postcolonial d'un narratif forcément colonial. Les théories sur le genre et la sexualité dans le médium et sur les inter-relations entre le postcolonialisme et les jeux vidéo permettent une compréhension globale des raisons pour lesquelles* Mass Effect: Andromeda *a échoué par son refus de reconnaître des identités multiples.*

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**BioWare from *Baldur's Gate* to *Andromeda***

The Canadian developer BioWare, headquartered in Edmonton/AB, is well known for their progressive and inclusive videogame designs, time and time again questioning received wisdoms and the established production logic of the industry. Over the years, they have managed to establish a very specific 'BioWare brand' of digital role-playing, creating a considerable niche audience for their games on the market, guaranteeing them if not stellar, then at least solid sales through their built-in audience both during the crucial phase immediately after release, as well as the long tail later that is so desirable to publishers (cf. D'Angelo 2012). Since the studio's takeover by the US publisher Electronic Arts in 2007, fans and critics have been worried they would give in to commercial pressure, and recent developments have substantiated these fears.

BioWare have a long and distinguished track record of inclusive designs. They did ground-breaking work with *Star Wars: Knights of the Old Republic* (2003), introducing the first ever same-sex romance option into the mainstream videogame market with the female Jedi Juhani. In *Dragon Age 2* (2011), non-player characters (NPCs) were given their own sexual agency, exerting it by actively pursuing romantic and sexual relations with the player avatar. This, however, kindled fears of 'ninja romancing,' i.e. unintended and/or unwanted relationships between the avatar and NPCs, in small but vocal sections of the player population. All NPCs were also still 'avatar-sexual,' lacking sexual preferences or a sexual identity of their own and therefore plastically conforming to player desire as expressed through avatar behaviour.

This situation was remedied in *Mass Effect 3* (2012) where players would encounter the first NPCs written and designed exclusively as gay and lesbian, Steve Cortez and Samantha Traynor respectively. Their sexual identities are additionally represented in a non-issue way, i.e. they are neither actively thematized, let alone problematized, in an inclusive fictitious setting that does not reduce people to their sexual behaviour and where characters show equally great respect and appreciation even for desires and feelings they cannot or do not want to reciprocate. Even non-minority NPCs in *Mass Effect 3* have and live very differentiated conceptions of sexuality and relationships, spanning a wide range of possibilities. The apex of this development in BioWare games was reached with *Dragon Age: Inquisition* (2014) where NPCs not only actively reject the player avatar's advances if they are not attracted to their gender or species, but the avatar can even be the submissive partner in a complex and mutually respectful BDSM[1] romance with the pansexual, sexually versatile, and hypermasculine mercenary Iron Bull.

1 This is a contracted combination of abbreviations for 'bondage/discipline', 'domination/submission', and 'sadism/masochism'.

Unfortunately, the most recent game under the BioWare umbrella, *Mass Effect: Andromeda* (2017), was a large step back from earlier achievements, and it damaged the franchise's reputation so considerably that the *Mass Effect* game series was put on hold for the time being by the publisher Electronic Arts (EA). Like earlier installments, this is an action role-playing game/third-person shooter hybrid, again published by EA. Whereas *Mass Effect 1* to *3* were created by BioWare Edmonton, the original studio, they had to abandon the series to work on a new game and franchise for EA, *Anthem* (2019), so BioWare Montréal took over. *Andromeda* was their first full game after only working on multiplayer components for other EA titles, and it would be their last, because they are now closed down.

Immediately after its release, *Andromeda* received mixed to negative reactions from players and press alike, with Metacritic scores ranging between 71 and 76 (out of 100) for reviews by critics and 4.9 to 5.0 (out of 10) for user reviews, depending on the platform (Metacritic 2017a, 2017b, 2017c). In comparison, *Mass Effect* 3 (2012) holds scores between 89 and 93, as well as 5.7 and 5.9 respectively (Metacritic 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). These problems were the result of a troubled creative process with the project switching engines, drastic changes in creative vision, and crucial team-members leaving, which led to a situation where most of the game was put together in only 18 months (Schreier 2017). Of the originally projected 6 to 9mio copies EA expected, *Andromeda* only sold an estimated 2.5mio (Disruptor Ammo 2018), making back its budget but not being financially successful at all.

Reasons for this lacklustre reception varied from technical issues, such as dysfunctional facial and body animations, to poor graphics quality, and a multitude of bugs, that turned away the non-BioWare audience they tried to attract with their clear shift towards military shooter mechanics, to the bland and uninspired writing that was perceived to be very derivative of the main series and furthermore suffering from pacing issues and flat characters that affected their traditional target audience more interested in narrative interactions. In her review for *Kotaku*, Patricia Hernandez classifies the game as an "Alien dating sim," thus highlighting how "relationships have been the cornerstone of Bioware games," only to find *Andromeda*'s writing "hollow" and tainted by a pervading lack of awareness: "I balked at the naivete and entitlement in thinking 100,000 people could just start a new life in a home that does not belong to them," she concludes (Hernandez 2017a). Addressing the importance of diversity in BioWare designs in a follow-up article, she expressly titles: "Underwhelming Gay Romance Options In *Mass Effect: Andromeda* Disappoint Many Fans" (Hernandez 2017b). Alex Avard appreciates how BioWare want to take their brand into a new direction, but at the same time he remarks upon how "the game's deviation from what we've come to expect from the franchise is largely characterized by a downgrade in quality almost across the entire board" (Avard 2017). Jim Sterling also acknowledges what he calls the "'soft reboot' approach popular in Hollywood to reuse a brand name without alienating potential new audiences," while he also makes a distinctly critical point about the risks of letting down the

specific BioWare audience with the shift: "*Andromeda* does shooting really quite decently. It is not, perhaps, what BioWare fans typically want first and foremost, however" (Sterling 2017). Similar issues are brought up in critical reviews across the spectrum, reaching from more understanding perspectives in mainstream outlets like *The Guardian* or *The Verge* (Webber 2017 and Webster 2017), to harshly voiced criticism in more games-related media, such as Keri Honea's assertion that "Andromeda stumbles more than it sprints" (Honea 2017), or the fundamental questions Brad Shoemaker brings up: "For the start of a new chapter to be so bad at the things Mass Effect has traditionally been so good at raises serious questions about where the series, and perhaps even BioWare, go from here" (Shoemaker 2017). This sense of disappointment in the videogame community in general, and the BioWare fanbase specifically, is also reflected in several forum entries, with a special focus on interpersonal relationships in the game. The *BioWare Social Network* has its own forum dedicated to the romance options in *Andromeda*, and the official "Character Romance thread" alone is 2,088 pages long (SofaJockey 2017). Other, non-official threads show specific problems members of the BioWare community have with the game: "So … After 4 ME games I still can't romance an African-American woman?" (slw229 2017), "As a gay man, I have a big problem with the Make Jaal Bi campaign" (sageoflife 2017), or the more abstract "*Romance distribution spoilers* Make your voice heard about the lack of romance options, sex scenes, [sic]" (flog61 2017), for example. flog61's thread has 743 replies and 48,064 views, and in their call for action, the author takes a clear stance as to why *Andromeda* is deemed insufficient as a continuation of the established BioWare brand:

> You can make your concerns known, and the only way this will improve (clearly, as it has got *worse* since Mass Effect 3) is by speaking out. […] We need to unite and make our voices heard, because they aren't listening very hard for them. The next Mass Effect will include fairer treatment for gay men, but only if we make it clear that this is not acceptable.
> (flog61 2017)

Expressing the same frustration, Revan Reborn formulates a more neutral question in their thread: "How would you like to see romances improved?" (Revan Reborn 2017). Besides the official BioWare forums, *Andromeda* was also hotly debated on other platforms. On *NeoGAF*, Burbeting deplored "Mass Effect Andromeda's poor handling of LGBT" in a discussion of 12 pages and 592 replies (Burbeting 2017), while on *reddit*, CrescentDusk's aggressive attack on BioWare titled "ME:A, M/M romance, abysmal tokenism [MEA Spoilers]" resulted in 652 comments and was upvoted by 66% of the users:

> Here's a suggestion: If you don't feel like writing out M/M options but feel some token obligation … Don't do it. I'd rather not have the option

> than a shitty excuse for an option they made in a rush just for inclusivity's sake while actual care was paid to the other options.
> (CrescentDusk 2017)

The perception of a shift away from core markers of the BioWare brand, such as representational diversity, a focus on narrative, interpersonal relationships and romances, as well as complex politics, which for many, according to the reviews and player reactions online, constituted a destruction of this brand identity, is supported by the strong elements in an otherwise disappointing design that show the intended main focus of the game. The extensive open-world is the largest in the *Mass Effect* series yet (Wikipedia 2019), and the satisfying vehicle movement incentivises both traversal and exploration. The player avatar collects Viability Points for various worlds through missions, which at a certain threshold then allow colonisation of said worlds. The combat mechanics are also highly developed, especially when compared to those in the latest iteration of the sister-series, *Dragon Age: Inquisition*, which clearly puts the emphasis here on violent military, not social or political interaction.

*Andromeda* is, strictly speaking, a spin-off of the main series. Set between *Mass Effect 2* and *3*, the invasion of the Milky Way by the Reapers, synthetic aliens coming to 'harvest' all highly developed biological life, is imminent. In reaction, the private Andromeda Initiative sets out from Earth to colonise our neighbouring galaxy Andromeda as a last-ditch effort to preserve at least a pocket of human (and other allied biological alien) life. The journey there with sleeper ships, the so-called arks, takes 634 years, but on arrival, the arks are hit by a mysterious astrophysical phenomenon, the Scourge, are heavily damaged and separated from each other. The player avatar, either Scott or Sara Ryder, takes over as Pathfinder from their father to scout out and develop the newly discovered worlds in order to be able to wake more and more colonists from cryo-sleep and to build permanent colonies in their new home.

This fictitious Andromeda is, however, not a *terra nullius*: it is inhabited by the angara,[2] an aboriginal population waging a desperate defensive war against earlier colonisers, the kett, a militaristic society that reproduces only through the forced genetic mutation of subjugated alien species. The kett, as 'evil colonisers,' serve as a foil for the supposedly more 'benevolent' colonisation systematically implemented by Initiative forces. The difference is that the kett are 'biopower' taken literally, i.e. Foucault's "regimes that administer and discipline 'life itself'" (Dyer-Witheford and de Peuter 2009, 124), whereas the Initiative is more of a cultural and economic empire. Adding another layer to the complex history of colonisation in *Andromeda*, the

2 In the *Mass Effect* universe, species only use lower-case names in order to signify that they are just another aspect of who individuals are, thus reducing them from identity-creating proper names to descriptors.

planets the avatar can visit and interact with are strewn with the ruins of a long-lost alien civilisation, called the remnant. They are much later in the narrative revealed to be the remains of a vast, interstellar terraforming network created by the jardaan, a species who came from the darkness of space, created the angara through a mass production process of genetic engineering and then seeded them across the newly terraformed systems. The Scourge that almost destroyed the Initiative fleet of arks is the after-effect of a civil war among the jardaan triggered by the ethical disputes and conflicts brought about by the hubris of creating life and terraforming worlds. The surviving jardaan, whose name might echo the French *jardin*, as gardeners of planets and species, left the cluster of shaped worlds and vanished into the void of interstellar space.

The intricate layers of colonisation and victimisation – between the jardaan, angara, kett, humans, and other Milky Way species – are very much reminiscent of Canadian history and culture, not surprisingly, given the distinct Canadianness of BioWare's creative output (cf. Schallegger 2016a, Schallegger 2016b). However, *Andromeda* refuses to acknowledge the complex, dynamic identities of the potential players behind the avatars, creating two major problems with BioWare's traditional core audience: (1) a perpetuation of the videogames of empire that have so far dominated the industry, and (2) a disconnect with their players' awareness of intersectional experiences and identities.

**Videogames of Empire**

The visibility of minorities in *Andromeda* is developed to the highest degree among all BioWare games in terms of quantity, but decidedly lacking in quality. First hints for a problematic (lack of) understanding of colonialism can already be found in the 2015 E3 announcement trailer for the game, with its obvious visual Wild West aesthetics, the gun-toting main character exploring frontier worlds, and Johnny Cash's "Ghost-Riders in the Sky" (1979) as a less-than-subtle soundtrack (Mass Effect 2015). The launch trailer, then, established the official tagline "Fight for a new home," blatantly ignoring North America's troubled colonial past (Mass Effect 2017). Manveer Heir, at the time of production designer at BioWare Montréal, heavily criticizes the macho-militaristic colonialism that pervades the game: depicting the aboriginal population as noble savages, favouring mechanics that motivate players towards expansionist land-grabs and resource exploitation without negotiation or compensation (Henry 2017). These issues, he claims, were already brought up as problematic during the production process, also by white staff members, but they were ignored due to what Heir calls "homogenous leadership" in the studio (Riendeau 2017).

The main cast of *Andromeda* is another manifestation of these problems. The Ryders are a white, highly educated, upper middle-class family, and both canon Pathfinders are cast with male, white actors: Clancy Brown as father Alec and Tom Taylorson as his son and successor (and player avatar) Scott. Scott's sister Sara, an optional

avatar but intended as a damsel-in-distress in the canon plot according to the release trailer (cf. Mass Effect 2017), was cast with the Mexican-American actress Fryda Wolff. Aliens are also frequently played by minority actors and actresses. The angaran squad mate Jaal Ama Darav was voiced by the African-American actor Nyasha Hatendi; the angaran leader Moshae Sjefa by the British-Indian actress Indira Varma; and Jarun Tann, a socially awkward salarian bureaucrat described as a 'Space Frog' in an official video (BioWare 2017), was voiced by the Pakistani-American actor Kumail Nanjiani.

This situation calls to mind Souvik Mukherjee's analysis of the intricate interrelationships between postcolonialism and videogames: "There is a wish to become the Other while at the same time there is one to spurn it," he explains (2017, 59). Mukherjee is especially interested in three main aspects: "The Playing Fields of Empire," i.e. the construction of imperialist spatialities in videogames; "Playing the Hybrid Subject," where the subaltern acts as player and/or avatar; and finally "Playing Alternative Histories," or the (re-)writing of authoritative histories (2017, vii). He borrows the concept of the 'subaltern' from Antonio Gramsci and Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak, explaining how the cultures of former colonies are "portrayed in videogames through lenses that privilege Eurocentric accounts of history and progress" (2017, 103). Mukherjee's suggested reaction to this regime of gaze and agency is "a playing back that refuses to engage with the colonial system" (ibid.). However, he also warns that "[t]he other playing back is, of course, that which has empire as its subject – the games that implicitly are based on the logic of imperialism" (ibid.). Nevertheless, Mukherjee identifies a considerable potential in the medium to represent a diversity of perspectives, most importantly when the identification with the colonial Other as player avatar actively and successfully raises "questions of identity and […] agency from the position of the colonial subject" (2017, 108). On a macrolevel, the unprecedented possibility the medium provides to perform and experience alternative histories makes it possible for players to critically engage with the logic of empire, as "[m]eaning, instead of being the preserve of imperial 'centres,' is in play, as it were" (2017, 111).

In her research, Mary Flanagan exposes an inherent connection between videogames and wargames as "ways of modelling and mediating conflict" (2016, 703). The first tentative videogames, she reminds us, were developed "right on the very machines used to calculate secret war codes and bombing trajectories" (ibid.). Wargames like *Andromeda*, with its clearly designed focus on martial conflict not political negotiation, inherently are what she calls "powerful fictions" because they are necessarily "tied to highly imagined scenarios and speculative events" (2016, 704). The scenarios that are presented to the players and the solutions suggested or withheld in their simulational systems are not innocent toys, rather they "show us the ways in which we are capable of thinking" (2016, 704). Flanagan therefore suggests the creation of new and alternate wargames, "incorporating different modes of problem solving, aesthetics, and nonviolent conflict resolution" (2016, 705), an

opportunity that was clearly missed by the creative leadership at BioWare Montréal. Unlike such an alternate wargame that "isn't so much about war as it is about critical thinking and critique from an outsider status" (2016, 706), *Andromeda* still perpetuates both the well established and pernicious white saviour myth on the one hand and dangerous techno-martial power fantasies of conflict resolution on the other. The player is only given the option to 'fight for a new home,' they cannot 'negotiate for a new home,' not with the angara, and certainly not with the kett. The jardaan, finally, are silent and absent gods whose power the avatar eventually assumes when he (i.e. Scott) discovers that his technicity (cf. Dovey and Kennedy 2006) is compatible with theirs and he learns how to wield their technological remnants to create and shape life and whole worlds. This failure of *Andromeda* is especially galling, since Flanagan clearly identifies "an opportunity, even a responsibility, to evolve with [the medium] and push ourselves to model the world we wish to create" (2016, 706).

Already in 2009, Nick Dyer-Witheford and Greig de Peuter identified the militaristic aspect as "primal and originary for digital play" (99), since "in Empire, war is waged not to resolve disputes between states but to maintain order within a global territory" (ibid.). In their reading, videogames become "machines of 'subjectivation' to temporarily simulate, adopt, or try out certain identities" (2009, 192), but they can never be separated from "the actual social formations in which the games are set" (ibid.). So, while the medium of videogames inherently tends to reinforce notions of Empire through the understanding and use of agency that is traditionally in evidence in products of the industry, it is nevertheless still possible to "counterplay against Empire," the authors remind us, by "resist[ing] the dominant messages encoded in games of Empire [and] produc[ing] alternative expressions" (2009, 193). Even though up until now it has mostly been used to stabilise the status quo, player agency also potentially "disrupts the manufacture of consensus" (2009, 212), but this effect entirely depends on the algorithmic choices made and provided by commercial developers. Economic and social pressure are frequently cited as preventing any drastic shifts in the prevalent design philosophy and practices in the industry, and yet the existence of more critical perspectives and experiences in commercial videogames proves that designers "do sometimes enjoy a degree of creative autonomy" (ibid.). Mainstream videogames might currently *choose* to convey reactionary imperial content, "as militarized, marketized, entertainment commodities," but they can also inherently provide a multitudinous form, "as collaborative, constructive, experimental digital productions" (2016, 228). In one of the classics of game design literature, Jesse Schell already made it very clear to aspiring designers that, as ethical beings who work with a medium driven by the experience of agency, they *cannot* transfer responsibility for their choices to systemic constraints: "Your obligation begins today – this minute" (Schell 2008, 457).

**Disconnected Intersectionalities**

Not only does *Andromeda* show an utter lack of awareness for postcolonial perspectives, stereotypical gender roles also pervade the game. Already in the launch trailer, only Scott is featured as having agency, asserting both martial and sexual dominance, while Sara is relegated to the role of victim to be rescued. The covers of physical copies also show a gender-neutral, helmeted Ryder, a clear step back from the official variant covers for *Mass Effect 3* that represented both the male and female avatar as equally important.

The potential romantic and sexual relationships in *Andromeda*, and the male/male options specifically, highlight additional problems. There were no m/m-options immediately after release *within* the squad of important NPCs the player spends most of their time with. After player backlash, a later patch 'made' the angara squad mate Jaal retroactively bisexual by opening up romantic content originally intended and written for female avatars to male avatars, thus unthinkingly, or for the sake of an easy and cheap technical implementation, equating gay male and straight female desire. Queering the alien Jaal and not the human male squad mate, the black Brit Liam Kosta, also establishes and implicitly naturalises an unfortunate connection between the alien and the queer. The most extensive potential m/m-relationship in the game is with Gil Brodie, the ship engineer, but the code dedicated to it is drastically reduced in comparison to what heterosexual squad mates have (Hernandez 2017b). The Gil romance furthermore culminates in a cutscene that fades to black before any sexual interaction between him and Scott (Schallegger 2017), whereas the very explicit, soft-porn sex scene between Scott and his female squad mate Cora (gi justice 2017) is obviously designed to satisfy the straight male gaze and thus confirm the authority of heteronormative masculinity and desire.

Casey Hart (2015) talks about a "dynamic of false-choice" in regard to the romance options in the *Mass Effect* series, since here "sexual availability […] reveals a predominantly heterocentric agenda" (153). Male avatars can altogether pursue nine heterosexual or two homosexual relationships in the games, while female avatars have four heterosexual and seven homosexual options to choose from. In 20 of the 22 romance arcs women are clearly represented as sexually available, and 90 percent of the sexual cutscenes were created to satisfy the straight male gaze. Additionally increasing the problematic impression of the representational regime, the attribution of predominantly homosexual interest to a strong female avatar "endorses a troubling schema in which powerful women are either lesbians or fetishized sex objects" (2015, 153). Hart therefore concludes that "motivating players to pursue sex and then offering them intrinsically biased and heterosexual, male-centric options creates scenarios in which females are commodified and reduced to objects" (2015, 153-154).

*Andromeda* is to a large extent a shooter game, and Soraya Murray (2016) identifies a "troubled mythic construction of the normative (i.e., white, heterosexual, male)

American soldier" (319) that dominates videogames of this genre. She goes on to observe a containment of all potentially homoerotic male desire in what she terms "hackneyed homosocial relations in terms of the mythmaking of soldiering as an unconditional, loving bond between men" (2016, 325). What happens here could thus be interpreted as an inversion of unwanted, denied, and shunned desire and behaviour: *eros* is transmuted into *thanatos*, as it is acceptable for men to kill together, fulfilling the stereotypical male role of the warrior, but not to have sex together, which would immediately raise delicate questions of sexual agency and power relations. For Murray, this inversion is related to a "deep-seated longing for the stability of that normative male role" (2016, 326) and "idealized notions of militarized masculinity" (2016, 327). Contrary to what we see in *Andromeda*, it would actually be desirable for contemporary videogames, including shooters, to undermine both the "heteronormative male shooter trope," dominated by bromance but avoiding romance, and, in Murray's strong terms, the "'masculine' satisfaction […] of dominating one's environment using violence and aggression" (2016, 325).

Raewyn Connell (2016) would call the masculinity so blatantly on display in *Andromeda* and in most mainstream videogames "hegemonic masculinity" (77). Yet she also reminds us that masculinity is not a monolithic concept but that there are rather "relations of alliance, dominance and subordination" between different expressions and performances of masculinity (2016, 37), constructed through practices of inclusion and exclusion among self-identifying men. Under the social and cultural regime of "obligatory heterosexuality" (2016, 123), heterosexual desire of female bodies is perceived as natural and inherent to maleness. This is also why any positive or even neutral representation of homosexual men inherently undermines hegemonic masculinity, as "their object-choice subverts the masculinity of their character and social presence" (2016, 162). *Andromeda*'s unequal (i.e. significantly reduced) inclusion of romantic arcs between men that at the same time shows a dishonest denial or even refusal of male/male desire, clearly exposes that, in Connell's words, "sexual relations are where it takes a potentially radical turn" (2016, 162). Friendship, even romantic attachment is – at least borderline – acceptable, but sexual desire must not be represented as equally valid or aesthetically pleasing in order not to endanger hegemonic masculinity.

Echoing this defensive turn away from sexuality and maturity, Derek A. Burrill (2008) argues that it is a reactivation of boyhood that helps men achieve the perceived requirements of masculinity, "while offering the male a safe haven from the social contract." (29) Most men in contemporary western societies therefore continually "skate the edge of boyhood and maturity" (2008, 29), he claims, and videogames "serve as a similar safe playspace for the excess of masculinity" (ibid.). The infantilization of male avatars and their behaviour in what one could call the Peter-Panisation of virtual masculinities becomes a safeguard against potentially troubling desires on the one hand (associating the male with the supposedly innocent times of pre-pubescence), while it also becomes an apologetic strategy for excessive

behaviour in the virtual but also the actual world (following the adage: 'boys will be boys'). Boyhood has also been deeply involved in the production and consumption of digital imagery since the very beginning of videogames as a medium, and according to Burrill it is frequently used in "performances of anxieties and desires marked by gendered notions of the body and the status of subjectivity" (2008, 137). Even within the *Mass Effect* series, it is noticeable that Scott Ryder, the male avatar of the more recent *Andromeda*, is decidedly more boyish than his older, gruffer, more masculine predecessor, Shepard, in the previous titles *Mass Effect 1* (2007) to *3* (2012).

In addition to the relationship structures in *Andromeda* thus confirming the worldview of the 'eternal digital boy,' male/male romance and sexual options show a distinct lack of understanding for the dynamics of intersectionality. There is Reyes Vidal, the dangerous Latino gang boss and underworld kingpin whose Latino masculinity is immediately associated with gang culture and crime. No committed relationship is possible with him, only an intense and, as it is aggressively communicated, dangerous sexual fling. Reyes is represented as unable to restrain his carnal desires, and if the avatar/player gives in to his advances, he goes on to berate Scott for his "poor taste in men" (BioWare Montréal 2017), hinting at the damaging patterns of a co-dependent relationship and reinforcing unfortunate stereotypes about unbridled, overpowering male Latino sexuality. Jaal Ama Darav is the previously mentioned aboriginal Andromedan squad mate 'turned' queer. The intensely stereotypical and clichéd romance with him is entirely vectored on exploring the Exotic Other, and the metaphorical as well as literal climax happens in an idyllic pond, under a waterfall, surrounded by lush Andromedan flora. This perpetuates, even relishes an antiquated and regressive imagery of the noble savage that is very much reminiscent of a 'queered Pocahontas' narrative, with all its deeply problematic political implications. The last option is the ship engineer Gil Brodie, who transforms from a 'player,' in sexual terms, to a 'DILF'[3] in just one dialogue. Gil is strongly defined by homonormativity, constantly flaunting his sexual exploits and embodying a stereotypical visual image of gay masculinity with his perfectly tanned skin, hipster haircut, well-groomed beard, and tight leather outfit. Ironically, he is at the same time defined by heteronormativity, such as when the colonialist imperative of the plot eventually overrides Gil's alternative lifestyle and sexual identity: He expresses how he feels the duty to procreate in spite of being gay and in a committed male/male relationship (Schallegger 2019). It is also interesting to note here that for a Scott performed as gay by the player, founding a family is per design only ever an issue and a possibility with the white, human partner, excluding both the man of colour (Reyes) and the alien (Jaal) as theoretically viable options, even though biological compatibility with the latter is absolutely irrelevant.

3 This is a slang acronym for 'dad I'd like to f**k' used to refer to men whose fatherhood makes them more sexually attractive to the speaker.

Adrienne Shaw argues that all cultural production is aimed at imagined and constructed audiences (2014, 224-227; 2012, 232), and that the videogame market is specifically defined by a pervasive industry perception of players as "immature and prejudiced" (2012, 233), while masculinity is "the presumed normative identity." (2012, 235) This coincides strongly with Burrill's perspective of a designed return to boyhood through what I would call Peter-Panisation. Hegemonic masculinity "remains the unmarked normative category," Shaw adds, "and for all other identities to be represented their existence must be defended." (2012, 239) Still, simple demands for representation, i.e. quantifiable visibility, can rarely do justice to what she perceives as "the complexity and intersectionality of identities" (2014, 7), which makes it absolutely necessary to take into account "the fluidity, performativity, and contextuality of identity categories" (2014, 15) in any attempts to realise qualitative visibility. Unlike myself, Shaw is also strictly against the optionality of same-sex content in videogames, since for her "sexuality is present and relevant in every single video game made, regardless of the sexual identities or relationships […] of the characters" (2014, 205). This is why she demands that designers become "cognizant of their own default choices (i.e. male, white, heterosexual) and task themselves to think outside these norms" (ibid.), a process that unfortunately did not happen, or at least did not happen sufficiently, during the creation of the ill-fated *Mass Effect: Andromeda*, as it seems.

**From Mosaic to Kaleidoscope**

As this theoretically contextualised analysis of the game has shown, with *Andromeda* BioWare Montréal unfortunately failed to appropriately recognise the specific community that has grown around the BioWare brand and the expectations of its built-in audience. Rather than representing intersecting categories of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and class in a differentiated and meaningful manner, *Andromeda* fails to deliver what could, and indeed should have been an inclusive postcolonial re-framing of an inherently divisive colonialist narrative of victimisation and exploitation. Central issues of BioWare's failure are notions of power, voice, and agency that are almost exclusively attributed to hegemonic white male characters, an unreflected reproduction of structures and systems of marginalisation and privilege, as well as a disappointing lack in the quality (not quantity) of visibility for marginalised identities. So, the studio decided not to respect the complex, multiply-encoded, and intersectional identities of their brand-loyal player- and fan base, looking to attract new customers by shifting the franchise towards the mainstream military shooter. While a diversification of the target audience is a sound strategy in a media landscape driven by market forces, it is, however, financially risky. Eventually, BioWare ended up alienating both their core audience, by dismantling their established brand identity, as well as their new target audience, by leaving too much of its progressive politics and narrative focus intact. This is then what ironically led

to potential buyers on both ends of the spectrum turning their collective backs on *Andromeda*.

One possible way forward that could prevent a similar catastrophe for a rumoured sequel would be to take the by now somewhat dated idea of the Canadian mosaic and develop it further to include the more complex, shifting, and at times ephemeral contemporary realities of life. The kaleidoscope seems to function better as a metaphor here than the mosaic because of its dynamic, every-changing patterns that are constantly created, uncreated, and recreated from moment to moment, so unlike the static mosaic that is only assembled once in diversity and then never changed again. Maybe the kaleidoscope thus expresses best what it means to be 'only human' today.

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Louise-Helene Filion

# The Uses of German in Contemporary Québécois *Bildung* Narratives: Eric Dupont's *Bestiaire* and Diane-Monique Daviau's "Colères!"

**Abstract**

*If true forms of fascination with German-language cultures have long been expressed by Québec intellectuals and writers, until recently, the expression of such a fascination had emphasized the idea of a radical distance separating these cultures from the Québécois cultural context of reception. In this article, I analyze two contemporary prose works, Eric Dupont's 2008 novel* Bestiaire *and Diane-Monique Daviau's 1993 short story "Colères": both are* Bildung *narratives in which the German language, or some of its dialects, appear as a theme. I argue that these works shed light on a symbolic shift in the representation of German-language cultures, in relation to the most developed forms of perception of these cultures in Québec fiction and Québec intellectual discourse of the preceding decades. Through contact with the German language or its dialects, protagonists develop a relationship with Germany and Austria marked by a genuine proximity. Rather than associating German-language cultures with remote worlds, Dupont and Daviau present protagonists who reflect on the most private subjects, precisely through their uses of German – a language enabling them to discover incapacitating family and cultural legacies, and then to turn away from them.*

**Résumé**

*Bien que de réelles formes de fascination à l'égard des cultures germanophones soient décelables depuis longtemps dans des écrits d'intellectuels et d'écrivains québécois, jusqu'à récemment, l'expression d'une telle fascination a le plus souvent mis l'accent sur l'idée d'une distance radicale séparant ces cultures du contexte culturel québécois de réception. Dans cet article, j'analyse deux œuvres en prose contemporaines, le roman* Bestiaire *d'Éric Dupont (2008) et la nouvelle « Colères » de Diane-Monique Daviau (1993) : ces deux œuvres littéraires constituent des textes de formation qui thématisent en particulier la langue allemande ou certains de ses dialectes. Je soutiens que ces œuvres témoignent d'un changement symbolique dans la représentation des cultures de langue allemande, par rapport aux formes de perception les plus développées de ces cultures au sein de la fiction et du discours intellectuel québécois des décennies précédentes. Par le biais du contact avec l'allemand ou ses dialectes, les protagonistes de*

*Dupont et Daviau développent une relation avec l'Allemagne ou l'Autriche caractérisée par une proximité véritable. Plutôt que d'associer les cultures germanophones à des mondes éloignés, Dupont et Daviau intègrent des personnages qui réfléchissent aux sujets les plus privés, précisément à travers leurs usages de l'allemand – une langue qui leur permet d'identifier des legs familiaux et culturels handicapants, puis de se détourner de ceux-ci.*

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Literary relations between Québec and the German-speaking world have remained, until recently, relatively uncharted territory as an object of scholarly research. Of course, critics have emphasized with good reason Québec's interest in German playwriting in the 1980s and 1990s, at a time when Québec theater was ready to turn towards other traditions after having asserted its actual existence in the preceding decades. Among other reasons, the attention attracted by the German repertoire was stimulated by the important critical scrutiny that Rainer Werner Fassbinder's cinematographic work enjoyed at that time (Borello 1994, 55). In the 1980s and 1990s, translators such as Alain Fournier, Gilbert Turp and especially Jean-Luc Denis, who translated into French or English texts by Fassbinder, Frank Wedekind, Franz Xaver Kroetz or Thomas Bernhard, and directors such as Denis Marleau (UBU) and Denis Maheu (Carbone 14) acted as genuine mediators, introducing audiences to the works of some of the most important German-language dramatic authors of the twentieth century (Borello 1994). In the *Cahiers de théâtre Jeu*, Diane Pavlovic went so far as to use the expression "*Allemagne québécoise*" to describe Québec's theatrical scene from 1982 to 1987 (Pavlovic 1987, 79); in fact, as of 1987, approximately 30 German-language playwrights had been staged in Québec theatres (Pavlovic 1987, 89). However, critical attempts to use this context to identify concrete similarities between the works of Québec and German playwrights have remained, apart from exceptional cases (see for instance Usmiani, 1990), very tentative. Until recently, background works devoted to literary perceptions of Germanic literatures and cultures have remained rare in Québec. Since 2000, two specialists of Québec literature have nonetheless described forms of cultural transfer between Germany and Québec: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink has published an annotated edition of Edmond de Nevers' *Lettres de Berlin et d'autres villes d'Europe* (2002), and Robert Dion's *L'Allemagne de* Liberté: *Sur la germanophilie des intellectuels québécois* (2007) is premised on the idea that from 1959 to 1998, some of the major collaborators of the important Québécois cultural journal *Liberté* expressed their fascination "at a distance" with German-language cultures. More recently, my dissertation also showed that the narrative prose and poetry works of Thomas Bernhard and Peter Handke have been major sources of inspiration for seven Québec contemporary novelists, short story writers and poets: Normand de Bellefeuille, Diane-Monique Daviau, Denise Desautels, Nicole Filion, Catherine Mavrikakis, Rober Racine and Yvon Rivard.

Far from proposing only vague intertextual encounters, the seven Québec authors have appropriated, in their own works published between 1989 and 2011, the works of these two major German-language authors in a very productive way, drawing on them to strengthen their own *signature d'auteur*, their authorship. Some of the most developed cases of appropriation include strong cross-cultural components—for example, Catherine Mavrikakis' pastiche of an *Anti-Heimatliteratur* (2002), specifically based on a description of the art world as Thomas Bernhard stages it in *Der Untergeher* (1983), *Holzfällen* (1984) and *Alte Meister* (1985), is clearly transferred to a Québec context in order to criticize the functioning of the Québec literary establishment. Another recent dissertation (Léger-Bélanger, 2019) sheds light on the representations and mediations of Germany in the Montreal press and Québec literature of the interwar period. And what of the most recent fictional attempts to represent the German-speaking world in Québec fiction—and by this, I mean not only its literature, but first and foremost its people, landscapes, language and dialects, etc.? The first writer that comes to mind is inevitably Eric Dupont. Born in Amqui in 1970, Dupont left his native Gaspésie at the age of sixteen to spend a year in Austria as a high school exchange student; later, he studied literature in Ottawa, Salzburg, Berlin and Montreal, and defended a dissertation on forgetfulness in creative writing in the works of Marguerite Duras, Christoph Hein, Milan Kundera and Christa Wolf (2001). Years before the publication of his bestseller *La fiancée américaine* (2012), Dupont's works already referred to a German realm. Integrating references to German popular culture and literature—such as the television series *Lindenstraße* (in *La logeuse. Roman tragique*, 2006) or the bestseller *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo* (in *Voleurs de sucre*, 2004)—Dupont's novels also stage flamboyant German characters: the colourful Blondie and Nelly in *La logeuse*, strippers from the ex-GDR who perform erotic dances to the music of Nina Hagen at the *Nile* on Montreal's Saint-Laurent Boulevard, are not easily forgotten. In this paper, however, I will focus on *Bestiaire*, a novel published in 2008 in which the German language, through the adverb *vergeblich*, is associated with a *Bildung* or coming-of-age narrative. A parallel may be drawn between the treatment of the German language in Dupont's work and the uses of German (and German dialects) in the 1993 short story "Colères!" by Québec Germanist Diane-Monique Daviau. Several of Daviau's short stories give Germany a central place as a geographical entity, which is unusual in Québec contemporary fiction: her work depicts characters who travel to Germany or even live there for a number of years, sometimes in the most complete anonymity (cf. "Une femme s'en va", 1990). It is not surprising to find, in Daviau's fictional works, rich insights into the neuralgic value of language learning, the German language itself occupying at times an absolutely central role in the diegetic frame: Daviau, a translator from German to French and from French to German, a long-time lecturer in the fields of German language and literatures and translation, and a collaborator of *Liberté*, is one of the rare Francophone Québec writers who is an authentic Germanist. Like Dupont's *Bestiaire*, her short story "Colères!" is a *Bildung*

narrative thematizing the German language: both Daviau and Dupont depict adolescent protagonists who travel to Germany or Austria and learn German. Analysis of their works sheds light on a symbolic shift in the representation of German-language cultures, in relation to the most developed forms of perception of these cultures in Québec fiction and Québec intellectual discourse of the preceding decades. Through contact with the German language or its dialects, their protagonists develop a relationship with Germany or Austria marked by proximity, rather than perceiving these cultures as radically distant from their own; in this, they can be contrasted, for instance, with the narrator of Jean Forest's 1983 prose work *Le mur de Berlin, P.Q.* Forest's narrator, from a 1950s working-class background, is condemned to view German as an "*idiome fantasmatique*" (Simon, 1994, 112), a language that is appealing because it might help him overcome a deficiency in his own relationship with language: as a Francophone Montrealer, he grew up in a divided city, using an impoverished, deeply flawed language based on a mix of French and English—"*idiome si incertain qu'il ne sait jamais en fait si le mot qu'il utilise est en français ou en anglais*" (Simon 1994, 112). Sherry Simon, who analyzes Forest's narrative in her key work *Le trafic des langues. Traduction et culture dans la littérature québécoise*, associates the use of a mixed idiom in Forest's work to an "*esthétique de la faiblesse*" (112) arising when languages meet in a context in which one group is made into a minority, as was the case for French-speaking Quebecers in the 1950s. Simon draws on an engaging sequence in Forest's work in which the narrator mentions the difficulty of translating the expression "*Sehnsucht nach der Heimat*" into French—and, furthermore, the complexity of translating it to describe the Québec cultural context. According to Simon, the narrator, thinking about the only time he had left his native country (to spend a month in Old Orchard, Maine, with his convalescent mother), asks himself:

> Est-il concevable que l'on puisse ressentir à l'égard du Québec (où le rossignol n'existe pas) la même émotion qu'ont ressentie les Romantiques allemands pour leur pays mythifié? Est-il possible d'éprouver quelque chose comme le Sehnsucht nach der Heimat quand on est à la plage d'Old Orchard et que l'on pense à sa maison de Montréal? (123)

For Simon, the cultural reality that is linked to the German language in Forest's work is incommensurate with that of Quebecers who grew up in the Montreal of the 1950s, in a sort of pre-modern world, a world characterized by cultural poverty: therefore, the German words point to a reality that cannot really be translated into the narrator's words. The fact that German and Germany are viewed as *distant* by Forest's protagonist recalls a common mode of perception of German-language authors in Québec, the latter having long been read according to cultural stereotypes, as if their texts were inseparable from a certain "depth", attributed to the language itself in which they were written. The very title of André Belleau's well-known

essay, "L'Allemagne comme lointain et comme profondeur," designates such a reality: in this essay, of which a first version was presented at Ottawa's Goethe-Institut in 1981 in the context of a series of reflections on the theme "Écrivains québécois et littératures des pays de langue allemande," Belleau dwells on the seductive appeal of the German language and German-language literatures for his generation, that of Québec scholars and writers who were in their twenties in the 1950s. He describes German as a "*langue choisie*" (Belleau 1982, 35), and "*non […] imposée par la naissance ou par les contraintes politiques et économiques*" (35). Belleau's account also reveals that, although he took various courses and made several attempts, he was never really able to learn German and could only master "*des bribes*" ("snatches", 35). Belleau states that a number of Québec scholars of his generation were true Germanophiles, but were in a sense condemned to remain Romanicists; according to him, for a French Canadian to enroll in a German program to become a Germanist was almost "*impensable*" (32) in 1950s Montreal. Members of Belleau's generation, although they misunderstood Germany in many ways and their Germany remained to a certain degree inaccessible or mythical[1], saw German culture as "*porteuse des signes de la profondeur et de l'authenticité*" (33). They were particularly interested in German Romantic literature: as Robert Dion mentions in his analysis of the perception of the German-speaking world in *Liberté*, the reception of Romantic Germany in *Liberté*'s pages, first undertaken by the generation of Québec intellectuals centered around André Belleau and Fernand Ouellette, was important during the whole period covered by his research (1959–1998), although it reached its peak in the 1980s (Dion, 126)[2]. Compared to Belleau's account and Jean Forest's narrative, the works of Eric Dupont and Diane-Monique Daviau reveal very different uses of German: the language is no longer associated with a remote world but has rather acquired an everyday value, enabling one character to achieve true assertiveness, and another

1 In his essay, Belleau evokes for example Fernand Ouellette's at times naïve understanding of Novalis, in *Depuis Novalis* (1999): "Il me semble que bien peu souscriraient à la vision de Fernand Ouellette selon laquelle le poète est un *dépisteur des traces de la présence divine* tandis que le langage, lui, comporterait *quelque chose de sacré*…" (Belleau, 1982, 37). Speaking of his generation's fascination for Germany, Belleau describes it as "quelque chose de candide et de touchant", and at the beginning of his essay, he asks potential German readers to be merciful, warning them of his own "simplistic" reading of "*their*" literature (31).

2 Robert Dion's recent article, "André Belleau à l'épreuve de l'étranger. L'exemple de l'Allemagne" (2017), draws on Belleau's unpublished works and sheds light, on the basis of Dion's archival work, on Belleau's frequent neglect of the historical and political dimension of the German-language texts that he studied; rightly, Dion stresses this as surprising, given Belleau's more general commitment to sociological literary criticism: "L'Allemagne de Belleau est l'Allemagne préprussienne, celle des "*Dichter und Denker*" et non celle du nationalisme et du militarisme : la "bonne" Allemagne, dans la tradition de Madame de Staël." (83) While Dion recognizes Belleau's competence in his readings and analyses of German-language literatures, and his ability to establish relevant comparisons between different writers within German-language literary traditions, he also asserts that "il manque [à Belleau] une connaissance précise du contexte qui lui permettrait de dégager l'*institution de discours* dans laquelle s'inscrit l'œuvre." (79)

to reflect on the most private and family subjects, as if this form of self-assertion *must* proceed through German rather than through his mother tongue. In this article, I will study the shift in the perception of German-language cultures embodied in two works of fiction by Dupont and Daviau, whose protagonists develop a truly personalized and even "intimate" relationship with the German language or its dialects. Since learning German is linked to a *Bildung* narrative in both works, I will also explore a certain inversion, in *Bestiaire* and "Colères!", in the distribution of plot elements common to many classical examples of this sort of narrative.

**Dupont: the issue of filiation**

*Bestiaire* is a broad family fresco that takes place in outlying areas of Québec. The novel foregrounds a child-adolescent narrator, Eric Dupont, who is given the same name as the author of the book. The narrator relates his conflictual childhood within a dysfunctional family. The book is organized around the idea of the "*bestiaire*", in English the "bestiary": every chapter is placed under the auspices of an animal, with a total of four birds, two mammals and one marine animal being represented. The presence of these animals brings an element of magical realism to the novel, whose story takes place between 1976 and 1986 and refers to crucial events of the 1970s and 1980s in Québec such as the Olympic Games of 1976. *Bestiaire* tells the story of two children, Eric and his sister, whose parents separate and who are constantly forced to move—they live in Rivière-du-Loup, then in Gaspésie where they move several times in the space of a few years. To these spatial changes are added many changes in their father's love life; the father is nicknamed Henri VIII because of his habit of "collecting" women, and his wives/lovers are given the names of the wives of the real Henri VIII. Eric and his sister spend a significant period of time with Anne Boleyn, and they are not allowed to mention the name of their mother, "*Micheline Raymond, cuisinière de métier*", alias Catherine of Aragon, whom they truly miss. The children receive a rigid education from Anne Boleyn and the "King"; Eric is very interested in books but at his high school he is only given one to read every year, and it is barely discussed. Gaspésie, as described in the book, seems to have little exposure to cultural diversity, although Laotians are depicted. This is consistent with the fact that immigration from Laos to Canada became significant in the late 1970s, with Canada receiving almost 8000 Laotian nationals between 1979 and 1982, along with other refugees from the former Indochina (Lambert, 2018). Eric is bullied at school and called "*la tapette*" ("the fag"); but he discovers, with the arrival of the Laotians, that "*le monde existait et qu'une autre vie était possible*" (136). However, although the presence of Laotians in Saint-Ulric may be Eric's first encounter with a genuine alterity, the reader will not find, in the depiction of the Laotian children, their customs, or even their language, a relationship of identification such as the one which arises when the German language is portrayed. Eric's desire to leave Saint-Ulric, Matane, and more broadly Québec is repeated several times throughout the novel. At the end of the novel, he is sixteen years old and, like the author Eric

Dupont, he leaves Gaspésie to spend a year at an Austrian high school as an exchange student. The German language appears in the book with the use on many occasions of the same word, the adverb *vergeblich*, which the narrator considers difficult or impossible to translate into French, the equivalent being roughly, according to him, "*vainement*" (75) or "*en vain*" (304). This adverb is associated with many reflections in the novel and with decisive episodes of Eric Dupont's family and private life that are examined through its prism. As mentioned above, Eric and his sister are not allowed to speak about memories related to their mother; when they desperately feel the need to do so, they hide at the village beach to make sure their conversation will not be overheard. The children very rarely communicate with their mother during the first years of their parents' separation. In its first occurrence, the adverb *vergeblich* is used to describe the obstacles preventing the children from seeing their mother:

> Un jour, on nous permit de lui rendre visite. Nous n'avions pas le loisir d'exiger de la voir. 'Qu'elle paye.' Voilà ce que le couple royal nous rétorquait quand nous osions demander une visite. Payer quoi? Les dix-sept dollars qu'aurait coûtés le déplacement en autobus. Le roi refusait de régler tout seul cette facture. Plus tard, des années plus tard, il y aurait les tentatives d'une reconstruction. Pour cette reconstruction de ma mère, la langue allemande possède un adverbe qui résiste à la traduction: *vergeblich*. Le mot français le plus rapproché serait, selon mon Larousse bilingue, *vainement*. Cette approximation, qui connote beaucoup trop fortement la vanité, ignore la racine germanique *geben*, qui signifie *donner*. *Vergeblich*, c'est ne pas se donner, ne pas pouvoir s'accorder par manque de moyens. Je n'ai éprouvé aucune difficulté, des années plus tard, à apprendre ce mot. Je le portais en moi depuis Matane. J'avais le contenu, il ne me manquait que le contenant. Je l'ai compris dès que je l'ai entendu. Allez, essayez… dites: *Faireguébliche*… Ça tombe comme un animal mort. J'envisage de le faire graver sur ma pierre tombale: 'Ci-gît Eric Dupont, fils de Micheline Raymond, cuisinière de métier. *Vergeblich*' À l'ordre: 'Synthétisez votre vie en un seul mot', je réponds: *vergeblich*. Je ne puis pas me le donner. C'est en vain. Faute de moyens. Depuis la côte gaspésienne, j'apprenais l'allemand à mon insu par la méthode communicative. (75–76)

The intuitive and spontaneous understanding of the German word is striking, especially if we take as point of comparison the relationship with German that was prevalent in Jean Forest's *Le Mur de Berlin, P.Q.* or for the generation of Québec intellectuals and writers described by André Belleau. German, here, is seen as more useful than French to describe intimate concerns such as the filial bond with the mother; furthermore, the character is contemplating the idea of having *vergeblich* en-

graved on his tombstone, as if such an epitaph could place his whole existence under the sign of this adverb. In this fictional text published in 2008, German is no longer a distant language; the very categories of "here/home" (Gaspésie) and "there/elsewhere/abroad" (German language/Austria) interpenetrate in a way that seemed impossible in the 1980s Québec texts that we have mentioned. The reference to the "*méthode communicative*" should also be underlined; it is well known that one of the aims of the communicative approach in language teaching is to enable a productive awareness of the sociological or cultural rules that underlie an adequate use of the taught language in a given context, in specific, well-defined everyday situations such as conversing with a specific person in a foreign country: for instance, the ticket seller at the railway station from whom one wishes to buy a ticket. In *Bestiaire*, German is thus inscribed in a realm that designates the functional and performative aspects of language. German is used to express personal feelings and for concrete purposes related to the "needs" of the speaker. At the end of the chapter in which one finds this passage of *Bestiaire*, Eric evokes again his future burial, this time indicating his desire to be buried next to his mother in the Rivière-du-Loup cemetery with the previously mentioned epitaph ("*Ci-gît Eric Dupont, fils de Micheline Raymond, cuisinière de métier.* Vergeblich" [82]). This new projection into the future clearly shows the importance of German as a way of thinking about issues related to kinship and legacy. Finally, the adverb reappears at the very end of the novel, in the epilogue consisting of a letter from Eric to his sister written on September 22, 1986, and sent from Austria, where he is living with a host family and has started school. He describes, among other things, how different the family dynamics of his host family are from the dynamics of his own family, noticing for instance that family members do not yell at each other, even when they have had a little too much to drink; he finds this "*pas normal*" (303). Eric seems to appreciate the fact that Austrian teachers require students to read a great many works, including Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, which his host parents promise to take him to see in Vienna. He also describes how he is learning German, the letter—and the novel—ending with the following lines, a postscript: "P.-S. : J'ai toujours le nez dans le dictionnaire, je te jure. Aujourd'hui, j'ai appris que *en vain* se dit *vergeblich*. Drôle de langue, hein?" (304). *Bildung,* or apprenticeship in the wider sense, and learning German are here intertwined: the epilogue of the novel, describing Eric's stay in Austria, is surely a *Bildung* trip, presenting the literary figure of a young man traveling.

In *The Way of the World. The* Bildungsroman *in European Culture*, Franco Moretti notes that, if one wishes to distinguish between different types of *Bildungsroman*, numerous criteria and angles of approach are possible; he, however, decided to center his study around "plot differences" (1987, 7). While some literary theorists have constantly tried to propose new definitions of the *Bildung* narrative that would take into consideration the early German idealistic examples of the genre and its many 19th-century European examples, as well as newer 20th century forms that

have emerged through "the expansion of its concerns and constituency in the eras of women's liberation, civil rights struggles, decolonization, and globalization" (Slaughter 2011, 93), other theorists nonetheless suggest that many of the various definitions of the *Bildung* narrative may be brought together in broader, more encompassing categories. For instance, Joseph R. Slaughter suggests that the various critical standpoints could be classified "according to their emphasis on particular aspects of the *Bildungsroman*: its plot, humanist theme, or social function" (93). The question of the plot's organization is the most relevant to a study of Dupont's and Daviau's works. In the case of Dupont, while the novel constantly prepares the "escape" to Austria, this escape is only very briefly shown at the very end, and occupies a small place in the novel, the rest of which is set in Québec. We do not have access to the full development of Eric's character, because his adult-being is not represented in the novel, which ends when Eric is only sixteen; the narrator's remarks on issues related to childhood and adolescence, and on "find[ing] himself, and attain[ing] certainty about his purpose in the world" (Dilthey 1985, 335), remain nonetheless so thorough and varied that one will undoubtedly recognize in this novel the description of a real *apprenticeship*, even if the epilogue is probably the sequence of the novel that carries the most prominent value in terms of *Bildung*. In this epilogue, Eric has left the—very relative—financial and emotional security provided by his family to live in a foreign country. Life nonetheless appears to have regained a meaning for the young Eric who writes from Austria; it seems that rediscovering harmony with society is something that can only take place abroad. The principle of *classification*, to mention here one of the two plot organization principles that Moretti attributes to the *Bildungsroman*, is not the dominant one in *Bestiaire*. In this novel, we do not learn,

> as in the English 'family romance' and in the classical *Bildungsroman*—[that] narrative transformations have meaning in so far as they lead to a particularly marked ending: one that establishes a classification different from the initial one but nonetheless perfectly clear and stable—definitive, in both senses this term has in English. (7)

While Eric may recognize his identity and path in the world as those of a traveler, no real normativity or stability emanate from his choice to pursue his education abroad, comparable, for example, to what we find in the act of marriage that often ends the classical *Bildungsroman*, this event being "seen as the definitive and classifying act par excellence" (7). One should also note, however, that neither does Dupont's novel fully endorse the second plot principle of the *Bildungsroman* identified by Moretti, that of *transformation*:

> Under the transformation principle—as in the trend represented by Stendhal and Pushkin, or in that from Balzac to Flaubert—the opposite

> is true: what makes a story meaningful is its narrativity, its being an open-ended process. Meaning is the result not of a fulfilled teleology, but rather, as for Darwin, of the total rejection of such a solution. The ending, the privileged narrative moment of taxonomic mentality, becomes the most *meaningless* one here: *Onegin*'s destroyed last chapter, Stendhal's insolently arbitrary closures, or the *Comédie Humaine*'s perennially postponed endings are instances of a narrative logic according to which a story's meaning resides precisely in the impossibility of 'fixing' it. (7)

*Bestiaire*'s ending, however, is far from being meaningless, destructive, totally undefinable or elusive. The ending of Dupont's novel, open as it is, leaves us with something that was already announced in the form of a prolepsis early in the novel: the learning of the word *vergeblich*. The fact that the novel's very last sentences once again incorporate the word *vergeblich* in a *Bildung* epilogue indicates that the crux of the narrator's quest for meaning and confrontation with society, which is intrinsic to the apprenticeship narrative, has to do with the filial relationship with the mother that the adverb helps to designate. For the narrator, relating how he learned the word, and the very fact of naming it, embody his achieving peace with the past, as his mother no longer is (or needs to be) mentioned when this adverb is present. It is as if a former, problematic relationship with issues of filiation can be overcome, if not fully, at least in some ways. One of the main findings in Eric's undertaking of self-understanding in Austria is presented as something that was already known, but in a latent way; we may recall how Eric presented the adverb *vergeblich* earlier in the novel, underlining the fact that he had no difficulty in understanding it the first time he heard it, as if he had "carried it inside of him since Matane" (75). This unwitting knowledge points to an "easy" yet intimate relationship with the German language. At the novel's end, it appears that the stay abroad, and the confrontation with Austria, do not lead to the emergence of a fundamentally new form of knowledge for the protagonist, but rather unveil something that already exists. The contact with a German-language culture does not erect the latter as a radically different entity but emphasises the possibility of a proximity with this culture. Concerning the plot structure, one should however note that, despite the prolepsis, the major cause leading to the *Bildung* trip in *Bestiaire* is not explicitly presented as such in the beginning or in the first half of the novel, as it is often the case in traditional *Bildung* narratives that are also *Künstlerromane*, in which the hero's breach with his environment and the beginning of his travels are often presented early on in the novel as the direct result of a decisive event such as the loss of a loved one or the sudden acknowledgement of the necessity to break with the real father in order to go in search of a spiritual father. In Dupont's novel, the cause of the apprenticeship trip is revealed abroad, and at the very end of the novel. In this way, *Bestiaire* describes a form of mobility that is specific to the period in which it was written: a

mobility in which the categories of here and there, the Self and the Other, rooting and uprooting, merge far more than in some of the eras analyzed by Franco Moretti.

**Daviau: overcoming the cultural legacy of the "*Grande noirceur*"**

The short story "Colères!" (Daviau, 1993) takes place in a small village whose name is not mentioned, and more specifically in a fruit and vegetable market. The story suggests that there exists a tacit convention in Germany according to which, in markets, people buying fruits and vegetables are not allowed to touch products before buying them. In the story, a German fruit seller sharply rebukes customers who dare stretch out their hand to the produce: "*Nein! Nicht anfassen! Verboten!*" (123). The teenage narrator, who is also the main character, spends the summer in Germany with a group of young Quebecers of his age and feels particularly aggrieved by this German constraint that forbids buyers to properly choose their fruit: fruits take on a "défendu" aspect (121) for him, and he claims that he does not want to be yelled at anymore when he handles them (122). The shivering narrator and his young companions from Québec—they are fifteen or sixteen years old—miss the McIntosh apples of North America. In the first part of the story, the young Quebecers are presented as absolutely well-behaved and unassertive:

> Mais on ne disait rien. On était très jeune et on était très doux. C'était un peu avant mai 68, on était venu voir ce qui se passait, on était plein de bonne foi, on était plein de douceur, on se demandait si on pourrait vivre dans une commune, on venait de loin et parfois on avait un peu peur. On se taisait sans arrêt, on se taisait depuis toujours, d'ailleurs, on en avait l'habitude, on était poli, on était timide, et quand on avait trop de peine ou quelque chose en soi qui ressemblait à de la rage, on prenait une guitare ou un stylo ou de l'aquarelle et on créait quelque chose. C'est ça qu'on faisait chaque fois, depuis toujours. Jamais un mot plus haut que l'autre. Tout en dedans. Et de la musique, des poèmes, des dessins. (122–123)

While appearing to conceal their emotions, the teenagers in "Colères!" try to adjust to their new environment:

> On regardait, on écoutait. On faisait des efforts furieux pour comprendre la vie, les gens, le sens des choses et là, chez les Allemands, cet été-là, on essayait aussi de saisir le sens des sons qu'on entendait et qui étaient censés être des mots. C'est tout ce qu'on pouvait faire, bien regarder, bien écouter, parce que les mots non plus, on n'arrivait pas à se les mettre en bouche, les mots qui n'étaient pas allemands, comme on s'y était attendu, mais bien plutôt bavarois, et puis, ailleurs, souabes, et puis berlinois, des mots étrangers terriblement étranges qui avaient bien peu

> à voir avec ceux qu'on avait appris, des mots dont les angles, les longueurs, les aspérités et les accents n'arrivaient pas à se frayer un chemin jusque dans nos bouches, pourtant affamées, et souvent béantes. (123)

One day, McIntosh apples appear in the village. The narrator, who of course wants them, is told that he cannot touch them to choose the best ones; he nonetheless decides to buy some. As he starts to take a bite, he experiences bitter disappointment:

> […] au moment où mes dents touchèrent la pelure, je vis que le fruit, à cet endroit précis, était meurtri, et alors ça monta en moi, un épouvantable rugissement, et sans savoir d'où ça venait, d'où ça pouvait venir, tout ça, je me mis à rugir et à hurler des mots comme si je n'avais dit que ces mots-là toute ma vie, en trois secondes j'étais à nouveau devant le marchand de fruits et je hurlais: 'Du Schweinehund! Du Arschloch!' et je mordais dans les mots comme dans des fruits et je les lui recrachais au visage : 'Du Arschloch! Du Schweinehund ! Du Scheißkerl !' … (124)

The German language, this time genuinely incorporated into the speech of the Québec protagonist, allows him to give free rein to violence and anger. The insults he uses, foul and offensive, imply a good grasp of German, a command of the German language that is rooted, to a certain extent, in everyday life. Swear words are precisely what is taken up from the Other. Yet, if one compares the first long quotation that I gave from Daviau's story, which describes the "very young" and "very gentle" teenage Quebecers, and the passage I have just quoted, one will notice that a real transformation of the main character has taken place between the beginning and the end of the story. In fact, at the very end of the story, the character is no longer showing an almost puerile form of passivity, but is henceforth able to speak up, reaching self-affirmation. The story closes with the following lines:

> [….] ce qui est important, c'est que depuis ce jour-là je fais des colères, je suis tout à fait capable de me mettre en colère et de hurler ma rage et ma peine, mais la colère, chaque fois, jaillit exclusivement en allemand, je connais tous les jurons, même les pires, et je ne sais pas d'où ça vient, tout ça, parce qu'il paraît que je jure et injurie les gens très précisément en dialecte brandebourgeois. Que je ne connais pas. (125)

The subject has become able to express all of his fury, to put it into words, no longer solely sublimating it; German and one of its dialects—*Brandenburgisch*—enable him to unleash his true emotions, to fully assert himself, in a sense to become a man. The protagonist's relationship with *Brandenburgisch* is particularly interesting because the narrator explains that he uses it without having learned it or

been exposed to it, as if he had fantastically appropriated the dialect completely without his own knowledge. The language of the Other—and, at the end of the story, a regional variant of it—leaves an indelible mark on the Québec subject, the young man being left with this idiom that is the only one allowing him to get properly angry. We might say that the subject has truly "become possessed", as if he were haunted despite himself.

The typical outline of the Romantic *Bildung* narrative which is precisely focused on the coming-of-age of a future artistic figure includes the young protagonist's severance from society. The family sphere that he rejects for the sake of his travels very often represents a practical or prosaic life that appears too common, apoetic and uninspired for the adolescent or young adult who sees himself as fundamentally different from those who surround him; his deep sensitivity and his tendency to withdraw into the richness of his inner world confer upon him a greater destiny than that of a profoundly terrestrial existence (Montandon, 1986, 24-36). Daviau's and Dupont's narratives are particularly interesting from the perspective of the *Bildung*, because the crux of the protagonist's quest is not clearly stated at the beginning of the story: rather, the essential severance or flaw that typically initiates the *Bildung* quest is acknowledged abroad. "Colères!" does not describe the departure for Germany; it is entirely set in Germany, not in Canada, and only at the very end of the story, when the narrator is finally able to express his anger, is a reference to the Québec context introduced:

> Et plus je hurlais ces mots étrangers, plus j'avais un goût de sang dans la bouche qui me rappelait quelque chose comme une vie déjà vécue, une langue apprise dans la peine et les interdictions, une rage continuellement ravalée qui tout à coup me remontait dans la gorge, giclait et éclaboussait tout autour de moi, l'éventaire que je renversai comme une construction de légos, les pyramides de fruits qui s'effondraient, les fruits qui déboulaient dans toutes les directions et que j'écrasais et piétinais et écrabouillais… (124)

Since the story is said to take place "a little before" the events of May 1968 (122), and the protagonists are fifteen or sixteen years old, we can recognize in this passage allusions to the way a generation of Quebecers were schooled in the 1950s, at a time when the school system, and Québec society in general, were characterized by rigidity and a devotion to theology and religion, very often in place of science and knowledge. The "affliction" ("*peine*"), "prohibitions" ("*interdictions*"), and "continually swallowed rage" ("*rage continuellement ravalée*") in this passage are most probably associated with the learning of French by the protagonist, rather than the learning of German. Indeed, while demand for a network of German Saturday schools increased in Canada in the 1950s, such schools—apart from denominational schools—did not exist in Québec until the late 1960s (Meune 2003, 115–117); the

narrator's "*vie déjà vécue*" is most likely a reference to his schooling during the so-called *Grande noirceur*, and to difficulties experienced in the context of the stranglehold of the Catholic Church on education during the period associated with the tenure of Maurice Duplessis as Premier of Québec (1936–1939; 1944–1959). Even though there is no complete consensus among historians on this period, the prevailing view on Duplessis' program stresses its truly retrograde aspects, insisting that his tenure was marked by a culture of fear in Québec, especially as far as intellectual life was concerned (movies, drama and books were censored by the Church), but also, of course, in other fields such as sexuality and reproduction, in which Church officials sought to exert very high levels of control. In "Colères!", being confronted with German allows the main character to recognize that, to a great extent, the educational practices during the Duplessis era were problematic and deficient. The crux of the protagonist's quest or *Bildung* trajectory is clearly identified abroad, when he acknowledges for the first time, as he bursts into anger, his problematic relationship with language and his incapacity to assert himself, which he then associates with the punitive type of education and strict relationship with culture that were prevalent during the 1950s in Québec. The main character of Daviau's short story does not decide to travel to Germany, or begin his quest, because of a loss, as is often the case in traditional *Bildung* narratives, or because he has a deep sense that something is missing in the prosaic existence associated with his family realm; rather, it is while living in Germany, and after having tried to understand the dialects that are spoken in a specific village, that he recognizes how strongly he has been deprived of his means of expression[3].

### ***Bestiaire*** **and "Colères!": self-reinvention through German**

In *Bestiaire*, one also finds a reflection on language issues that is clearly situated in a Québec context. Given that the novel draws on debates and events that were important in the 1970s and 1980s, it is not surprising that Dupont briefly touches on these issues, for linguistic crises led the Québec government to enact three different linguistic laws between 1969 and 1977: Bill 63, Bill 22 and Bill 101. Dupont's narrator

3 Given the reference to the events of "mai 1968", the protagonist's outburst could also be interpreted, at least to a certain extent, in a more universal perspective, in reference to the major social claims which have accompanied this period of civil unrest: for example, the assertion of the pre-eminence of personal subjectivity in relation to various forms of authority and hierarchies (here, the authority of the merchant/seller). Daviau's story reminds us of some of May 1968's most famous slogans such as "*Il est interdit d'interdire*". However, the fact that Diane-Monique Daviau's short story doesn't refer to the claims of the working class or those of middle managers, but focuses explicitly on the difficulties associated with a stay abroad, encourages me to interpret it first and foremost in the context of Canadian-German encounters, rather than emphasize the reference to the events of May 1968.

describes linguistic absurdities that appeared in the wake of the period's linguistic debates:

> C'est aussi à cette époque qu'un peu partout, au Québec, le 'hood du char' commença de s'appeler 'le capot de la voiture' et qu'il devint de très mauvais goût de 'canceller' ses rendez-vous. Les 'annuler' était cependant correct. Les 'hamburgers' étaient désormais des 'hambourgeois' et les hot-dogs, des 'chiens chauds'. Au sommet de ce tas de décrets terminologiques grotesques trônait un innocent t-shirt devenu 'gaminet'. Il s'agissait de faire table rase du passé sous toutes ses formes. Des mots nouveaux pour un monde nouveau. (53)

The description of the linguistic oddities arising in Québec under the new language laws points to a relationship with language that is strongly "fabricated", so to speak, based on artifice without an ideal of transmission of the past, or without reflection about the past. German can thus be opposed, in the whole structure of the novel, to this type of relationship with language: the use of German directly evokes the idea of memory, since the German adverb allows Eric to think very clearly about his relationship with his mother and to view it from different moments in time, looking back to the past to re-appropriate the relationship, and then suddenly projecting himself into the future ("*plus tard*" being used up to three times to convey the future in the first occurrence of *vergeblich*, see p. 75). Of course, Eric's very desire to have the adverb written on his tombstone, as an eternal definition of himself, also refers to memory, to the upholding of both the past and the present in the future.

Another striking resemblance between "Colères!" and *Bestiaire* is that their protagonists are in some sense haunted by the German language. Of course, German is not properly dreadful; but the memory or the recollection of German certainly recurs, inhabiting or obsessing the subject. Literary theorists have pointed out that contemporary and extreme contemporary French-language literatures abound in characters who are visited by the ghost of human beings, ancestors or great literary figures from the past from whom these characters often feel disconnected, or by the persistent spectre of historical events. In an article published in 2009, Laurent Demanze suggested that possessed characters, in contemporary French narratives of filiation, are the symptom of a "*régime problématique de transmission*" (22). His assumptions are useful as we attempt to describe Daviau's and Dupont's fictions, which rely on subjects who are "inhabited" by the German language or its dialects, in order to underline the difficulty of making peace with questions of descent or lineage, and with the transmission of knowledge and of heritage. But the closeness with German or its dialects, arising from the Québécois subjects' obsession with them in "Colères!" and *Bestiaire*, leads to a certain loss of the language's foreign character for the protagonists. This is peculiar within the framework of a *Bildung* narrative; in such a framework, travelling through another culture is quite often

associated with an experience of difference. How can one understand Dupont's and Daviau's representations of questions of language, remembering that such representations, in a Québec context, are rarely trivial? Daviau's and Dupont's uses of German can be interpreted along the lines of Lise Gauvin's assessments in *La fabrique de la langue: de François Rabelais à Réjean Ducharme* (2004), especially her hypothesis of an alignment shift at the turn of the 1980s, with Québec fictional works focusing on language issues using a "*langue laboratoire et transgression*" rather than a "*langue symptôme et cicatrice*":

> Si la menace d'un 'naufrage' ou, plus exactement, d'une disparition de la langue française habite, à des degrés divers selon les générations, la conscience de l'écrivain québécois et l'oblige à un devoir de vigilance, le sentiment de la langue qui s'exprime à partir des années 1980 privilégie la notion de variance, c'est-à-dire d'invention. Bien que toujours marquée, la langue est désormais perçue comme une terre à défricher et à déchiffrer, un espace ouvert à tous les possibles, que ceux-ci soient ludiques ou subversifs. À la langue symptôme et cicatrice succède la langue laboratoire et transgression. L'intervention d'autres langues devient possible. Le plurilinguisme est moins vécu sous forme de tension que de polysémie verbale et textuelle. (271)

Rather than being at the center of the work as was the case in many pre-1980 Québec fictional texts that foregrounded linguistic issues, the Québec political context emerges in Daviau's and Dupont's works only in the two passages that we have studied. Moreover, neither Daviau nor Dupont seeks to present a truly degraded language to show that the Anglophone hegemony on Québec society has had harmful consequences; in this sense, a contrast may be drawn with many writers of the preceding decades, who, if we follow Lise Gauvin's observations on the idea of a "*langue symptôme et cicatrice,*" "*perçoivent la dégradation de leur langue comme un effet de cette domination*" (Gauvin 2000, 210). Daviau's protagonist is of course alienated in his relationship with language or self-expression, but not a single clear reference to English can be detected in the representation of this alienation; the protagonist's difficulties in achieving self-expression seem much more closely connected to social conservatism under Duplessis. The relationship with German can at times be painful, but pain is never the dominant factor as was often the case in previous decades for many of the protagonists of Québec literature facing linguistic alterity. Eric Dupont even criticizes some of the linguistic choices that were made in Québec in the wake of the many linguistic crises of the 1970s, precisely to protect the French language; this in itself is significant evidence that in Québec's post-1980 fiction, the defense of the French language from a postcolonial perspective is no longer a key issue as it was in the previous era of the "*langue symptôme et cicatrice*". The use of German in Eric Dupont's epitaph suggests a genuine intention to achieve a "self-

naming" or self-designation that is similar to the form of self-reinvention permitted by German in Daviau's short story; but in both fictions, the relationship with German is more intimate than political. Rather than presenting linguistic alterity as a threat to Quebecers, who as French speakers are a minority in North America, Daviau's and Dupont's characters fully embrace this alterity, and even use it to reflect on personal matters. German has an unveiling function in both fictions; it helps the protagonist identify the nature of some of the difficulties he has experienced with regard to legacy transmission or issues of filiation. In these texts, also, German *can* be mastered, and we might add that it *must* be mastered in order for the protagonists to attain self-awareness or fulfillment, to reinvent themselves: thus, German is far from remaining a "fantasmatic idiom" as was the case in *Le Mur de Berlin, P.Q.* Gauvin's hypothesis of a "*langue laboratoire et transgression*" ("laboratory and transgression language") that became prevalent in the 1980s, of a true "*invention*" through language, is embodied to its extreme in Daviau's "Colères!", whose protagonist becomes able to make himself heard while violating the rules associated with a respectful use of language and while being the "victim" of an appropriation of German (and a German dialect) that might be described as transgressive, unusual and unbelievable.

Might we say that this re-appropriation of an attentive form of self-examination of one's cultural or biological filiations is stimulated, to some degree, by specific characteristics of the German language? French-German author and translator Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt's essays abound in thoughtful insights about some of German's intrinsic properties. In *À l'insu de Babel* (2009), he draws on comparisons between French and German to recall that "*l'allemand donne […] l'apparence d'un contact intime, direct avec la réalité*" (10), and "*La langue allemande, tout autrement que le français repose sur des stations très précises, sur des indications matérielles, sur des articulations qui impliquent le corps de façon élémentaire, comme s'il n'était pas possible de parler sans lui.*" (11) In Daviau's short story, when the main character shouts out his anger in the German *Brandenburgisch* dialect, he uses German compound words such as *Scheißkerl*; in his essay, Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt notes that the abundance of compound words in German contributes to this language's remarkable capacity of invention, but the *Komposita* are of course also immediately comprehensible, thus contributing to the language's closeness to reality. Apart from choosing to integrate German *Komposita*, Daviau links the young Quebecers' unexpected confrontation with German dialects to concrete corporeal behaviours: the protagonists not only manifest "*des efforts furieux*" (123) to understand the habits and customs of the local inhabitants of the small German village in which they have landed, but, referring to the dialectal words used in this village, the narrator mentions that his group would like to "*se les mettre en bouche*" (123). The desire to appropriate German dialects, to make these dialects theirs, is described a second time as a wish to *ingest* them: "*des mots dont les accents n'arrivaient pas à se frayer un chemin jusque dans nos bouches, pourtant affamées, et souvent béantes*" (123). The asso-

ciation between the confrontation with dialects and the act of eating may indicate Daviau's perception of German (and its dialects) as a language that always involves the body, as Goldschmidt demonstrates in his essay. Indeed, Daviau refers to a relationship with language thoroughly anchored in corporeal or spatial positions, which German, among others through its verbs and the multiple prefixes and suffixes that can be merged with them, permits, in a much more evident way than French. One should also recall that Eric Dupont's narrator even discusses the construction of German verbs or adverbs *per se*, as the analysis of the novel's first occurrence of the adverb *vergeblich* has shown. If Daviau is certainly interested in the creativity allowed by German, choosing to employ *Komposita*, German's impressive capacity to invent words, is also of interest to the writer of *Bestiaire*; indeed, the prefix "ver" is, among German inseparable prefixes, one of those that can be combined with words to create a very large number of different meanings. Commenting on the fact that *vergeblich* comes from the "*racine germanique* geben" ("Germanic verb root *geben*"), Dupont shows an interest in the abundance of possible verbal (and adverbial) compositions that the German language allows. When first discussing the word *vergeblich*, Eric mentions that the French translation of the term would be too approximate ("*cette approximation*", 75). He seems interested in German because "*il est certain qu'il y a quelque chose de plus péremptoire et de plus impérieux, qui sollicite davantage et contraint plus d'adhérer qu'en français, comme si la langue allemande mettait tout sur la table, faisait tout voir, là où le français se contente d'allusions*" (Goldschmidt, 45). It is generally accepted that French, unlike German, is a language of allusion and innuendo. We must not forget, however, that this has not always been the case, as Heinz Wismann's *Penser entre les langues* knowledgeably demonstrates, reminding us that French was transformed at the court during the 17th century, at a time when it was a sign of high distinction for courtiers to look as if they could read between the lines (Wismann 2014, 79). Dupont, much like Daviau who chooses to present *Komposita*, seems interested in German because it is so explicit. In the first sequence evoking *vergeblich*, his narrator specifically mentions: "*Je l'ai compris dès que je l'ai entendu*" (76), also indicating that German encourages a more straightforward access to meaning than French.

At a time when Québec literature seemed ready to move away, at least to a certain extent, from a nationalist approach to linguistic questions, and to present a full range of experimentations with language and *in* language, it comes as no surprise that Dupont's and Daviau's protagonists develop uses of German that focus on its potential for invention. In Dupont's work, through the epitaph, a form of chosen filiation—or affiliation—is even established with German, and hence with the Austrian culture to which this language is connected in *Bestiaire*. Of course, the same cannot be suggested for Daviau's work, because the protagonist does not specifically choose German to express his anger; however, in both works, German functions as a "support", as a "pillar", enabling protagonists to discover needs that they weren't truly aware of, but that their communication in German reveals to them; and it

sometimes helps protagonists to fill these needs, healing breaches. Since linguistic issues remain to this day particularly sensitive in Québec, it may make sense that narratives depicting the capacity to come out of oneself or to find one's place in the world turn on a rather unexpected support or pillar; unexpected, if one takes into account that, apart from the evident historical influences of French, British and American cultures on Québec's development, other communities such as the Italian, Vietnamese or Irish, to name only a few, have had, at specific times, a much more explicit presence in Québec society than the German or Austrian cultures. This is precisely where Daviau's and Dupont's works are fascinating; the representation of German-language cultures or the German language as distant entities never predominates in these texts. These cultures, and the German language (or its dialects), rather permit the protagonists' projection into the future, Daviau's teenage protagonist being destined to express his anger only in German and Eric Dupont's epitaph even pointing to eternity, to an everlasting definition of himself and his (af-)filiations. Through German, a more unequivocal language than French, Dupont's and Daviau's protagonists are able to overcome—or at least to turn away from—a state of uncertainty, as well as incapacitating cultural and family legacies.

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Stefanie Schäfer

# Knots and Knowledges: The Canadian West, Settler Colonial Intimacies, and Aritha Van Herk's Calgary Stampede

**Abstract**

*This paper explores the intimacies of settler colonial cultures in discourses about the Canadian West. In a critical regionalist reading, it positions the region between centrist and continental frameworks, Canadian variations of the Western myth, and Alberta's revived struggle for cultural and political independence from the nation-state. A case in point is the annual celebration of the Calgary Stampede, a Western Show and carnival. After addressing Stampede's spectacular production of Western culture, I revisit the event through the oeuvre of Aritha van Herk, whose 2017 prose poetry collection* Stampede and the Westness of West *views Western intimacies from a white feminist perspective. By reading two of her texts, I show how van Herk attempts to ensnare the rodeo cowboy and his audience in a synaesthetic of looking-and-feeling that unsettles white male Western cultural hegemonies.*

**Résumé**

*Cet article porte sur le traitement des intimités du colonialisme de peuplement dans les discours autour de l'Ouest Canadien. A travers la lecture critique régionaliste, la région est située entre la centralité et la continentalité nord-Américaine, les variantes Canadiennes du mythe de l'Ouest, et la lutte ranimée de l'Alberta pour l'indépendance culturelle et politique de l'état-nation Canadien. Par la suite, la célébration annuelle du Stampede de Calgary, un grand spectacle Western et un carnaval, figure comme étude de cas. Après avoir abordé la production spectaculaire de la culture Western au Stampede, je reviens sur cet événement par l'approche féministe et intime d'Aritha van Herk dans sa collection de poèmes en prose* Stampede and the Westness of West *(2017). Partant de deux textes de cette œuvre, j'analyse la façon dont van Herk empêtre le cowboy de rodéo et ses spectateurs dans un regard-ressenti qui déstabilise des hégémonies culturelles Western de l'homme blanc.*

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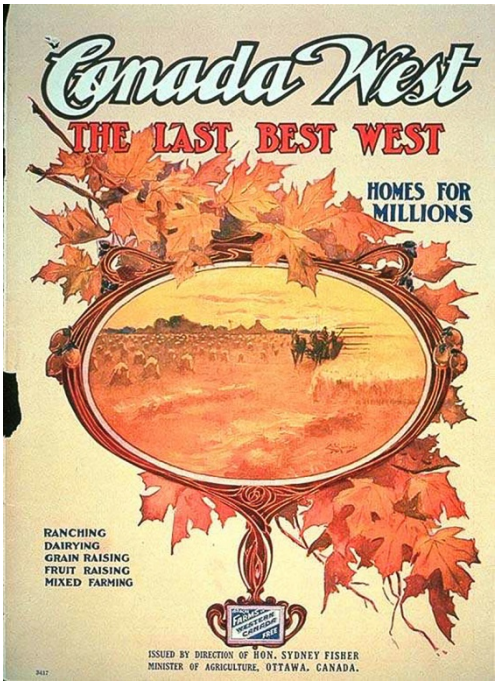


Figure 1: "Canada West" campaign poster, Canadian Museum of History, 1909, Library and Archives Canada.

## "West of What?" to "Wexit": Alberta between centrist, continental, and new nationalist discourses

Locating Alberta and/in the Canadian West uncovers ideological positioning and relational gestures in a historiography that is predominantly male, in terms production and topics (Jacobs 2011). Recent scholarship has compared the Canadian and US Wests, critiqued such comparisons, or shifted the focus to eco-critical readings (e.g. Higham/Thacker 2006; Felske/Rasporich 2005; Kaye 2009 and 2011). The Canadian West as a symbolic landscape is often compared to the Canadian North and its position in the Canadian cultural archive (Grace 1991, Katerberg 2003, Rosenthal 2009). The present argument seeks to show the entanglement between political, cultural, and gendered economies in the settler colony of the Canadian West. I examine how Western spectacles regulate 'being in the West' through body regimes, including clothing, behavior, spectatorship, and heteronormative sexual desire. I therefore first discuss the Canadian West within the framework of critical regionalism (Paul 2014) to show its production through invented traditions and political and socioeconomic interpellations.[1] The second interest of my analysis, in turning to the Calgary Stampede, addresses settler colonialism's impact on the body, its disappearing of Indigeneity, and what Ann Laura Stoler has called the "tense and tender ties of empire" (Stoler 2006a; see also Ballantyne/Burton 2009 and Morgensen 2012). Stoler contends that "matters of the intimate are critical sites for the consolidation of colonial power; that management of those domains provides a strong pulse in how relations of empire are exercised; and that affairs of the intimate are strategic for empire-driven states" (2006, 4). Canada's imperial legacy is hardly disputable, but the question of Canada's post/colonial status and literatures brings

1 Paul argues that critical regionalism lays bare the discursive formation of regions, critiquing their essentialist and romanticized image; debating their relation to the nation as geopolitical structure; inventing alternative geographies, and devising new connections among regions.

no conclusive answer, as Laura Moss' 2003 collection *Is Canada Postcolonial? Unsettling Canadian Literature* has productively shown.

The Canadian West oscillates between the Canadian nation-state and the US American frontier myth, centrist, and continental views, between nationalist dissent, regionalist folklore, and, finally, imperial pull. The latter indicates the structural hegemony of Anglo-Saxon culture which, in the logic of settler colonizers who "come to stay" (cf. e.g. Veracini 2013), shapes the feeling of "being in the West" as relational to various far-off centers. Regarding Canadian national boundaries, the Canadian West is far away from the Eastern government, and East of the country's prosperous Pacific Rim province British Columbia. Regarding biopolitics, it forms part of the North American steppe (called "prairie" in Canada and "the plains" in the US). Regarding the legacies of local color and cultural practice, it is related to but also different from the US-American West and the urban and multicultural settings of the Canadian East. Before and beyond these imperial mappings, the Canadian West squats on the land of the Blackfoot Confederacy, and the Salteaux and Cree First Nations territories mapped by the Treaties 6, 7, and 8, respectively.

From the centrist view, the Canadian West was overlooked in the nation-building process: The provinces Alberta and Saskatchewan joined the nation only in 1905. Between the Dominion in 1867 and 1905, the Northwest territory separated the Eastern governmental center and the prospering pacific rim of British Columbia, with the Rocky Mountains as a natural divide. The government's interest in this area was slow at first, but the declining fur trade and the influx of US-Americans led Ottawa to claim the territories. In the framework of the Canadian nation-state, the West fenced off US expansionism and ascertained the CPR's passage to the Pacific. The West is a provincial backwater, called "the empty quarter" (Joel Garreau), or "Greater Montana" (qtd. in Katerberg 2003). As Bill New argues in *Articulating West* (1972), the Canadian West is a product of the East: "the West" is interpellated by the "Eastern" expansionist and imperial vision; Elliott West talks about a "grid of influences" of "eastern controlled, resource-driven expansionist enterprise, translated into eastern desires and then projected onto western spaces" (2004, 7). The centrist view of the Canadian West thus doubles the colonial relations between center and periphery: Ottawa would look to London, but the Canadian West would look to Ottawa. This view percolated in the government's 1890s "Canada West" marketing campaign, which canvassed the Western provinces to potential settlers in Northern Europe, Britain, and the US. After the alleged "closing" of the frontier in the US (see Frederick Jackson Turner's influential frontier thesis in 1893), the "Last Best West" promised a chance at Western life to white Europeans who thought they had missed their opportunity (see fig. 1; Devereux 1997, Sharp 1947).

The poster shows the image in a nostalgic picture frame resembling days long gone, framed by maple leaves in an overall sepia tint composition. The capture promises "Homes for Millions" and a host of farming varieties available to those pining after the ideal depicted in the frame. The division between the straw stacks

to the left and the tall grain to the right emphasize the harvesting work of the generic farmer; who work moves towards the viewer.

The "Canada West" campaign amalgamated the centrist view with the US-American frontier myth and its promises for a simple but hard life (see e.g. Paul 2013). The continental view pits the Canadian West against Eastern Canadian politics and urban lifestyles on the one hand and against the US West on the other hand; opposite the violent and individualist narratives of the US Wild West, Canadian popular culture constructs a "Mild West" that builds on Canadian stereotypes.[2] Compared to the US-American cowboy gunslinger, the Canadian cowboy is described by the *Calgary Herald* as a literate "gentleman in boots" (qtd. in Slatta 1990, 51): "The rough and festive cowboy of Texas and Oregon has no counterpart here. Two or three beardless lads may wear jingling spurs and ridiculous revolvers and walk around with a slouch [but] the genuine Alberta cowboy is a gentleman. He almost most [sic] certainly can read and write."

While the era of "frontier life" and cattle ranching was relatively short-lived, it looms large in Alberta's cultural self-image, emphasizing resistance against the faraway government and resilience in the face of natural hardships. Its politics have recently been shaken up: in 2015, the (social-democratic) New Democratic Party unseated the Progressive Conservatives for the first time since 1971, garnering a new "sense of empowerment, activism, and influence in effecting political change" among First Nations commentators (Clark 2019, 248). Yet, the 2019 election swept the conservative party back to power and put pressure on Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to address Alberta's struggles. The Alberta secessionist movement, working towards either national independence or joining the US with a rhetoric of rebellion (see e.g. Brown/Lamoureux 2016) has picked up this cue and invigorated the call for Alberta's "Wexit" (Toy 2019).

The "Wexit" debate is supported by collections like *Writing Alberta* (Melnyk/Coates 2017), which claims Alberta's distinct literary identity. Heralding Alberta writing's resistance against "pushback from traditional quarters […]—Canadian Literature (1960s) and Prairie Literature (1970s)" (ibid., 2), it argues that Alberta has a "national" literature, complete with a history, shared themes, and "a canon" as well as a "political boundary" (ibid.). The genealogy presented here starts with pictographs and First Nations Winter counts, proceeds through fur trader's stories, and finds its real beginning of the canon in William Francis Butler's 1872 "non-fiction classic, *The Great Lone Land.*" *Writing Alberta* reiterates the settler colonial gesture by incorporating indigenous and postcolonial literatures and topics (called "complexities" that make obvious that "Alberta is not an isolated literary environment and never has been", 3)

2 The term "Mild West" was coined by Robert Francis' discussion of the role of the RCMP in the Western provinces (Francis 1989, 29-51). Displays of a Canadian "Mild West" are offered, for instance, in George Bowering's novel *Caprice* (1987) or William Phillips's film *Gunless* (2014); both hinge on inverting the US stereotype and a self-ironic commentary on the validity of such national(ist) stereotyping.

into the grand Anglo-European archive of the written canon. In leaving behind the deconstructive and performative premises of Canadian Literature and Prairie Literature, Melnyk and Coates peddle settler colonial epistemologies. They showcase settler colonialism's double cultural work of foregrounding settler narratives at the cost of disappearing indigenous epistemologies ("we came here") and indigenization of the settlers ("the land made us", see Morgensen 2012, 9). It seems that the Canadian "Mild West" is still essentially "Western," after all. Similarly, the Calgary Stampede stages regional cultures and indigenizes white settler practices, thus forging a Western Canadian "icon, brand, myth" (see Foran's 2008 book title): It markets Western cultures and thus creates the Stampede as a legend in its own right.

**Settler Chic and Going "Western" at the Calgary Stampede**

On July 5, 1967, the *Calgary Herald* described the Stampede as composed "by and of" Calgarians, and directed at no lesser audience than "the world" (qtd. in Foran 2008, 2). Its Western culture is embodied and performed by the body politic of the locals ("citizens" calling on the white male norm of the national subject). But "Western" also allegedly becomes available to all during the Stampede, due to its carnivalesque character: The lines between acting and being Western are typically blurred as Calgary offers to the "the world" the experience of going "Western" problematically equals going "native", as I will show below.

The Calgary Stampede capitalizes on hospitality, conviviality, and simplicity, experienced by visitors and locals during public pancake breakfasts, line dancing, rodeo sporting events, Western music entertainment, Indigenous traditions and encounters, and evening shows. It builds on the historic period of cattle ranching in Canada operated, as Johnston and MacKinnon claim, "by American know-how and Eastern Canadian or European capital" (100). The Stampede spectacle thus reiterates the invention of the Canadian West by Eastern (Canadian, US-American, European) interpellation by drawing on settlement history on the one hand and, on the other hand, by canvassing nostalgic (re)productions of a usable past in the Wild West spectacles.

Its inventor, Guy Weadick, was an American with a hunch for adapting the US-American Western show somewhat involuntarily to the latter-day Canadian multiculturalist ideals. In 1912, Weadick, a show cowboy who had traveled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West on the American circuit, convinced four Alberta ranchers to start an agricultural fair with show elements. Weadick had never worked on a ranch, but possessed enough show experience to envision a Western carnival that would allow everyone to go "Western." In a rulebook, he spelled out the recipe for coupling business with folklore in, as he insisted, an authentic representation, a "real pageant of the plains, devoid of the old stereotyped Wild West exhibition […] no circus parade of actors tricked out to tawdry and unauthentic trappings of a pseudo-picturesque nature […] open to the world—no color or nationality barred" (qtd. in Kelm 2009, 719 and 721). Weadick's vision extended also to dress and the Western costume. In the same rulebook, he

decreed: "This is a WESTERN celebration by WESTERNERS, so discard the caps etc., and wear your big hats and other badges of the stock country" (ibid. 721, caps in original). Weadick thus made the Stampede open to all, blending the "authenticity" of the prairie pageant with the European ritual of the carnival, during which for a given time, social hierarchies are masqueraded and suspended. When all can become Westerners for the better of a week, the "authenticity" rests not in the dress, but in the presence of Western-clad bodies at the (show) events and exhibits. Until today, the Stampede combines elements of agricultural exhibition and carnival, such as sheep shearing, steer wrestling, or wild-cow milking that replay in ritualized form the scenes of settlement and mastering and civilizing of the "wild".[3]

Juxtaposed to the outdoors and wilderness tropes is the domestic culture displayed at the Stampede; the program includes Western dining and dancing, chuckwagon cook-offs and the celebration of a trademark Western hospitality that is extended to all in a gesture of dress-up: honorary guests receive Stampede honors in a white-hatting ceremony that combines Canada's national colours with the good guy costume of the Western, where white hats often distinguish the heroes from the villains in black hats. In 2013, for instance, the white-hatting ceremony was accompanied by an oath "sworn" by the newcomers:

> "I [insert name], havin' visited the only genuine Western city in Canada, namely Calgary, and havin' been duly treated in exceptional amounts of heart-warmin', 'hand-shakin', tongue-loosenin', 'back-slappin', 'neighborlovin' western spirit, do solemnly promise to spread this here brand of hospitality to all folks and critters who cross my trail hereafter. On the count of three, we will raise our hats and give a loud YAHOO!" (private record)

The hatting ceremony seeks to make Westerners of everyone, but it replays the Western "machine" that opposes the "good" white cowboy/settlers and their foes, the "Indians." As Emma LaRoque (1994) claims, the reproduction of Western culture puts First Nations peoples in an ever "reactive" situation and ultimately renders impossible any reconciliation between "colonial history and contemporary life" (151). Like any celebration of Western culture, the Calgary Stampede perpetuates settler chic, thus cannibalizing indigenous traditions and knowledges into a celebration of settler histories. The Western spectacle is a body regime pertaining to dress, habit, and an alleged shared fascination with Western ways. The private and

3 The violent treatment of animals for entertainment purposes has been critiqued by animal rights activists and prompted improvements on site; in a personal discussion with the author, farmers at the agricultural exhibit argue that they follow high standards and keep veterinarians close. For an overview of Stampede Animal Rights politics, see for instance Kevin Young, 2017: "Animal Racing. Shifting Codes of Canadian Social Tolerance", in: *The Palgrave International Handbook of Animal Abuse Studies*, London, Palgrave, 271-288.

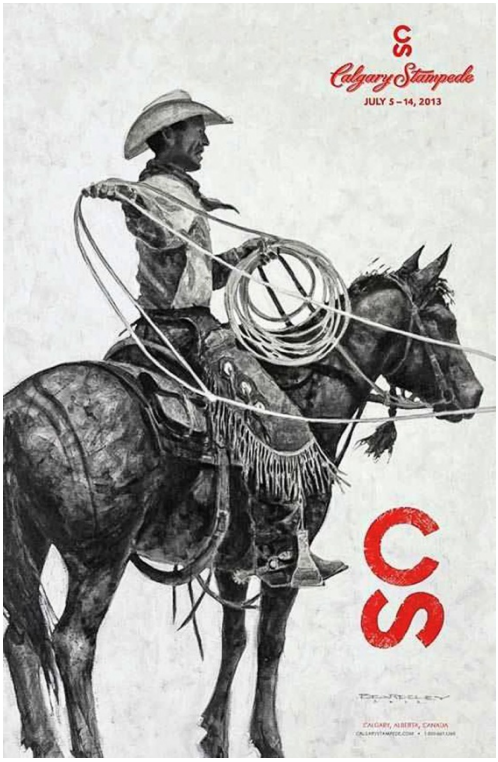


Figure 2: Duke Beardsley. Calgary Stampede Poster 2013. Courtesy of Calgary Stampede Archives.

public spheres are fused; domesticity is colonized and linked, as Tony Ballantyne (2009) has stressed, to the public stage and the imperial state.

The continued success of the Stampede stems from its mixture between Western heritage, its ongoing popularity, its agriculture and trade fair features, as well as its carnivalesque capacity to comment on pressing issues of the day (cf. Foran 2008). All of these features are combined in the icon of the cowboy and the cult of (mostly white) Western masculinity attached to this figure.[4] Since 1977, the Stampede includes exhibits of Western Art that furnish cowboy culture to visitors and provide official posters, as seen in 2013 with Duke Beardsley's celebration of the working cowboy (see fig. 2). Beardsley iconizes the cowboy, offering no reference to the setting or time of this portrait. He is typically disinterested in the viewer but focused on his aim beyond the frame, his body posture as alert as his horse's in a symbiotic still life. The grey color scheme and pointillism of the visible brush strokes echo the grimness of a prairie morning, the joylessness of the work, but also black-and-white

4 See esp. Seiler 2009 and Varga 1984. The rise of the cowboy as icon of popular culture is closely linked to the development of the Western narrative, initiated by dime novels in the 19th century and developed by the Western film and the Hollywood film industry. The cowboy is arguably a fantastic projection of a white urban elite; as Christine Bold has shown, the success of Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902/ first filmed 1914) was orchestrated by the "Frontier Club", Eastern powerplayers from business and politics who wanted to see their white masculinist fantasies spoon-fed to diverse urban audiences (cf. Bold 2013). Hence the intricate whiteness of the cowboy which has been affirmed in popular culture but critiqued by historical work highlighting the work and presence of black and Native American cowboys (such as Texas Jack Omohundro at Buffalo Bill's Wild West). In the Stampede context, the most telling example might be the Indigenous athlete and winner of the very first saddle bronc competition in 1912, Tom Three Persons, a member of the Blackfoot Confederation; see also LaRoque (1994).

Western film aesthetic. Beardsley emblazons the hardship, human-animal companionship, and disinterest in mundane worldly matters ascribed to the cowboy.

The cowboy type's characteristics spill over into the show-cowboy or rodeo-cowboy type who performs cowboy life for entertainment. Rodeo was invented as a show act for the Wild West shows and masculinized across North America (see e.g. Wooden/Ehringer 1996; Kelm 2009): from 1923 onwards, women were allowed to compete at the Stampede in one discipline only, barrel racing. Women riders became the ornamental part for rodeo as trick riders dandies or rodeo queens entertaining at night opposite the day program of sports (see Weninger/Dallaire 2017). As a consequence, rodeo became the sphere of the hypermasculine cowboys, whom Weadick envisioned as a role model, "courteous and self-contained, truthful, honest and brave" (qtd. in Kelm 2009, 719).

The Stampede rodeo offers, in the sense of Eric Hobsbawm's words (1983), an "invented tradition" that invites identification with a group or imagined community, in this case, the fabulous community of "Westerners". The rodeo creates excitement and a sense of ranch life, despite the fact that the Canadian "Beef Bonanza" (Johnston/MacKinnon 1985, 100) was short-lived (1881 to 1890s) and generally less successful than the roundups south of the border.[5] Rodeo embellishes a regional past and turns it into a sport with rules that have little bearing on historical ranch routines, where horse breaking was a rare activity, and riders would stay with their horses as long as they could. In real life, bull riding, the pinnacle of all rodeo events, was unnecessary and too dangerous; it best served as a bravery contest on the ranch.

The Stampede thus exemplifies not only the transformation of settler culture into an 'indigenous' conundrum, but also the explicitly gendered and sexual processes at work in settler colonialism (cf. Morgensen 2012, 9f.). Following Ann Laura Stoler's (2006) argument that colonial practices are immediately embodied and intimately link gender and sexuality to capital and empire, the rodeo cowboy's entertainment work displays an innuendo of white male struggle for economic and cultural value and, Eastern recognition. The celebration of the Stampede as Western culture spectacle compels "non-Westerners" to go Western; the audience is, in this sense, not the "world" as the *Calgary Herald* imagined, but the "empire," a disembodied power interpellating the West to groom its culture and maintain its narrative of difference from and membership of the nation-state—such as in 2011, when William and Kate, Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, visited the Stampede during their Royal Tour and were, of course white-hatted.

5 Johnston and MacKinnon wrap their nostalgia for cattle ranching in a rhetoric of violent displacement with the arrival of homesteading under a new government: "The doom of the big ranches was sealed in the late 1890's with the election of a Liberal government that abolished the Closed Lease System, cancelled existing leases, and opened the ranching country to homesteading. No longer protected from homesteaders, and particularly from American dryland farmers who began to arrive about 1900, ranchers were forced to retrench" (Johnston/MacKinnon 1985, 100f.).

**Language knows (k)not: Collapsed spaces and voyeuristic intimacies in *Stampede and the Westness of West* (2016)**

Aritha van Herk's oeuvre is tethered to the Canadian West and her own positioning as a writer. Her early piece "A Gentle Circumcision" (van Herk 1985), her "incorrigible" historiography of Alberta *Mavericks* (van Herk 2002) and her most recent *Stampede and the Westness of West* are not bookends, but rather vantage points in a deliberately rhizomatic oeuvre that offers vistas of amorous and odious, mocking and dead serious specimens of Canadian Western cultures. She is both a Stampede fan and commentator who plays with appearances, for instance by wearing a pink cowboy hat and cowboy boots-earrings in a 2018 interview on Calgary's Stampede culture, in which she calls the Stampede a "low-grade virus" that breaks out in July every year.[6]

In *Stampede and the Westness of West*, van Herk frames the spectator's experience of the West at the Calgary Stampede. A variation of her own onlooker self (van Herk was named the first Artist-in-Residence in 2012), the lyrical I/narrator/experiencer renders this experience in what she calls "prose poetry," texts that straddle genre boundaries between poetry, creative nonfiction, dramatic monologue, meditation, collage, and historiography. The title promises an essentialist enlightenment on the "Westness of West," which is turned on its head right away--not least with the cover showing a deliberately un-iconic grass-river-land (see fig. 3).

Likewise, the titles of the prose poems assembled are brief, mostly nouns, often monosyllabic ("Noise", "Race", "Chucks", "Buck", "Lust"), reminiscent of a keywords list or catalog. Yet the titles merely masquerade the complexities of the contents, whether for the connoisseur of Stampede protocol or for the ignoramus. Straight up, van Herk therefore asks readers to do the work of ordering themselves: should we read page by page, piece by piece? Should we leaf through? And likewise, who is this "I" who sometimes talks to us, who rather asks questions instead of providing answers, builds oxymora and metaphors? The opening piece, "The dreaming" (11), performs just that: piecing together snippets of Stampede knowledge and reception contexts, juxtaposing those who leave the town at its beginning ("The curled lip … dismissing this déclassé debauch, this faux fiesta …", ibid.) with the self-reflective dreamer herself: "Am I trapped in a synthetic documentary? […] Am I artist or patron?" (ibid.) The dream comes to a sudden end in a "pandemonium of hope," a threat and an elation: "Stampede or else." (ibid.) The text stages a poetic dance of authorial positioning and teases the implied reader to latch onto the ever evasive "Westness of West" paraded in the title.

6 https://globalnews.ca/video/4330030/calgarys-stampede-culture; see also Katherine Roberts' assessment of van Herk's "Sundance Style" and performances commenting on cowboy myths (Roberts 2010), which makes an argument similar to mine but sticks to literary performance.

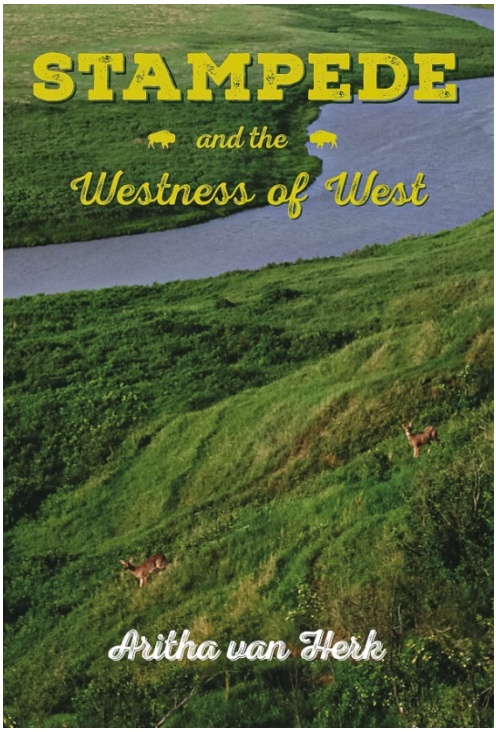


Figure 3: Aritha van Herk, 2017, *Stampede and the Westness of West*. Cover image.

Throughout the collection, amid the many synesthetic references and glimpses of Western knowledge, van Herk evokes the narrator as an experiential node. This is achieved by a priority given to looking-with-feeling through time and space. The narrator looks out for, at, back at, and beyond the Western spectacle. Her looks and the talking about them stage intimacies and desires fulfilled and unrequited. They blend past, present, and future into an incollapsible moment of being-in-the-world which, importantly, remains an ontology unto itself. *Stampede and the Westness of West* is composed in a roughly diachronic arch of expectations, starting out with "the dreaming" about the Stampede and ending on "Shooting a Saskatoon," a version of van Herk's ongoing meditation on the West enhanced for the present volume. The trope of looking-longingly creates an intimacy within the Western carnival which inverts the very sense of the spectacle: van Herk transforms the action, the movement, and the performance in the public sphere into a private experience that can neither be communicated nor imitated. Why bother reading about it then? Because it illuminates and troubles the workings of settler colonial intimacies and the long-neglected primacy of bodily knowledge over wording and worlding.

"Lust" (van Herk 2017, 50-52) begins with the narrator's *fait accompli*: "I kissed a cowboy. Enough already, I finally kissed a cowboy." (50) After this confession, the text quickly resorts to an academic stance, pleading the necessity of the act for, among others, "my education" and "my blood pressure." (ibid.) The poem thus discusses the Western romance narrative and the performance of gender roles at the rodeo. The narrator spirals out to return to the moment; she talks about the cowboy as a generic figure, parades cowboys at the rodeo to the implicit reader, and then returns to the narrator's meeting with the man and brief moment of (staged) intimacy.

The middle part heralds cowboys (in plural) as the essence of the Western spectacle and of the rodeo: "Whatever is western, they are, whatever is frontier, they are;

whatever is gumption they are". The cowboy here is not a singular individual but identified as a group; "they" are identified by the spectators, who in turn become the collective "we" opposite the cowboys: "we" dress up Western, use "cowboy language" and "toughen up" for the imaginary pain we feel when seeing the cowboy bucked off. Van Herk casts the infield as theater: the performers in the middle are interpellated as "cowboys" in the gaze of the onlookers. They spin so fast and shine so bright they freeze the movement of the rodeo into a still ("cowboys concretize the dynamic center of rodeo, they outspin the midway", 50).

Still, the cowboys are real, but beyond grasp: In dressing western and watching the rodeo, the onlookers "picked their pockets and stole their idiom." The narrator's admission that "we're mail order imitators" of the cowboys explains her desire: she wants to consume the figure she can only ogle from the sidelines: "no wonder I wanted to kiss a cowboy." (51) This phrase also marks the return to the encounter between individuals in the text: the reader is represented with a documentary snippet about the cowboy that turns out to be make-believe: he claims he is "from the East," a "Maritimer" from the Atlantic provinces, but the narrator sees straight through his palimpsest performance, the alias of the Maritimer performing as cowboy just "a fine disguise for a man from High River," a town just outside of Calgary (50f.). The figure of the cowboy, as we have seen above a product of Eastern business and politics, is thus pulled from Calgary to the exotic (of equally provincial) Maritimes and back to his Western ways, the Westerner posing as Easterner posing as Westerner.

This tautology frames the interplay between performer and onlooker. As the cowboy "profession" is performed, so is the effortless veneration by the spectators, whose onlooking is really a laborious effort. Van Herk calls all of this "work": the performance of the West is a communal task shared between the cowboys and the spectators: those who watch the cowboy do the "work" of voyeurism; those who "tag along" do the work of "side-kickery." (52)

In the end, the relation between cowboy and spectator reenacts the gendered narrative of the Western romance: the narrator is playing out "the cowgirl code" displaying herself for the man. Once in the arena, no action is required on her part: "get up, dress up, show up, never give up." (ibid.) Her performance of passive cowgirldom succeeds as she is being kissed, unraveling in that moment her secret cowgirl desire. – However, in retrospect, the narrator confesses that this romantic hiatus, the shared kiss, was a sham: "he pretended to be reluctant and I pretended to be eager." (ibid.) This rather disappointing outcome thus inverts once more the relation between participants entrenched in their roles. It can be read in various ways: first, as a due reward for the spectator's hard work of voyeurism; second, as mutual reassurance (between the narrator, the fake cowboy, and the audience) that the romance of "cowboy kisses cowgirl at the rodeo" is alive; and finally, as satisfaction for the reader and onlooker of the scene of the kiss. We, the readers, are addressed throughout the text, implicitly with the opening line "I kissed a cowboy," in between

as the inclusive spectator "we" opposite the object of our gaze, and in the narrator's final shout-out to herself: "kiss that damn cowboy, and get it over with" (ibid.).

The "Lust" of the title thus becomes a lusty engagement in voyeurism and charade, in acting and observing oneself in action. The semiotics of the West is used as a stage here, and as the characters and audience indulge in masquerade, they rejoice in subversive laughter about figment stories, identity work, and the performance of Western gender role stereotypes. With the logic of looking-and-feeling, van Herk turns the tables on Laura Mulvey's seminal "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (Mulvey 1975). Where Mulvey argues that the female figure is frozen in a symbolic order opposite the male onlooker's defining power, van Herk's spectator returns the gaze and enters herself onto the scene. The carnival of the Stampede is an arena of exposure and performance; the task is to playact a romance story to get it over with. You just have to make sure you are seeing it and you are seen doing it.

Hence, van Herk's own performance as Stampede artist and cowgirl poetess refracts the images and stories of the Canadian West's cultural industry. Granted, van Herk participates in the making; she has become a local celebrity. But her cowgirl artist persona also shifts the emphasis to the gendered nature of the West she tried to "circumcise" in 1985 (van Herk 1985). In the continued spectacle of *Stampede and the Westness of West*, she posits a female experience/author/artist persona at the center of it all that is ultimately entangled in knots of knowledges, as the second text discussed here shows.

In "Shooting a Saskatoon" (van Herk 2017, 92-97), the look and feel of the mythical West meditate on Western (i.e. white and settler colonial) language. The title "Shooting a Saskatoon" was inspired by a misunderstanding: the narrator was asked by a European whether in the Canadian West, "Is it possible to shoot a saskatoon or is that animal too elusive for bullets?" (95) However, saskatoons are berries native to North America and represent an important nutrient for First Nations, specifically in the fruity paste of pemmican. The name might have reminded the European ignoramus of the "raccoon" or another animal foreign to European minds. Van Herk's text is a response to this "unlikely question" which for her becomes "the perfect metaphor for the west." (ibid.) Her engagement with the West includes attempts at naming and translating it or pinning it down in space or time. The text performs and troubles the settler colonial desire of applying a European epistemology (language poetry, self-location) to the West. As a coda to *Stampede and the Westness of West*, "Shooting a Saskatoon" parades the failure of a Western-only perspective and shows the difficulty of "mak[ing] space" for Indigenous Feminisms (Green $^{2}$2017) and to address the questions van Herk's literary cowgirl poetess does not feel entitled to answer for us. The poem "Treaty Seven" (65) makes space for the indigenous settlement at the confluence of the Bow and Elbow rivers at today's site of Calgary and asks us to ponder the politics of the participation of First Nations people at the Stampede: "celebration or exploitation" (ibid.)?

"Shooting a Saskatoon" offers a mixture between reader-address and self-inquiry. It provides questions and advice about going West and glimpses of the West's phenomenology. It begins with hearsay and ends with death by language: "This west the story goes, is a real place, with sky and sagebrush, with a small and a swagger and a whiskey swig sweetness uncorrupted by language. In this real west, the distilled perfections of mornings and afternoons and evenings are not just observed or articulated but tasted, touched, worn" (92). Juxtaposed to this beginning of sensations and incorporations of the West, in the end, is the journey to the West, prompted by the advice "go West." Van Herk transposes the formula of Western expansionism "go west, young man" into her own text; it makes "another state of mind stumble to its feet and try to untie the intricate knot of language that ties us all to death" (97).

Throughout, van Herk links 'the literal' to 'the imaginary'. Returning to the 'literal' entails looking at the letters, the meaning of a word beyond the context in which it is used; conversely, the 'imaginary' means everything beyond, that which is not expressible and cannot be put into letters or words. In this play between the word out of context and the image beyond the word, she employs Western language and Western tropes to explain that which cannot be explained, the West: "A monster of indifference and mistress of camouflage, this west performs as escape artist and tightrope walker, ineradicably beautiful, and oh so silently eloquent. (92)"

The narrator takes detours not only through sense perceptions but also through the West's materiality: "Lariat and its largo can never be said the same way twice, threading through the keyhole of the square dance" (93). She conjures the movement of the lasso (the lariat), when being roped, a paradoxical spectacle: It looks slow and you can barely detect the movement, but it becomes a perfect circle only when spun very fast. The lasso's largo, its slow and tranquilizing quality, contrasts and corresponds with the form and movement of square dancing. In Western square dance, couples form and abandon each other, move back and forth and return to the initial form of the circle. Both the square dancers and the flying lasso move perpetually and seemingly slow, composing in movement forms that have to collapse when the movement stops. Both the lasso and the square dance also obscure the individualism of the person and the primacy of the human body, as the viewer's attention is drawn to the circular form.

The circle represents the basis of the knot that van Herk uses to symbolize the West. Throughout the text, she collapses the West into knots, entangled entities of language, experience, place and time. The knot represents a central motif, bound up in idiomatic references, as a collection of quotes from the text shows:

> The west's roundup has ridden the cusp between literal and imaginary, differences and its discontents, the *knots* of invention and actuality.
> If only we could *knot* the west into a handkerchief of distinguishable landforms. But the west won't fit.

> Maybe west's occupants can lean toward the literal, but the west is still a *knot* that no one can cut, Gordian or not, tongue-tied, a double positive. That intricate looped pattern a *knot* that pulls tightness toward incomplete completion, a souvenir and an invitation, a carnival that refuses to fold up and close itself down. (van Herk 2017, 92-97, emphasis added)

In the last two quotes, the double positive of the Gordian knot is echoed in the figure eights the Chuckwagons make around the barrels after the starting horn sounds, as they "pull themselves through the terrible knot around two barrels and must stay upright in the chalk circles" (96). Echoing the loop shape of the lasso and the square dance, the figure eight during the Chuckwagon race becomes the magic number or magic form here: It twists the circle once and represents the middle ground between the loop (or zero, if you like) and the knot which entangles the line. Where the loop allows for perpetual movement, the knot has a way in, but no way out. In the thrill, danger, and spectacle of the Chuckwagon races, the Western carnival itself is ingrained, a festival that resists the rules of the carnival: it does not end, neither in time nor in space: "a carnival that refuses to fold up and close itself down." (ibid.) The endless figure eight becomes the knot of no return, a disruption of movement and space-time in its own right, the Charybdis of white conquest.

**Conclusion**

Aritha van Herk's Western carnival throws all the questions back at us. Her West oscillates between the centrist and continental views I outlined in the beginning. She evokes the Canadian West as a place defined through the gaze from the East. Simultaneously, she uses the continental viewpoint for recalibrating the US American Western narrative from a performative and feminist point of view. The spectacle of the Stampede offers a rich landscape of performance to the eye, it survives only when the viewer participates in the show.

Van Herk lassoes the reader with a synesthetic experience of the Western narrative. As van Herk argues, the West must be experienced rather than shown, maybe even swallowed whole. It must be touched, worn, and incorporated. The absence of a personal pronoun to go with "Westerners" indicates this: van Herk does not talk about "Us Westerners," "them," or "the" for that matter, but leaves this category open to all, in the very sense of Weadick's inclusive vision, while at the same time troubling the notion of a Canadian multicultural carnival with her language criticism. And this explodes not only the space and time of the West. It also extends the West's presence beyond the terminating uses of language that "ties us all to death." (97) Ultimately, van Herk's prose poetry positions the West beyond and betwixt the discourses of centrist and continental. Her work debates with the essentialist quest of an Alberta national canon outlined in the first part of this essay, bearing witness to postmodernist Prairie Literature's attempts at "unsettling" and the Eastern interpellating gaze. While at first sight, van Herk's white feminist view might be prob-

lematic for reenacting the indigenization of settler colonial views ("the land made us"), her prose poetry in *Stampede and the Westness of West* articulates a fundamental critique of narratives of filiation, heritage, and legacy. At the end of the day, the Canadian West remains the European cultural imaginary's cul-de-sac.

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# Wie sich Kreativität entfaltet. Städtische Innovations-Ökosysteme in Montreal und München

**Abstract**

*Cities are increasingly central places of creativity and innovation, as they bring together a variety of actors, who in turn benefit from their complementary resources. These actors constitute a so-called innovation ecosystem with certain characteristics and relationships. This article develops a cross-industry 3-level model for the analysis of urban innovation ecosystems and illustrates how creativity flourishes in this context and how entrepreneurship is fostered using the creative cities of Montreal and Munich as examples. We look at the characteristics and functioning of actors in an innovation ecosystem, such as universities, companies, artists and public institutions. Through the integration of different conceptual reference frameworks, the characterization and comparison of innovation ecosystems becomes possible. We find that both Montreal and Munich are creative cities, but differ in their socio-economic contexts: Thus, Montreal's creativity is embedded in a multicultural socio-economic environment with numerous SMEs, in which a lot of technological creativity takes place, while Munich is characterized by big industrial enterprises and institutionalized funding systems that allow technical innovations to emerge, but leave less room for artistic creativity.*

**Résumé**

*Les villes sont de plus en plus des lieux centraux de créativité et d'innovation, car elles rassemblent une variété d'acteurs qui, à leur tour, bénéficient de leurs ressources complémentaires. Ces acteurs forment ce qu'on appelle un écosystème d'innovation avec des caractéristiques et relations dinstinctes. Dans cet article, nous proposons un modèle intersectoriel à trois niveaux pour l'analyse de ces écosystèmes d'innovation urbaine. A l'exemple des villes créatives de Montréal et Munich, ce modèle illustre comment la créativité se développe ainsi que comment ces milieux créatifs contribuent à stimuler l'esprit d'entreprise. Nous prenons en considération les caractéristiques et les réseaux d'acteurs d'un écosystème d'innovation, tels que les universités, les entreprises, les artistes et les institutions publiques. Grâce à l'intégration de différents cadres de référence conceptuels, la présentation et la comparaison des écosystèmes d'innovation deviennent possibles. Nous démontrons que Montréal et Munich sont des villes créatives, mais qui diffèrent par leurs contextes socio-économiques : Ainsi, la créativité montréalaise s'inscrit*

*dans un environnement socio-économique multiculturel avec de nombreuses PME où foisonne la créativité, tandis que Munich se caractérise par des grandes entreprises industrielles et des institutions financières qui permettent aux innovations d'émerger, mais laissent moins de place à la créativité artistique.*

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**Einleitung: Kreative Städte und Innovations-Ökosysteme**[1]

Die Innovationsgeographie, ein auf Innovationsprozesse und -verteilung fokussierter Zweig der Wirtschaftsgeographie, stellt sich die Frage, wie und warum sich innovative Aktivitäten räumlich verteilen und konzentrieren (Koschatzky 2005; Cooke et al. 2011; Srholec 2011). Als zentrale Treiber von Innovationen gelten zunächst Unternehmen und Unternehmensagglomerationen (Marshall 1920; Krugman 1998; Porter 1990; Freeman 1987; Lundvall 2010; Cooke et al. 1997; Barmeyer/Krüth 2012; Heidenreich et al. 2012). Städte rücken jedoch zunehmend als zentrale soziale Kontexte regionaler Wirtschaftsentwicklung in den Fokus, schließlich findet sich in ihnen eine hohe Konzentration an hochqualifiziertem Humankapital, talentierten und kreativen Individuen und grundlegender Infrastruktur wie Universitäten oder Forschungseinrichtungen, wodurch Wissenstransfer und -austausch möglich werden (Rodríguez-Posé/Wilkie 2016). Florida, Adler und Mellander (2017, 91 f.) gehen sogar so weit, dass sie Städte, insbesondere „globale Städte" als zentrale Treiber von Kreativitäts- und Innovationsprozessen verstehen und diese Unternehmen als zentrale Einheiten ablösen.

Mit dem Erscheinen von Richard Floridas „The Rise of the Creative Class" (2002) wurde die ‚Kreative Stadt' zum Top-Thema bei Forschenden im Bereich urbaner Wirtschaftsentwicklung und -planung (Andersson/Mellander 2011; Cohendet/Zapata 2009; Fritsch/Stützer 2007). Im Zentrum der Betrachtung kreativer Städte steht aktuell häufig die Kreativwirtschaft. Charles Landry (2011), einer der bekanntesten Autoren, der maßgeblich zur Verbreitung des Begriffs beigetragen hat, betont ein weitgefasstes Verständnis von Kreativität:

> In the 'creative city' it is not only artists and those involved in the creative economy who are creative, although they play an important role. Creativity can come from any source including anyone who addresses issues

1 An dieser Stelle möchten wir uns bei der *Bayerischen Forschungsallianz* und der *Regierung von Quebec* bedanken, die mit finanzieller Unterstützung sowohl die Forschungsaufenthalte in München und Montreal als auch das internationale Kolloquium „Creativity and Innovation in Urban Ecosystems – Munich and Montreal in Comparison", das im Oktober 2018 in Passau stattfand (https://www.phil.uni-passau.de/barmeyer/aktivitaeten/kolloquium-creativity-innovation/), möglich machten.

> in an inventive way, be it a social worker, a business person, a scientist or a public servant. (Landry 2011, 518)

Dies stimmt mit Floridas (2003, 2012) Auffassung von Kreativität überein. Die kreative Stadt, bzw. das „kreative Zentrum", wird als Stadt, die eine hohe Konzentration an kreativen wirtschaftlichen Erzeugnissen, auch in Form von Innovation und High-Tech-Produkten, -Lösungen und -Services aufweist, definiert (Florida 2003, 8).

Bei der Betrachtung kreativer Städte kann grundsätzlich zwischen Input- und Output-Faktoren unterschieden werden (Freeman 1987). Der vorliegende Artikel hat zum Ziel. die Input-Faktoren der jeweiligen kreativen Städte als Innovations-Ökosystem zu identifizieren und darzustellen. Grundsätzlich bieten Innovations-Ökosysteme vielversprechende Möglichkeiten, Kreativität zu fördern und Innovationen zu generieren. Demnach wird ein Innovations-Ökosystem als Netzwerk verschiedener ökonomischer Akteure betrachtet, in dem kreative, innovative und unternehmerische Prozesse ablaufen, die zu regionalem Wachstum führen (Spigel 2017). Es stellt eine dynamische Gemeinschaft von Akteuren (Kreativen, Unternehmen, Investoren, Bildungs- und Forschungseinrichtungen, Wirtschaftsverbänden, Regierungen usw.) dar, die miteinander kooperieren (Audretsch/Belitski 2017; Cooke 1998). Diese Akteure agieren nicht autonom, sondern sind zu einem gewissen Grad voneinander abhängig und können durch ihre Komplementarität ein hohes Maß an Wertschöpfung erzielen (Acs et al. 2017). Ein Ökosystem ist in die kreative Stadt eingebettet und kann nicht unabhängig von dem spezifischen institutionellen und sozioökonomischen Kontext betrachtet werden. Im Folgenden werden exemplarisch München und Montreal als kreative urbane Kontexte herausgegriffen, um die hergeleitete Forschungsfrage zu untersuchen: Welche jeweiligen Charakteristika weisen die Innovations-Ökosysteme in den kreativen Städten München und Montreal auf?

Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage werden basierend auf einem systemischen Ansatz kontextuelle Organisationsmuster der Akteure und Beziehungen untereinander in einem Innovations-Ökosystem identifiziert, um den dynamischen, offenen, lokal eingebetteten Kreativitätsprozess zu verstehen. Dies bedeutet, dass die Elemente, die das städtische Ökosystem konstituieren, zunächst abgegrenzt und die verschiedenen Perspektiven der Akteure betrachtet werden (O'Connor et al. 2018). Die Einbettung in lokale Strukturen und Kontexte der Städte München und Montreal, die auf das Ökosystem und die beteiligten Akteure erheblichen Einfluss haben, ist ebenso von zentraler Bedeutung.

**Konzeptioneller Bezugsrahmen: Strukturierung von Innovations-Ökosystemen**

Um das Phänomen der kreativen Stadt besser zu verstehen, entwickelten Simon (2009) und Cohendet, Grandadam und Simon (2010) das Modell der „Anatomie der kreativen Stadt". Diese unterscheidet die drei Ebenen *Upper-, Under-* und *Middleground* und bezieht sich vor allem auf die Kreativwirtschaft. Es enthält spezielle

Elemente der Künstlerszene insbesondere bei der Beschreibung des *Undergrounds*. Für eine branchenübergreifende Betrachtung werden die jeweiligen drei Ebenen mit ausgewählten theoretischen Konzepten nach Etzkowitz (2003) und Florida (2012) ergänzt, die es ermöglichen, die einzelnen Ebenen besser vor dem Kontext urbaner Innovations-Ökosysteme zu verstehen (vgl. Abbildung 1).

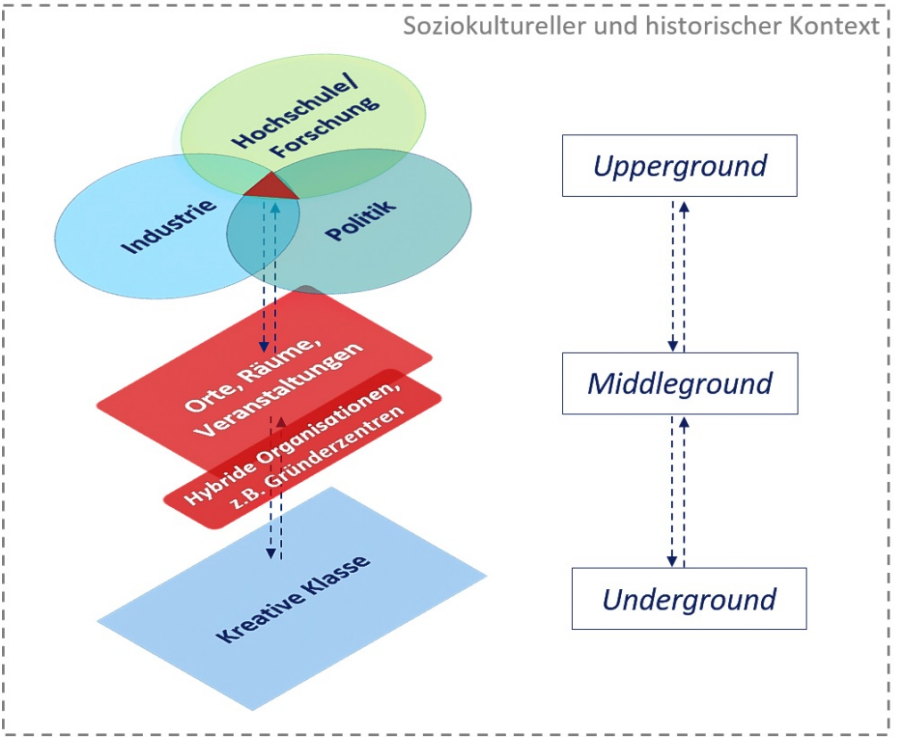


Abbildung 1: Drei-Ebenen-Modell eines Innovations-Ökosystems (eigene Darstellung, in Anlehnung an Etzkowitz 2003, Simon 2009, Cohendet et al. 2010, Florida 2012)

**Der *Uppergroun*d und Etzkowitz' Tripelhelix-Ansatz**

Der *Uppergroun*d besteht nach Simon (2009) und Cohendet et al. (2010, 2011) vor allem aus kreativen und kulturellen Unternehmen verschiedener Branchen und Institutionen wie Universitäten oder Forschungslaboren. Die formalen Organisationen des *Uppergroun*d unterstützen kreative Prozesse durch ihre Fähigkeit, verschiedene Strömungen zu vereinen und zu finanzieren, unterschiedliche Wissenstypen zu integrieren und neue Formen von Kreativität auf dem Markt zu testen. Um die Analyse auf andere Branchen als die Kreativwirtschaft auszuweiten, ist es sinnvoll, auf dieser Ebene den „Tripelhelix-Ansatz" zu integrieren (Etzkowitz 1993) und deren

interne Struktur in den drei interagierenden Sphären Hochschule/Forschung, Industrie und Politik darzustellen.

Der Tripelhelix-Ansatz zu institutionellen Beziehungen des *Uppergrounds* (Etzkowitz 1993; Etzkowitz/Leydesdorff 1995) wurde in den 1990er Jahren eingeführt und bezieht sich auf die wachsenden trilateralen Verbindungen zwischen den institutionellen Sphären von Hochschule/Forschung, Industrie und Politik in der Wissensgesellschaft. Dieser Theorie zufolge stellt die Interaktion der drei Sphären den Schlüssel zu erfolgreicher Innovation und damit zu wirtschaftlichem Erfolg in einer wissensbasierten Gesellschaft dar. In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten haben sich sowohl die Beziehungen zwischen Hochschulen, Politik und Industrie verändert, als auch die interne Funktionsweise bzw. Rolle jeder einzelnen Sphäre. In einer ausgeprägten Tripelhelix-Struktur übernimmt jede institutionelle Sphäre zunehmend auch die Rolle der anderen: Zum Beispiel generieren und verbreiten Unternehmen durch Institute und interne Akademien neues Wissen. Politische Strategien der Wirtschaftsentwicklung gestalten sich zunehmend im Austausch und in der Zusammenarbeit mit Unternehmen und Hochschulen. Die Hochschule wiederum hat die Rolle der Schöpferin und Verbreiterin zertifizierten Wissens inne, jedoch zunehmend in einem größeren Kontext. Dabei folgt sie immer öfter politischen Strategien und kommt damit der neuen Rolle als Innovationsförderin nach.

**Der *Underground* und Floridas kreative Klasse**

Simon (2009) und Cohendet et al. (2010, 2011; Cohendet/Zapata 2009) definieren den *Underground* in Anlehnung an Arvidsson (2007) als Gruppierung aller kreativen, kulturellen und künstlerischen Akteure, die nicht in formalen Strukturen oder Institutionen organisiert sind. Als Beispiele werden u.a. Graffitikünstler und Gamer genannt. In der Kreativwirtschaft wird die *Underground*-Kultur als treibende Kraft beim Setzen von Trends angesehen („exploration"); diese wird allerdings als unabhängig von der unternehmerischen Standardisierungslogik („exploitation") betrachtet (Cohendet et al. 2010, 96). Der kreative Prozess auf der Explorationsebene funktioniert nach impliziten Normen, die allerdings externalisiert werden können. Aus diesem Grund wird argumentiert, dass Nähe und häufige Interaktion, und somit die Einbettung in eine Stadt, für die tatsächliche Entstehung kreativer Externalitäten von größter Bedeutung sind. Um die Individuen des *Undergrounds* branchenübergreifend besser einordnen zu können, wird hier auf Floridas (2012) Definition der *kreativen Klasse* zurückgegriffen.

Florida et al. (2011) ziehen zur Zugehörigkeitsbestimmung die Art der *Beschäftigung* der Akteure heran und nicht allein den Bildungsgrad wie beim Humankapital. Sie beschreiben das Kreativkapital als Sonderform (Florida 2012), was sich dadurch auszeichnet, dass zwischen dem kreativen Kern (*Super Creative Core*) und den kreativen Experten (*creative professionals*) unterschieden wird. Diese Experten werden zwar ursprünglich nicht für Kreativität bezahlt, ihre Beschäftigung erfordert jedoch kreatives Denken. Zum kreativen Kern zählen talentierte Menschen wie Wissen-

schaftler, Ingenieure, Universitätsprofessoren, Dichter, Romanautoren, Künstler, Entertainer, Schauspieler, Designer und Architekten sowie Meinungsmacher, die auch als wichtiger Grund für die Clusterbildung von Unternehmen betrachtet werden. In der Kreativwirtschaft existieren nach Cohendet et al. (2011, 152 f.) Prozesse, die direkte Verbindungen zwischen Akteuren des *Uppergrounds* und des *Undergrounds* herstellen. Diese seien in einer kreativen Stadt notwendig, garantieren aber nicht, dass sich ein ‚fruchtbares Ökosystem' entwickelt, in dem kreative Ideen, die im *Underground* entstehen, über Validierungsprozesse für den *Upperground* marktreif gemacht werden. Dazu wird ein fruchtbarer *Middleground* benötigt.

**Der *Middleground***

Nach Cohendet, Grandadam und Simon (2010, 2011) bieten Gemeinschaften, *communities*, in denen Wissenstransfer stattfindet, das größte Potential für Kreativität und Innovation in einer kreativen Stadt. Wissen, Lernen, Wissenstransferprozesse, die in das lokale Milieu eingebettet sind und von persönlichen Kontakten leben, spielen demnach, wie in der Innovationsgeographie auch, in der „Anatomie der kreativen Stadt" eine zentrale Rolle (Grandadam et al. 2013, 1703 ff.). Gemeinschaften entstehen im *Middleground*, der Akteure von *Upper-* und *Underground* zusammenbringt und vernetzt. Hier wird das implizite Wissen, also die kreative Spontanität des *Undergrounds,* durch zunehmende Kodifizierung in explizites Wissen, also gemeinsames Verständnis umgewandelt, das den formalen Organisationen und Institutionen des *Uppergrounds* erlaubt, die Produkte auf den Markt zu bringen. Ein fruchtbarer *Middleground* muss viele Gelegenheiten zur Kooperation bieten, um den Nährboden der kreativen Stadt nutzbar zu machen. Er benötigt *Orte* („Places") und *Räume* („Spaces"), an denen sich die Communities überschneiden und an denen sich Menschen treffen, um ihr Wissen zu teilen und Neues zu lernen. Wissenstransfer wird durch diese speziellen *loci* der Kreativität gefördert und Projekte und Veranstaltungen können als temporärer Raum dienen, der es Akteuren ermöglicht, sich zu treffen, neue Ideen aufzunehmen und diese vom informellen zum formellen Bereich (oder umgekehrt) zu transferieren (Cohendet et al. 2010).

*Orte* wie Cafés, Restaurants, Veranstaltungssäle, Kunstgalerien, öffentliche Plätze und Parks oder alte Lagerhäuser bieten die physische Plattform, auf der sich Akteure der verschiedenen Ebenen zusammenfinden, austauschen, Ideen generieren und neue kreative Formate testen können. *Räume* dagegen bieten kognitive Wissensplattformen, die zwar meist, aber nicht zwangsläufig, an lokale Örtlichkeiten gebunden sind. Ein reichhaltiger *Middleground* benötigt diese Räume, an denen Ideenaustausch auch auf globaler Ebene stattfindet, damit das lokale Milieu von frischen Ideen, neuem Wissen und Praktiken aus anderen Communities profitieren kann. Wird der Blick auf den *Middleground* branchenübergreifend erweitert, finden sich wiederum Parallelen zum Überlappungsbereich der drei institutionellen Sphären des Tripelhelix-Systems. Dort entstehen trilaterale Netzwerke und hybride Organisation, die sich an der Schnittstelle zwischen Hochschule/Forschung, Industrie

und Politik bilden und charakteristisch sind für ein ausgeglichenes Tripelhelix-System. Dazu zählen neben Technologie-Transferstellen an Hochschulen und öffentlichen Forschungslabors auch Business Support-Einrichtungen wie Gründerzentren sowie finanzielle Support-Einrichtungen wie Risikokapitalfirmen, Business Angel-Netzwerke usw. Gerade Gründerzentren können als Katalysatoren und Multiplikatoren die Dynamik des Ökosystems befördern, da sie verschiedene institutionelle Logiken in sich vereinen (Roundy 2017, 1228 ff.) und sind damit zentrale Organisationen des *Middlegrounds*.

Der Mehrwert des Drei-Ebenen-Modells des Innovations-Ökosystems in kreativen Städten besteht in der Erweiterung auf verschiedenen Ebenen, um branchenübergreifend für das gesamte Innovations-Ökosystem Gültigkeit zu erlangen: Die Akteure des *Undergrounds* (Kreative Klasse) leben von der Vernetzung mit den Akteuren der drei Tripelhelix-Sphären Hochschule/Forschung, Industrie und Politik im *Upperground*, was durch einen vitalen *Middleground* gewährleistet und gefördert wird. An der Schnittstelle der drei Sphären entstehen Gemeinschaften, die *Orte*, *Räume* und *Veranstaltungen* bzw. Projekte nutzen, um Wissen zu generieren und zu verbreiten.

**Methodik: Vergleichend qualitative Fallstudie**

Zur Untersuchung der Innovations-Ökosysteme in München und Montreal wurde eine vergleichend-qualitative Fallstudie durchgeführt, um unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes ein Tiefenverständnis einer abgegrenzten Einheit zu erlangen (Yin 2014). Der vergleichende Ansatz ermöglicht es, charakteristische Eigenschaften für das jeweilige Ökosystem herauszuarbeiten. Dabei werden die verschiedenen Akteure, Beziehungen und Konfigurationen illustriert. Eine qualitative Herangehensweise erlaubt es, ein differenziertes Verständnis des Aufbaus der Innovations-Ökosysteme und der Vernetzung der Akteure zu entwickeln. In der Untersuchung wurde das Prinzip der Gegenstandsangemessenheit verfolgt, das die flexible Anpassung der Forschungsstrategie an den Forschungsgegenstand (Kühl 2009) beschreibt und das grundlegende qualitative Prinzip der Offenheit (Mayring 2016) widerspiegelt. Es impliziert sparsame theoretische Vorannahmen und die Flexibilität der Forschenden, den Forschungsprozess und ggf. die Forschungsfragen an neue Entdeckungen anzupassen (Kuckartz 2016).

Verschiedene Autoren vergleichen kreative Städte und Ökosysteme auf internationaler Ebene (z.B. Cohendet et al. 2011), jedoch wurden die kreativen Städte München und Montreal bisher nicht vergleichend erforscht. Dabei lassen sich einige Parallelen zwischen den Städten München und Montreal ziehen: Beide Städte sind nach obiger Definition als kreativ einzustufen, wobei Montreal sogar explizit Mitglied des UNESCO *Creative Cities Networks* ist (UNESCO 2018). Beide Städte sind Millionenstädte mit 1,5 Mio. (München) bzw. 1,7 Mio. (Montreal) Einwohnern. Sie genießen international einen guten Ruf und verfügen über eine hohe Anziehungskraft, denn beide Städte sind zentrale Orte und wirtschaftliche Treiber der jeweiligen Regionen Bayern und Québec. Darüber hinaus bietet die enge Kooperation der

beiden Regionen Bayern und Quebec einen idealen Rahmen für einen Vergleich (Allard 2017).

**Datenerhebung und -auswertung**

Zur Datenerhebung wurde auf die Methode des *qualitativen, teilstrukturierten Experteninterviews* zurückgegriffen, wobei die oben genannten Akteure sowohl über *Betriebswissen* ihrer jeweiligen Organisation oder Einrichtung als auch *Kontextwissen* über das Ökosystem verfügen und somit im Sinne des *Multiple Stories* Ansatz (Perren/Ram 2004, 89 ff.) ein umfassendes Bild wiedergeben können. Damit besitzen sie eine doppelte Expertenfunktion, die auch in den Interviews herangezogen wurde, „denn ein Experte, der in einem Feld aktiv ist, besitzt nicht nur sein subjektives Betriebswissen, sondern kann in der Regel auch einschätzen, welche anderen Akteure und welche Regeln es im Feld gibt" (Wassermann 2015, 53).

Basierend auf dem 3-Ebenen-Modell und entsprechend dem eingebetteten Fallstudiendesign in Kombination mit dem *Multiple Stories Milieu*-Ansatz wurden zentrale Akteure aus den verschiedenen Ebenen der Innovations-Ökosysteme ausgewählt. Insgesamt wurden im Zeitraum von Oktober bis Dezember 2017 36 Manager von Gründerzentren, Gründer, Vertreter von Stadt und Hochschulen oder sonstigen Einrichtungen des Ökosystems interviewt, davon 16 aus Montreal und 20 aus München (Tabelle 1). Allerdings war es aufgrund des schwierigen Feldzugangs leider nicht möglich, Interviews mit Akteuren der Industrie oder mit Kapitalgebern durchzuführen.

| **Organisation** | **Abkürzungen** | **Anzahl Interviews in München** | **Anzahl Interviews in Montreal** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gründerzentren | GZ MUC/ GZ MTL | 9 | 7 |
| Stadtverwaltung/ Regierung | Stadt MUC/ Stadt MTL | 2 | 1 |
| Start-ups | Start-up MUC/ Start-up MTL | 5 | 5 |
| Andere Akteure/ Organisationen | Organisation MUC/ Organisation MTL | 4 | 3 |

Tabelle 1: Übersicht der Interviews in München und Montreal

Für die Datenauswertung wurden die Audiodateien der Interviews mit dem Computerprogramm MAXQDA 2018 nach einem einfachen Transkriptionssystem selektiv transkribiert. Anschließend wurde eine inhaltlich strukturierende qualitative Inhaltsanalyse nach Kuckartz (2016) vorgenommen, die dadurch charakterisiert ist, dass das volle Spektrum der Kategorienbildung von vollkommen induktiv bis weitgehend deduktiv genutzt werden kann. In diesem Sinne wurde ein Kategoriensystem

entwickelt, das vor allem deduktiv abgeleitete Hauptkategorien basierend auf dem zuvor geleisteten Literaturüberblick enthält sowie v.a. induktiv anhand der Transkripte abgeleitete Subkategorien. Dabei wurde darauf geachtet, möglichst einheitliche Abstraktionsniveaus zu wählen (Mayring 2016).

**Ergebnisdarstellung: Kontextuelle Vielfalt**

Im Folgenden werden nun auf Basis des zuvor entwickelten 3-Ebenen-Modells urbaner Innovations-Ökosysteme die beiden Fälle München und Montreal genauer betrachtet. Beide Städte weisen eine charakteristische Konfiguration des *Upper-, Under-* und *Middlegrounds* auf, die hier illustriert werden soll. Im Anschluss werden die Innovations-Ökosysteme gegenübergestellt.

### 4.1 Das Innovations-Ökosystem Montreal

#### *Upperground*

In München und in Montreal ist die institutionelle Sphäre Hochschule/Forschung sehr ausgeprägt und somit findet sich in beiden Städten Talent im Sinne Floridas. Der französisch-englische Bilinguismus in Montreal führt jedoch zu einer sprachlich geteilten Konstellation der Universitäten (vgl. Abbildung 3). Der Bilinguismus ist ein besonderes Alleinstellungsmerkmal, das sich auf viele Lebensbereiche auswirkt und u.a. historisch, durch die abwechselnde Besetzung durch Frankreich und Großbritannien in der Kolonialzeit, bedingt ist (Barmeyer 2006, 152). Fast 60% der Bevölkerung sprechen beide offiziellen Sprachen Kanadas und insgesamt werden über 100 Sprachen in der Region gesprochen (Montréal en statistiques 2018). Die *Université de Montreál* (UDeM) (frankophon) sowie die *McGill University* (anglophon) zählen zu den weltweit renommierten Eliteuniversitäten, während die *Université du Québec à Montreal* (UQAM) und *Concordia University* öffentliche Universitäten sind. Montreal gilt als Universitätshauptstadt Kanadas und gehört nach dem *QS Best Student Cities 2018* Ranking zu den besten Universitätsstädten der Welt. Diese Universitäten agieren jeweils als Schirmherrinnen eigener Forschungsinstitute mit Forschungskompetenzen in den Feldern Luft- und Raumfahrt, Biotechnologie und Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien (IKT) (WEB 7). Eine Besonderheit des Quebecer Bildungssystems ist das *Enseignement collégial*, das eine obligatorische Zwischenstation zwischen weiterführender Schule und Universität darstellt. Die sogenannten *Cégeps* (Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel) bieten sowohl zweijährige universitätsvorbereitende Programme als auch dreijährige Berufsausbildungsprogramme an (WEB 8). Für die Videospiel-Industrie haben sich beispielsweise sehr spezifische Programme als wertvoll erwiesen, wie etwa Graphisme, das am Cégep de Sherbrooke angeboten wird und die benötigten visuellen Programmierfähigkeiten vermittelt (WEB 9).

Wie München ist auch Montreal das wirtschaftliche Zentrum der Region. Die *Agglomération de Montréal* generiert 35,5% des gesamten BIPs in Quebec. 2016 zählte Montreal 59.622 Unternehmen, wovon nur knapp 1,3% als großes Unternehmen

mit mehr als 200 Mitarbeitern eingestuft wurden (Ville de Montréal 2018). Damit verfügt auch Montreal über eine breite mittelständische Basis. Im Vergleich zu München sind nur wenige internationale Konzerne in Montreal beheimatet, der bekannteste ist wohl *Bombardier,* eine Art Relikt der anglophonen Epoche. Die KMU tragen hier zu einer charakteristischen Diversität und einer gewissen Innovationsfähigkeit bei:

> Wir haben nie große Unternehmen gehabt, die Globale Player waren, die die ganze Stadt ernährten. Es gibt eine Gruppe von KMUs, die es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, sich hervorzuheben, innovativ zu sein, um sich durchsetzen zu können. (GZ MTL)[2]

Die ökonomische Vielfalt ist ein Schlüsselfaktor des Erfolgs oder wie es von der Stadtverwaltung selbst formuliert wird: „Das Geheimnis des Erfolges: Hochtechnologie, Kreativität und Innovation" (WEB 10). Ab den 1960er Jahren, im Zuge der *Révolution Tranquille* („Stille Revolution"), nahm die Wirtschaftskraft im Montreal aufgrund der massiven Abwanderung von vielen anglophonen Industrie- und Dienstleistungsunternehmen nach Toronto rapide ab (Polèse 1990, 143 f.). In den 1980er Jahren verschärfte sich die Situation weiter durch Umstrukturierungen in der Textilindustrie. Armut und Arbeitslosigkeit in der Bevölkerung (Lessard 1992) und leerstehende Textilfabriken und Bürotürme (Cloutier 1993) prägten das Stadtbild. Heute gilt Montreal als weltweit führend in den Bereichen künstliche Intelligenz, Big Data sowie Analytics, Robotics und Videospielen (Startup Genome 2018). Damit gilt die Stadt für *Global Player* wie Facebook, Amazon und Microsoft als attraktiver Standort, da sie von der innovativen Forschung in diesen Bereichen profitieren wollen (ebd.). Darüber hinaus ist die Stadt für den besonders innovativen *Cirque du Soleil* bekannt, der u.a. durch die aktive Künstler- und Artistenszene in Quebec entstehen konnte (Barmeyer 2006, Leslie/Rantisi 2011, 1776 f.).

Die Stadtverwaltung Montreals und die Provinzialregierung in Quebec Stadt stehen in engem Austausch; auch mit der Nationalregierung mit Sitz in Ottawa gibt es regelmäßige Kooperationen. Staat und Stadt unterstützen sich wirtschaftlich gegenseitig durch verschiedene Programme und Anreize wie die sogenannten *Crédits d'impôt*, d.h. Steuergutschriften für Tätigkeiten in der Grundlagenforschung sowie im Elektronik- und Multimediabereich (WEB 11). Gerade die Videospiel-Industrie profitierte davon sehr, v.a. mit der Ansiedlung von Ubisoft (Cohendet et al. 2010, 101 ff.). Der städtische *Service du développement économique* initiiert mehrere Programme und Projekte wie PME Montreal, das Innovationsprojekte von KMUs unterstützt. Darüber hinaus betreibt die Stadt einen eigenen *Accelerator* zum Thema *Smart City*, *InnoCité MTL*, der die Gründerteams an ausgewählten städtischen Herausforderungen arbeiten lässt (WEB 12).

2 Französische Zitate wurden von den Autoren ins Deutsche übersetzt.

***Underground***

Der *Underground* in Montreal könnte als Idealtypus bezeichnet werden, da die „Anatomie der kreativen Stadt" vor allem basierend auf Erkenntnissen entwickelt wurde, die Cohendet et al. in der Stadt gewinnen konnten (Cohendet et al. 2010, 92). Leerstehende Fabrikgebäude und fehlende Ressourcen förderten und prägten die künstlerische Kreativität des *Undergrounds*. Darüber hinaus wurde in Montreal eine überdurchschnittlich hohe Konzentration des „super creative core" von Florida selbst gemessen (Stolarick/Florida 2006, 1802). Der Kultur- und Kreativsektor Quebecs ist mit 70% der Arbeitsplätze in Montreal konzentriert, wobei diese etwa 4% aller Stellen im Großraum Montreal ausmachen (CCMM 2015, 6). Somit kann die Stadt als das unumstrittene kulturelle Zentrum Quebecs bezeichnet werden. Um den „super creative core" zu komplettieren, sollen hier auch die Industriecluster IKT, Biotechnologie, Luft- und Raumfahrt, Aluminium und Clean Technologies Erwähnung finden (WEB 13). Die beiden Bereiche Kreativität und Technologie greifen einzigartig ineinander: „Jobs in culture compare favourably to those in other clusters of Montreal's knowledge economy, making culture an important sector for the Montreal economy." (CCMM 2015, 6) Der kulturell und ökonomisch sehr diverse Hintergrund der Stadt erlaubt es zu experimentieren und Produkte zunächst lokal zu testen, bevor sie für den Weltmarkt zugänglich werden (Cohendet et al. 2010, 101). Dies führte u.a. zur Entstehung einer sehr vielfältigen Gründerszene mit ca. 2.500 Start-ups, die aktuell auf der *Ile de Montréal* aktiv sind. In vielen Branchen sehen sich 73% der Gründer als Teil der Kreativwirtschaft, wobei gleichzeitig 67% angeben, ein Produkt anzubieten, das am Smart City-Markt Verwendung finden könnte (MSER 2016). So spiegelt sich auch hier die Verbindung zwischen Technologie und Kreativität wider.

***Middleground***

Zentrale Orte für Montreal sind zum einen das dynamischen Stadtviertel *Mile End* im Nordosten des Mont-Royal, zum anderen das *Quartier des Spectacles* und das *Quartier de l'Innovation* rund um Downtown Montreal (vgl. Abb. 2).

Das *Mile End* auf dem Plateau-Mont-Royal ist eines der angesagtesten Viertel, das durch die vielen Konzerthallen, Cafés, Kunstgalerien etc. Bewohner inspiriert und Kreativität stimuliert; beispielsweise auch die Mitarbeiter von Ubisoft. Der Konzern siedelte sich dort 1997 aufgrund dieser Standortvorteile an (Cohendet et al. 2010, 101). Wegen der kreativen Dynamik und der vergleichsweise geringen Mieten ist das Mile End ein attraktiver Standort für Start-ups, während die großen, internationalen Unternehmen, etwas entfernt, in Downtown im Bereich des Quartier de l'Innovation angesiedelt ist (MSER 2016).

Erwähnenswert ist zudem das *Quartier des Spectacles*, da dies ein kulturelles Zentrum innerhalb Montreals ist, in dem viele der Konzerte, Festivals, Theaterstücke und Kunstausstellungen stattfinden. Das Viertel wurde im Rahmen eines von Stadt und

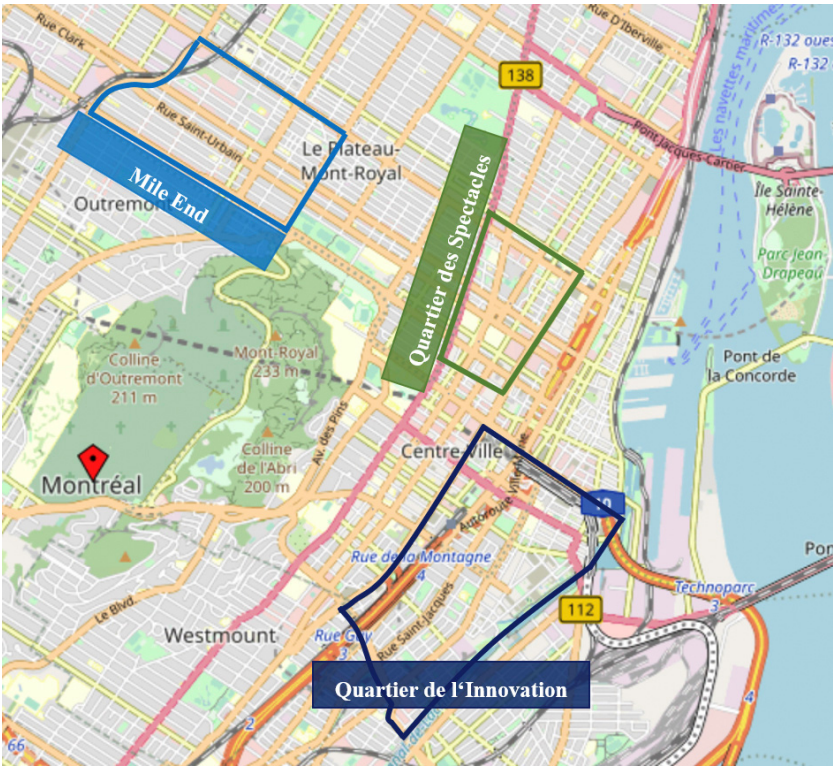


Abbildung 2: Kreative Quartiere der Stadt Montreal[1]

Provinzialregierung finanzierten Projekts umgebaut und aufgewertet und bietet heute einen idealen physischen *Middleground* (Klein/Shearmur 2017).

Das *Quartier de l'Innovation* (QI) wurde 2013 durch die École de technologie supérieure (ÉTS) und die McGill University initiiert und u.a. durch die Stadt Montreal finanziell unterstützt. Hier soll eine dynamische und kreative Community entstehen, die in engem Austausch mit den vier Universitäten und großen Unternehmen innovative Start-ups und Forschungsprojekte anziehen und generieren soll (Cohendet et al. 2011, 155). Das Projekt genießt heute schon internationales Ansehen, wie es ein Manager eines Gründerzentrums in Montreal unterstreicht allerdings zeigt sich noch eine Diskrepanz zwischen der *bottom-up* Kultur des *Undergrounds* und der *top-down* Kultur des QI:

> Es gibt Innovationen von unten nach oben und es gibt Innovationen von oben nach unten. Die Basis hierfür sind Notman House oder Mile

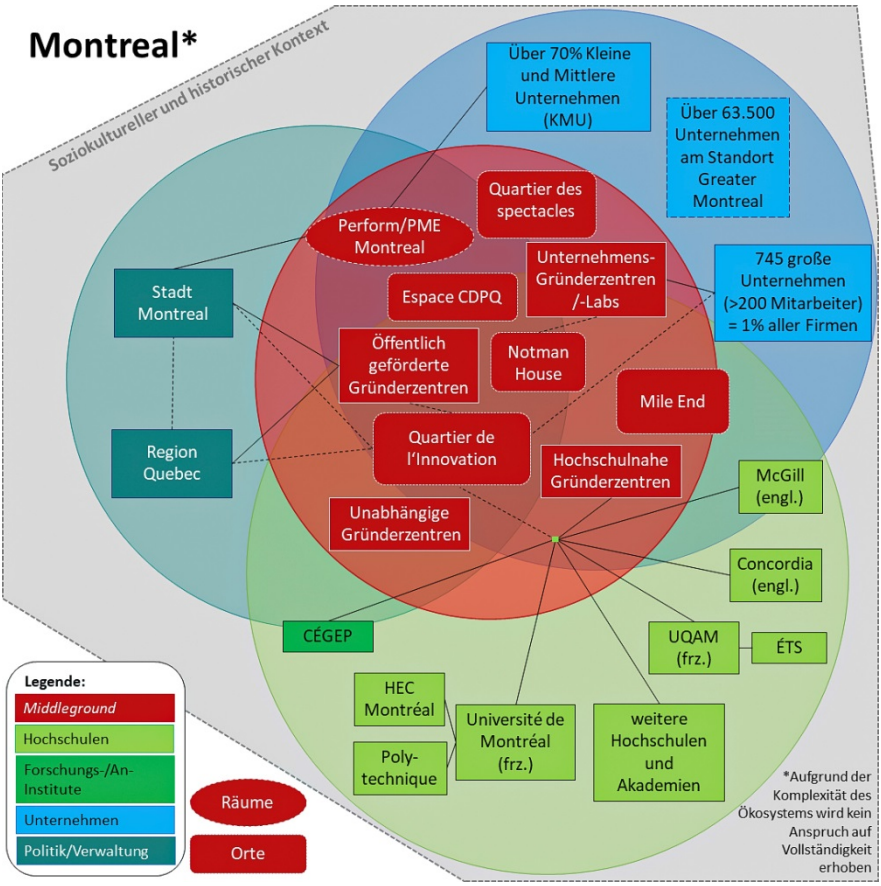


Abbildung 3: Das Innovations-Ökosystem Montreals

> End. Das ist die Grundlage. Innovatoren, die gemeinsam innovativ sind […]. Dann haben Sie die Spitze, wo es ein Wille von oben ist, zu sagen: „Wir wollen den Stadtteil dort zu einem Innovationsort machen." Sie laden erst die „Großen" ein. Es sind nur *Big Player*, es gibt keine kleinen Player. Sie haben eine eher industrielle Vision, diese großen Unternehmen. Wir sind kleinere Start-ups. Es sind zwei Ansätze, wir werden uns irgendwann treffen. (GZ Mtl)

Als weiterer Ort, aber auch bedeutender Raum muss der *Espace CDPQ* im Zentrum der Stadt, initiiert durch die *Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec*, genannt werden, da sich hier u.a. die acht Venture Capital-Fonds Montreals zusammengefunden

haben, um Start-ups und KMUs zu unterstützen (Organisation MTL). Als Veranstaltungsort zahlreicher Events des Ökosystems ist das Ziel hier v.a. die Vernetzung der Akteure:

> Deshalb haben wir physisch viel Freiraum oder Kooperationsraum im Herzen dieser Umgebung mit der berühmten Kaffeemaschine geschaffen. Schließlich gibt es nichts Besseres als ein zufälliges Treffen an der Kaffeemaschine, um Gespräche zu initiieren, die nicht stattgefunden hätten, wenn diese Menschen nicht unter einem Dach gewesen wären. (Organisation MTL)

Eine der wichtigsten Veranstaltungen des Ökosystems ist das *Startupfest*, das als eine Art Musikfestival für Start-ups internationale Strahlkraft besitzt (Startup Genome 2018). Es geht mit einer eigenen Zeltstadt und extravaganten Veranstaltungsorten neue Wege und steht somit für den Charakter Montreals als Festivalstadt. Neben den sehr zahlreichen hochschulnahen Gründerzentren finden sich im Montrealer Innovations-Ökosystem einige öffentlich geförderte Zentren, aber auch zahlreiche Unabhängige. Einer Untersuchung des HEC Accelerators zufolge gibt es in Montreal etwa 250-300 Gründerzentren, was der Dynamik des wachsenden Ökosystems geschuldet ist.

Abbildung 3 zeigt auf der Basis unserer Fallstudien einen Ausschnitt von Montreals Innovations-Ökosystem.

### 4.2 Das Innovations-Ökosystem München

***Uppergrounds***

Die institutionelle Sphäre Hochschule/Forschung ist in München sehr ausgeprägt. Mit zwölf Instituten der Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft und der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, die München auch als Sitz der Generalverwaltung gewählt hat, sind am Standort zentrale Forschungsinstitute angesiedelt, die eng mit den Hochschulen und den Unternehmen zusammenarbeiten (WEB 1). München ist mit insgesamt 17 Universitäten, Akademien und Hochschulen und über 120.000 Studierenden der zweitgrößte Hochschulstandort in Deutschland (RAW 2018b). Die Hochschullandschaft wird von den beiden weltweit renommierten Exzellenz-Universitäten *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität* (LMU) und *Technische Universität München* (TUM) geprägt. Zur Gruppe der vier größten Hochschulen zählen daneben noch die Hochschule München und die Universität der Bundeswehr. Durch die jeweiligen Transferstellen und eigenen Gründerzentren bringen sich diese Hochschulen mit Gründungsförderung und Forschungstransfer aktiv in das Innovations-Ökosystem Münchens ein. Darüber hinaus liefern sie einen vielfältigen und großen Talentpool, von dem sowohl die Forschung und Industrie als auch Start-ups profitieren.

München kann eindeutig als Treiber der bayerischen Wirtschaft beschrieben werden, da die Landeshauptstadt allein 19% des bayerischen Bruttoinlandsproduktes

(BIP) erwirtschaftet (RAW 2018a). Die Stadt ist ein bedeutender Wirtschaftsstandort, da hier mehr als 92.000 Unternehmen, darunter sieben DAX-Unternehmen, so viele wie an keinem anderen deutschen Standort, beheimatet sind (RAW 2017). Der starke Mittelstand bildet die Basis und trägt zur Diversität des Standortes bei, der auch von der breiten Streuung unterschiedlicher Sektoren geprägt ist (RAW 2018b). Dies wird auch in der Gründerszene geschätzt:

> Es gibt auch diese Vielfalt an Unternehmen. Es gibt extrem viele […] und gerade, wenn man jetzt auch ein Produkt entwickelt, findet man eigentlich alles vor Ort oder sehr, sehr nahe, was einem natürlich da sehr hilft. (Start-up MUC)

Zudem hat sich München insbesondere als „bedeutendster Hightech-Standort in Deutschland etabliert" (RAW 2018b). Durch die Vernetzung unterschiedlicher Branchen entstehen neue Wirtschaftsschwerpunkte. Diese Entwicklung wird durch die *Business-to-Business*-geprägte (B2B) Gründerszene Münchens noch verstärkt.

Die politische Sphäre in München ist durch die bayerische Regierung geprägt, die ihren Sitz in der Landeshauptstadt hat. Ab den 1950er Jahren entwickelte sich Bayern schnell vom Agrarland zu einem der wirtschaftsstärksten Bundesländer Deutschlands, gerade durch wirtschaftspolitische Maßnahmen. Diese spielten eine zentrale Rolle im Hinblick auf die Niederlassung öffentlicher Forschungseinrichtungen sowie den Ausbau universitärer Einrichtungen und sicherten für den Wirtschaftsstandort Bayern strategisch wichtige Verträge mit der Luft- und Raumfahrtindustrie und der Verteidigungsindustrie (Evans/Karecha 2014). High-Tech-Offensiven oder auch Cluster-Offensiven wurden von der bayerischen Regierung initiiert, um den Wirtschafts- und Wissenschaftsstandort Bayern erfolgreich in das Technologie- und Digitalisierungszeitalter zu überführen (WEB 2). Im Zuge dessen wurden zahlreiche Einrichtungen wie *Bayern Kapital, Bayern Innovativ, Zentrum Digitalisierung Bayern* (ZD.B) oder *Invest in Bavaria* ins Leben gerufen. Auch im Bereich Gründungsförderung bringt sich diese institutionelle Sphäre aktiv ein, v.a. mit dem Referat des bayerischen Wirtschaftsministeriums, dem Gründerland Bayern. Die Resonanz ist durchweg positiv, wie dieser Gründungszentrum-Manager bestätigt:

> [Die] Politik spielt hier tatsächlich eine sehr positive Rolle. Heute gibt es ja dieses eigene Referat im Wirtschaftsministerium, Gründerland Bayern. Die kümmern sich wirklich unkompliziert mit Blick für Start-ups und die Start-up-Welt um das Ökosystem in München. […] Es ist eine kleine Welt. Und man braucht so Leute […], die mitdenken, unkompliziert sind und diese ganzen Gründerzentren im Übrigen unter Kontrolle, in Anführungszeichen, haben, teilweise auch ins Leben gerufen haben. […] Ich würde mal sagen, das Gründerland Bayern trägt regelmäßig seinen Bei-

> trag dazu bei, dass hier etwas geht, dass Themen gefördert werden, dass Förderprogramme aufgelegt werden und, und, und. (GZ MUC)

Ein weiterer Gründungszentrums-Manager äußerte sich darüber hinaus zu den positiven Auswirkungen einer langjährig stabilen Regierung auf die Wirtschaft und die Gründerzentren und stellte fest, dass die CSU (Christlich Soziale Union) seit ihrer Gründung 1946 fast durchgängig den bayerischen Ministerpräsidenten gestellt (WEB 3) und damit eine politische Kontinuität ermöglicht habe. Auch die Stadtverwaltung Münchens bringt sich aktiv in das Innovations-Ökosystem ein, indem sie etwa das Kompetenzteam für Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft (WEB 4) und das Münchner Existenzgründungsbüro MEB (WEB 5) als Begleitstrukturen für Gründer ins Leben gerufen hat.

***Underground***

Die kreative Klasse, die den *Underground* formt, zeigt in München eine hohe Konzentration. Mit der etablierten Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft ist die Landeshauptstadt im deutschen Ranking führend (RAW 2018b). Im Jahr 2015 waren in München rund 95.500 Erwerbstätige in diesem Bereich beschäftigt (Söndermann 2016); dennoch gibt es interessanterweise kaum künstlerische Subkulturen wie sie etwa in Berlin existieren, was beispielhaft folgende Zitate erläutern:

> Wie hat es ein anderer Unternehmer einmal gesagt „Ja, in Berlin bist du arm und sexy, hier [in München] findet es keiner geil arm zu sein". Wenn du hier Gründer bist und eine Lifestyle-App hast, aber keine Kohle, das findet keiner geil. (Start-up MUC)
>
> Und das was die Künstler brauchen sind freie Räume und das was die Stadt nicht möchte bzw. sich letztendlich glaubt auch nicht leisten zu können, sind diese Freiräume. Also einfach ein Gelände Künstlern zu überlassen und im Vertrauen zu sagen: das schaffen die schon. Das ist einfach ganz schwierig. (Organisationen MUC)

Als Hightech- und Hochschulstandort weist München darüber hinaus auch eine hohe Konzentration des von Florida definierten „super creative core" in den Bereichen Ingenieurwesen, Mathematik, Biotechnologie, Natur- und Sozialwissenschaften sowie Bildung auf.

Auch von „seiner dynamischen und innovativen Gründerkultur" (RAW 2018b, 20) kann das Innovations-Ökosystem Münchens profitieren. Dazu trägt mit dem *Middleground* ebenso das gute Zusammenspiel des *Uppergrounds* mit vernetzten Hochschulen, Forschungseinrichtungen und Unternehmen bei. Nach Berlin und der Metropolregion Rhein-Ruhr ist München einer der größten Gründer-Hotspots Deutschlands mit dem höchsten Anteil ausländischer Gründer (15,8%), was den

sehr internationalen Universitäten TUM und LMU geschuldet ist (Kollmann et al. 2017, 27 ff.).

***Middleground***

Der *Middleground* Münchens zeichnet sich durch einige wenige, aber sehr dynamische Orte aus, die es ermöglichen, innerhalb abgesteckter Grenzen der Kreativität Freiraum zu geben.

> Einfach nur, dass du hier sowohl diesen lokalen Charakter hast, weil wir eben untereinander sehr gut vernetzt sind. Das merkt man schon, wenn du irgendwo hinläufst und Leute kennst von Schule und sonst etwas, aber eben auch institutionenübergreifend und man halt da schon – gerade im Bereich Start-up, gerade im Bereich Entrepreneurship – die Player persönlich kennt. Das schätze ich sehr. Aber eben auch als Standort an sich […] die Stadt ist eine große Stadt, aber trotzdem mit lokalem Charakter und Anbindung an die ganze Welt. (GZ MUC)

In der Stadt sind das *Werksviertel* beim Ostbahnhof und das geplante *Kreativquartier* an der Dachauer Straße zu nennen. Das Werksviertel ist in der Aufbauphase. Dort befinden sich u.a. die Gründerzentren Werk 1 und Media Lab, aber auch Wohnungen, Loft-Büros, Kunst- und Konzerträume, Clubs, Werkstätten, Bars und Restaurants, Shops sowie Hotels und Freizeitstätten. Bei dem Kreativquartier tritt die Stadt als Initiator auf. Hier wird ebenfalls ein „urbaner Nutzungsmix aus Kultur, Kreativwirtschaft, Wohnen, Soziales, Gewerbe und Einzelhandel in alten und neuen Gebäuden angestrebt" (WEB 6), der Kunst, Kultur und Wissen verknüpfen soll. Das Wissen wird u.a. von einer Niederlassung der TUM in das Quartier hineingetragen. Darüber hinaus werden Kreative und Kulturschaffende vom Kompetenzteam für Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft der Stadt unter anderem dabei unterstützt, kurz- bis mittelfristig bezahlbare Räumlichkeiten zu finden, was in einer so teuren Stadt wie München von großer Bedeutung ist.

Der Forschungscampus Garching grenzt im Nordosten und der Biotechnologie-Campus Martinsried im Südwesten an München an. Mit der Präsenz der Universitäten (TUM in Garching, LMU in Martinsried), Forschungsinstituten, Gründerzentren und Industrieparks sowie weiteren wichtigen Einrichtungen wie dem Leibniz-Rechenzentrum (Garching) oder dem Klinikum Großhadern (Martinsried) sind beide Standorte über die Jahre „organisch" (GZ MUC) zu einem eigenen Ökosystem angewachsen. Die räumliche Nähe von Hochschulen, Forschung und Unternehmen garantieren Studierenden und Forschern von der Gründung eines Start-ups bis zum ausgewachsenen Unternehmen viele Vorteile (GZ MUC). Neben den hochschulnahen Gründerzentren der vier Hochschulen dominieren die staatlich oder städtisch geförderten Zentren in Münchens *Middleground*. Daneben existieren außerdem zahlreiche Unternehmens-Gründerzentren, die Innovationen von kreativen Köpfen

des Undergrounds in die etablierten Strukturen der *Upperground*-Organisationen tragen sollen.

Folgende Abbildung 4 zeigt das auf der Basis unserer Fallstudien einen Ausschnitt von Münchens Innovations-Ökosystem.


Abbildung 4: Das Innovations-Ökosystem Münchens

**Zusammenfassung und Ausblick**

Es wurde ein 3-Ebenen-Modell für die Analyse urbaner Innovations-Ökosysteme vorgestellt und am Beispiel von München und Montreal gezeigt, wie sich Kreativität und Entrepreneurship entfalten. Die Integration verschiedener konzeptioneller Bezugsrahmen hat die Darstellung und damit auch die branchenübergreifende

Gegenüberstellung zweier städtischer Innovations-Ökosysteme ermöglicht. Mit einer qualitativ-vergleichenden Fallstudie wurde die Forschungsfrage beantwortet, welche Charakteristika der Innovations-Ökosysteme sich in München und Montreal identifizieren lassen. Diese zeigen, dass beide Städte kreative Städte sind, sich aber in den Besonderheiten ihres jeweiligen sozioökonomischen Kontextes unterscheiden. So ist Montreals Kreativität eingebettet in ein multikulturelles sozioökonomisches Umfeld, geprägt von kapitalarmen Jahren nach Niedergang der Textilindustrie, in dem technologisch-kreative Ideen entwickelt werden, während sich München durch seine institutionalisierten Fördersysteme, bedeutenden Industrieunternehmen und durch technische Innovationen v.a. im B2B-Bereich auszeichnet, was weniger Freiraum für Kreativität bietet (Tabelle 2).

| **3 Ebenen-Modell** | **München** | **Montreal** |
|---|---|---|
| | *Upperground* | |
| **Hochschule/ Forschung** | Weltweit renommierte Universitäten, großer studentischer und internationaler Talentpool, führende Forschung in zukunftsweisenden Bereichen | |
| **Industrie** | Sehr große Konzerne und starker Mittelstand mit hoher Diversität | V.a. durch eine Vielzahl von KMU geprägt mit hoher Diversität |
| | Hightech-Cluster | Hightech-Cluster |
| **Politik** | Bedeutende Rolle des Freistaates Bayern als Initiator vieler Programme und Geldgeber auf allen Ebenen | Bedeutende Rolle v.a. der Stadtverwaltung Montreals als initiierende Kraft im Ökosystem |
| | *Middleground* | |
| **Orte** | Werksviertel, Kreativquartier Forschungscampus Garching/Martinsried | Mile End, Quartier des Spectacles<br>Quartier de l'Innovation |
| **Räume/ Veranstaltungen** | Gründerland Bayern, BayStartUP, GründerRegio M, Munich Start-up.de | Espace CDPQ, PME Mtl |
| | EXIST, FLÜGGE | *Futurpreneur Canada* |
| | Bits & Pretzels | Startupfest, C2 Montreal |
| | *Underground* | |
| **Kreative Klasse** | Gut ausgebildete kreative Klasse<br>Mangel an Subkultur | Gut ausgebildet und besonders kreativ<br>Dynamischer *Underground* |

Tabelle 2: Gegenüberstellung der Innovations-Ökosysteme nach dem 3-Ebenen-Modell

Die qualitative Fallstudie trägt unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten neue Erkenntnisse zur aktuellen Forschung bei:

*Erstens* – und das ist der wichtigste Beitrag – konnte gezeigt werden, dass die Integration mehrerer konzeptioneller Rahmen es ermöglicht, die Struktur und das Funktionieren städtischer Innovations-Ökosysteme besser zu verstehen. Dementsprechend wurde ein 3-Ebenen-Modell urbaner Innovations-Ökosysteme entwickelt, das aufbauend auf der „Anatomie der kreativen Stadt", gegliedert in *Upperground, Underground* und *Middleground,* mit ausgewählten theoretischen Konzepten ergänzt wurde. Zum einem diente der Tripelhelix-Ansatz von Etzkowitz (2003) zur differenzierteren Strukturierung des *Uppergrounds* und Erweiterung des *Middlegrounds* und zum anderen Floridas (2012) Theorie der Kreativen Klasse zur Erweiterung des *Undergrounds*. Das 3-Ebenen-Modell ist branchenübergreifend anwendbar und ermöglicht die einzelnen Ebenen strukturierter darzustellen, zu analysieren und zu vergleichen. Somit kann es einen Beitrag zur Theoriebildung in der *Entrepreneurial Ecosystems* Literatur leisten, die bisher von anwendungsorientierten Sammlungen von Erfolgsmerkmalen geprägt war. Vielversprechend wäre es, in zukünftigen Forschungsprojekten das 3-Ebenen-Modell urbaner Innovations-Ökosysteme auf unterschiedliche und besonders heterogene Kontexte anzuwenden.

*Zweitens* haben wir auf der Grundlage zweier Fallstudien – Montreal und München – eine Analyse der beiden Innovations-Ökosysteme durchgeführt und die wichtigsten Akteure der beiden Städte auf zwei übersichtlichen Karten dargestellt. Dies veranschaulicht die Komposition der einzelnen Sphären mit den zentralen Akteuren und die trilateralen Netzwerke v.a. im *Middleground* der Ökosysteme, was zu einer Bewusstseinsbildung sowohl in der Praxis als auch in der Wissenschaft führt. Zukünftige Forschung könnte sich verstärkt mit der zentralen Rolle von Gründerzenten als hybride Organisationen im *Middleground* beschäftigen, um weitere Ansätze zur Strukturierung von *Entrepreneurial Ecosystems* zu entwickeln.

*Drittens* haben wir einen Vergleich von Innovations-Ökosystemen in zwei kreativen Städten vorgenommen, der bisher in dieser Form noch nicht durchgeführt wurde. In München dominieren Großunternehmen in unterschiedlichen Branchen. Im Gegensatz dazu stützt sich die Wirtschaft Montreals stark auf Kreativität in Kombination mit Technologie. Mit den darstellenden Künsten wie dem weltweit bekannten *Cirque du Soleil* und der Videospiel-Industrie verfügt die Stadt über eine künstlerische Ausrichtung. Daneben stehen Zukunftsbranchen wie künstliche Intelligenz und Big Data, aber auch traditionelle Domänen wie Luft- und Raumfahrt, Biotechnologie und Gesundheitswissenschaften. Um noch mehr über Strukturen und Prozesse, d.h. das Zusammenspiel der Akteure zu erfahren, die Kreativität und Innovation entstehen lassen, wäre es interessant in Zukunft weitere kreative Städte in Europa oder anderen Kulturräumen zu untersuchen.

Unsere Forschung weist jedoch auch bestimmte Limitationen auf: *Erstens* sind die Karten der Innovations-Ökosysteme von München und Montreal zwangsläufig unvollständig, wenngleich die wichtigsten Akteure aufgeführt sind. Auch war es

nicht möglich, die Dynamiken und Veränderungen von Akteuren und deren Beziehungen abzubilden. *Zweitens* ergab sich eine zugangsbedingte Einschränkung aufgrund des schwierigen Feldzugangs: Informationen großer Unternehmen und Kapitalgeber, die als Repräsentanten der Industrie-Sphäre und der Venture Capital-Finanzierung eine wichtige Perspektive auf das Ökosystem geliefert hätten, fehlen. *Drittens* ist das qualitativ-vergleichende Fallstudien-Ergebnis nur schwer verallgemeinerbar. Die Ergebnisse zu den Innovations-Ökosystemen werden vom wirtschaftlichen, strukturellen, historischen und soziokulturellen Kontext beeinflusst, sodass die fallspezifisch gewonnenen Erkenntnisse nicht ohne weiteres auf andere Innovations-Ökosysteme übertragen werden können.

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FORUM

MARTIN THUNERT/STEFFEN SCHNEIDER

# Blaues Auge für *Blackface,* Gelbe Karte für die *Red Machine*: Kanada nach den Unterhauswahlen

Am 21. Oktober 2019 wählte Kanada ein neues Unterhaus (*House of Commons*). Die erfolgsverwöhnte Liberale Partei (Clarkson 2006; Schneider 2018), die 2015 nach neun Jahren der Abstinenz unter Führung von Justin Trudeau in die Regierungsverantwortung zurückgekehrt war, wurde zwar wieder stärkste Kraft, musste aber einen empfindlichen Dämpfer hinnehmen: Sie fiel dem Stimmenanteil nach hinter die 2003 neu formierten und 2006 erstmals in die Regierung gewählten Konservativen zurück und verlor zugleich ihre absolute parlamentarische Mehrheit.[1] Zum vierten Mal nach 2004, 2006 und 2008 mündeten Unterhauswahlen im noch recht jungen 21. Jahrhundert damit in Minderheitsregierungen: die erste unter Führung des liberalen Premierministers Paul Martin, die zweite und dritte unter Führung des konservativen Stephen Harper, die seit dem 21. November 2019 amtierende Regierung weiter mit Justin Trudeau an der Spitze. Während die Konservativen erneut die Rolle der offiziellen Opposition übernahmen, wurde der fast schon tot geglaubte *Bloc Québécois* zur drittstärksten Kraft im Unterhaus. Neben einer stark dezimierten Fraktion der sozialdemokratischen NDP und einer unabhängigen Abgeordneten gehören dem neuen Parlament außerdem einige Abgeordnete der kanadischen Grünen an. Ausgehend von einem kurzen Rückblick auf den überraschenden Wahltriumph der Liberalen im Jahr 2015 und die sich anschließende Legislaturperiode umreißt dieser Forumsbeitrag die Konturen des Wahlergebnisses vom 21. Oktober 2019, um sich abschließend den Erfolgsaussichten der zweiten Regierung unter Justin Trudeau zu widmen. Wir argumentieren, dass Trudeaus Liberale mit einem blauen Auge davongekommen sind und das trotz der Verluste überraschend schmeichelhafte Wahlergebnis mithin auch die Chance auf einen Neustart birgt.

1 2003 gründete sich die *Conservative Party of Canada* durch die Fusion der *Progressive Conservative Party* mit der *Canadian Alliance* und wählte Stephen Harper zu ihrem Vorsitzenden.

## 2015–2019: *Trudeaumania reloaded*, liberaler Überraschungserfolg und Ernüchterung

Eine der weltweit erfolgreichsten Regierungsparteien des 20. Jahrhunderts – die Liberale Partei Kanadas – war im Laufe des frühen 21. Jahrhunderts in eine schwere Krise, vielleicht die schwerste ihrer Geschichte geraten. Den Tiefpunkt erreichten die Liberalen bei der Wahl 2011, als sie mit nur 44 Mandaten im Unterhaus vertreten waren, Stephen Harpers Konservative eine klare parlamentarische Mehrheit gewannen und die NDP aufgrund eines sensationellen Wahlerfolgs in Quebec, dem Stammland der Liberalen, zur zweitstärksten Partei und damit zur offiziellen Opposition aufgestiegen war (Lammert et al. 2011). Beobachter aus der Politik selbst, aus der Publizistik und vereinzelt auch aus der Wissenschaft sahen die einstige *Red Machine* der Liberalen bereits auf dem Sterbebett liegen (Newman 2012). Manch einer empfahl als Überlebensstrategie sogar die Fusion mit der NDP, nachdem deren charismatischer Vorsitzender Jack Layton einem Krebsleiden erlegen war. Ein wenig beachteter und von Freund wie Gegner politisch unterschätzter Hinterbänkler der geschrumpften Fraktion der Liberalen mit dem berühmten Namen Trudeau, der 2008 den Montrealer Arbeiterwahlkreis Papineau gewonnen hatte, beschloss indes 2012 nach dem Rücktritt des unglücklich agierenden Michael Ignatieff, sich um den Vorsitz der zutiefst verunsicherten Partei zu bewerben.[2] 2013 setzte sich Justin Trudeau gegen einige parteiinterne Schwergewichte durch und wurde zum Vorsitzenden gewählt. Der an große Zeiten der Liberalen erinnernde Name und der verzweifelte Zustand der Partei hatten viele Parteimitglieder veranlasst, ihre Stimme dem politisch wenig erfahrenen, aber unverbrauchten, charismatischen jungen Abgeordneten zu geben. Spätestens nach dem von Trudeau gegen den konservativen Senator Patrick Brazeau gewonnenen Schauboxen begingen sowohl die Harper-Konservativen als auch die damals neue NDP-Führung unter Thomas Mulcair den Fehler, den telegenen ältesten Sohn des im Jahr 2000 verstorbenen Pierre Elliott Trudeau, kanadischer Premierminister von 1968 bis 1979 und 1980 bis 1984, als politisches Leichtgewicht abzutun und seine Kämpferqualitäten zu unterschätzen.[3] Justin Trudeau gab in seinem Kampagnenbuch von 2014 freimütig zu, nicht über die intellektuellen Fähigkeiten und Interessen seines Vaters zu verfügen, betonte aber zugleich, dass er besser auf Menschen zugehen könne als sein alter Herr und sich das Wahlkämpfen als Kind und Jugendlicher von seinem Großvater mütterlicherseits, dem in Schottland geborenen Politiker James Sinclair, abgeschaut habe (Trudeau 2014). Auch seine schauspielerischen Talente, seine pädagogischen Qualifikationen sowie eine in Nebenjobs als Rausschmeißer angeeignete robuste Ader halfen ihm im Jahr 2015, gegen den als dunkler Machiavellist und Fürst der Finster-

2 Zur Selbstreflexion Ignatieffs über seine Erfolge und vor allem Misserfolge als Politiker siehe Ignatieff 2013, zu seiner Niederlage 2011 insbesondere Seite 153 ff.

3 Die beiden führten den Boxkampf im Rahmen einer Benefizveranstaltung zur Krebsbekämpfung am 31. März 2012 in Ottawa; siehe https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XuSpZ3_5pTc.

nis agierenden Stephen Harper einen optimistischen und zugleich nahe an den Brot-und-Butter-Themen der kanadischen Mittelschicht angelehnten Wahlkampf zu führen.

Früher als andere Mitglieder der politischen Klasse hatte der Liberale Justin Trudeau erkannt, dass sich das neoliberale Zeitalter dem Ende zuneigte und die kanadische Mittelschicht eine moderate Erhöhung der Staatsverschuldung akzeptieren würde. Die NDP glaubte an diesen Sinneswandel der Mittelschichtswähler nicht und akzeptierte ohne Not die von den Konservativen gesetzten Ausgabegrenzen, so dass sich Trudeau – und nicht der nominell weiter links stehende Mulcair – als Alternative für enttäuschte Harper-Wähler anbieten konnte. In einer der spektakulärsten Aufholjagden der kanadischen Politikgeschichte führte Trudeau seine demoralisierten Liberalen vom mit 44 Sitzen abgeschlagenen dritten Platz zu einer klaren Mehrheit von 184 Sitzen im kanadischen Unterhaus. Selbst im Kontext des angloamerikanischen Mehrheitswahlrechts, das dazu neigt, kleinere Verschiebungen bei den Stimmenanteilen in größere bei den Mandaten zu transformieren, ist ein solcher Erdrutsch höchst selten.

„Warum kann er nicht unser Präsident sein?", fragte sich insbesondere das jüngere, linksliberale und progressive Amerika im Jahr 2017 und meinte damit den auf der Titelseite des Musik- und Milieumagazins *Rolling Stone* abgebildeten kanadischen Premierminister Justin Trudeau.[4] Doch der mittlerweile 48-Jährige erreichte die 1968/69 unter dem Namen *Trudeaumania* firmierende Rockstar-Power seines Vaters nicht nur in den USA, sondern nahezu weltweit. Eine *Trudeaumania reloaded* schien während seiner beiden ersten Amtsjahre zu entstehen. Seit seinem überraschend deutlichen Wahlsieg am 19. Oktober 2015 und seinem Amtsantritt mit einem multikulturellen und zu gleichen Teilen aus Männern und Frauen bestehenden Kabinett am 5. November 2015 galt Justin Trudeau – Regierungschef eines bedeutenden westlichen Landes, des G7-Mitglieds Kanada – auf der Weltbühne als die Verkörperung eines nicht-populistischen, modernen und undogmatisch-progressiven Führungsstils.

Doch die nunmehr unbestrittenen politischen Qualitäten in Verbindung mit seinem Prominentenstatus und seine Ankündigung, eine Politik der „sonnigen Wege" einzuleiten, führten dazu, dass die kanadische Politik innen und außen einzig über die Person des Premierministers wahrgenommen und verkauft wurde. Dies ging zwei Jahre lang – vom Amtsantritt am 5. November 2015 bis kurz nach Amtsantritt des neuen US-Präsidenten Donald Trump – gut. In der Folge beeinträchtigte allerdings eine Kombination aus Skandalen und nur schwer zu erfüllenden hohen Erwartungen seine Aussichten auf eine weitere Amtszeit. Sein Wahlkampf wurde so zu einer Entschuldigungstour, nachdem zusätzlich Rassismusvorwürfe sein Image erschütterten.

4 Die Titelgeschichte des *Rolling Stone* mit Justin Trudeau erschien am 26. Juli 2017 (Rodrick 2017).

Am 19. September 2019 enthüllte das Magazin *Time* in einer frühen Phase des am 11. September 2019 begonnenen Wahlkampfs, dass Justin Trudeau sich zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts im Alter von knapp 30 Jahren und als aktiver Lehrer – also nicht als jugendlicher Sünder – mindestens dreimal als Schwarzer oder Latino angemalt und verkleidet hatte (*blackfacing* oder *brownfacing*). Die heute als rassistisch wahrgenommene Bemalung entwickelte sich zwar zu einem handfesten Medienskandal, doch prallte dieser an vielen Wählern einfach ab, ohne dass die Parteien links von den Liberalen davon profitieren konnten. Trudeaus Entschuldigung, die Fotos täten ihm leid, sowie seine Erklärung, seine privilegierte Herkunft habe ihm den Blick für das Schicksal der Ureinwohner, der Schwarzen und anderer „sichtbarer Minderheiten" verstellt, schienen vielen Kanadiern auszureichen, denn die Umfragewerte für die Liberalen bewegten sich kaum nach unten. Wie das Wahlergebnis zeigte, lagen die Umfragen, die durchweg ein Kopf-an-Kopf-Rennen der beiden großen Parteien, aber keiner Partei eine absolute Mehrheit der Mandate vorhersagten, weitgehend richtig.

Noch im Frühjahr 2019 hatten die Konservativen in Umfragen deutlich geführt. Verantwortlich dafür war in erster Linie die Affäre um den unter Bestechungsverdacht im Ausland (u. a. im Libyen Gaddafis) stehenden Montrealer Baukonzern SNC-Lavalin. Trudeaus Einschüchterungsversuche gegen die damalige, gegen den Konzern ermittelnde Justizministerin Jody Wilson-Raybould (die erste Ureinwohnerin in diesem Amt) sowie der Ausschluss Wilson-Rayboulds und der Finanzstaatssekretärin Jane Philpott aus der liberalen Fraktion hatten ihn selbst unter Korruptionsverdacht gestellt und sein Saubermann-Image ebenso stark angekratzt wie sein Selbstverständnis als „Feminist". Eine Verurteilung des Konzerns für einen Verstoß gegen kanadisches Recht bei den Vergabepraktiken im Ausland hätte SNC-Lavalin u.a. über Jahre von der Vergabe kanadischer Regierungsaufträge ausgeschlossen und vermutlich zu zahlreichen Arbeitsplatzverlusten in Trudeaus Heimatprovinz Quebec geführt. Auch der Umgang mit US-Präsident Trump war Trudeau seit dem G7-Gipfel in Kanada im Sommer 2018 nicht mehr so gelungen wie in seinen beiden ersten Amtsjahren (Thunert 2018). Damals galt der Kanadier neben Frankreichs Präsident Emmanuel Macron als derjenige westliche Regierungschef, der am besten mit Trump umgehen kann. All das und mehr (wie z. B. der Kauf der Ölpipeline Trans Mountain) hatte zu Verkettungen geführt, die Trudeaus Image beschädigten. Am 16. Oktober 2019, fünf Tage vor der Wahl, erhielt Trudeau indes Unterstützung aus den USA in Gestalt des ehemaligen US-Präsidenten Barack Obama, der auf Twitter an seine damals 112 Millionen Follower schrieb: „I was proud to work with Justin Trudeau as President. He's a hard-working, effective leader who takes on big issues like climate change. The world needs his progressive leadership now, and I hope our neighbors to the north support him for another term."[5]

5 Quelle: https://twitter.com/barackobama/status/1184528998669389824.

**Das Wahlergebnis vom 21. Oktober 2019: Überblick und regionale Konturen**

Mit 65,95 % fiel die Wahlbeteiligung 2019 um rund 2,5 Prozentpunkte niedriger aus als 2015, lag damit aber immerhin klar über dem Tiefstwert von 58,8 im Jahr 2008.[6] Während die anhaltende Fragmentierung des kanadischen Parteiensystems – nicht weniger als fünf Parteien erzielten Stimmenanteile über fünf Prozent und gewannen Mandate – den mehrheitssichernden Effekt des *first-past-the-post*-Systems offenkundig zunehmend unterminiert, führten relativ geringe Verschiebungen bei den Stimmenanteilen zu sehr viel deutlicheren Sitzgewinnen bzw. -verlusten der einzelnen Parteien.

Mit einem gegenüber 2015 um 6,4 Punkte reduzierten Stimmenanteil von 33,1 % gewann die Liberale Partei 157 von 338 Sitzen, verlor 27 der 2015 errungenen 184 Mandate und verfehlte die absolute parlamentarische Mehrheit relativ knapp um 13 Sitze.[7] Das relative Mehrheitswahlsystem Kanadas hatte Trudeau entgegen einem 2015 gegebenen Versprechen nicht durch ein proportionales Wahlsystem ersetzt. Während der Disproportionseffekt des *first-past-the-post*-Systems den Liberalen nun immerhin noch eine relative Mehrheit – und den Regierungsauftrag – bescherte, wurden die Konservativen mit einem leichten Zuwachs von 31,9 % auf 34,4 % zwar die nach Stimmen stärkste Partei, konnten aber nur 121 Mandate – also lediglich 22 mehr als 2015 und 36 weniger als die Liberalen – erringen. Dem Stimmenanteil nach mussten die Liberalen also ihr 2015 wiederlangte Stellung als dominierende Partei Kanadas an ihre Hauptkonkurrenten abtreten; 33,1 % ist zugleich der geringste von einer Regierungspartei erzielte Stimmenanteil in der Geschichte Kanadas: Weniger als ein Drittel der Wähler sprachen Justin Trudeaus Liberalen das Vertrauen aus. Aufgrund der hohen Konzentration konservativer Stimmen in Alberta und Saskatchewan gelang es Andrew Scheer, der seinen eigenen Wahlkreis Regina-Qu'Appelle eindrucksvoll mit 63,7 % der Stimmen gewann, indes nicht, seiner Partei einen nennenswerten Mandatszuwachs zu sichern. Insofern waren die Liberalen – deren Parteichef Justin Trudeau seinen Sitz in Papineau mit 51,2 % überzeugend verteidigte – sowohl Gewinner als auch Verlierer der Wahl. Die SNC-Lavalin-Affäre hat die Liberalen möglicherweise die Mehrheit, aber nicht die Macht in Ottawa gekostet.[8]

Als klare Mit-Gewinner der Wahl dürfen sich *Bloc Québécois* und Grüne einstufen. Mit einem Zuwachs von gut 13 Punkten gegenüber dem 2015 erzielten Stimmenanteil von 19,4 % in Quebec gelang dem *Bloc* das Comeback: Er vermochte wieder zur zweitstärksten Kraft in der Provinz nach den Liberalen aufzurücken und seine Man-

6 Quelle der folgenden Zahlen: Elections Canada, *October 21, 2019 Federal Election Results*, https://enr.elections.ca/National.aspx?lang=e.

7 Bei Parlamentsauflösung am 11. September 2019 verfügte die Fraktion der Liberalen noch über 177 Sitze.

8 Wilson-Raybould gewann zwar als unabhängige Kandidatin in einem knappen Dreierrennen ihren Sitz in Vancouver mit 32,6 %, ob sie die kanadische Politik als Fraktionslose wird beeinflussen können, darf aber bezweifelt werden.

datszahl von zehn (weniger als Fraktionsstärke) auf 32 zu steigern. Parteiführer Yves-François Blanchet gewann seinen Wahlkreis Belœil-Chambly mit 50,6 % ebenso deutlich wie Trudeau den seinen. Den Grünen gelang es bei einem Zuwachs des landesweiten Stimmenanteils um drei Punkte auf 6,5 %, neben dem mit 48,8 % der Stimmen erfolgreich verteidigten Mandat ihrer Parteichefin Elizabeth May im Wahlkreis Saanich-Gulf Islands je ein weiteres Mandat in British Columbia und New Brunswick zu gewinnen. Der Stimmenanteil der NDP hingegen sank zwar nur geringfügig von 19,7 % auf 15,9 %, doch rutschte die Linkspartei damit von 44 auf magere 24 Sitze ab.

Die seit jeher ausgeprägten regionalen Asymmetrien in Wahlverhalten und Parteiensystem haben sich gegenüber 2015 weiter verschärft. Neben Ontario, auf das rund die Hälfte der von den Liberalen kanadaweit gewonnenen Stimmen und Mandate entfällt, bleibt das atlantische Kanada, insbesondere die Provinzen Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island und Neufundland, eine Hochburg der Partei. In diesen vier Provinzen erzielte die Partei Justin Trudeaus deutlich mehr als 40 Prozent der Stimmen. Spiegelbildlich liegen die Hochburgen der Konservativen wie schon in der Vergangenheit im Westen Kanadas. In Alberta gewann die Partei nahezu 70 Prozent der Stimmen, in Saskatchewan immerhin knapp 65 und in Manitoba gut 45 Prozent. Die Konservativen gewannen zudem alle Sitze in Saskatchewan und alle bis auf einen in Alberta, während Trudeaus Liberale in beiden Provinzen ohne parlamentarische Repräsentation bleiben, was ihren Anspruch, eine nationale Kraft zu sein, schwer beschädigt. Auch in British Columbia lag die Konservative Partei vorne, allerdings mit eher bescheidenen 34 Prozent deutlich knapper vor den nach Stimmenanteilen etwa gleichstarken Liberalen und der NDP. Der Kauf der Trans Mountain Pipeline, die die Ölsandfelder von Alberta mit der Küste von British Columbia verbinden soll, hat den Liberalen damit in den westlichen Energieprovinzen offenkundig keine Stimmen eingebracht, indes auch keine wirklich dramatischen Wählerabgänge an die Grünen oder die NDP nach sich gezogen.

Die kanadischen Grünen priorisierten in den letzten Wahlen zunehmend das Ziel, Mandate zu gewinnen, gegenüber einer Maximierung des kanadaweiten Stimmenanteils; diese nicht unumstrittene Strategie, die zunächst nur Parteiführerin Elizabeth May ein Mandat bescherte, wurde nun mit zwei weiteren Mandaten belohnt. Über ihrem landesweiten Stimmenanteil von 6,5 % schnitt die Partei in British Columbia (12,4 %), den *Maritimes* (Nova Scotia 11,0 %; New Brunswick 17,0 %; Prince Edward Island 20,8 %) und zwei der Territorien ab (Nordwest-Territorien und Yukon jeweils über zehn Prozent); in Vancouver lag ihr Stimmenanteil bei immerhin 8,6 %. Freilich macht gerade das Ergebnis der Grünen in Prince Edward Island – drittstärkste Kraft nach Stimmen ohne Mandatsgewinn – die Grundherausforderung der Ökopartei deutlich: Außer in einigen wenigen, oft stark postmaterialistisch geprägten Wahlkreisen werden ihre Kandidaten, so darf man unterstellen, zumeist Opfer strategischer Wahlentscheidungen zugunsten der Liberalen. Auch die NDP, die sich nach 2011 anzuschicken schien, die Liberalen zu verdrängen und erstmals zu einer

glaubwürdigen potentiellen Regierungspartei aufzusteigen, sah sich mit dem Problem konfrontiert, dass ihre Stimmenanteile zu gleichmäßig über die Wahlkreise verteilt waren und hinter denen der dominierenden Parteien – Liberalen und Konservativen – zurückblieben. Sofern man von Hochburgen der NDP überhaupt sprechen kann, liegen sie in Nunavut und den beiden anderen dünn besiedelten Territorien (auf die freilich nur drei Mandate entfallen) sowie in British Columbia (wo Parteichef Jagmeet Singh seinen städtischen Wahlkreis Burnaby South mit 37,5 % der Stimmen gewann), Manitoba und Neufundland. In den übrigen Landesteilen blieb der NDP-Stimmenanteil unter 20 Prozent. Enttäuschend fiel die Wahl für die neue rechtspopulistische *People's Party of Canada* des konservativen Ex-Ministers Maxime Bernier aus Quebec aus, die lediglich in Alberta, New Brunswick und Nunavut mehr als zwei Prozent der Wählerstimmen erzielen konnte, aber ohne Sitze blieb; Bernier selbst landete in seinem ländlichen Wahlkreis Beauce mit 28,4 % nur auf dem zweiten Platz. [9]

Bei genauerer Betrachtung ergibt sich, dass die geschilderten regionalen Asymmetrien zunehmend überlagert werden durch einen Stadt-Land-Gegensatz im Wählerverhalten, der sich 2019 auf dramatische Weise zugespitzt hat. In den 30 am dichtesten besiedelten Wahlkreisen, die allesamt in den drei bevölkerungsreichsten Großstadträumen Toronto, Montreal oder Vancouver liegen, dominieren die Liberalen, die in diesen drei Stadtregionen fast die Hälfte (45,2 %) ihrer Wählerstimmen und sogar mehr als die Hälfte ihrer Mandate – beinahe dreißig Prozent allein in Toronto – gewannen. Die Liberalen sind damit heute (wie bereits in der Regierungszeit von Premierminister Jean Chrétien) zunehmend nicht nur eine in Ontario verankerte Regionalpartei, sondern Großstadtpartei. Der Wahlerfolg gerade in Toronto illustriert dabei, dass es den Liberalen gelungen ist, zeitweise abtrünnige Wählerschichten aus den „Speckgürteln" der (post-)industriellen Stadtregionen (und aus den „sichtbaren Minderheiten") zurückzugewinnen.

Erst ab Platz 54 in der Liste der am dichtesten besiedelten Wahlkreise findet sich der erste von den Konservativen gewonnene Wahlkreis, Beauport-Limoilou (Bevölkerungsdichte von 2.872 Einwohnern/km$^2$) in der freilich sehr viel kleineren Stadtregion Quebec (City). In Montreal dominieren die Liberalen, gefolgt vom *Bloc Québécois*, während die Konservativen nicht ein Mandat errangen. Die Wahlkreise mit konservativer Dominanz findet man in der Regel erst unterhalb einer Bevölkerungsdichte von 100 Einwohnern/km$^2$, dazwischen liegen die Wahlkreise, die umkämpft waren und den Wahlausgang letztlich entschieden. Die Konservativen gewannen nur 22,9 % ihrer landesweiten Stimmen und wenig mehr als zehn Prozent ihrer Mandate – sechs in Toronto und sieben in Vancouver – in den drei bevölkerungsreichsten Stadtregionen, die NDP 31,6 % der Stimmen bzw. fünf Mandate in

9 Im Rennen um den Parteivorsitz der Konservativen im Jahr 2016 war Maxime Bernier dem siegreichen Andrew Scheer nur äußert knapp unterlegen, konnte sich mit seinen rechtspopulistischen Positionen nicht durchsetzen und gründete daraufhin die *People's Party of Canada*.

Montreal und Vancouver. Über die Ost-West-Kluft im Wählerverhalten in Kanada wird seit mehr als 30 Jahren geschrieben, doch abgesehen von einigen Ausnahmen scheint die Kluft zwischen ländlichen und städtischen Gebieten noch größer zu sein (Perreaux 2019).

**Perspektiven der Minderheitsregierung Justin Trudeaus seit dem 21. November 2019: Zitterpartie oder Chance für einen Neustart?**

Ohne eigene Mehrheit wird das Regieren für Justin Trudeau künftig nicht leichter werden. Die Legitimationsbasis seiner Minderheitsregierung erscheint mit nur rund einem Drittel der Wählerstimmen schwach. Auch die kaum noch übersehbare, mehrfache Spaltung des Landes entlang von Konfliktlinien wie Ost-West, Stadt-Land, (post-)industrielle versus agrarische und Ressourcenökonomie, Anglo- versus Frankokanada bzw. Quebec v. Restkanada dürfte das Regieren erheblich schwerer machen. Trotzdem erscheint angemessen, von der Ausgangssituation einer „starken" Minderheitsregierung zu sprechen. Die Liberalen haben eine parlamentarische Mehrheit, wie gesehen, nur knapp verfehlt und bleiben im neuen Haus politikwissenschaftlich gesprochen ein *dominant player*: Während für sie als Mehrheitsbeschaffer prinzipiell jede der drei anderen in Fraktionsstärke vertretenen Parteien im Unterhaus in Frage kommt, müssten die Konservativen für einen Sturz der Regierung Trudeau *beide* Mit-Oppositionsparteien hinter sich bringen. Die neue Minderheitsregierung wird sich voraussichtlich von zwei Parteien, die links von den Liberalen stehen, der NDP und den Grünen, parlamentarische Mehrheiten für Gesetzesvorhaben sichern. Dies wäre keine formelle Koalition, sondern ein Tolerierungsmodell.

Die durchschnittliche Lebensdauer einer Minderheitsregierung in Kanada beträgt 18 bis 24 Monate. Wie lange eine Minderheitsregierung überlebt und wie souverän sie agieren kann, hängt dabei u.a. von der Stärke und dem Zustand der Oppositionsparteien und -fraktionen sowie dem politischen Kontext der Zeit ab. Während Paul Martin 2004 gezwungen war, mit der NDP zusammenzuarbeiten, um seine Regierung am Leben zu erhalten, hatte Stephen Harper 2006 und 2008 mehrere Optionen. Trudeaus gegenwärtige Situation weist insofern eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit der ersten Harper-Minderheit 2006 auf, allerdings verfügte Harper damals lediglich über 124 von 308 Sitzen, während Trudeaus Liberale 2019 nur 13 Mandate von der absoluten Mehrheit entfernt liegen. Ähnlich wie Harper 2006 kann Trudeau heute zudem davon ausgehen, dass keine der im Unterhaus vertretenen Parteien in naher Zukunft Neuwahlen anstrebt.

Dies gilt nicht zuletzt für die nach dem für sie enttäuschenden Wahlausgang und dem Rücktritt von Andrew Scheer geschwächten, verunsicherten Konservativen. Wieder einmal bestätigte sich, dass es in Kanada keine klare gesellschaftliche Mehrheit für einen konsistenten wirtschafts- und sozialkonservativen Politikansatz gibt. Dies unterscheidet das Land – zumindest in historischer Perspektive – von seinem Nachbarn USA. Um in Ottawa die Bundesregierung zu stellen, müssen die kanadi-

schen Konservativen in der Regel von schweren Fehlern ihres politischen Hauptgegners, der Liberalen Partei, profitieren. So war es z. B. 2004 und 2006, als die Liberalen vom sogenannten Sponsorship-Skandal geschwächt waren und es Stephen Harper gelang, elf Jahre Mehrheitsregierung der Liberalen zu beenden und anschließend selbst eine konservative Minderheitsregierung anzuführen. Scheer hatte geglaubt, dass Justin Trudeau spätestens mit den Skandalen des Jahres 2019 – SNC-Lavalin und *Blackface* – das Vertrauen der kanadischen Mittelschichtswähler – insbesondere am Rande der urbanen Zentren Ontarios – in ausreichendem Maße verloren habe und diese sich dadurch seinen Konservativen anvertrauen würden. Dies erwies sich als eine spektakuläre Fehlkalkulation. In Quebec konnten die Konservativen vom Vertrauensverlust der Liberalen überhaupt nicht profitieren: Viele der von den Liberalen enttäuschten Wähler wechselten stattdessen zum *Bloc Québécois*. Scheers unklare Haltung zu Abtreibung und Homosexuellenrechten, seine lange verschwiegene US-Staatsbürgerschaft und ein möglicherweise geschönter Lebenslauf waren nicht dazu angetan, dass pragmatisch denkende Wähler diesem vergleichsweise jungen, aber bereits seit seinem 25. Lebensjahr in der Berufspolitik stehenden Konservativen ihr Vertrauen entgegenbrachten.

Die geschickte Nutzung situativer Elemente dürfte also nicht ausreichen, um Justin Trudeau und seine Liberalen aus dem Sattel zu werfen. Die Konservativen benötigen in einer Gesellschaft, die gerade in den bevölkerungsstarken Zentralprovinzen Ontario und Quebec keinesfalls nach einer sozialkonservativen Grundmelodie spielt, für einen wachstumsorientierten Wirtschaftskonservatismus aber durchaus empfänglich ist, auch attraktive politische Angebote, um nicht-konservativ denkende Wählerschichten zumindest punktuell anzusprechen. Stephen Harper gelang dies 2008 und noch mehr 2011 mit sozialkonservativen Wählern nicht-weißer Herkunft, oftmals südasiatischer Abstammung, daneben auch 2008 mit einem Einbruch in das Wählerreservoir konservativer Frankophoner in Quebec. Mulroney schaffte es 1984 und 1988, die Mehrheit der Quebecker Wahlkreise mit dem Versprechen auf Freihandel mit den USA zu gewinnen.

Scheers Kampagne hingegen hatte für die Wähler östlich von Manitoba weder überzeugende punktuelle Politikangebote noch ein Narrativ, das über die Kritik an der Vertrauenswürdigkeit Trudeaus hinausging.[10] Dies war eindeutig zu wenig, und so ist es auch folgerichtig, dass die politische Karriere im Bund für den erst 40-jährigen Parteivorsitzenden 52 Tage nach der Wahlniederlage am 12. Dezember 2019 mit dem Rücktritt endete. Scheer reiht sich damit in eine Riege konservativer Parteivorsitzender ein, die niemals kanadischer Premierminister wurden, wie u. a. Peter MacKay, Stockwell Day und Jean Charest. Auf Seiten der Liberalen ereilte dieses Schicksal lediglich den derzeitigen Botschafter in Berlin, Stéphane Dion, und

10 Wenig hilfreich war für Scheer in dem Zusammenhang auch die von innerparteilichen Gegnern lancierte Enthüllung, dass die Parteikasse der Konservativen seiner Familie nach dem Umzug von Saskatchewan nach Ottawa die Mehrkosten für den Privatschulbesuch der zwei schulpflichtigen von insgesamt fünf Kindern finanziert hatte – und plante, dies weiterhin zu tun.

Michael Ignatieff. Die Konservativen dürften mithin in nächster Zeit vorrangig damit beschäftigt sein, eine überzeugendere Führungspersönlichkeit zu finden und eine für Wählerschichten des (sub-)urbanen Zentralkanada überzeugende Programmatik – moderat konservativ in der ökonomischen Dimension der Finanz-, Wirtschafts- und Handelspolitik, eher liberal in der sozialen Dimension gesellschaftlich-moralischer Wertorientierungen – zu entwickeln. Da in der kanadischen Parteipolitik die Bundes- und Provinzebene vergleichsweise klar getrennt sind, lässt sich bis zur Wahl eines Nachfolgers oder einer Nachfolgerin Scheers am 27. Juni 2020 nur schwer abschätzen, wer nunmehr die Führungspersonen innerhalb der Partei sind. Ein Schwergewicht und direkter politischer Gegner Premierminister Trudeaus ist der Ministerpräsident Albertas, Jason Kenney, der nach dem Ende der Ära Harper aus der Bundes- in die Landespolitik gewechselt war. Kenney wird sich indes nicht um den Bundesvorsitz der Konservativen bewerben.

Für die NDP und die kleine parlamentarische Gruppe der Grünen dürfte die Tolerierung der neuen liberalen Minderheitsregierung eine attraktive, ihr parlamentarisches Gewicht und ihre Sichtbarkeit nach außen fördernde Perspektive sein. Es ist daher nicht unrealistisch davon auszugehen, dass Trudeaus Minderheitsregierung eine gewisse Stabilität erlangen wird und Neuwahlen nicht vor der zweiten Jahreshälfte 2021 stattfinden. Die Gleichzeitigkeit von (wieder mehr) sozialer Sicherheit, Klimaschutz und wirtschaftlichem Aufschwung für breite Bevölkerungsschichten herzustellen und zu managen – und dabei weder (sub-)urbane Progressive beim Klimaschutz noch Konservative und die Prärieprovinzen, insbesondere Alberta, bei Wirtschafts- und Energiefragen zu verprellen, dürfte die wichtigste Herausforderung für die neue Minderheitsregierung Trudeau darstellen – ein politisches Kunststück, das er vollbringen muss, um den Status der Mehrheitsregierung wiederzuerlangen.

Der alte und neue Premierminister scheint sich der Spannungslinien für die künftige Regierungsarbeit bewusst zu sein. In einem Interview nach Beginn seiner zweiten Amtszeit sagte er, sein größtes Bedauern sei, dass er eine solchermaßen polarisierende Figur in Kanada geworden sei. Er glaube ferner, dass die mehrfache Polarisierung durch die Besorgnis vieler Bürger über die Transformation der Weltwirtschaft, den Klimawandel und die Fortschritte in der künstlichen Intelligenz und Technologie verursacht werde. Er sei ein Blitzableiter für einige dieser Ängste, weil er „unverfroren" argumentiere, dass Kanada diese Transformation akzeptieren und in Dinge wie die Wissenschaft investieren müsse, um sich ihr zu stellen und sie mitzugestalten.[11]

Die Zusammenstellung des neuen liberalen Kabinetts, das Justin Trudeau am 20. November 2019 vorstellte, ist denn auch als Versuch zu werten, die genannten

11 Vgl. Joan Bryden, „Justin Trudeau says he will be lower profile, more business-like in second mandate", *The Canadian Press*, 20. Dezember 2019, https://nationalpost.com/news/trudeau-to-be-lower-profile-more-businesslike-in-second-mandate?video_autoplay=true.

Spannungslinien von vorneherein abzumildern: Das Kabinett hat eine Rekordzahl von 37 Mitgliedern mit (wie gehabt) etwa gleich vielen Männern und Frauen. Diese Aufblähung des Kabinetts hat eine Ursache in der schwierigen Ausbalancierung nach regionalen, ethnischen und Gender-Gesichtspunkten. Die Prioritäten der liberalen Minderheitsregierung lauten: das Land zusammenbringen, sich auf wirtschaftliches Wachstum für die Mittelschicht konzentrieren und den Klimawandel bekämpfen. Zur Erreichung des ersten Ziels nahm Trudeau eine vielbeachtete Kabinettsumbildung vor. Die frühere Handels- und Außenministerin Chrystia Freeland wird im neuen Kabinett protokollarisch zur Vizepremierministerin aufgewertet und zuständig für die innerkanadische Verständigung zwischen der Bundesregierung in Ottawa und den Regionalregierungen der Provinzen. Mit dieser Personalie erklärte Trudeau nicht nur die innerkanadische Verständigung zur Chefsache, er wertete die frühere Wirtschaftsjournalistin, die er selbst 2013 zum Wechsel in die Politik überredet hatte, machtpolitisch de facto zu seiner Stellvertreterin und wahrscheinlichen Nachfolgerin auf, sollten weitere Skandale ein Weiterregieren für ihn unmöglich machen. Die Liberale Partei verfügt somit über mindestens zwei Führungspersönlichkeiten, die auch gerade außerhalb Kanadas – speziell in Europa – hohes Ansehen genießen.

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Colin M. Coates/Graeme Wynn (eds.), *The Nature of Canada*, Vancouver/Toronto: On Point Press, 2019 (376 pp.; ISBN 978-0-7748-9036-6; CAD 29.95)

Many Canadians (and many Canadian Studies scholars) have long used and perpetuated the notion that the natural environment has shaped Canadian identity and "the Canadian psyche" (and its literature and art) in a particular way. In 1943 Northrop Frye identified nature as a threat to human existence in Canada. And in the early 1970s, Margaret Atwood, one of many intellectuals trying to find something uniquely Canadian in the country's culture (to counteract the growing influence of American culture), saw "survival as the central symbol of Canadianness" and underlined that "Canadian heroes almost invariably died or failed." Arguably, the theme is alive and well even today, as popular Canadian "mythology" often refers to Jacques Cartier describing the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence as "the land God gave to Cain". And yet, this is not and has never been the only way to view, envisage and experience nature in Canada. For early European settler colonialists nature provided resources to be harvested, leading Harold Innis to state that Canada "emerged as a nation not in spite of geography but because of it." And of course, native peoples had long developed succinctly different relations with and views of Canadian natural environments. Developing a more pluralistic and questioning perspective of the natural environments of Canada is one of the overarching themes uniting the contributions in this volume.

*The Nature of Canada* is a selection of 16 essays on, well, the nature of Canada and on the way Canadians have engaged and interacted with nature, changing it and being changed by it in the process. The essays reflect upon the way in which Canadians and the peoples of Canada have, over the course of history, thought about and imagined nature, shaped, changed and used nature, and how some have benefited while others' ways of life have been threatened in due course. The contributors to the volume are historians and historical geographers who have shaped and configured the field of environmental history in Canada, initially coming together through and in the Network in Canadian History and Environment project. While differing in approach and style, the contributions gathered in this volume are essays rather than analytical pieces. They present innovative ideas and provoke thought, provide new and sometimes unusual perspectives. And they draw in the readers and call for their engagement through both the intellectual topic as well as the actual "problems" surrounding Canadians' approaches to and uses of nature. While ideas and subject matter of the essays vary widely, making it impossible to discuss the merits of each of them, the generally crisp and fresh writing makes for a highly stimulating book – not just for historians and historical or environmental geographers but for Canadian Studies scholars in general.

Many of the essays consider very "physical" topics. In "Nature and Nation", for example, Graeme Wynn explores the geology ("deep time") of Canada, in "Nature We Cannot See" he looks at the "too small to be visible" parts of nature: pathogenes, and how they have shaped "natural" Canadian landscapes. Other essays reflect upon clear-

ly human-impacted or human-designed physical landscapes, be they farming (Colin Coates' "Back to the Land") or urban landscapes (Michèle Dagenais' "Imagining the City") or the bits and pieces that link them: communication lines and infrastructures (Ken Cruikshank's "Every Creeping Thing"). Physical resources are another – obvious – theme to consider when exploring human-nature relations in Canada. In "Eldorado North" Graeme Wynn and Stephen J. Hornsby explain how different approaches to nature configured European resource exploitation with regard to the fur trade and the cod fisheries. Arn Keeling and John Sandlos' "Never Just a Hole in the Ground" looks at the exploitation of mineral resources, while in "The Power of Canada" Steve Penfold focusses on the energy resources whose exploitation has changed some Canadian landscapes in unprecedented form.

Two essays turn to actors behind the discourses on (post-)modern conservationism: Joanna Dean's "A Gendered Sense of Nature" highlights the role of women in the countercultural emergence of environmentalism in the 1960s, while Graeme Wynn and Jennifer Bonnell's "Advocates and Activists" charts the later emergence of David Suzuki as a preeminent voice of Canadian environmentalism.

Other essays speak primarily of epistemologies, ideas and the configurations of concepts and perspectives. In "Painting the Map Red" again Graeme Wynn interprets three very different maps to explore how different approaches to pictorial representation shape human views of nature. Julie Cruikshank's "Listening for Different Stories" pleads for western scientists to open up to indigenous peoples' epistemologies and to listen for (not to) their stories of nature. Claire E. Campbell explores the concept of wilderness and its use in Canadian public discourses, Tina Loo, looks at the importance of scale in the conceptualization of nature-transforming action, especially in plans and projects of the high-modernist era. And Liza Piper's "Climate of our Times" reveals how even "the climate" is, of course, an intellectual construct, and how this impacts on the way we reflect upon and deal with (or not, as the case may be) climate change.

Towards the end the book turns to climate change as arguably the most thought (and emotion) provoking environmental process of our times with its huge, yet still ill-understood consequences for all "natural" environments in Canada. The last essay, "Time Chased Me Down and I Stopped Looking Away", is Heather E. McGregor's deeply personal reflection of climate change and its implications, while face to face with some of the most breathtaking "northern" nature Canada has to offer.

All these essays can – and should – be read as individual pieces and in any order (the discussion above does not correspond to the order in the book). And yet, as a well-edited and nicely illustrated collection they develop a special potency. This is a thoughtful and thought-provoking book, tremendously reflective – especially when it comes to epistemologies of what we consider knowledge ("scientific" or otherwise) – yet unashamedly intellectual and "activist" at the same time, believing that the insights offered may "help meet[ing] the challenge of living more sustainable lives in Canada" and that "changes for the better remain possible".

*Ludger Basten*

J. I. Little, *At the Wilderness Edge. The Rise of the Antidevelopment Movement on Canada's West Coast*, Montreal & Kingston/London/Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019 (200 pp.; ISBN 978-0-7735-5640-9; CAD 29.95)

While Canadian culture knows a long tradition of seeing nature and wilderness as vaguely or acutely threatening – see the review of Coates & Wynn's *The Nature of Canada* in this volume –, roughly from the 1960s onwards, a different attitude towards nature started to gain recognition. Not only,

but also in Vancouver and its surrounding region, many people in general and "urban dwellers" in particular increasingly began to look upon the natural or quasi-natural environment as a place for active recreation and (at least holiday or weekend) dwellings that offered a respite from, or even an alternative to increasingly hectic modern urban lifestyles. There are various "movements" that can, with some justification, be traced back to these times and developments. Movements are, after all, primarily mental constructs or simply denominations for particular aspects of rather complex and variegated social, political and cultural transformations. In Vancouver at the time, various countercultural, (proto-) environmental and progressive local political reform movements came together and changed the way "things" were being done in the political arena.

In this relatively slender study (the actual text only spans 131 pages, the rest being taken up by copious notes, bibliography and index), J. I. Little focusses on the changing politics and practice of land development in and around Vancouver. Framed by a short introduction and conclusion, he essentially charts the "rise of the antidevelopment movement" through five case studies of land development conflicts in the city and its region since the 1960s. The five cases deal with different kinds of such conflicts: how to use an inner-city parcel of land sandwiched between downtown and the protected wilderness of Stanley Park (ch. 1), how to develop (or not) the Hollyburn mountain ridge on the north shore for recreational skiing (ch. 2), whether to open up Bowen Island, in commuting distance to the city, to larger suburban style development (ch. 3), whether to develop a deep-water coal port over environmental concerns in Squamish, a small town one hour north of Vancouver (ch. 4), and whether to allow a heavy impact mining development on secluded Gambier Island vis-à-vis the increasing recreational interests in Howe Sound (ch. 5). The five chapters are of different length (18 to 35 pages) and depth, partly reflecting the complexities involved and the time needed to resolve the issue (or to simply let it peter out). In each chapter Little essentially introduces the issue, then, in largely chronological fashion, he charts the emergence of a more or less organized form of protest or resistance by introducing the central actors involved, and describes the arenas in which the conflict emerges and takes shape.

As Little admits at the outset, the book does not "present a comprehensive overview of the resistance to large-scale development in Vancouver", and the selection of case studies only covers a certain (northwestern) sector of the Vancouver region. As a result, the constellations of issues and actors in these particular case studies tend to (over-?) emphasize the concerns, attitudes and powers of the upper middle classes which have tended to predominantly occupy and use these parts of the Vancouver metropolitan area and its close-by hinterland. Meanwhile, other land development conflicts on the (predominantly lower middle and working class) east side of the city as well as in its southern and eastern suburbs remain unexplored. While this can partly be justified, since anti-development and arguably environmental movements emerged first and foremost among those upper and middle classes, a wider look and deliberate selection of case studies might have broadened our understanding of how these diverse strands of protest came together (or not).

Hence, the strengths and weaknesses of the book form two sides of the same coin. The very local case studies tend to be rich in idiographic detail, yet the book remains somewhat short on synthesis. While offering brief summaries regarding the most important actors and factors in each case study, the five-page overall conclusion to the book offers rather little in generalizing insight. Yes, all cases tended to be dominated by middle class protest and not be very "countercultural" in character; yes, women were a central force in virtually all of them, while factors of race and Indigenous rights

did hardly figure anywhere; and yes, these protests were not environmentalist in our current, sustainability-driven understanding of the term, but really only (?) resisting rather rough modernist developmental impulses.

However, to me the subtitle still seems a bit of a misnomer, since a true antidevelopment *movement* does not really take shape between these pages. Rather, the five case studies are presented as singular and oddly disconnected events. There is little discussion of what ties them together, how they possibly informed one another, how activists influenced and aided one another, learned from previous struggles and struggles elsewhere (in Canada or even further afield). How out of these very localized concerns and experiences, together with other, much less local and more progressive concerns and initiatives, eventually something larger emerged, which truly could be called a transformative movement, seems another and longer (hi)story still waiting to be written.

*Ludger Basten*

Colin R. Anderson/Jennifer Brady/Charles Z. Levkoe (eds.), *Conversations in Food Studies*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016 (ix + 358 pp.; ISBN 978-0-88755-787-3; CAD 31.95)

*Conversations in Food Studies* (2016) is a Canadian contribution to the booming field of Food Studies that is interdisciplinary in approach, methods, and content and has, over recent decades, enriched our insights into and understanding of the ways in which food – its ingredients, its forms of preparation, and eating and consumption rituals – expresses and also shapes cultural characteristics and relationships. As the author of the foreword to this volume of thirteen original essays argues, Food Studies is a relatively "new field of inquiry" (Koç, viii) in Canada and is "characterized by its interdisciplinary focus, systemic perspective, and dedicated commitment to change" (viii). He also, on these very first pages, offers readers a helpful first definition of what food studies is and how it operates: "Food studies seeks to examine the complex web of practices, processes, structures, and institutions in which we humans engage with one another and with nature in defining and transforming part of that nature into food. This is a complex process involving not only certain tasks and procedures such as production, distribution and consumption but also cultural codes, ideologies, and politics" (viii). Thus, Koç emphasizes both the material aspect and the heavily laden cultural and symbolic implications in Food Studies. The foundation of the Canadian Association for Food Studies / L'Association canadienne des études sur l'alimentation (CAFS/ACÉA) and some of the volumes published as early as in the 1970s and 1980s indicate the rising relevance of Food Studies (not just) in Canada.

The collection is divided into four main parts with a total of thirteen essays and the additional foreword, introduction, acknowledgments, and contributors. A commentary concludes each section. Part I on "Representing Disciplinary Praxis" introduces the volume with four essays on the representation of food in different contexts and how knowledge about food is created in texts but also in new media such as, for example, social media. One article discusses visualizations, one the performativity of foodways and their blurring boundaries, one literature on the study of milk, and finally one on the debates about food in agriculture. Part II on "Who, What, and How: Governing Food Systems" zooms in on "the informal and formal governance of food and food systems" (9), as the editors show, in three essays on the distribution of power in foodways, for example, in fisheries in local food systems across China, Canada, and Ireland and the restaurants in Montreal with a "Bring Your Own Wine" policy and the concomitant regulation of alcohol as "shaped by the motivations of different stakeholders" (10). The final essay in this section deals with public health in British

Columbia and the public policy of food safety and security.

Part III on "'Un-doing' Food Studies: A Case for Flexible Fencing" and its four essays disrupt traditional disciplinary boundaries so that new approaches and ideas are possible in order to find solutions to problems related to food. One contribution warns of "alternative food networks when framed as market-based governance" (11) because they tend to "reproduce the logics and practices of neoliberal food economics" (11). Another essay looks at sustainable diet, still another one at food waste, and the final one at how scholarship on alternative food networks (AFN) has developed. Finally, Part IV on "Scaling Learning in Agri-food Systems" and its two contributions focus on critical food pedagogy and how transformative learning is essential for "stronger, healthier, and more resilient food systems" (12) and should also find access into educational and community institutions and organizations.

As the editors themselves admit, all contributors work in the social sciences and humanities. Economists, agriculture scientists, cultural (and literary) theorists, historians, and philosophers, and others, still need to be recruited for such important interdisciplinary work. Similarly, different knowledge systems, as produced by academia and community-based practitioners, still have to be reconciled and recognized. This also holds true for the necessary inclusion of "historically marginalized and racialized groups" (14) such as, for example, Indigenous peoples, migrants, and refugees, who are not addressed in this volume. The editors are almost overzealous in their introduction when they point out the flaws of their own publication, such as the largely missing exploration of one's own privileges and biases as scholars as well as the lack of politically directed investigations. They also launch the usual complaints about seemingly increasing neoliberal academia that does not offer room for interdisciplinary work and the precarious job situation of young academics.

While all of this is certainly (mostly) true, these critical issues do not seem to be enough to explain why interdisciplinarity is not practiced more often. Rather, what is often neglected – and it seems to be true for this volume as well – is, first, the frequent unwillingness of scholars to step out of their disciplinary boundaries and open up to the methods, theories, and questions of other disciplines, and, second, the fact that interdisciplinary and collaborative research is hard work and can, potentially, also fail and produce no results. Rather than lamenting the obvious, we as scholars should perhaps be ready to acknowledge that interdisciplinary work can only be done with a strong disciplinary basis and often comes as an extra to what we usually do. It is then that "working the boundaries" (5) might actually yield the desired insights. Finally, however laudable the editors' self-attributed mission of Food Studies as seriously "building more socially just food systems" (17) is, this can only be one of the many goals of the field. What seems to be almost completely forgotten is the cultural relevance of foodways, which tell us about cultures other than our own, which allow for inclusion in or exclusion from communities, which give migrants and refugees cultural memories and, thus, something to hold on to. Although the editors come from different fields, their discipline is the one of social science and precisely not the humanities – neither literary nor cultural studies – so that broadening the editors' perspective (in the introduction) could be fruitful in offering further potential areas of research. Yet, it seems that they are aware of this necessity since they conclude by pointing out their introduction's imperfections: "This book exemplifies a deliberate process of working the boundaries as an imperfect, iterative, contested, and partial process at the heart of a vibrant, interdisciplinary, and critical future for food studies" (18). These lines show that more such projects are necessary because interdisciplinarity is a (never ending) process that needs to be

practiced and explored in order to yield results.

Let me just pick one example out of the thirteen rich and detailed essays. This choice can only be random and subjective, and yet illustrative of the many implications in the theories of Food Studies and their practical application. Essay 6, entitled "The Bottle at the Centre of a Changing Foodscape: 'Bring Your Own Wine' in the Plateau-Mont-Royal, Montreal" (150–69) and written by Anaïs Détolle, Robert Jennings, and Alan Nash, looks at the "Bring Your Own Wine" (BYOW) politics in restaurants in Montreal. The authors, who acknowledge their own disciplinary backgrounds in anthropology, human geography, and urban studies, discuss the political, social, and economic aspects of this practice, such as the commodification of alcohol, the spaces of consumption, the distinction of customers, and the areas' gentrification. As they argue, the BYOW philosophy has changed the restaurant owners' attitude toward wine as a commodity, that is, they are no longer interested in it as a commodity, while their customers bring their private drinking habits into the public space of a restaurant.

This restaurant space has become, as the authors argue, "a new type of hybrid or *liminal* space" that "shares the characteristics of both public and private space" (154). BYOW, then, contributes to the "domestication of drinking in public and its incorporation into the foodscape" and offers a new hybrid space where "the once-questionable act of drinking outside the home now becomes sanctioned by a more domestically oriented setting more reminiscent of the world of the home and of non-commodified exchange" (155). The scholars treat the "wine object", according to Arjun Appadurai, as a commodity that is in constant flux (157) and explain their methods rooted in case studies in Canadian newspapers and fifteen interviews in English, French, and Arabic in eleven BYOW restaurants in the Plateau-Mont-Royal borough (158). They subsequently connect the history of BYOW in Montreal to "(1) issues of domesticity, hospitality, and commensality; (2) the role of commodities, consumption, and distinction; and (3) the part played by BYOWs in the processes of gentrification" (159).

In their study, they look at the relationship between customers, restaurant owners, and governance and draw some interesting conclusions. They maintain that customers control their own public drinking because the restaurant offers a more domestic space with the BYOW policy (162); that customers reduce the costs of eating out by bringing cheaper wine (163); that, consequently, more people are able to eat out because food in these restaurants becomes more affordable (163). Overall, BYOWs create "new spaces of consumption" (166) and, as the authors conclude, "have challenged existing social norms of behavior in public spaces" (167). Groups of people interact and transgress traditional roles and, ultimately, have changed the nature of food commodities, consumption, and public space. The authors of this essay have vividly portrayed how even a minor interference into food processes can lead to new relationships between people, new consumption behaviors, changing semiotics of public and private spaces, and new drinking habits. This microcosm of socio-cultural community life does, of course, also reach out to larger areas of human life.

What the present volume undoubtedly shows is that foodways and also food systems are manifold and furthermore include pre-intake, while-intake, and post-intake features that all have to be explored and set in relationship to each other and revealed as being contingent on their surroundings. As a consequence, different (textual and visual) means of representation are used to communicate key concepts of Food Studies to allow for a transgression of disciplinary boundaries. The Canadianness in an otherwise non-national volume is located in the case studies, statistics, regional references, and actual collaborative work that has been and is being done. These case-specific examples give voice to a multiplicity of

perspectives, experiences, and knowledges that need to be considered in Food Studies and emphasize the idea that food is part of a larger performance, which also includes practices of food waste, sustainable diets, alternative food networks, situated and transformative learning, and significant struggles for ecologically and socially just societies. As part of cultural systems, foodways are constantly on the move; they are flexible and unstable; they cross cultural, ethnic, and national boundaries and can connect as well as separate communities and individuals from each other. Food knowledge, as the editors of and contributors to this volume would say, is a way of knowing and understanding the world.

*Carmen Birkle*

John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017 (ix–xliii + 409 pp.; ISBN 978-0-88755-789-7; CAD 26.95)

John S. Milloy's seminal study *A National Crime* was first published in 1999 and since then frequently with the most recent edition in 2017 and with a foreword by Mary Jane Logan McCallum. While the book's main title remains deliberately vague but sensational by addressing national crime, its subtitle more specifically names the topic: *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*. Although it is a study of Canadian history and its severe repercussions for Canadian indigenous people, Canada's southern neighbor, the United States of America, has the same phenomenon to come to terms with. The national crime that John S. Milloy exposes in his historical study transgressed national borders and emerged even in far-away Australia as a means to deal with intercultural encounters – to put it more positively – or simply each country's own colonial and colonizing history. Residential schools for Indigenous people were not just schools; they were institutions of enforced assimilation to practically become Canadians or U.S. Americans or Australians respectively – ignoring the irony that Indigenous people actually were indigenous, thus native to the land.

McCallum's foreword reveals how Milloy – whose research for the study began in 1991 for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) – pieces together oral histories, written documents, first-hand testimonies as well as government employees' statements and "puts into words the ideologies that guided the department's [Department of Indian Affairs] decision making and arms us with insider knowledge of the workings of the state" and "peels back a foil of obscurity from a central mechanism of oppression in our lives" (xiii).

In contrast to the individual work done before Milloy, he focuses on activities of the state and government and not on the role of the churches and individual oral testimonies. As Milloy shows, Indian residential schools in Canada were the outcome of the failed Gradual Civilization Act of 1857, which offered adult Indigenous people citizenship rights and a piece of land on the reserve for private ownership. This act failed because no Native person acted upon it, not wanting to be an outsider in one's own tribe and on reserve territory. Subsequently, the Canadian government turned its attention toward children with the slogan "kill the Indian in the child" (xvi) and decided that this was the best way to assimilate and educate them. They did receive education but frequently also experienced violence, abuse, injuries, neglect, etc., which the government often knew about but did not do anything to help these children. For McCallum, this attitude shifts her thinking about individual stories "to a meta-analysis of the schools as part of a large-scale, intentional, and long-standing system" (xviii), funded by churches and state. The curriculum was minimal; there was "no nationwide policy for discipline" (xix) before 1953; no one cared about the children's physical or psychological ill health after having been

separated from their families and tribes, having had to give away their own clothes, receiving a new haircut that was against tribal policies, and living in cold brick buildings rather than around the warmth of the family fire (xx).

For Milloy, as McCallum agrees, this form of education is a phenomenon of the effect of colonization "at a critical moment in Canada's history, when the new nation needed to assert its authority and dominion over a vast territory"; it is part of "the expansion of the Canadian nation-state" (xxi). Furthermore, the school houses children whose parents are in prison or seemingly unable to educate their offspring and also functions as orphanage.

The work that Milloy accomplished as one of the "non-Indigenous professional historians" was inaugurated "in the late 1970s and 1980s" (xxii) and had to fight stereotypical Hollywood images of Natives transported, among others, in John Wayne movies. In the 2010s, critics would immediately take offense with Milloy's work as a non-Native scholar, but his pioneer work then paved the way for Indigenous people to study their own history. Milloy was aware of the danger of advocacy, but McCallum points out what Milloy must have realized during his archival work in Quebec and at the Library and Archives in Ottawa, Canada: "[…] it became clear to him that this system was conceived, designed, and managed by non-Indigenous people. That *was* a story he could tell. This claiming of a stake by a non-Indigenous historian in understanding a colonizing, assimilating, intolerant system was significant, requiring as it did that he make one story of what had long been understood to be two: the dispossession of Indigenous people and the making of Canada" (xxiii). McCallum shares her own experience with archival work in Ottawa, realizing that the documents she researches, although produced by those who wanted to silence Native voices, is, nevertheless, part of Indigenous history and, therefore, needs to be unearthed (xxv) and, furthermore, collected at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR). Moreover, as McCallum argues, apart from museums and archives, an important way to pass on cultural memory is teaching it. Milloy himself taught at the University of Winnipeg from 1977 to 1981 (xxix), where McCallum teaches as well. Publishing houses can serve similar functions, and the University of Manitoba Press has taken this task seriously and published Milloy's *A National Crime* in its Critical Studies in Native History Series (xxix).

Milloy's study begins with an introduction ("Suffer the Children") that uses a 1939 pamphlet published by the Anglican Church ("Indian and Eskimo Residential Schools") to show the conflicting perceptions of these schools: one celebratory and idealizing, one devastating and destructive. In 1939, there were "seventy-nine residential schools" in Canada with 9.027 children (xxxvi), run by the Canadian government and churches (Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, United Churches) (xxxvi). From 1879 until their official closing in 1986, the Canadian government and the Department of Indian Affairs justified these residential schools with the "self-imposed" 'responsibility' for Aboriginal people set out in Section 91:24 of the British North America Act of 1867" (xxxvii). While the government initiated the programs, the churches in most cases ran the educational facilities, which, as Milloy states, "have been, arguably, the most damaging of the many elements of Canada's colonization of this land's original peoples and, as their consequences still affect the lives of Aboriginal people today, they remain so" (xxxviii) – long beyond their closure. In spite of his own "misgiving" and "feelings of trespassing Aboriginal experience" (xlii), Milloy claims that "[i]t is *our* history, *our* shaping of the 'new world'; it is *our* swallowing of the land and its First Nations peoples and spitting them out as cities and farms and hydroelectric projects and as strangers in their own land and communities" (xlii). Not writing about this history would, for Milloy, be another form of marginalization of Aboriginal people.

Milloy divides his study into three chronologically arranged main sections: Part 1 – Vision: The Circle of Civilized Conditions; Part 2 – Reality: The System at Work, 1879 to 1946; Part 3 – Integration and Guardianship, 1946 to 1986. Part 1 discusses the origins of what Milloy calls "assimilative ideology of civilization" (xxxviii) that is visible in the first chapter in two images of the young Indigenous boy Thomas Moore of the Regina Industrial School "'before and after tuition'" (3). While the original idea was for Aboriginals to "achieve self-sufficiency on the basis of a modern economy" (11), this idea changed with the 1857 Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province to the "assimilation of the individual" (19) and, finally resulted in "a detailed strategy for re-socializing Aboriginal children within residential schools" (23) that included the children's separation from their families. As Milloy shows, the government considered Native people ignorant, superstitious, savage, and helpless (25) and, therefore, believed it had to liberate them through assimilation. But only children were felt to be assimilable; adults were seen as "a hindrance to the civilizing process" (26). Consequently, the school was turned into "an all-encompassing environment of resocialization. The curriculum was not simply an academic schedule or practical trades training but comprised the whole life of the child in the school. One culture was to be replaced by another through the work of the surrogate parent, the teacher" (33). One can easily see that the teacher was crucial in this re-socialization process, which also included the exclusive use of the English language.

Part 2 goes into more details about the actual living conditions at the schools and shows that those exhibited stark contrasts to the official vision of the schools offering a home and care. In the chapters of this part, Milloy discusses disease and death, neglect and abuse, the poor quality and quantity of food and clothing, the building and management of the system, and the schools' actual failure "to reach their educational goals" (xxxix). These devastating consequences resulted in part from a lack of adequate funding, which then led to poor health care, almost non-existent medical services, and the inadequate maintenance of buildings with "drainage and water systems that were threatening the pupils' health" (85), and hunger, tuberculosis, and scabies as frequent guests. Add exhausting labor, long school and work days, and overall abuse, and it does not surprise that criticism slowly but steadily infiltrated the government so that, in 1946, reviews of "Indian affairs" (189) were finally initiated.

Part 3 depicts the Canadian government's attempt to gradually close all residential schools for Indigenous children, which, however, took exactly 40 years. The main reasons were children who could not, as officials believed, be returned to their "neglectful homes" (xl), and who waited for foster care and adoption into non-Aboriginal families. Simultaneously, residential schools in the northern and arctic regions revived their efforts for Native assimilation rather than integration. Overall, underfunding, neglect, and – physical and sexual – abuse continued. As Milloy shows, none of the functions of these schools, as originally envisioned, had actually worked – neither pedagogics nor child care nor integration or assimilation. What they did manage was to break apart Indigenous families and tribes, to disorient their children, to steal from them their heritage and cultural-collective memory, and, as a consequence, to make them prone to drug and alcohol abuse, unemployment, and poverty rather than offering safety and stability. The official letters written by inspectors of the schools to the authorities reveal the persistence of broken sewage systems, dangerous fire traps, tubercular infection and scabies, inadequate heat and ventilation, a disregard for clothing or dietary standards, beatings, and deaths.

Milloy's epilogue then traces the activities from 1992 to 1998, looking at governmental and Indigenous documents. In 1992, a statement by B.C. First Nations Chiefs and

Leaders demands that both the government and the churches "'must be held accountable for the pain inflicted upon our people. We are hurt, devastated and outraged. The effect of the Indian residential school system is like a disease ripping through our communities" (295). What for Milloy is the actual reason for a discontinuation of the schools is an issue almost entirely erased from public documents – "the pervasive sexual abuse of the children" (296). While all of these facts were out in the open in the 1990s, Milloy makes very clear that still departmental files were made unavailable for further research (302). It was not until 1998 that the then Minister of Indian Affairs, Jane Stewart, officially proclaimed a "Statement of Reconciliation" (304), entitled *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, acknowledged the government's role in the history of the residential schools, and proposed a joint "'healing strategy'" (304). For Milloy, this, however, is not enough. For him, the history of the residential schools has to become an acknowledged part of Canadian history and identity. It is for this reason that he worked in the archives and put together *A National Crime*, which unfolds the incredible extent to which those schools had an impact on the Indigenous population nationwide.

Milloy's bibliography of unpublished primary sources and published primary and secondary sources offers a wealth of material for further research. It is above all his archival work that not only reveals some of the hitherto unknown phenomena of the history and legacies of these schools, but also the urgent need for further work and public discussion in this respect. In his acknowledgments added to the 2017 edition and in the preface to the 1999 edition, Milloy explains that his book originated as a report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996 in spite of the fact that the Royal Commission granted access to some files still closed to general researchers after long negotiations. While the history of residential schools should certainly be taught in Canadian schools today as part of the country's heritage, this history is by no means unique to Canada, as the U.S.-American and Australian histories show. Ultimately, Milloy's study is also a reminder of the devastating effects of any country's colonialism and colonization on the respective Indigenous population.

*Carmen Birkle*

Camil Girard/Carl Brisson, *Reconnaissance et exclusion des peuples autochtones au Québec. Du traité d'alliance de 1603 à nos jours*, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2018 (278 S., ISBN 978-2-7637-3369-2, CAD 40)

Dass ungeklärte Landrechte zu den strittigen Themen zwischen indigenen und nicht-indigenen Kanadiern gehören, auch wenn sie in den vergangenen Jahren hinter Internatsskandalen und verschwundenen indigenen Frauen weniger Aufmerksamkeit beanspruchen konnten, ist den meisten wohl geläufig, die sich für Kanada interessieren, nicht aber, wie es sich damit genau verhält und ob bzw. wie sich die Dinge in Québec von denen im übrigen Kanada unterscheiden. Und wie konstituieren sich Indigene am immer noch gültigen *Indian Act/Loi sur les Indiens* vorbei eigentlich als Verhandlungspartner?

Der vorliegende mit einer Reihe von Karten und einer ausführlichen Bibliographie ausgestattete Band des Historikers Camil Girard und des Geographen Carl Brisson schafft hier Abhilfe und erlaubt eine gute erste Orientierung.

In ihrem historischen Überblick heben die Autoren vor allem die entscheidende Zäsur hervor, die der *Indian Act/Loi sur les Indiens* von 1867 für die Beziehungen zwischen Indigenen und Euro-Kanadiern bedeutete. Jenseits der mehr oder weniger erfolgreichen Missionierungs- und „Zivilisations"-Versuche der Europäer waren die Beziehungen zu den Indigenen in Neufrankreich, sowohl vor als auch in den ersten Jahrzehnten nach der britischen Eroberung, von allen Beteiligten auf der Grundla-

ge von Bündnissen zwischen Nationen und im gegenseitigen Respekt gestaltet worden. Die Autoren nennen hier vor allem die Allianz von 1603 und den Großen Frieden von Montréal von 1701, an dem 1300 Abgesandte von ca. 40 Nationen teilnahmen, sowie die Anerkennung indigener Rechte in der Königlichen Proklamation von 1763. Vor allem das Verhältnis von Indigenen und Franzosen war lange Zeit von ausgeglichenen Kräfteverhältnissen geprägt; letztere erschienen durchaus auch als Bittsteller und beugten sich indigenen protokollarischen Gepflogenheiten. Donnacona galt Jacques Cartier als „König Kanadas" und auch seine symbolische „Landnahme" änderte nichts daran, dass die indigenen Nationen sich weiterhin frei auf dem weiten Land bewegten und es nach ihren Vorstellungen nutzten. So wurden um 1660 von den 55.000 französischen Siedlern nur 0,87 % des Landes (1745: 14%) für Siedlungen oder Landwirtschaft genutzt, der Rest blieb, unter ausdrücklichem Schutz der Krone, den indigenen Nationen uneingeschränkt vorbehalten. Diese betrachteten sich weder als „erobert" noch stand je eine Übertragung ihrer – nach indigener Lesart ohnehin unveräußerlichen – Souveränitätsrechte in Rede, wie die *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples/Commission royale sur les peuples autochtones* (1996) bestätigte.

Auch bedurfte es vor der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts keiner Definition ihrer „Identität" oder nationaler Zugehörigkeit. Fatale Auswirkungen hatten dagegen von den Europäern eingeschleppte Infektionskrankheiten sowie die Intensivierung kriegerischer Auseinandersetzungen, auf die der Band indes nur am Rande eingeht.

Nach 1763 erkannten zunächst auch die neuen britischen Herren die Indigenen als Nationen und potentielle Bündnispartner mit eigenen Landrechten an. Das Land, einschließlich der königlichen Domäne in Québec, galt aber nun als verkäuflich. 1774 annektierte der *Quebec Act/Acte de Québec* einen Teil des indigenen Territoriums, ohne dass das Land verkauft oder aufgegeben worden wäre, was zunächst keine praktischen Auswirkungen auf die Indigenen hatte, die dort lebten.

Zwischen 1783 und 1812 wurden unter dem Druck der Zuwanderung der königstreuen Loyalisten 15 Verträge über Landkäufe abgeschlossen, zwischen 1815 und 1860 dann alles Land in Oberkanada verkauft. In Unterkanada gab es solche Verkäufe nicht, da die landwirtschaftlich genutzten Flächen schon als abgetreten galten. Die königliche Domäne stand weiter den Indigenen zu. Allerdings hatte man schon 1797 auch innerhalb dieses bisher geschützten Territoriums ohne Rücksicht auf eventuelle indigene Landrechte Kantone zugunsten der Loyalisten eingerichtet.

Als die Briten nach dem kanadisch-amerikanischen Krieg von 1812 nicht mehr auf die Indigenen als alliierte Bündnispartner angewiesen waren, begann mit der Einrichtung der ersten Reservate ab 1840 und dem Erlass diskriminierender Gesetze in den 1850-er Jahren, gegen deren vielfältigen Widerstand, die territoriale Verdrängung der Indigenen, ihre erzwungene Sesshaftmachung, die Entrechtung unter dem Mantel des „Schutzes" und staatlicher „Betreuung" durch die Bundesregierung, die Assimilation mit dem Ziel ihres Verschwindens als eigenständige Gruppe. Die kanadische Föderation wurde an ihnen vorbei gegründet, der *Indian Act/Loi sur les Indiens* von 1867 erlassen, der in Teilen später noch verschärft werden sollte (1885: Verbot von traditionellen Feiern; 1920: Internatspflicht; 1927: de facto Verbot von Rechtsmitteln). Das Gesetz besiegelte das Ende der Anerkennung der Indigenen als freie Nationen, der Staat bestimmte nun darüber, wer als „Indianer" galt und wo er zu leben hatte. Indigene außerhalb von Reservaten hatten seit der Einführung eines Registers (1951) keine Rechte, und Nomaden wurde das Recht auf Landbesitz generell abgesprochen.

Allerdings gab es Gebiete, in denen die Indigenen de facto unbehelligt blieben, wie das ehemalige Rupert's Land, das nach dem Kauf durch die Krone 1870 in Kanada integriert und dessen südlicher Teil 1898 der

Provinz Québec zugeschlagen wurde, ohne die dort lebenden *Cree* überhaupt zu erwähnen. Im Süden der Provinz entstanden zusätzlich zu den bereits in Neufrankreich gegründeten indigenen Siedlungen neue Reservate unter Zuständigkeit der Bundesregierung. Anders als in den Prärien (Revolten in Manitoba und Saskatchewan) wurden in Québec auch danach die nördlichen Territorien lange Zeit nicht von Siedlern beansprucht, dieses Land blieb im tatsächlichen Besitz den Indigenen, was für ihre heutigen Rechte von Belang ist: 1975 bestätigte das „Malouf-Urteil", dass ihre Gebietsansprüche nie erloschen sind. Dieses Urteil wurde in der Auseinandersetzung um die Wasserkraftwerke in der Jamésie erstritten, die mit den Interessen der dort lebenden Cree, Naskapi und Inuit kollidierte.

Das in der Folge mit der Regierung Québecs geschlossene Baie-James-Abkommen von 1975 und weitere ähnliche Verträge sind auch insofern von Bedeutung, wie die Autoren betonen, als sie de facto den *Indian Act/Loi sur les Indiens* unterlaufen, indem sie zum Prinzip von Verträgen unter unabhängigen und freien Nationen zurückkehren. Gleichzeitig umfasst der Vertrag alle Indigenen, die auf dem Gebiet (63,6% des Territoriums der Provinz) leben, auch die nicht-registrierten Indigenen und die Inuit, die nie unter den *Indian Act/Loi sur les Indiens* fielen – letztere optieren für eine Gemeindeverfassung nach Québecer Vorbild, ohne jede ethnische Komponente.

Auch ein Treffen zwischen der Québecer Regierung mit den Vertretern der Indigenen, die in den 1970er Jahren im Zuge der Ablehnung der Pläne der Trudeau-Regierung, den *Indian Act/Loi sur les Indiens* ersatzlos zu streichen, verstärkt Interessenverbände gründeten, unterlief 1978 de facto dieses Gesetz und mündete (erstmals seit dem Großen Frieden von Montréal von 1701) in die Anerkennung weitgehender Souveränitätsrechte der Indigenen (in 15 Punkten). 1985 erfolgte dann die Anerkennung von 11 Nationen (1989 auch die Malecite) und ihrer Autonomierechte auf dem Gebiet Québecs durch die Nationalversammlung. Im gleichen Jahr erreichten die Indigenen auf Bundesebene Nachbesserungen in der Verfassung von 1982, insbesondere für mit Nicht-Indigenen verheiratete Frauen. Erst der Beschluss des Obersten Gerichts vom 14.4.2016 zwang auch die kanadische Regierung zur Anerkennung der nicht registrierten Indigenen und der Métis, wie die Autoren abschließend feststellen.

Für deren Rechte setzt sich seit 1972 u.a. die *Alliance autochthone du Québec* ein, ein Verband von ca. 20.000 Mitgliedern, der im 4. Kapitel des Buchs vorgestellt wird. Da der ganze Band ursprünglich als wissenschaftliches Gutachten für die Anwälte erstellt wurde, die *Alliance autochthone du Québec* beim obersten Gerichtshof gegen die Regierung Québec und das kanadische Ministerium für indigene Fragen vertreten, stehen juristische Aspekte im Vordergrund der Darstellung. Um auch die politischen und sozialen Zusammenhänge hinreichend zu erfassen, wären – insbesondere für den europäischen Leser – einige sozialhistorische Ergänzungen willkommen; das Buch ist jedoch als Einstieg in die Thematik durchaus empfehlenswert.

*Helga Bories-Sawala*

Louis Lesage/Jean-François Richard/Alexandra Bédard-Daigle/Neha Gupta (dir.), *Études multidisciplinaires sur les liens entre Hurons-Wendat et Iroquoiens du Saint-Laurent*, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2018 (150 S., ISBN 978-2-7637-3837-6, CAD 20,00)

Als eines der prominentesten ungelösten Rätsel der Geschichte Kanadas gilt das „Verschwinden" der „Sankt-Lorenz-Irokesen" innerhalb des kurzen Zeitraums von sechzig Jahren, die zwischen den Beschreibungen von Jacques Cartier aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts und dem Eintreffen von Champlain zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts liegen. Insbesondere von *Hochelaga*, das Cartier als recht ansehnliche Siedlung mit fünfzig Langhäusern und rund 1500 Einwohnern beschrieben hatte, war 1603 keine

Spur mehr zu finden, nicht einmal der genaue Standort – vermutlich in der Nähe des Mont Royal in Montréal – ist bisher geklärt. Was hatte dazu geführt, dass das Dorf aufgegeben wurde? Und was war aus den Bewohnern geworden? Die landläufigen Thesen, von der bisher keine als zweifelsfrei erwiesen gilt, reichen von klimatischen Veränderungen (Kaltzeit) über Epidemien durch von Europäern eingeschleppte Krankheitskeime, gegen die die Indigenen keine Immunabwehr besaßen, bis zu kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit anderen indigenen Nationen.

Die Beiträge des Sammelbandes, die auf ein von der Nation der Huron-Wyandot organisiertes gemeinsames Symposium der *Ontario Archaeological Society* und der *Eastern States Archeological Federation* von 2015 zurückgehen, nähern sich dem Problem aus mehreren fachwissenschaftlichen Perspektiven, einschließlich einer Berücksichtigung der indigenen mündlichen Überlieferung (Jean-François Richard). Für die Huron-Wyandot, so der erstaunliche Befund, besteht das Rätsel gar nicht, da sie die „Sankt-Lorenz-Irokesen" immer als Angehörige der eigenen Nation betrachtet haben, die sich, als aus verschiedenen Gründen die Lebensumstände ungünstig geworden waren, zu ihren Verwandten, den Huron-Wyandot, begeben haben. Die Differenzen zwischen dieser Überlieferung, wie sie der indigene Historiker Georges Sioui vertritt, und der vorherrschenden Auffassung in der Archäologie, die von zwei ethnisch unterschiedlichen Gruppen ausgeht, können laut Mariane Gaudreau und Louis Lesage durch die Diskussion von Ethnizität als sozialer Konstruktion deutlich verringert werden. Aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht belegen laut John Steckley spezifische Elemente der Sprache der „Sankt-Lorenz-Irokesen" ihre Präsenz bei den Huron-Wyandot in den 1620er Jahren. Demnach sind sie keineswegs physisch vernichtet worden, sondern lediglich migriert, wie auch der Beitrag von Jennifer Birch über komplexe Integrations-, Anpassungs- und Wanderungsprozesse nahelegt. Auch der archäologische Blick auf die materielle Kultur anhand von Jagdwaffen und Keramik (Christian Gates St-Pierre; Timothy Abel; William Engelbrecht/Bruce Jameson; Ronald F. Williamson; Peter Ramsden) gibt – bei aller Vorläufigkeit der vorliegenden Ergebnisse – Hinweise auf die Eigenständigkeit der „Sankt-Lorenz-Irokesen", aber auch ihre komplexen Verbindungen zu den Huron-Wyandot über sehr lange Zeiträume, lange vor der Ankunft der europäischen Siedler. Wie Gary Warrick und Louis Lesage zusammenfassend feststellen, sind die „Sankt-Lorenz-Irokesen" also keineswegs „verschwunden", sondern haben sich plausiblerweise in die Gruppe der Huron-Wyandot integriert. Das Verschwinden ihrer Dörfer, so die Autoren, könne auch keineswegs als Aufgabe des Siedlungsraums am Sankt-Lorenz betrachtet werden – diese Territorien sind vermutlich durchaus weiter zum Jagen und Sammeln sowie für den Pelzhandel genutzt worden.

Warum *Hochelaga* verschwand, ist damit immer noch nicht geklärt; das „Rätsel" erscheint aber in einem anderen und weitaus weniger dramatischen Licht.

*Helga Bories-Sawala*

Weronika Suchacka, *"Za Hranetsiu" – "Beyond the Border": Constructions of Identities in Ukrainian-Canadian Literature*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2019 (440 pp., ISBN 978-3-95786-184-9, EUR 32,80)

The problem of identity in Canadian literature has been widely discussed in the last decades. There are still, however, certain unexplored areas within the body of literature devoted to the quandary of identity formation and migration processes. Weronika Suchacka in her book titled *"Za Hranetsiu" – "Beyond the Border": Constructions of Identities in Ukrainian-Canadian Literature* (2017), concentrates on multiple identities in Ukrainian-Canadian literature of the post-WWII period, and thus, aims at filling in this gap. The book is divided into

six chapters, including Introduction and Conclusion, and the list of Works Cited and Consulted. The theoretical part comprises chapters devoted to the study of multiple identities in which Suchacka devotes substantial space to such issues as gender and ethnic identity in the Canadian context, the history of Ukrainian immigration into Canada from the late 19th century to the third wave of migration in the aftermath of the Second World War, as well as a detailed analysis of the nature of Ukrainian-Canadian identity, and offers an overview of Ukrainian-Canadian literature. In the analytical section, which takes up over 200 pages, the book discusses seven Ukrainian-Canadian works in great detail, such as: *Sons of the Soil* (1939–45/1959) by Illia Kyriak, *Yellow Boots* (1954) by Vera Lysenko, *A Letter to My Son* (1981) by George Ryga, *The Green Library* (1996) by Janice Kulyk Keefer, *The Doomed Bridegroom: A Memoir* (1998) by Myrna Kostash, *Kalyna's Song* (2003) by Lisa Grekul, and *The Ladies' Lending Library* (2007) by Janice Kulyk Keefer.

Suchacka's concept of multiple identities, which she analyzes in the aforementioned texts, stems from the conviction that Ukrainian migration to Canada, as depicted in literature, regards not only the physicality of movement and leaving one's homeland behind, but is always "in the making," dynamic, and can be understood metaphorically as a journey towards a new identity, a construct created upon a creative reconsideration of one's roots, a continuous "becoming" that is "space-based" and not "space-bound" (Sarup 1998: 3 qtd. in Suchacka 2018: 11). Her approach is also informed, among others, by Lyotard's idea of little narratives (Lyotard 1997: 60 qtd. in Suchacka 2017: 15), which facilitates the understanding of the phenomenon of Ukrainian-Canadian writing in English. Chapter Two devoted to Multiple Identities offers a review of most interesting and up-to-date understandings of the concept as well as its variations and evolution since the 1950s. In this very informative section, Suchacka eloquently moves from Bauman and Foucault to gendered identity as presented by de Beauvoir, Butler and Moi, to give just a few examples, as well as to Bissoondath and Mackey in the analysis of ethnic identities in the Canadian context. The chapter that follows (Chapter Three) revolves around the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, providing the readers with a comprehensive summary of the three main waves of migration pattern as well as the most important dates and places of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. What is extremely interesting in the context of the retention of Ukrainian identity in Canada is that Suchacka managed to discuss it (in Chapter Four) using historical, political and literary sources, which makes the understanding of a dynamic and creative potential of the identity conundrum more visible.

Chapter Five offers analyses of seven carefully selected literary works of Ukrainian-Canadians which are exemplary and serve as bases for profoundly erudite debate on the identity/identities of particular authors and protagonists. What seems at first sight as a shortcoming of *Za hranietsiu – Beyond the Border*, namely the fact that Suchacka includes novels, memoirs, a play and, in one case, two texts by the same author (Janice Kulyk Keefer's books from 1996 and 2007) turns out to be a great strength of this study. The danger could stem from the fact that using Kulyk Keefer's texts twice might make Suchacka's analyses repetitive and a discussion of generically distant texts (factual memoirs, a fictional play and novels) would introduce a certain mess into the line of argument. On the contrary, the choice of texts to discuss is a premeditated decision the author must have taken prior to writing her book as they cover the whole of post-WWII period from the 1950s to 2010s and offer a comprehensive and detailed investigation into the concept of identity in literature. This generic and thematic diversity only adds to and highlights the variegated picture of Ukrainian-Canadian literature. Suchacka starts with a pioneering work by Illia Kyriak (an

interesting text in itself, originally written in Ukrainian and after over a decade abridged and translated into English), in which the notions of un/belonging, identity formation and the status of a "translated man" are discussed. She dwells on these ideas and situates Kyriak's *Sons of the Soil* within the study of diaspora exploring the ever-present hiatus between sameness and otherness. Further, Suchacka moves towards the discussion of *Yellow Boots* by Vera Lysenko, which marks the "proper" beginning of Ukrainian-Canadian literature and, simultaneously, determines one of the most important themes in this body of literature, that of feminism and gender. In this context, it is fascinating to see the same issues as presented in Lysenko's novel published in 1954 and the texts published in the 1990s and 2000s by Kulyk Keefer, Kostash and Grekul.

Suchacka devotes her analyses to various aspects of identity formation and identity retention processes. In her discussion of *A Letter to My Son* by George Ryga, not only does she juxtapose this play with the foundational Kyriak's story but places it within the postcolonial framework and problematizes the issue of inherited versus constructed identity. These notions bring Suchacka directly to the analysis of Kostash's, Grekul's and Kulyk Keefer's texts which foreground the questions of memory, identity formation, ethnic identity loss and femininity (as well as feminism). *The Doomed Bridegroom* by Kostash, *Kalyna's Song* by Grekul as well as *The Green Library* and *Ladies' Lending Library* by Kulyk Keefer are read by Suchacka from the feminist perspective informed by de Beauvoir and Cixous and simultaneously through the postmodern lens of pushing the boundaries of writing autobiography (as in Kostash's and Grekul's case) and fiction. Moreover, all of the texts selected for analysis deconstruct the concept of Ukrainness. Suchacka aptly notices that and makes it a leitmotif of her scrutiny. Despite the fact that Chapter Five is the longest part of the book and includes the analyses of seven literary texts supplemented with a thorough reading of many other novels and memoirs published by these authors (for instance in her discussion of Kulyk Keefer's two books Suchacka also includes references to over fifteen other texts by Kulyk Keefer both scholarly texts and prose and poetry), Weronika Suchacka ingeniously controls the text and does not let the multiple subplots of the selected texts divert her and the readers' attention from the main subject of the inquiry. At this point it is worth mentioning that the book would definitely benefit from an Index to names and titles to help the readers look for information of particular interest to them.

I strongly recommend *"Za Hranetsiu" – "Beyond the Border": Constructions of Identities in Ukrainian-Canadian Literature* to anyone interested in ethnic writing and identity formation processes. It fosters our understanding of migrant literature and its theoretical part may be a rich source of knowledge for anybody involved in the study of history of migration as well as multiple identities. At the same time, Suchacka's book is a treat for scholars dealing with immigrant and diasporic texts by writers of Central and Eastern European extraction, especially those coming from Ukraine. It offers not only detailed analyses of selected novels, drama, and memoirs but simultaneously presents a broad scope of identity-oriented research and intriguing and innovative conclusions. This is also a book which manages to combine the reader-friendly exposition and high standards of scholarly inquiry by providing interesting methodology as well as an enormous list of bibliographical sources and footnotes which stimulate further reading.

*Dagmara Drewniak*

Daniel O'Quinn/Alexis Tadié (eds.), *Sporting Cultures, 1650–1850*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018 (376 pp., ISBN 978-1-48750-032-0, CAD 63.75)

In the *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*'s entry on "sports", first published in 2010, German cultural historian Wolfgang Behringer bitterly complains about the lack of scholarly attention devoted to the history of this social activity in the Early Modern Period and lists several events and incidents from the time in which sports played a pivotal role – amongst others, the Pazzi conspiracy in 1476 or the death of Henry II of France in 1559. None of these events and incidents are discussed in *Sporting Cultures, 1650–1850*, although the 15 chapters contained in this volume (including an introduction and a coda) do seem like a direct answer to Behringer's complaint. Like Behringer, who detects a "'sportification'" of military exercises as well as popular games in the Early Modern Period, the editors insist in their introduction that "something important happens to both the representation and the practice of sport in the eighteenth century, which in many ways defines our understanding of this complex social phenomenon today" (5). The double focus on the practice of sports as well as its medial representation is programmatic – indeed, almost all of the contributors to *Sporting Cultures, 1650–1850* come from the fields of literary and cultural studies as well as art history, and rather than offering a comprehensive history of sports during the period, their contributions first and foremost attend to what Frans De Bruyn in his chapter wittily calls the "*re*-creation of a recreation" (28), i.e., the new role(s) of sports in the contemporary mediascapes, be it the depiction of the rural sports of angling and hunting in Early Modern English poetry (as in literary scholar De Bruyn's piece), the portrayal of hunting animals in eighteenth-century French painting (the topic of art historian Sarah R. Cohen's chapter), or the representation of boxing in Regency-era British sports journalism (as in pugilism expert John Whale's contribution). Hence, although somewhat confusingly, the volume also contains a section explicitly dedicated to "The Mediation of Sports" (the others are "Classical Lineages," "Sporting Animals and Their Uses," and "The Sporting Body," each comprising from three to four essays), all of the chapters contained in *Sporting Culture, 1650–1850* are concerned with medial representations of sports in one way or another, with numerous black and white illustrations as well as a series of 16 color plates supporting their arguments.

These depictions of sports in various media prove more than worthy of detailed scholarly attention in themselves – consider, for example, the self-reflexive "sports poetry" examined by De Bruyn, where angling and hunting often serve as metaphors for the process of writing and the chase of inspiration, respectively. Moreover, via their examinations of Early Modern textual and visual representations of angling, hunting, shooting, boxing, fencing, horse racing, gymnastics, or mountaineering, several contributors also offer readers profound insights into such key developments in the area as the increasing professionalization and the commercialization of sports. With respect to the latter topic, for instance, Ashley L. Cohen's impressive "Fencing and the Market in Aristocratic Masculinity" focuses on the careers of Italian-born, London-based fencing teacher Domenico Angelo and his son Henry to discuss the development of fencing from an aristocratic means of self-defense into a fashionable spectator sport over the course of the eighteenth century. A decade after his arrival in London in the mid-1750s, Domenico opened an Academy at a prominent location in Soho Square that catered to both aristocrats and the newly rising moneyed elite. Thus, however, Cohen argues, he upheld the tradition of fencing while upending it at the same time, simultaneously acting as a "guardian of a chivalric tradition" as well as a shrewd businessman who "commodif[ied] the courtly art of fenc-

ing and [sold] it on the marketplace as a skill that could be learned for a fee" (66). Though the Academy had doubled as a meeting place for the social elite from its very beginnings, under the management of Henry it eventually developed into something of a modern-day fencing club, where on specific days, amateur fencers could practice their skills by fighting against each other.

The growing emphasis on practice and training, for both amateur and professional athletes, also attests to the increasing professionalization of sports during the Early Modern Period, which is the topic of no fewer than two chapters in the volume, co-editor Alexis Tadié's "'The Physical Powers of Man': The Emergence of Physical Training in the Eighteenth Century" and Alexander Regier's "What Is Training?" Both Tadié and Regier identify the late eighteenth century as the beginning of the modern conception of training as a means to improve the athlete's physical performance. Tadié discusses a large variety of theoretical texts and treatises pertaining to training and exercise from all over Europe, including Thomas Sydenham's *Observationes Medicae* (1666), Francis Fuller's *Medicina Gymnastica* (1705), the *Encyclopédie*'s entry on "Exercice" (1756), Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths's *Gymnastik für die Jugend* (1793), the work of Per Henrik Ling in Sweden, and Walter Thom's *Pedestrianism* (1813). This allows Tadié to trace in great detail the gradual decline of Galenic conceptions of the body and of physical exercise and the concurrent rise of the modern idea of exercise as a means, along and in combination with diet and practice, to improve athletic performance.

Regier similarly seeks to emphasize "how deeply our contemporary celebration of regular bodily exercise is bound up with […] eighteenth-century discussions on sports" and how thus Early Modern "discourse on athletic training shapes the construction of our modern body" (274). Yet through his discussion of the publications surrounding the famous boxing fights between English champion Tom Cribb and African-American Tom Molineaux in 1810, Regier also reveals the larger political dimensions of training: After all, it was only after submitting himself to the strict regimen prescribed by his trainer Robert "Captain" Barclay that white, English Cribb managed to beat black, American Molineaux, not even 30 years after the War of Independence.

Regier's is one of the few chapters in which the "New World" plays a role, however marginal, in *Sporting Cultures, 1650–1850*. With the exception of the contribution by Philip Dine (on horse racing in early colonial Algeria) and the coda by Supriya Chaudhuri (on Himalayan mountaineering), all of the essays in this volume focus on (western) Europe, particularly England, France, and Italy. The editors are well aware of this and do call for future work to go "beyond 1850 and beyond the boundaries of Europe" (16), but even in their own collection, North America occasionally makes an appearance, if only in the distant background. In her contribution on Domenico Angelo's fencing academy, for instance, Ashley L. Cohen points out how Angelo's phenomenal success from 1763 onwards was partly due to the end of the Seven Years' War and the ensuing radical transformation of London's social landscape "by the forces of capitalism and commercialization" (77). Sixteen years later, dancing was dropped from the syllabus of Angelo's academy after the loss of the American Revolutionary War, to be replaced with "military exercise" (74). But of course, these glimpses of the New World do not teach us anything yet about the practice and representation of sports *in* Early Modern North America. Therefore, to the student of Canadian history, literature, and art, *Sporting Cultures, 1650–1850* may primarily serve, if anything, as an inspiration and as an admirable example to emulate.

*Florian Freitag*

Nele Sawallisch, *Fugitive Borders: Black Canadian Cross-Border Literature at Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Bielefeld: transcript, 2019 (218 pp., ISBN 978-3-8376-4502-6, EUR 44,99)

Nele Sawallisch's *Fugitive Borders: Black Canadian Cross-Border Literature at Mid-Nineteenth Century*, a study based on her 2016 dissertation at the University of Mainz, offers an in-depth reading of life writing by mainly four black writers, representatives of cross-border abolitionist activism around the time of the U.S. Fugitive Slave Act of 1855: Richard Warren, Thomas Smallwood, Samuel Ringgold Ward, and Austin Steward. The author's focus lies on black autobiographical texts in Canada West (largely today's Ontario), which she reads as "acts of textual community building" that contributed to the "emergence of a Black America across national borders" (1). Analyzing their works transnationally, Sawallisch demonstrates how Black border-crossings between the US and Canada as well as Great Britain – as fugitive slaves, but even more so as professional freedmen – created what she calls a "fluid frontier" (1), with the border at the 49th parallel characterized by connectivity rather than separation between various black subjects and communities. By unearthing an original archive of Black writings whose literary qualities have hitherto remained largely unexplored, *Fugitive Borders* highlights a rich and diverse aesthetics that transcends the well-known formulae at work in the classic slave narrative and transgresses genre boundaries. The various publications examined in this book are of special significance also because they complicated the myth of Canada as the Southern slave's Promised Land, a myth in which these authors were caught up ambivalently, "both supporting and subverting it" (19; cf. also the entire ch. 1.1., "Writing the Promised Land and Black North America in the 1850s"). Sawallisch's readings lead to the recognition of a multiplicity of subject positions also in terms of ideology, class, and (unfortunately to a much lesser extent) gender, and refuse, following the primary material, to reduce the Black border-crossing writer to his status as a former slave.

In the introductory chapters, Sawallisch thematizes cross-border writing as challenging national literary canons. She emphasizes the genealogical work performed by Warren's, Smallwood's, Ward's, and Steward's texts, which created a community of Black border-crossing intellectuals largely by means of cross-reference, multiple viewpoints, and intertextuality. "Transnationalizing Black Canadian Studies" (ch. 1.2.) and moving "Towards Cross-Border Black Literary Studies" (ch. 1.3.), the author pays tribute to preceding scholarly work in the field, especially by Nancy Kang and Winfried Siemerling (among many others) in a succinct literature review. In the following, her chapters turn to "Religion" (ch. 2) and cross-border church networks, discussing the work of itinerant preacher Richard Warren; to Smallwood's "Radicalism" (ch. 3) and his involvement in the Underground Railroad that connects him to the more famous David Walker; to "Heroism" (ch. 4) as it is invoked in Ward's writing with regard to the figure of the fugitive slave; and to "Community" (ch. 5), reading Austin Steward's formally hybrid compositions as especially important in this respect as he included a plethora of stories by or about fellow former slaves and free Blacks in Canada West. In all chapters, the study successfully shows how the journeys of each of these writers, as the conclusion summarizes, "shaped cross-border relations between black communities, abolitionists, the AME [African Methodist Episcopal] church, and individual families" (203).

The four chapters on each writer are rich in detail and strong in terms of the critical close readings they present, even though at times these remain somewhat descriptively close to the texts. Perhaps they could have been further developed in terms of a border-crossing epistemology and more intensely tied back to the study's main arguments and concepts (Walter Mignolo's

concept of "border gnosis" and "border thinking" might have been helpful in this respect, or the critical work in the field of mobility studies, which is unfortunately neglected here). Curiously, the various subchapters are not listed in the table of contents; also and more importantly in terms of the book's structure, one might also wonder if Sawallisch's focus on Black community (building) would be better reflected by chapters centering on topics – as the (rather plain) chapter titles actually suggest – rather than on the four authors individually, thus emphasizing a collective subject instead of following author-centered, individualist literary histories on both sides of the Atlantic.

All in all, *Fugitive Borders* is a highly original contribution to Black Canadian and transatlantic literary studies that should be recommended reading for anybody concerned with the slave narrative and mid-19th-century cross-border abolitionism. In terms of the emerging national discourses before Canada's Confederation in 1867, Nele Sawallisch's book offers an important alternative to the hegemonic narrative of the white settler nation. It is well-written and readable throughout, though an additional proofreading round might have found that the use of "fix" as an adjective is a Germanism, and "descent" is not a verb. Though less important in the digital age, an index might have added to the print version's navigability.

*Alexandra Ganser*

Jenna Butler, *Magnetic North: Sea Voyage to Svalbard*, Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2018 (102 pp., ISBN 978-1-77212-382-1, CAD 19.99)

A book of linked prose poems, *Magnetic North* captures the impressions Jenna Butler, a professor of creative writing and ecocriticism at Red Deer College Alberta, gained when she, together with about 30 artists, was part of a two-week sea voyage in June 2014 to the Svalbard archipelago off the coast of Norway. In her poems Butler renders the impact this Arctic landscape had on her, while at the same time placing what she encountered against the background of its history (of European exploration and exploitation) and comparing it to a landscape she is intimately familiar with, the Canadian boreal forest.

The book consists of a preface, 16 chapters, each of which is introduced with two photographs and a motto and is then subdivided into sections, as well as "Notes" and "Acknowledgements." The preface titled "The Journey" presents readers with the facts of the voyage – the poet's and her companions' background, the time and destination of the journey, the variety of sights they encountered, and the lessons they learned. Appended to the preface is a map of Spitsbergen, on which the exact route of the voyage is drawn.

In her collection of poetry, Butler retrospectively describes the unfamiliar and impressive environment she had been exposed to: the high Arctic landscape, the extreme climate and the incessant light, the possible danger from animals, which required them to be accompanied by polar bear guards when leaving the ship, and, above all, the awe and beauty evoked in them at the sight of the overarching glaciers and the great variety of plants suddenly appearing during the summer months. Especially when she reports on the coastline villages, the whaling stations, and ghost towns of this region, Butler also brings in the historical dimension of what she sees, since these traces of a human presence prompt her to recall various stages in the archipelago's past: the explorers trying to chart and then conquer the north; the Russian miners once working in the town of Pyramiden, which is now abandoned; the whalers and ordinary shipmen setting out to their dangerous work; and the unnamed women who, throughout these centuries of exploration, territorial expansion, and resource extraction, are known to have been waiting for their husbands to return home from regions as the one portrayed.

That she approaches the Svalbard archipelago from a contemporary, critical theory-inflected perspective becomes clear when she comments on the gender dynamics of both past and present, which render activities in the Arctic masculine ones and explain the absence of women in this cold world, or when she points out the threats to the local economy and to the environment arising from excessive resource extraction and expanding tourism, and when she eventually places the Arctic north within the global context of climate change, especially through her comparison of Svalbard to the boreal area of northern Alberta.

What makes this "Blending [of] travelogue and poetic meditation on place" (book cover) so impressive is that Butler succeeds in having readers adopt a new perspective, thus enabling them to see and experience what she and her colleagues saw aboard the *Antigua*. She does so by taking them through the various stages of the journey with the help of an immediacy that is largely owing to her short and journal-like, highly poetic observations. Not only does she, throughout her text, use the language of sense impressions (evident in the numerous references to visual and aural perceptions as well as the insertion of photographs) but she also employs a special kind of lyricism that shows her struggling for the most suitable words to render what she sees and hears, which is, very often, awe-inspiring:

> The land is contoured in a way that breeds sound: it sloughs from bird cliffs, heaves over the water in a rich, acrid roll. Along the shoreline, sound clatters between the growlers, barks chips off the larger bergs. All through the afternoon, champagne tinkle of ice chips as slabs greet each other across narrow channels in the green.
>
> Windburned, eyes closed, this: beneath the keening of bergs, a deeper thresh of glaciers calving, creaking with sun. Sound of earth, her bones, wide russet bowl of hips splaying open. From these sere flanks, her desiccating body, what a sea change is born. (15)

A further intriguing aspect of this collection is the comparative lens Butler favours: repeatedly, she relates Svalbard to her home of Alberta, a place of "Labrador tea plants jittering with early bees, plush moss, the unfurled heads of ferns" (4). When seen in this light, the two locations reveal aspects that connect them and ones in which they diverge. While Butler, in various places, celebrates the beauty of each of these regions, in the chapter "Threads" she also depicts them as being threatened by environmental damage done to them through a variety of human activity (such as mining, oil pollution, leaving PCBs and aromatic hydrocarbons, and tourism):

> So much of what impacts Svalbard comes from far away, waterborne.
>
> So much of what breaks my home comes up from beneath.
>
> Land mascotted by something elemental. Bears front news feeds, harried and collared, bullied by cameras. Reduced to swimming for their lives, to grease bins and dumpster diving. Cubs born spoiled at the wrong end of a rifle.
>
> The only wilderness we countenance: a safe remove. (81)

Butler's collection of poetry is not a standard travel narrative. It is an example of nature writing at its best, exhibiting both an awareness of (colonial) history and great sensitivity when it comes to encountering landscape. Her observations of environmental processes are interspersed with reflections on time and being: "To watch a glacier calve is to watch time run in both directions at once. / The grey face is the old ice, pitted with history. The blue face is the fresh ice, brilliant and unscarred, razor-edged and untouched." (72). Butler invites readers to join her in her unique and very personal approach to this specific part of the Arctic, that is, to use a perspective that combines the perception of a landscape with both its celebration and the meditation on it, thus allowing one to be over-

whelmed by feelings of strangeness and awe, by the joy about its beauty, and also by fears concerning the threats it faces.

*Brigitte Johanna Glaser*

Joan Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle – The History of Women and the Vote in Canada*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018 (328 pp., ISBN 978-0-774-835-336, CAD 27.95)

Suffrage Movements around the world have been extensively studied by historians and feminists alike. While other suffrage movements are widely known and researched, like the British and American movements, the Canadian suffrage movement has not been focused on by many scholars and is mostly unknown outside of Canada. Joan Sangster takes a closer look at the suffrage movement, or rather the many variations of the suffrage movement in Canada. Unlike the movements in other countries, Canada never had a long-lasting national suffrage organization. It was made up of highly regionalized organisations, which makes it difficult to trace all developments and the methods through which Canadian suffrage was achieved. Nevertheless, Sangster succeeded in creating a comprehensive and extensive overview about Canadian suffrage.

*One hundred years of struggle* is the first book in the series "Women's Suffrage and the Struggle for Democracy", a series of books which deals with different aspects of the Canadian Suffrage Movements. Sangster's book, published as part of the celebrations for the 100-year anniversary of the female franchise in Canada, acts as the introduction to this extensive topic, with the ensuing books giving deeper insights into each of Canadas provinces. In nine chapters Sangster introduces all the parts of Canadian suffrage which played a role in achieving the vote for women in Canada. She explains both the ups and downs of the movements and how suffrage through Canadas provinces developed.

While women in nineteenth century Canada were not explicitly excluded from voting, they rarely made use of this right. Women who tried casting their vote stood out and as such sparked the first debates in Canada about the female franchise. Elections were public and at times could get dangerous and violent, a fact which many men used to advocate for female disenfranchisement. They claimed that elections were too rowdy, too violent to subject respectable women to them (19). This amongst others later led to women losing their voting rights in 1849. Sangster showcases in this chapter how voting back then was tied to property rights and wealth. While describing the circumstances which lead to the disenfranchisement of female property owners, who were the only women who had been able to cast a ballot at all, she also highlights female resistance and political influences.

Race issues and suffrage have always been closely connected themes; one cannot talk about suffrage without considering race as well. While white women were granted suffrage in 1918, it took until 1960 for Asian Canadian women to be granted the same right. Sangster never forgets about this interconnection, each chapter draws comparisons with racial issues and adds the interwoven relationships of suffrage, race and the influence of the British empire. Chapter two, Race and the Idea of Rights for Women, focuses on these connections. Sangster dedicates parts of this chapter to Mary Ann Shadd and her fight for abolition and suffrage. Furthermore, this chapter gives deeper insight into the complicated issues of enfranchisement and the treatment of aboriginal people in Canada. While some first nations were granted voting rights, this came with the loss of their ancient rights and lead to many of them opposing their enfranchisement. Canada's treatment of the first nations is a topic of debate up to the modern day, Sangster never loses sight of this and explains the issues and everything connected

to it clearly and comprehensively, without oversimplifying it.

Chapter three, "Suffrage as a Socialist Issue", deals with the connections between socialism and "The Woman Question" (57). The female vote was a topic which preoccupied Canadian socialists as it showcased the struggle and inequalities between the classes. Capitalism was seen as a cause for these inequalities and the oppression. Sangster expertly describes the inner struggles and divisions of the socialist movement in Canada and how it divided both socialist and suffragettes (67). Suffrage movements in Canada were not only highly regionalized but also split between working-class and middle-class movements. While both aimed for female enfranchisement, the issues which lay at the core of the movements and the changes they wanted to bring ahead differed.

Sangster's next chapter, "Making Suffragists", deals with some of the most influential Canadian Suffragists, like Emily and Augusta Stowe, and which tactics they employed. It shows how international movements influenced Canadian suffragists and where the different Canadian movements diverged from each other. Furthermore, it deals with the question of Canadian identity and nation building and the influence of the British Empire on Canadian politics. Sangster extensively describes how these aspects influenced the movements and draws comparisons with other international suffrage movements, highlighting how divided suffragist were on the inclusion of indigenous women and women of other races in the movement.

Chapter five, "The Anti-Suffragists", introduces some of the biggest opponents of female suffrage. One of them was the famous Canadian humour writer Stephen Leacock. He and other anti-suffragists used their connections within the Canadian French and English elite to ridicule and oppose female suffrage, as politics in their eyes were no place for women. Sangster explains all of their arguments, even those which appear from a nowadays point of view absolutely ridiculous and digs into the background and true reasons why anti-suffragists existed (123).

Her next chapter then focuses on feminist countercultures and the tactics they used. She describes the cultures of the different movements and what unified and differentiated them from each other. One tactic which stood out was the Mock parliament, in which women flipped the gender roles around and depicted days in a female lead parliament, with men playing the parts women were supposed to take in real life.

When white women finally gained suffrage after the first world war, men claimed that this was as a reward for their patriotic duties during the war. However, as Sangster shows in chapters 7 and 8, it was the result of years of lobbying and political debates. The topic of the war tore the suffrage movements apart and split them into war supporters and pacifists, and while they achieved the vote after the war, Sangster shows in these chapters how the topic of war and peace hindered the movements who were close to achieving suffrage even before the war. Sangster explains the circumstances that led to women in Quebec getting the vote twenty years later than the rest of the country and how this affected the movement there. Furthermore, she highlights that the achievement of suffrage did not mean the end of the movements, as women now focused on using their direct political influences to run for offices and fight for social reforms.

Joan Sangster referred and included the struggles of indigenous women and women of Asian Canadian heritage throughout the book already. However, she still dedicated the last chapter of her book to further look into the struggles of these women, who were granted suffrage much later than their white counterparts, with universal suffrage only being achieved in 1960 when Indigenous people finally were granted suffrage.

Sangster succeeded in writing an extensive History of the Canadian suffrage

movement, a movement which often is perceived as "short-lived, sedate, cautious [and] a model of civility" (269). While it is true that in some areas of Canada suffrage for white women was achieved within one generation, Canadian suffrage did not come easy. Sangster manages to explain all the different developments which played their part in achieving universal female suffrage in Canada. *One Hundred Years of Struggle* succeeds in filling the Canadian gap in global suffrage and feminism studies a bit more and showcases a decentralised but nevertheless successful struggle for suffrage. This book can only be recommended for everyone who wants to get a general, yet extensive view of the suffrage movements in Canada. Although deeply academic and well researched, Sangster's use of language makes the complicated history of suffrage easily comprehensible and joyful to read.

*Sophie Freiin von Ketteler*

Patrick Coleman, *Equivocal City. French and English Novels of Postwar Montreal*, Montreal & Kingston/London/Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018 (375 pp., ISBN 978-0-773-554-856, CAD 34.95)

Jutta Ernst/Brigitte Glaser (eds.), *The Canadian Mosaic in the Age of Transnationalism,* Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010 (262 pp., ISBN 978-3-825-356-538, EUR 45)

Melanie Schrage-Lang/Martina Hörnicke, *Intertextual Transitions in Contemporary Canadian Literature: Atwood, MacDonald, van Herk*, Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2013 (202 pp., ISBN 978-3-868-214-574, EUR 23)

The three books we are looking at are different in focus, approach and structure, but this difference is beneficial in the sense that it highlights the varieties of possibilities when treating issues concerning culture and literature in Canada.

Although the subtitle of *Equivocal City* specifies the time-span of the novels discussed in the monograph as 'postwar', the table of contents shows that Coleman analyses works published between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s, including milestones like Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*, Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion*, and Leonard Cohen's *Beautiful Losers*. The "Introduction" explains the choice of dates: Coleman starts with "the emergence of modern urban realism" and ends this monograph with "the mid-1960s when more experimental novels […] heralded the end of the political stasis and imaginative compartmentalization that the war had disturbed but not destroyed" (3). The two decades under scrutiny produced a boom of literary works in all genres, both in English and (perhaps to a smaller extent) in French: no wonder that at the end of this period Northrop Frye stated that "what is really remarkable is not how little but how much good writing has been produced in Canada" (even if he continues by saying that "Canada has produced no author who is a classic […]"[1]). Both in the "Introduction" and in the "Conclusion" Coleman makes it clear that he presents a literary history, using methods of comparative literature, focusing on three special aspects – namely "the way various features of the city's reality are 'emplotted'", the genesis of the given literary work and the historical context – all this "beautifully written", as Lianne Moyes states on the back cover. *Equivocal City* offers thorough analysis of fourteen novels about Montreal, and as such, it can be considered a continuation of earlier comparative analyses of writing in Canada in English and in French by Ronald Sutherland, E. D. Blodgett, and Philip Stratford.[2] Apart from being aware that these

1 Northrop Frye, „Conclusion to a Literary History of Canada", *The Bush Garden. Essays on the Canadian Imagination,* Toronto: Anansi, 1995, 215-216.

2 Ronald Sutherland, Second Image. Comparative Studies in Québec/Canadian Litera-

novels are part of "two distinct linguistic traditions", for Coleman it is essential to put them "in conversation with each other"(15).

The book contains three parts, based on chronological order, first looking at four novels written between 1944 and 1949 with a basically realist approach, the second part deals with the 1950s, while the final part is devoted to the mid-1960s. In each part, the novels in focus are analyzed in the context of literary works written in Canada, pointing at similarities or contrasts with world literature. Given that Coleman's monograph is a rich and thorough examination of the fourteen novels, in the scope of a review I can only pinpoint at some of his important insights. Coleman pays attention to the role of cultural milieu and the importance of institutions when he underlines that "[a] modernist representation of the modern, in the mode of Proust, Joyce, or Woolf, was […] not a viable option for Montreal novelists […]. Poets or pamphleteers could print and distribute small-scale works at their own expense, but novelists needed the mediation of commercial print" (26–27). Solitude, an emblematic motif in Canadian art and writing – particularly in the first half of the twentieth century – in *Two Solitudes* is "not just an element in a national allegory but also a feature of the modern condition generally, the novel's treatment of promiscuity is also an attempt to address another aspect of that same condition" (45). MacLennan's critical remarks about puritanism and the establishment are manifest in some satirical passages, but according to Coleman, "Kathleen is the only character whose perspective on the city can be called comprehensive" (55) – pointing out a bit earlier that the sexual behaviour of Paul's mother can be seen as "a protest against the repressive power of puritanism" (54).

Two decades later, however, the city serves as backdrop to unorthodox sexual practices – particularly in Leonard Cohen's *Beautiful Losers* – together with cultural and political turbulences. The novels of the 1950s – another one by MacLennan and G. Roy, going on with Morley Callaghan, Mordecai Richler, Brian Moore, William Weintraub, then Gérard Bessette and Pierre Gélinas – pave the way in this direction, highlighting that the genre is not only becoming more self-conscious, but also manifests a bigger variety of descriptive strategies, including strong satire.

When speaking about Ferron's *La Nuit* and Cohen's *Beautiful Losers*, it is stressed several times that both authors take main characters from the other language group, demonstrating the "complex interconnection of the city's two linguistic communities" (270), moreover, there are also "erotic encounters across ethnic and racial lines" (271). This is a fundamentally different city than the location of novels by MacLennan and G. Roy. Both Ferron and Cohen introduce liminal protagonists and refer to marginal locations which have 'magic' qualities. The characters' fantasies play as important a role as their real experiences. Both books are rich in mythological allusions, particularly those related to magic (Faust in *La Nuit* and Indigenous and Greek stories in *Beautiful Losers*). The mid-sixties provided a special historical moment – as Coleman observes, "from a literary-historical point of view, the two novels can be said to mark an endpoint as well as a beginning. In the years that followed the publication of *La Nuit* and *Beautiful Losers*, the prospects for articulating a cross-cultural vision of the city comparable to what Ferron or Cohen attempted were less than favourable" (279).

Coleman's insights open new interpretations not only of the novels he has chosen for detailed scrutiny, but also for other works born during the same period. His method is exemplary for researchers, and *Equivocal City* is a remarkable and very

ture, Toronto: New Press 1971; E.D. Blodgett, Configuration: Essays on the Canadian Literatures, Toronto: ECW Press, 1982; Philip Stratford, All the Polarities. Comparative Studies in Contemporary Canadian Novels in French and English, Toronto: ECW Press, 1986. All three monographs are used by Coleman.

useful contribution to the study of culture in Canada.

*The Canadian Mosaic in the Age of Transnationalism* offers a collection of sixteen scholarly papers from various disciplines with an introduction by editors Jutta Ernst and Brigitte Glaser which outlines the history of multiculturalism in Canada not hiding its complexities and the critical views concerning its functioning, including its refusal by many in Québec. The editors propose, however, that in spite of the difficulties, "[a]t the beginning of the 21st century, the largely negative stance towards multiculturalism in Canada has been overcome, and recent polls show an all-time high in its public acceptance" (12). The papers by George Elliot Clarke, H. D. Forbes, Patrick Imbert, Till Kinzel, Dagmar Dreyer, Elisabeth Damböck, Maria Moss, Renate Eigenbrod, Reingard M. Nischik, Sabine Kim, Eleanor Ty, Frauke Reitemeier, Kirsten Sandrock, Anca-Raluca Radu, Markus Reisenleitner and Susan Ingram elaborate on the two sides of the coin supported by arguments from the fields of political science, philosophy, criticism, literature, television. Since the "Introduction" provides us with a brief survey about the papers in the volume, here I opt for introducing key ideas in a selection of the articles.

H. D. Forbes chose the 307-page report of the Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles, submitted in 2008 by Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor to the government of Québec. Before going into details discussing the report, the author calls it a "somewhat unfocussed analysis" (39), relying on two main points, namely that "the Québécois have a 'double identity' because they are a majority in their own province but a minority in Canada as a whole" (39); secondly that the practical recommendations of the commission "show that there is no straightforward 'solution' to the Quebec problem" (41). For him, the most interesting recommendation is "that the Quebec government vigorously promote interculturalism as 'the Québec version of the pluralist philosophy, just as multiculturalism is its Canadian version'" (43). When it comes to everyday practices and details, however, it is not easy to decide "how much recognition and what kinds of recognition different groups deserve" (45).

Patrick Imbert also refers to the report of Bouchard and Taylor, mentioning that "people born in Québec who participated in the discussions […] regularly brought up religious differences […] They were not attuned to what preoccupies a large majority of immigrants: having their degrees and professional abilities recognized in order to find employment" (51). Like Forbes, Imbert also devotes passages to explanations of terms like multiculturalism, interculturalism, transculturalism and their theoretical proponents. For him, the phenomenon of multiple self-images is an important characteristic of life in the twenty-first century: these are "connected with different cultural codes and economic power relations" (54). As an alternative to establishing structures within national boundaries, he proposes that "one has to realize that we live through constant transcultural processes and that, within the context of globalization and of the postmodern/postcolonial condition, the world is becoming more a culture of texts than a culture of a series of enclosed territories" (57).

Before saying a few words about the late Renate Eigenbrod's paper, a personal remark may be added: in footnote 1 she shares with the reader that her thorough research on Richard Wagamese's novels started with a conference paper given in the framework of the partnership conference between the University of Manitoba and the University of Szeged, Hungary (the university of this reviewer) in 2007. While the main concerns about 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' were dealing with the relationship between one or both of the 'two founding nations' and immigrants, Eigenbrod's starting point is the "special mention of Aboriginal men and women" by P. E. Trudeau with regard to the Constitution of Canada (119). She also states that "Tru-

deau's version of multiculturalism […] cannot be embraced by Aboriginal peoples in Canada" (120), the basic reason being that "[a]lthough immigrants fleeing oppression in other parts of the world may find similarities between their traumatic experiences and those by Indigenous people in North America, it should be noted that the latter do not have another land to call home and go back to" (120).

Richard Wagamese is an Anishinabe author who uses his personal experiences and traumas of being taken away from his family at the age of three, living in foster homes, then being moved from foster family to foster family: he could see his own family only twenty years later. As Eigenbrod points out, "[s]everal generations of removal of children are part of the historic trauma that affects Aboriginal people collectively but differently in each individual case" (122). In the novels, the writer demonstrates the difficulties of constructing one's identity under such conditions. For the adolescent characters of his novels, one returning motif is that of the dysfunctional family – be it white, native or black. Wagamese defines himself as a 'tribal author' (126) and often uses "the device of dual narrators or narrative perspectives and/or narrative strands […] providing a structural pattern for crossing borders and intertwining stories of different characters" (127).

Reingard M. Nischik deals with the problematics of cultural locations – this time, it is Vancouver – and their representations by First Nations and Chinese Canadian writers. The proportions of these two groups in the population of the city are widely different: while only a bit more than 2 % (around 5.000 people) can claim Aboriginal descent, "four out of five immigrants to the city come from Asia". (136) In the historical survey of short stories about Native people, Nischik mentions female authors Pauline Johnson, Emily Carr, and Lee Maracle, as well as two anthologies published in 1985 and 2005 – both were done by white editors. At the turn of the century, the "deficiency of cultural integration is especially striking […] since cultural and class demarcation lines run right through an ethnic group, not just between Natives and Whites" (143).

In the second part of her paper, Nischik looks at two short stories dealing with "the more or less successful integration of first- and second-generation Chinese into Canadian society" (143). In Sky Lee's story there is no real dialogue (and bond) between parents and children. In Madeleine Thien's "A Map of the City" (published in 2001) the heroine is integrated in the city's texture, but does not deny her roots. As a conclusion, the author of the article points out that there is a higher number of stories about ethnic groups in the anthology published in 2005, these stories are "predominantly about First Nations and Chinese Canadian characters" (147–148); those about First Nations characters "display a strict separation of (cultural) location and spheres for Whites and non-Whites" (148). In the most recent story "ethnic borderlines are dissolved" and the heroine is representing "a new, future-oriented integrationist model" (148).

In the opening paper of the volume, George Elliot Clarke investigates how far Canada can be considered as "quasi-imperial" (32), further articles discuss Neil Bissoondath's view about multiculturalism (Till Kinzel), multiculturalism as represented in B. Mukherjee's *Darkness* (Dagmar Dreyer), Asian and South Asian Canadian literature (Eleanor Ty, Elisabeth Damböck), works by Dionne Brand, Thomas King and Rohinton Mistry (Maria Moss), Fred Wah's poetry and poetics, with a special focus on his views on ethnicity (Sabine Kim), Canada's image in Scottish novels (Frauke Reitemeier), Ann-Marie MacDonald's novel *Fall On Your Knees* (Kirsten Sandrock), Ondaatje's *Dividasero* (Anca-Raluca Radu), two novels by William Gibson (Markus Reisenleitner) and the role of television channels, particularly Fashion Television in disseminating ethnic diversity in Canada (Susan Ingram).

In the "Introduction" to *Intertextual Transitions* Susanne Bach explains that the two

parts of the book are individual research papers by Melanie Schrage-Lang – "Intertextuality in Ann-Marie MacDonald's *Goodnight Desdemona (Good Morning Juliet)*" – and Martina Hörnicke – "Gendering Myths: Margaret Atwood's *The Penelopiad* and Aritha van Herk's *The Tent Peg*". What the two parts of the book have in common is the integration of solid theoretical argumentation into the discussion of the works, together with the original insights and knowledgeable analyses of the authors.

Schrage-Lang gives a close reading of *Goodnight Desdemona (Good Morning Juliet*), pointing at Shakespeare's borrowings and MacDonald's intertextual practices, elaborating on the parallel qualities of Don Quijote and Constance, the heroine of her play, on the references to Greek mythology as well as to icons of popular culture (e.g. Marilyn Monroe). In her view, the Canadian play "can be interpreted as a metaphor of intertextuality itself", and it also "functions as an instrument of postcolonial resistance" (53) by using two well-known plays by Shakespeare. Her argumentation relies on the insights of theorists like Kristeva, Barthes, Bloom, Saussure, Bakhtin and others, even Plato and T. S. Eliot, benefitting from the categories of intertextuality proposed by Genette. Schrage-Lang underlines that the male characters from *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet* are "either marginalized or completely erased" (31). Constance's character is forged not only using Shakespearean female figures but also manifests elements of non-conformism from *Jane Eyre*. The author of the first part of the book uses well-chosen theoretical sources and can convincingly argue for her own observations.

Hörnicke sets out to "explore the ways in which the categories of masculinity and femininity as well as the gendered hierarchies are depicted and intertwined with the mythical in two adaptations of myths by contemporary Canadian women writers" (76). Atwood's novel offers the female perspective – that of Penelope and her twelve hanged maids – concerning the Homeric story, while van Herk uses the biblical story of Jael as a starting point, thus "bestowing voice upon (formerly) marginalized women characters" (77). The theoretical framework of Hörnicke's investigations is provided by representatives of myth-criticism, like Northrop Frye, or Marina Warner "who attaches primary importance to the modifications mythical materials undergo in the light of socio-historical change" (89). Atwood de- and remythologizes in her novel, using parody and humour to do so – she violates the norms of reverential tone with these tools, while other elements (e.g. Penelope's prayers for her husband's return) serve a tendency of remythologization. These contradictions are typical of postmodernist writerly attitudes. Similar de- and remythologization can be traced down in van Herk's "magic realist novel" (151), supernatural powers providing bases for beliefs in new myths: "magic […] has constituted a latent, but very powerful presence in *The Tent Peg* all along" (158). Like Atwood's short novel, *The Tent Peg* also presents a strong female main character: J. L (Jael) has eyes with "superhuman wisdom […] complemented by […] transformative powers" (159). With convincing quotes from the novel, Hörnicke demonstrates the side-by-side presence of biblical intertext and features of the heroine that evoke the Earth Mother, stressing that this latter is "not simply restored […] but […] also challenged, rewritten and amended" (187). This strategy highlights the postmodern approach of van Herk.

In the conclusion, the writer underlines that mythology undergoes "continual shape-shifting and reinterpretation" in these contemporary novels, myths are "adaptable to altering socio-cultural circumstances, but they also possess a vital subversive potential" by "reversing androcentric hierarchies" (191–192). The novels under scrutiny serve as good examples proving that myths are not only fixed stories but are also "always in flux" (192): eighty-five years after the publication of Joyce's *Ulysses*, Homer's epic is revisited by Atwood, ap-

proaching it from a very different perspective.

The two studies in the volume prove that both authors are capable of drawing valuable conclusions after thorough research, adding useful insights to the interpretations of MacDonald's play, and the novels by Atwood and van Herk. Their work can serve as encouragement for junior scholars to pursue philological research.

*Equivocal City*, *The Canadian Mosaic in the Age of Transnationalism*, and *Intertextual Transitions* are three important books about Canada from coast to coast. Although these volumes are different in nature, some issues are treated in each of them to a smaller or bigger extent (myths, locations, gender issues). For the reviewer, it was a delight to be introduced to approaches different than hers – and also to discover views in common.

*Katalin Kürtösi*

Adina Balint/Daniel Castillo Durante (dir.), *Transculture, société et savoirs dans les Amériques*, Frankfurt/Main : Peter Lang Éditions, 2017 (216 p. , ISBN 978-3-631-73146-8, EUR 51,95)

Par sa conception et son organisation, cet ouvrage collectif publié en Allemagne s'apparente à un « livre de mélanges offerts » (*Festschrift*), selon une longue tradition de l'édition savante que les lecteurs germanophones connaissent très bien. Dans le cas présent, on comprend que ces mélanges ont été offerts au Professeur Patrick Imbert à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite – retraite active, cela va sans dire – de l'Université d'Ottawa, après plus de quarante années de carrière, des dizaines de cours et de séminaires, une infinité de publications savantes, de conférences, de colloques et de livres, avec en parallèle cinq fictions. Il est en outre titulaire de la Chaire de recherche de l'Université d'Ottawa : Enjeux sociaux et culturels dans une société du savoir. C'est précisément cette contribution scientifique, abondante et diversifiée, qui sera examinée – partiellement – dans ces dix chapitres en français (et un en anglais) qui ne révéleront que la pointe de l'iceberg, et « sans prétention d'exhaustivité » (20).

Dans leur « Introduction », les coresponsables Adina Balint et Daniel Castillo Durante tentent de cerner les caractéristiques animant depuis des années la réflexion scientifique et théorique de Patrick Imbert (11). Ce faisant, ils mettent en évidence quatre champs d'intérêt distinctifs de sa trajectoire : la transdisciplinarité, le goût de l'hybridation, des questionnements entre différents discours et diverses époques, les déplacements géoculturels et la transculture, et enfin « le désir de réfléchir aux enjeux contemporains, tout en s'interrogeant sur la meilleure manière de lire et d'interpréter l'évolution d'un monde dont l'opacité politico-idéologico-financière est proportionnelle à l'accélération des progrès technologiques » (p. 11). Ces quatre dimensions sont d'abord élaborées dans l' « Introduction » pour ensuite être creusées dans les différents chapitres qui suivent, le plus souvent en utilisant un corpus ancré dans les Amériques et en empruntant fréquemment aux études canadiennes.

La contribution de Patrick Imbert explore ces dimensions à travers différents corpus (du Canada et d'ailleurs) et on peut ainsi saisir les rouages de son approche comparative, non pas pour le simple plaisir de la description, mais bien pour établir des rapports et des comparaisons parfois inattendues qui nous conduiront à une meilleure compréhension des perceptions de l'Américanité, ou encore une mise en évidence des processus de légitimation et, à l'inverse, des mécanismes d'exclusion, tel qu'exemplifiés dans différentes fictions étudiées ici : « C'est ainsi que se dégage de l'utilitaire ancré dans l'insistance sur une vision de la littérature comme caution d'idéologies politiques ou d'enracinements » (66). Au-delà de la simple analyse du texte littéraire (ou d'un écrit public, d'un article de journal), la préoccupation de théoriser, de construire ou de mettre à

l'épreuve la théorie revient constamment dans les écrits de Patrick Imbert, et même dans ses romans, comme le rappelle fort à propos Zilá Bernd (174). Pour Patrick Imbert, les allers-retours entre les imaginaires et la théorisation sont continuels et s'instaurent toujours par-delà les limites strictes des cadres disciplinaires déjà établis. Cette approche est audacieuse et non-conventionnelle: c'est précisément cette fulgurance de la pensée protéiforme qui parfois dérange certains chercheurs réticents envers l'interdisciplinarité.

Quelques grandes idées directrices se dégagent de cet ensemble et rejoignent de diverses manières la réflexion de Patrick Imbert. On y retrouve chez ces commentateurs certains des auteurs de prédilection de Patrick Imbert : entre autres les écrits de René Girard pour l'ancrage théorique (mentionnés ou cités en pp. 11, 14, 23, 53, 167 et ailleurs) et, du côté fictionnel, le roman *Life of Pi* de Yann Martel.

Les chapitres de *Transculture, société et savoirs dans les Amériques* ne sont pas tant des hommages à Patrick Imbert (sauf les deux derniers essais de Daniel Castillo Durante et Zilá Bernd, plus proches du témoignage amical); la plupart sont plutôt une utilisation d'un trait de sa pensée, de ses intuitions, de ses inspirations pour servir de relais, voire de bifurcation. Certains textes prennent le cadre théorique général de Patrick Imbert comme point de départ pour explorer un aspect de la littérature canadienne ou nord-américaine, tandis que d'autres essais se réfèrent en parallèle à une dimension particulière de son œuvre multiforme et abondante pour la contourner ou pour la prolonger dans une direction peu fréquentée. D'ailleurs, quelques essais comme celui d'Alain Goldschlager et d'Arielle Goldschlager (sur la présence culturelle des Juifs sépharades en sol américain) ne mentionnent même pas le nom de Patrick Imbert dans leur texte.

L'usage veut qu'un ouvrage de mélanges offerts s'apparente à un hommage de la part des pairs ou à une sorte de cadeau intellectuel, pour honorer ou simplement pour faire plaisir à un chercheur éminent. Ici, les contenus ne sont pas forcément nouveaux et ne sont pas systématiquement critiques; mais ils scrutent des terrains familiers et des intuitions partagées selon des approches qui devraient plaire à leur destinataire. Avec ce *Transculture, société et savoirs dans les Amériques*, on imagine très bien Patrick Imbert lisant avec délectation ces onze textes composés sur mesure pour lui.

Sur le plan éditorial, l'ouvrage est soigné et comprend un index, une bibliographie et de courts extraits des écrits de Patrick Imbert (placés en annexe), ainsi que deux photos récentes de Patrick Imbert dans deux poses différentes: de face et légèrement de profil (5). La révision linguistique mérite d'être soulignée car il s'agit d'un livre paru dans un pays non-francophone; on ne repère qu'une seule imprécision: l'éditeur occasionnel de Patrick Imbert n'est pas les Presses de l'Université de Laval, mais bien les Presses de l'Université Laval (38).

Le lecteur non-initié ne devrait pas considérer *Transculture, société et savoirs dans les Amériques* comme une initiation à l'œuvre de Patrick Imbert; ses propres ouvrages constituent une porte d'entrée plus adéquate, et le lecteur intéressé pourra choisir selon les thèmes qui le rejoignent le plus.

Reprenons pour conclure ce bel éloge des coresponsables Adina Balint et Daniel Castillo Durante qui synthétise éloquemment la personnalité de ce chercheur d'exception : « […] Patrick Imbert est un véritable penseur de la 'poétique du divers', comme dirait Édouard Glissant, c'est-à-dire un homme qui a su être à l'écoute de l'hybridité et de la rencontre des imaginaires » (20).

*Yves Laberge*

Julie Barlow/Jean-Benoît Nadeau, *Ainsi parlent les Français : codes, tabous et mystères de la conversation à la française*, Paris : Éditions Robert Laffont, 2018 (385 p., ISBN 978-2-221-21654-5, EUR 21)

Quelles sont les différences entre le français tel que parlé à Paris et celui parlé au Canada? Cette question, centrale pour les études canadiennes, dépasse la simple dimension linguistique; elle a souvent été explorée dans des écrits et des colloques de plusieurs associations d'études canadiennes. À première vue, pour le non-initié comme pour le non-francophone, on pourrait croire que puisqu'ils s'expriment dans la même langue, les Français et les Canadiens-Français partagent le même lexique, le même accent, les mêmes mentalités, les mêmes réflexes culturels, et ce, en dépit de l'océan qui les sépare. Mais cela n'est ni tout à fait exact ni absolument faux : il faut nuancer et relativiser avant de conclure quoi que ce soit sur ce point. C'est le but du présent ouvrage.

Ayant vécu en France mais aussi à Montréal entre 1992 et 2018 (196), et plus récemment à Paris en 2013–2014 (9), les Québécois Julie Barlow et Jean-Benoît Nadeau ont pu établir à partir de leurs propres expériences immersives des comparaisons révélatrices sur les codes langagiers existant communément dans les deux pays. Mais il s'agit à la fois d'une série d'observations comparatives sur le Canada et la France, et plus largement sur les contrastes entre les Amériques et l'Europe, principalement au niveau culturel mais également dans la vie quotidienne et dans les médias. Les exemples sont nombreux et touchent toutes les sphères de la société: par exemple en ce qui concerne l'humour ou encore les pratiques usuelles en matière de discours politiques lors d'assemblées publiques. Pour avoir observé de telles manifestations sur les deux continents, Barlow et Nadeau constatent que les recours habituels pour briser le silence et entamer la conversation sont sensiblement différents d'un continent à l'autre : « Les Français ne verraient rien de drôle à entendre un politicien commencer son allocution en se ridiculisant lui-même, alors que c'est une figure rhétorique essentielle dans les discours publics aux États-Unis, au Canada et au Québec » (54). Par ailleurs, sur la question du tutoiement, plus rapide et plus fréquent au Canada qu'en France, c'est le même constat : « […] les Québécois sont beaucoup moins formels » (60).

Autre observation pertinente, cette fois dans un tout autre contexte, cette attitude contrastée à vouloir étaler (ou non) ses connaissances et sa culture lors de conversations informelles. Ici encore les comportements d'un pays à l'autre semblent opposés : « Alors que les Nord-Américains considèrent que l'étalage d'une bonne culture générale est élitiste et prétentieux (ceux qui en ont préfèrent que ça ne se sache pas trop), c'est tout le contraire en France » (154).

La dernière moitié recèle de constats que l'on pourrait retenir en guise de conclusion de tout ce livre qui en dit long sur les perceptions du Québec en France (et vice-versa): « Cet intérêt pour la chose québécoise en France n'est pas qu'anecdotique; il est révélateur d'un changement plus profond dans la société française. En effet, le Québec est à la jonction de deux idées qu'une grande partie de l'intelligentsia, surtout parisienne, a longtemps rejetées, sans pouvoir les nier : l'Amérique et la francophonie » (260).

On sort de la lecture de ce *Ainsi parlent les Français : codes, tabous et mystères de la conversation à la française* dans un état d'esprit animé : à la fois inspiré par cette démonstration et étonné que les auteurs aient pu tirer tant d'observations à partir de situations apparemment banales tirées de leur quotidien. Naturellement, il n'est pas besoin d'être sociolinguiste pour savoir que les conversations les plus banales tirées du quotidien peuvent aussi constituer de petits morceaux d'analyses et que leur contenu peut devenir propice à de brillantes analyses de discours. Les manières les plus

convenues et les plus spontanées d'entamer la conversion, de « briser la glace », de faire connaissance deviennent parfois des condensés de sociologie interactive. Ne dit-on pas en anglais « *conversion starter* » pour désigner la phrase initiale qui sera à l'origine d'un dialogue élaboré et possiblement fructueux entre deux personnes? C'est précisément ce qu'étudient les auteurs de ce livre au style vivant qui révèle autant sur les Français que sur les Québécois. En ce sens, ce livre accessible pourra servir d'inspiration à d'autres recherches plus approfondies. Ajoutons enfin qu'*Ainsi parlent les Français* existe également dans une version anglaise, adaptée par les mêmes coauteurs sous un titre assez différent: *The Bonjour Effect: The Secret Codes of French Conversation Revealed* (St. Martin's Press, 2016).

*Yves Laberge*

Laurier Turgeon (dir.), *Les Entre-lieux de la culture*, Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval et L'Harmattan, 1998 (493 p., ISBN 978-2-73846-949-6, EUR 38,60)

Ce gros livre collectif sous la direction du professeur Laurier Turgeon (de l'Université Laval) réunit dix-neuf chapitres constituant les actes d'un colloque international des membres du CÉLAT de l'Université Laval qui, pour l'occasion, ont invité des universitaires provenant principalement de Russie, ce qui donnera des exposés axés soit sur la francophonie et/ou sur le monde russophone, mais également sur des questionnements plus conceptuels ou méthodologiques. En dépit de ses qualités, cette publication semble restée méconnue parmi les revues savantes et n'aurait eu droit qu'à un seul compte rendu, dans *Les Cahiers de géographie du Québec*.

Les contributions les plus intéressantes adoptent des perspectives comparatives, et « veulent explorer les interactions entre les cultures et les mélanges qu'elles produisent » (16). Il y sera donc question d'interculturalité, d'hybridité ou encore d'hétérogénéité, selon des approches qualitatives et comparatives (17). Au Québec, les études sur la culture s'inscrivent souvent en continuité de l'ethnologie et de la géographie culturelle, sans considérer les approches des études culturelles (*Cultural Studies*) à la Raymond Williams et à la Stuart Hall, qui sont propres aux pays anglo-saxons – avec quelques exceptions notables. Néanmoins, plusieurs recherches réalisées au Canada-français touchant les études sur la culture sont en continuité des travaux fondateurs du sociologue Fernand Dumont, amorcés dès les années 1960 (voir, entre autres, Fernand Dumont, *Œuvres complètes*, 5 tomes, Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007).

Sans doute le plus stimulant de tout l'ouvrage, le texte transversal du professeur Marc Angenot (de l'Université McGill) reconsidère l'idée, maintes fois avancée, d'une hypothétique « fin des idéologies » (35), voire d'une « fin de l'histoire » (35) et d'une « fin de la culture » (44). Bien d'autres exemples de « fin de… » sont également examinés. À la suite de ce constat plus largement étayé et comprenant des essais similaires de plusieurs autres penseurs « de la fin » et de la finitude, Marc Angenot rappelle le caractère illusoire de toutes ces impressions de fin d'une époque pour avancer au contraire qu'il existerait toujours une part inhérente de déformation dans chaque diagnostic du temps présent comme dans toute observation de la réalité immédiate. Autrement dit, la réalité n'apparaît jamais telle quelle et n'est jamais transparente: « dans l'idéologie, une forme de fausse conscience se complète toujours d'une autre forme, opposée et complémentaire, et tout aussi aliénée » (52). Dans sa conclusion, Marc Angenot évoque plusieurs pistes interprétatives dont le concept de désenchantement, si proche du grand sociologue allemand Max Weber – qu'il ne nomme cependant pas (52). Il nous appartiendra de poursuivre individuellement cette réflexion si fertile et inspirante.

Le second chapitre, de l'ethnologue français Bernard Cherubini (de l'Université de La

Réunion), scrute les identités locales de l'Acadie, et particulièrement de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, mais aussi les appartenances – diverses – des descendants des Acadiens établis en Gaspésie et en parallèle ceux de la Mauricie au Québec (autour d'un événement régional, le Festival des lacs et forêts de la municipalité de Sainte-Thècle; 60). On y explore – entre autres – les thèmes de la mémoire collective à travers le choix des artéfacts exposés dans les musées ethnologiques consacrés à la mémoire acadienne (68).

Parmi les chapitres les plus originaux touchant la culture québécoise, celui de Frédéric Demers sur la personnalité publique de Céline Dion en tant que vecteur hautement significatif de l'identité collective du Québec mérite d'être lu; celui-ci avait par ailleurs donné lieu à la publication d'un livre remarquable et assez unique (Frédéric Demers, *Céline Dion et l'identité québécoise*, Montréal : VLB éditeur, 1999). L'approche de l'auteur pour aborder la construction de l'identité nationale du Québec est absolument unique dans les études sur la culture.

D'autres essais examinent différents phénomènes de construction identitaire, par exemple ce chapitre central de Laurier Turgeon et Denis Laborde sur la persistance de la mémoire basque dans une région du Bas-Saint-Laurent, au Québec, près de l'Île-aux-Basques, où se trouve un phénomène inusité, du point de vue identitaire : une « basquitude virtuelle, une basquitude sans Basques » (290), puisque des pêcheurs basques ont séjourné dans cette région – mais sans s'y établir définitivement – il y a plus de cinq siècles. Il existe donc dans cette région du Bas-Saint-Laurent une mémoire basque sans qu'il y ait actuellement une réelle présence basque. Tout est symbolique et indirect dans ce lieu de mémoire, ce qui permet des réflexions originales.

Les chapitres de la dernière partie sont fortement marqués par un cadre théorique ancré dans la sémiotique et dans l'étude des lieux (et du sens des lieux, de la symbolique des lieux, particulièrement chez les Inuits). L'ouvrage se termine par un essai de conceptualisation de Léonid Bakhtine, citant volontiers le théoricien Michaïl Bakhtine (1895–1975) (425, 448, 449, 450, 451, note 4), et reprenant l'exercice de définition de ce qu'est la culture, tout en tentant de disqualifier les 162 définitions de la culture fournies en 1952 par Alfred Kroeber et Clyde Kluckhohn dans un ouvrage devenu classique, *Culture, a critical review of concepts and definitions* (426). Pour sa part, le chercheur moscovite Léonid Bakhtine n'y voit désormais que deux conceptions possibles de la culture, qu'il expose et approfondit substantiellement, mais pas toujours de manière convaincante, compte tenu de la vastitude du sujet (426). Mais la plupart des essais réunis incitent le lecteur à réfléchir, et on ne peut qu'être impressionné par la richesse de la documentation, en particulier dans l'exposé admirable de Marc Angenot. Le lecteur passe successivement de la géographie culturelle du Canada à la sociologie urbaine. Seuls certains des essais de la dernière moitié (Réginal Auger, Gueorghïï S. Knabe, Pierre Ouellet, Karen Anne McCarthy, Denyse Noreau) sont nettement plus faibles et moins gratifiants; mais c'est le propre de ce type de mélanges. Somme toute, le collectif *Les Entre-lieux de la culture* fournit plusieurs textes bien étayés et pour la plupart rigoureusement documentés dans le domaine des études canadiennes.

*Yves Laberge*

Rainier Grutman, *Des langues qui résonnent. Hétérolinguisme et lettres québécoises*, Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019 (359 S., ISBN 978-2-406-08095-4, EUR 38)

Das vorliegende Buch stellt eine völlig veränderte und erweiterte Neuauflage von Rainier Grutmans vielbeachteter Studie zur Vielsprachigkeit in der Québecer Literatur dar, das 1997 erstmals in Montréal im Verlag Fides erschienen ist und den Autor zu einem der renommiertesten Spezialisten auf dem Gebiet der Analyse vielsprachiger Literaturen werden ließ. Es verfolgt, wie der

Autor eingangs erläutert, zum einen die Zielsetzung, das Phänomen des „hétérolinguisme" in methodischer und theoretischer Hinsicht präziser zu fassen, und zum anderen die Absicht, die spezifischen Formen der Repräsentation und der textuellen ‚Einschreibung' von Mehrsprachigkeit an einem bestimmten Textcorpus, der Québecer Literatur, zu untersuchen. Genauer gesagt, geht es in dem vorliegenden Werk nahezu ausschließlich um die Québecer Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts und nicht bzw. nur auf einigen wenigen Seiten im Schlussteil auch um die Gegenwartsliteratur, wie etwa die für heterolinguale Elemente besonders aufschlussreiche zeitgenössische Migrantenliteratur in Québec.

Im Zentrum des vorliegenden Werkes stehen zehn herausragende Werke der Québecer Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts, die unter dem Blickwinkel ihrer – bisher weitgehend vernachlässigten – Vielsprachigkeit detailliert analysiert und in vielfacher Hinsicht völlig neu gelesen werden. Das Untersuchungscorpus reicht von dem Roman *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863) von Philippe Aubert de Gaspé père, der Erzählung *La Chasse-galerie* (1900) von Honoré Beaugrand, dem Roman *L'Influence d'un livre* (1837) von Philippe Aubert de Gaspé fils und den *Légendes canadiennes* (1875) des Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain bis zu den Romanen *La Terre paternelle* (1846) von Patrice Lacombe und *Une de perdue, deux de trouvées* (1874) von Georges Boucher de Boucherville. Das Panorama der untersuchten Werke wird abgerundet durch die auch in Periodika wie den populären Almanachen veröffentlichten Erzählungen der Sammlung *Les contes de Jos Violon* (1899) von Louis Fréchette sowie die weniger bekannten Romane *Forestiers et Voyageurs* (1863) von Joseph-Charles Taché und *Jacques et Marie. Souvenirs d'un peuple dispersé* (1866) von Napoléon Bourassa, der in Québec vor allem als Maler – u.a. des monumentalen Bildes *L'Apothéose de Christophe Colomb* (1905–12) – und als Architekt bekannt ist.

Grutmans Untersuchungen zielen darauf ab, Mehrsprachigkeit in literarischen Werken – hier der Québecer Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts – in ihren komplexen textuellen Verankerungen zu untersuchen und hierbei neben der Verwendung expliziter heterolingualer Elemente, d.h. von Worten, Ausdrücken, Sprichwörtern oder auch, in Ausnahmefällen, längeren Syntagmen in anderen Sprachen als dem (Schrift-)Französischen, Formen und Funktionen von Übersetzungen heterolingualer Elemente sowie von intertextuellen Bezügen systematisch zu analysieren. Obwohl Kanada sich offiziell seit den 1970er Jahren als eine zweisprachige Gesellschaft versteht und seit der britischen Eroberung 1763 von der grundlegenden Ko-Präsenz des Englischen und Französischen geprägt ist, geht Grutman von einer über den Bilinguismus hinausgehenden Mehrsprachigkeit aus, die bereits die frankokanadische Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts tiefgreifend geprägt habe. Eine wichtige methodische Grundlage hierfür bildet die auf den französischen Linguisten Henri Gobard[1] zurückgehende Unterscheidung zwischen vier grundlegenden linguistischen Codes, die eng miteinander verschränkt sind: erstens der „code vernaculaire" (147), der sprachliche Code des in Québec gesprochenen Französisch, der dominierenden Alltags- und Kommunikationssprache; zweitens der „code véhiculaire" (147) des neuen ‚Mutterlandes' Großbritannien, das Englische, das als Rechts- und Verwaltungssprache sowie als Sprache der Ökonomie seit 1760 bis zur *Révolution tranquille* der 1960er Jahre in Kanada und mit Einschränkungen auch in Québec eine herausragende Stellung einnimmt; drittens der „langage référentiaire" (147) des ‚alten Mutterlandes' Frankreich, das (Schrift-) Französische, das die dominierende Ausdruckssprache der Literatur, der Printmedien sowie der schulischen und religiösen Institutionen im frankophonen Kanada darstellt und seit der Kolonialzeit auch als

1 Henri Gobard, *L'Aliénation linguistique (L'Analyse tétraglossique). P*réface de Gilles Deleuze, Paris: Flammarion, 1976.

Verwaltungs- und Rechtssprache einen Status erhalten hat; und viertens der „langage mythique" (147) des katholischen Ritus, das Lateinische. R. Grutman gelingt es mit Hilfe dieser methodisch-begrifflichen Unterscheidungen, die durch eine Fülle sehr anregender Überlegungen zur Übersetzungstheorie, zur Theorie der „surconscience linguistique" (Lise Gauvin), zum Konzept der Nationalliteratur und dem nationalliterarischen Feld (Bourdieu) sowie zur Multilinguismus- und Kolinguismusforschung (Etienne Balibar) ergänzt werden, nicht nur ein überzeugendes, differenziertes und kohärentes Modell für die Analyse heterolingualer Texte zu entwickeln, sondern auch die Québecer Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts unter zum Teil völlig neuen Blickwinkeln zu betrachten.

Eines der erstaunlichsten Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist zweifellos die bisher viel zu wenig berücksichtigte Rolle des Lateinischen in der französischsprachigen frankokanadischen Literatur. Das Lateinische ist, wie Grutman anhand sehr präziser und philologisch genauer Textanalysen aufzeigt, durch zwei Register präsent: zum einen durch die Bezüge zum Kirchenlatein, d.h. zur Verwendung des Lateinischen in der katholischen Messe, die bis zu den beginnenden 1960er Jahren ganz überwiegend auf Lateinisch ablief, eine Sprache, die die große Mehrheit der Québecer Gottesdienstbesucher nicht verstand und die somit eine rituelle und zugleich ‚mythische' Funktion hatte. Die mythische Funktion des Kirchenlateinischen zeigt sich auch in Texten, in denen die temporäre soziale Infragestellung kirchlicher Moralvorstellungen im Zentrum steht, wie in Honoré Beaugrands fantastischer Erzählung *La Chasse-galerie* und den *Contes de Jos Violon* von Louis Fréchette. Und sie verweist auf die herausragende identitätsbildende Funktion der katholischen Kirche in Québec bis zur *Révolution tranquille* der 1960er Jahre, die insbesondere auch die Arbeiten des Historikers Yvan Lamonde in den letzten Jahrzehnten sehr deutlich und differenziert aufgezeigt haben.[1] Zum anderen ist das Lateinische durch zahlreiche Zitate und Textpassagen aus Werken der römischen Antike – wie Virgil und Cicero – präsent, die in den klassischen Jesuitenkollegs (etwa in Montréal und Nicolet), in denen das Lateinische auch teilweise Unterrichtssprache war, vermittelt wurden. Nahezu alle bekannten Québecer Schriftsteller des 19. Jahrhunderts hatten, so Grutman, das klassische *Collège* durchlaufen und verfügten somit über eine solide sprachliche Ausbildung im Lateinischen und ebenso differenzierte Kenntnisse der Literatur, Geschichte und Kultur der römisch-griechischen Antike.

Die enge Verschränkung von Heterolinguismus und Intertextualität wird an dem Beispiel der *Anciens Canadiens* von Philippe Aubert de Gaspé père in besonders aufschlußreicher Weise deutlich. Wie Grutman geradezu mit detektivischem Spürsinn aufzeigt, war de Gaspés historischer Roman – der erste ‚Bestseller' der frankokanadischen Literatur überhaupt und ein grundlegendes Werk der Québecer Identitätsbildung – einerseits in bisher nicht bekanntem Maße von dem Modell des historischen Romans von Walter Scott und den Referenzen auf seine schottische Sicht britischer Geschichte (und britischer Dominanz) geprägt. Andererseits verweisen die zahlreichen Referenzen auf Vergils *Aeneis,* den Untergang Trojas und seine ‚Renaissance' im Römischen Imperium auf die spezifische ideologische Ausrichtung der *Anciens Canadiens* von de Gaspé. Dieses Werk sei keineswegs als ein konfrontatives Werk der identitären Abschottung und Distanznahme der Frankokanadier zum *British Empire* zu interpretieren, sondern verfolge die Zielsetzung einer neuen, providentiellen und zugleich kompensatorischen, Sichtweise der britischen Annexion von 1763. Durch sie sei die katholisch geprägte frankokanadische Identität nicht zerstört, sondern im Gegenteil angesichts der Entwicklung des

1 Vgl. u.a. Yvan Lamonde, Allégeances et dépendances. L'Histoire d'une ambivalence identitaire, Québec: Nota bene, 2001.

Mutterlands Frankreich zur revolutionären und laizistischen Republik erhalten geblieben; und die Frankokanadier seien, so insinuieren die zahlreichen Verweise auf Vergil, den Trojanern der Antike vergleichbar, die im Römischen Imperium eine neue Heimstatt gefunden und eine kulturelle Renaissance erlebt hätten. „La perte de la Nouvelle-France", so Grutmans Schlussfolgerung, „plutôt que d'être un épisode négatif de l'histoire récente, peut ainsi être récupérée grâce à son inscription dans la longue durée des récits compensateurs hérités (au prix de quelques manipulations certes) de l'Antiquité lointaine et pour cela même, universelle" (201). Die Analyse heterolingualer Elemente und intertextueller Referenzen, vor allem aus dem Lateinischen, aber auch aus dem Englischen, mit dem Kulturtransferansatz verbindend, arbeitet Grutman somit einen dreifachen, sehr komplexen und hochinteressanten Prozess des Kulturtransfers heraus: „Entre le premier transfert culturel, grâce auquel Rome s'approprie l'épopée homérique [...], et le troisième transfert, qui consiste à interpréter l'avenir des francophones du Canada à la lumière de l'expérience écossaise, se situe en effet une deuxième opération de ‚resémantisation' (plutôt que de simple emprunt ou d'échange): celle qui consiste à rapprocher la Calédonie[1] défaite de la Troie défunte" (203).

Die Analyse vor allem der *Légendes canadiennes* von Henri-Raymond Casgrain verdeutlicht die – auch für die Untersuchung von Werken der franko- und anglokanadischen Gegenwartsliteraturen sehr anregende – These, die Verwendung heterolingualer Elemente aus Sprachen der ‚First Nations' habe eine mythisierende Funktion und sei somit tendenziell strukturell an die Stelle des (Kirchen-)Lateinischen als „code mythique" getreten. In dem Bestreben, die kulturelle Spezifik der frankokanadischen Literatur in ihrer ‚Amerikanität' – ihrem Bezug zu den Kulturen, Sprachen und Gesellschaften des amerikanischen Kontinents – zu verankern und dem Vorbild des US-amerikanischen Autors James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), dem Verfasser u.a. der *Leatherstocking Tales* (1841) nachzueifern, greift Casgrain auf zahlreiche Elemente u.a. aus dem Irokesischen zurück. Grutman sieht hierin die Präsenz eines identitätsstiftenden „code magique", der mit seiner ‚verbalen Magie' der Präsenz des (Kirchen-)Lateinischen in der Québecer Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts durchaus vergleichbar sei. Im Gegensatz zu Darstellung der *First Nations* bei Cooper gingen diese heterolingualen Elemente jedoch einher mit einer überwiegend negativen Darstellung der Indianergesellschaften in ihrer Gesamtheit (als ‚wild' und ‚barbarisch'), eine Konfiguration, die sich erst in der Québecer Gegenwartsliteratur grundlegend wandeln sollte, etwa bei Schriftstellern wie Jacques Poulin und Robert Lalonde.[2]

Die vorliegende Studie stellt, wie die umrissenen Ausführungen belegen, ein beeindruckendes *œuvre magistrale* dar, das in bester literatur- und kulturwissenschaftlicher Tradition differenzierte und philologisch genaue Textanalysen mit äußerst anspruchsvollen Methoden und Theorieansätzen und einer genauen Kenntnis des sozialen, kulturellen und historischen Kontexts verbindet. Sehr zu begrüßen ist auch, dass der Verfasser nicht nur die französisch- und englischsprachige, sondern auch die – auf dem Gebiet der Übersetzungs- und Kulturtransferforschung – sehr umfangreiche deutschsprachige Forschungsliteratur berücksichtigt, zitiert und systematisch in seine Analysen einarbeitet. Dies gilt etwa für die Arbeiten von Paul Goetsch zur ‚fingierten Mündlichkeit', von Julia Beyer zu den Oralitätsmerkmalen in den Märchen der Brüder Grimm[3] oder von Alfons Knauth

1 Calédonie: alter Name für Schottland.

2 Vgl. hierzu Hélène Destrempes/Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Hg.), *Images de l'Amérindien au Canada francophone: littérature et image* (numéro thématique de la revue *Tangence*, 85, automne 2007).

3 Hier hätten noch die Forschungen der Komparatistin Ute Heidmann (Lausanne) zu den intertextuellen und translatorischen

zur multilingualen Literatur. Insgesamt bildet die vorliegende Studie trotz ihrer – durchaus fruchtbaren und originellen – Beschränkung auf literarische Werke des 19. Jahrhunderts eine sehr gute theoretische und methodische Grundlage für die Untersuchung des Phänomens ‚Heterolinguismus' auch in den Gegenwartsliteraturen nicht nur Québecs und Anglo-Kanadas. Dies gilt insbesondere auch für die Analyse des Heterolinguismus in den Migrantenliteraturen, die im Ausblick („Perspectives et prospectives", 303–310) anhand von Werken von Régine Robin (*La Québécoite,* 1993) und Jacques Poulin (*Volkswagen Blues*, 1984), unter Einbeziehung der einschlägigen Forschungsliteratur hierzu, zumindest kurz angerissen wird.

*Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink*

Sophie Dubois, *Refus global. Histoire d'une réception partielle*, Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2017 (427 S.; ISBN 978-2-7606-3805-1; EUR 31.

Die vorliegende Monographie ist aus einer im Jahr 2014 an der Université de Montréal approbierten Dissertation hervorgegangen und wurde 2017 in der Reihe *Nouvelles études québécoises* der Presses de l'Université de Montréal veröffentlicht. Die Reihe wird vom ebenfalls an der Université de Montréal angesiedelten Forschungszentrum CRILCQ (Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur la littérature et la culture québécoises) betreut, das zu den ersten Adressen im Bereich der Québecer Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft(en) zählt. Das Ziel der Reihe ist es unter anderem, eine „relecture des classiques" anzustreben und eine „élaboration de perspectives critiques et théoriques nouvelles" zu fördern. Beides ist mit *Refus global. Histoire d'une réception partielle* gelungen, denn Sophie Dubois legt mit ihrer Schrift eine mit großer Sorgfalt gearbeitete, geradezu exemplarische Rezeptionsstudie vor, in der das sogenannte ‚Manifest' *Refus global* des Jahres 1948 samt seinem Umfeld einem komplexen Prozess der Hinterfragung und kulturgeschichtlichen Neuzuordnung unterzogen wird. Wie die Unterkapitel unschwer erkennen lassen – „L'horizon d'attente", „Réussir l'épreuve de la première réception (1948–49)", „La réception subséquente (1950–2008)" und schließlich „De nouveaux obstacles à la réception" –, sind die großen Ideengeber in der (bzw. im Umkreis der) Konstanzer Schule zu finden, wobei Dubois immer wieder eigene Akzente setzt. Insgesamt will die Verfasserin aufzeigen, wie das Narrativ, der *récit commun*, des Phänomens *Refus global* entstanden ist, und sie will darüber hinaus sowohl in Vergessenheit geratene Lektüren des Werks ins Bewusstsein rufen als auch das Manifest betreffende (Vor)Urteile zurechtrücken.

Spannend zu lesen ist der in der Einleitung gebotene Abriss grundlegender Fragestellungen: Details zur Genese (wie etwa die Vertrautheit der Québecer Automatisten mit den französischen Surrealisten), die Rolle der Kulturmittler Fernand Leduc und Jean-Paul Riopelle, die ideologischen Positionierungen der einzelnen Gruppen, der Manifestcharakter und vieles mehr. Tatsächlich wurde der erste (und eponyme) Text des Bandes von Paul-Émile Borduas zwischen Ende Dezember 1947 und Anfang Februar 1948 verfasst, in der Folge im Kreis der Automatisten diskutiert und verändert, bevor weitere Texte und Illustrationen in unterschiedlichen Medien und Disziplinen hinzugefügt wurden. Das Manifest wurde von Borduas und 15 weiteren Künstler- und AutorInnen unterzeichnet und am 9. August 1948 der Öffentlichkeit vorgestellt. Vor

Dimensionen u.a. der Märchen der Brüder Grimm und der *Contes* von Perrault Berücksichtigung finden können. Vgl. u.a. Ute Heidmann: „La créativité générique en contexte plurilingue et pluriculturel. Concepts et analyses (Perrault et Chamoiseau)", Miriam Lay Brander (Hg.), *Genre and Globalization/Transformación de géneros en contextos (post-)coloniales/Transformation des genres dans des contextes (post)coloniaux*, Hildesheim: Olms-Verlag, 2017, S. 47-69.

diesem Hintergrund ist auch der Hinweis der Verfasserin zu verstehen, bei der graphischen Wiedergabe des Titels sauber zwischen *Refus global*, der Text*sammlung*, und „Refus global", dem *Einzel*text von Borduas, zu unterscheiden, wobei letzterer zwischen 1948 und 2008 de facto zum *pars pro toto* aufgerückt sei. Auch die ebenfalls anzutreffende Schreibung bestimmter Artikel plus Kursivierung – le *Refus Global* – sei ein Zeichen der Autonomisierung des Werks und täusche fälschlicherweise ein einziges und einheitliches Signifikat vor. Genau dagegen aber schreibt Dubois in ihrer Studie an, der es um das „non-dit" geht, um die „occultation" und „minoration", kurz um das „aux dépens de quoi s'est érigé le mythe" (25).

Als lektürefreundlich lässt sich die Tatsache vermerken, dass Dubois die theoretische Grundlegung ihrer Studie, die nötigen Positionierungen, konzeptuellen Übernahmen, Distanzierungen oder Erweiterungen stets nur anlassbezogen in den Text einbaut, bevor sie sich wieder der konkreten Analyse der insgesamt 639 „textes[,] publiés au Québec et proposant une lecture de l'œuvre" (22) zuwendet. So etwa am Ende der Einleitung bzw. zu Beginn des Kapitels „Horizon d'attente", wo sie sich kritisch mit dem Jauß'schen Erwartungshorizont auseinandersetzt und – D. Chartier aufgreifend – die gelungene Erstrezeption eines Werkes als Voraussetzung dafür ansieht, dass es ein ‚Klassiker' werden kann. Doch bereits das Vorfeld der Erstrezeption kann entscheidend sein, wie Dubois in Kapitel 1 zeigt. Dabei korrigiert sie u.a. den Gemeinplatz des Immobilismus in Québec in den 1940er Jahren, die sie ganz im Gegenteil als literarisch und künstlerisch „effervescen[ts]", ja als „plaque tournante des arts visuels" (33) ansieht; sie korrigiert den Gemeinplatz, *Refus Global* sei ein isoliertes Phänomen, antwortet es doch unübersehbar auf *Prisme d'Yeux* und positioniert sich letzterem gegenüber durch die Offenheit für andere Künste, und rückt schließlich auch den Gemeinplatz der ‚Bombe' ins rechte Licht. Obwohl das Werk, breit angekündigt, auf ein vorbereitetes Publikum trifft, kursiert das Bild der Bombe in den zeitgenössischen Publikationen, in denen im Rahmen einer umfassenden Kunstdebatte die Lektüre des Kunstwerks entweder ethisch-philosophisch oder aber ästhetisch-poetisch orientiert ist. In jedem Fall werden diese Positionen gegeneinander ins Feld geführt. Auch der Hinweis, dass der bildende Künstler Borduas (1947, Ausstellung der Automatisten in Paris) als „fierté" der Nation gefeiert wird (57), während er als Verfasser von „Refus Global" sehr bald als Verräter angeprangert werden sollte, beleuchtet den Mikrokosmos des Vorfelds der eigentlichen Rezeption von *Refus global*.

Die Erstrezeption setzt Dubois für den Zeitraum 25. Juli 1948 (Ankündigung des Werks) bis September 1949 (Text von Robert Élie) an, ein sehr knapper Zeitraum, dem als „réception subséquente" die Jahre, ja Jahrzehnte 1950 bis 2008 folgen. Die für Dubois' Argumentationslinie zentrale Frage, ob diese Erstrezeption durch die Kritik in der Lage war, ein einheitliches und tragendes Narrativ zu erstellen, beantwortet sie nuanciert: Der kritische Diskurs am Ende der Phase bleibt gespalten. Auch stellt die bereits am 18. September 1948 erfolgte Entlassung Borduas' eine massive Störung des Rezeptionsprozesses dar, bewirkt sie doch die ‚Umleitung' der Aufmerksamkeit vom Werk zur emblematischen Figur Borduas, der eine Mythifizierung folgt. Am Ende der ersten Rezeptionsphase hat *Refus Global* somit einen Autor und ein Genre, das Manifest (205), und die soziopolitische Lektüre des eponymen Texts wird zur Norm der Folgerezeption. Nicht oder kaum Beachtung finden dagegen in dieser ersten Phase das Phänomen der Textsammlung und der anderen Einzeltexte, die Pluridisziplinarität und spezifische Materialität, die das Werk in die Nähe des Kunstbuchs rücken, für das es in den Jahren 1948–49 weder Rezeptionserfahrung noch Rezeptionsbereitschaft gab. Groteskerweise ‚verdeckt' also der eponyme Text den Blick auf die anderen Texte, so wie die Fokussierung auf die Person Borduas den Blick auf den eponymen Text verdeckt.

Schließlich ‚verdecken' auch diese wenigen Zeilen zu Dubois' erstem großen Abschnitt den wahren Reichtum ihrer Studie.

Denn *Refus global. Histoire d'une réception partielle* stellt in der Tat eine Fundgrube von Informationen dar, die jedes Kapitel zu einem Buch werden lassen, das eine eigene Rezension verdienen würde. So kreisen die Unterkapitel zur Erstrezeption um fünf Faktoren, die die Rezeption ermöglichten bzw. erschwerten: die bereits erwähnte Materialität des Buches, verbunden mit der Pluralität mitwirkender AutorInnen und beteiligter Genres und Künste; das aus der Pluralität resultierende kulturelle (nicht bloß literarische) Feld, das sich vom politischen zu emanzipieren beginnt; die Aussage des Werks bzw. von Werkteilen, die mit den gängigen Wertvorstellungen der Québecer Gesellschaft kollidiert und folglich lächerlich gemacht wird; äußere Ereignisse wie Borduas' Entlassung und schließlich – entgegen der strengen Linie der Rezeptionsästhetik – die beteiligten AutorInnen, die Automatisten, die selbst in die Polemik eingreifen und letztlich zur Zersplitterung des Rezeptionsdiskurses beitragen. Die Fülle der Details, die aus dem umfassenden Blick Dubois' auf ein zentrales Phänomen, den *Refus Global*, resultiert, stellt dabei für den Leser eine große Herausforderung dar, der die Verfasserin insofern Rechnung zu tragen sucht, als sie jedes Kapitel und (beinahe jedes) Unterkapitel mit einem Resümee beschließt. Auf diese Weise ist sie bemüht, den berühmten roten Faden nicht abreißen zu lassen; zugleich riskiert sie gerade dadurch aber auch manche Wiederholung und Redundanz, die zum Teil hätten vermieden werden können.

Grundsätzlich ist Dubois' Studie nur insofern der Chronologie verpflichtet, als sie zwei aufeinander folgende Rezeptionsphasen abhandelt, während im Inneren der Kapitel thematische Schwerpunkte die Gliederung bestimmen. Einen rein diachronen und überaus nützlichen Baustein stellt allerdings Kapitel 7 dar, in dem die Etappen der Rezeption und die Herausbildung des *récit commun* nachgezeichnet werden. Nach den ruhigen 1950er Jahren, in denen „Refus global" immerhin in eine erste Literaturgeschichte Aufnahme findet, über die 1960er, die die politische Lektüre des Texts einläuten, die 1970er, die trotz oder gerade wegen des Einflusses der *contre-culture* die soziokritische Sichtweise stabilisieren, die 1980er, in denen die Text*sammlung* relativ große Beachtung erfährt, bis hin zu den 1990ern, in denen die Rezeption trotz der 50-Jahr-Feiern eher bescheiden ausfällt, während die unzähligen Publikationen der 2000er Jahre letztlich nicht dem Text oder den Texten, sondern lediglich dem „geste commémoratif" (257) gelten. In 60 Jahren Rezeptionsgeschichte gesellen sich auf diese Weise zu den Topoi der Erstrezeption die neuen des Bruchs mit der *Grande Noirceur* des Duplessis'schen Zeitalters und der fast prophetischen Ankündigung der *Révolution tranquille*, ein starkes Narrativ, das freilich nur den eponymen Text, nicht aber die Textsammlung betrifft.

Um die zweite Rezeptionsphase (ab 1950) bzw. die Faktoren, die die Rezeption der Text*sammlung* behindern, geht es sodann ab Kapitel 8. Mit der ihr eigenen Gründlichkeit beleuchtet Dubois die so ungleiche Situation der Werkausgaben (je nachdem ob man den eponymen oder den gesamten Text ins Auge fasst), die möglichen Stoßrichtungen der Lektüre, die zumeist auf *eine* Kunst oder Disziplin ausgerichtet bleiben, aber auch die einzelnen Kritiken selbst, die in Québec und Frankreich selten die vorgegebene Bahn des *récit commun* verlassen, in Italien und im anglophonen Bereich dagegen auch neue Akzente setzen. Der unendlich verzweigten Argumentation und Beweisführung der Verfasserin lässt sich als Fazit entnehmen, dass der dominante Diskurs nur den eponymen Text bedient, auch wenn er dabei die in letzterem angelegten Virtualitäten keineswegs ausschöpft, während die restlichen Beiträge und die Textsammlung Gegenstand einer parallelen und/oder partiellen Rezeption werden. Diese punktuellen Reaktualisierungen, die Dubois mit umfangreichem Material (bis hin zu den diversen

Fiktionalisierungen) belegt, sind den Überraschungen und Unwägbarkeiten der Geschichte geschuldet wie ausgeliefert, während sich der eponyme Text, sozusagen transhistorisch, in die *mémoire collective* der Provinz einschreibt.

Mit seinen weit über 400 Seiten, seiner überaus differenzierten Argumentation, seiner Fülle an Namen, Daten und Querverweisen, die tatsächlich eine Neulektüre eines ‚Klassikers' erlauben, und nicht zuletzt mit der konsequenten Einbindung kulturwissenschaftlicher wie rezeptionsästhetischer Denkansätze erweist sich *Refus global. Histoire d'une réception partielle* als eine *référence incontournable* und sollte ein Standardwerk werden. Umso mehr bedauert man, dass bei einer derartigen Fülle von Wissen der finalen Bibliographie nicht mehr Platz eingeräumt wird (ein Verzeichnis aller verwendeten Quellentexte z.B. wäre interessant gewesen). Auch hätte ein eigenes Kapitel zu den Vorreiterwerken von P. Smart, G. Lapointe, B. Deschamps, J. Lamoureux oder J. Gaudreault es erlaubt, das Neue an Dubois' Studie noch deutlicher herauszustellen. Möglicherweise hängt dies jedoch mit Verlagsentscheidungen zusammen, um die Seitenzahl der Studie überschaubar zu halten.

*Ursula Mathis-Moser*

Sarah Wylie Krotz, *Mapping with Words. Anglo-Canadian Literary Cartographies, 1789–1916*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018 (252 pp., ISBN 978-1-4426-5012-1, EUR 56,95)

*Mapping with Words* looks at a corpus of texts from Canada's early colonial period. All of them are somehow linked to practices of mapping, and exercise what the author describes as "literary cartography" (11). The term is used throughout the study; however, it remains as opaque as the book's methodology, which Krotz denotes as "literary geography" (11) and defines as follows: "Above all, literary geography foregrounds an experience of the physical world that is different from, and in many ways vaster than, landscape's more limited vistas" (13–14). Equally vague is the book's professed approach and text selection. While Krotz claims that her study differs from previous works on intersections of mapping and literature by historically shifting the focus from the postmodern and postcolonial to the colonial period and generically from fictional to non-fictional texts (13), two of her five chapters deal with poems and she does draw on theories of the spatial turn and postcolonialism. The reader also wonders what *literary* cartography means in a study which declares to be looking at non-fictional texts. Krotz states that while critics before her have dealt with the map as a metaphor (van Herk and Goldman, e.g.) her study instead deals with real physical spaces (14). Yet, so did the texts of the mentioned critics, while Krotz also uses mapping metaphorically. This lack of a clear approach and terminology make it difficult to follow the argument of the book. Also, one cannot help thinking that deconstructing the veracity of maps and interpreting them as colonial power tools of naming and claiming has been done before, as well as regarding texts as verbal maps. Krotz' assertion that colonial maps and texts always reveal as much as they hide and often contain subtexts that render an "ambivalent spatial experience" (6) is also not new, but it is this aspect that makes the book interesting. *Mapping with Words* is strongest when it probes the selected texts for the "'leakage' through which the readers can glimpse the alternate spatialities that have always been part of colonial space" (16).

Chapter one starts off with the analysis of two long poems, Thomas Cary's *Abram's Plains* (1789) and Adam Hood Burwell's *Talbot Road* (1818) which, in Krotz's words, "exemplify a literary-cartographic impulse in early Canadian writing that links the work of writers and map-makers in the imaginative delineation of settler space" (23). Both poems depend on cartography as a conceptual framework for their poetic maps. Cary's *Abram's Plains* reflects the shift in authority

that took place on the American continent at the end of the 18th century when Britain gained control over French territories. In its echoes of English verse, Cary's long poem pays tribute to an "imperial 'Britannia' whose economy depended on colonial expansion and resource extraction" (35). Burwell's *Talbot Road* not only shows how geographic structures were forced upon the wilderness but also transports the then prevalent idea that wilderness is useless and wasted unless made fruitful for agrarian use. In tracing the process of transforming wilderness into a land for pioneers, Burwell, like Cary, "inscribes a British aesthetic and identity into the landscape" (50). Both poems, Krotz concludes, worship maps and bringing the light of civilization to the wilderness through surveying and ensuing settlement.

Chapters two and three respectively deal with the texts of two classical authors: Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852) and her sister's, Catherine Parr Traill's *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868) and *Studies of Plant Life in Canada* (1885). In contrast to the previously discussed long poems, Moodie's and Traill's texts challenge notions of ordered geographic space or narrow conceptions of wilderness versus civilization. Moodie's text reflects the disorientation and uncertainty involved in settler existence. Instead of an "aerial perspective of a Cartesian world view" (17), *Roughing It in the Bush* describes up-close the daily trials and struggles in becoming a subject on foreign land. There is no mastery in Moodie's text, Krotz states; instead it records "how settlers lose their way, both geographically and psychically, in the bush" (74). Traill's descriptions of the flora and fauna bristle with references from Shakespeare to the English Romantics and show once more how early explorers and settlers lacked an aesthetic and linguistic register for adequately grasping the strange land they encountered. Her involvement in the imperial project also becomes apparent in how she likens the imminent disappearance of the Indigenous people to the diminishing Canadian wilderness but interprets both as lamentable side-effects of the necessary and inevitable takeover of the land by Europeans.

Chapter four turns to Grant's narrative *Ocean to Ocean* (1873) which is as ambivalent as Traill's when it comes to Indigenous peoples. George Monro Grant not only was a professor of divinity and principal of Queen's university from 1877–1902 but an ardent supporter of Confederation and the Canadian Pacific Railway. For him, Canada's necessary and inexorable progress westward is conducted through 'unwritten' land, not because there are no Native stories about the land, but because no one has recorded them. Grant frequently mentions the canoe songs the Iroquois guides sing and the stories the Blackfoot frequently tell around the campfire but denies those oral stories full significance because they were not written down. Nonetheless Grant's acknowledgement of an oral tradition "remind the reader of the gap between Indigenous knowledge and white inexperience in the geography through which Grant travelled" (118). His narrative inadvertently acknowledges that the land is "a repository of pre-existing meaning" (ditto).

The following chapter looks at Duncan Campbell Scott's renowned poem "The Height of Land" (1916) and firmly situates it in the colonial context of Treaty 9. As one of the treaty commissioners sent by the Department of Indian Affairs to negotiate Treaty 9 in 1905 and 1906 with the Ojibway and Cree, Scott ten years later set his poem in the area. While the poem has mostly been interpreted as a romantically imbued journey inward, Krotz reads it as both, an imaginative inhabitation of the land and an exploration of a real physical space that through the Treaty is about to experience major changes. While the lyrical I enters place in the vein of a Romantic tradition as a solitary figure seeking transcendence and clarity, the poem also epitomizes the surveys and orders that Scott's work as Indian Agent encompassed. Beyond a metaphysical flight from the land, Krotz argues, the poem focuses on the concrete geography,

geology and natural history of the place. The famed "ancient disturber" in Scott's poem and the haunting specters of Indigenous presences in Krotz' reading are signs for the poet's inability to bring together a geographic-political and a poetic grasp of the region of Treaty 9.

While the close readings of the primary texts are largely sound and convincing, the conclusion is a misnomer and again leaves the reader puzzled. Instead of synthesizing the texts and ideas presented, it mostly deals with David Thompson's (highly fascinating) *Narrative of his Explorations in Western America 1784–1812* (1916). Readers expecting to finally be enlightened in the conclusion on how "text-maps" (59) or "counter-maps" (19) really work or on how the presented texts fundamentally differ in the ways they refer to or can be interpreted as maps, will be disappointed. Instead of doing the theoretical groundwork, Krotz takes Thompson's narrative as a prism for all the texts dealt with and as prime example for a colonial counter-map. His narrative indeed not only captures conquest but "the resourcefulness and ingenuity" (164) of the Indigenous people by recording their cultural practices and stories. Thompson blurs the categories of explorer and settler, and as much as his maps orient the reader, his "regional vignettes" (158) present a panoply of voices and perspectives that render a complex picture of colonialism. Thompson's text, in fact, is so central to Krotz' argument that one wonders why she did not devote a whole chapter to his narrative.

In addition to these content-related critical points, some of the typical traces of a dissertation should have been edited out before turning this into a published book: There are too many references, too many stage-directions for how to read and understand the book, and too many nods to authorities. Critics like Lefebvre or de Certeau, who are associated with the spatial turn and who primarily wrote about urban settings, are quoted out of context and without any further explanation of their ideas and approaches.

What I gained from reading the book is that for the colonialist subject answering Frye's famous question of 'where is here' rather than 'who am I' always meant overwriting Indigenous space as well as narratives and knowledges about this space. Yet, this overwriting never managed to entirely cover-up or erase Indigenous presences, practices, and knowledges which frequently show through the colonial layer. This argument, however, also is not new. In the 21st century, references to recent burgeoning studies on Indigenous mapping and Indigenous geography would have given the book a much needed, more updated sheen.

*Caroline Rosenthal*

John Borrows/Michael Coyle (eds.), *The Right Relationship. Reimagining the Implementation of Historical Treaties,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017 (428 pp., ISBN 978-1-4426-3021-5, CAD 31.46)

The relation between Indigenous law and state law and the contemporary implementation of historical treaty rights are central issues in the ongoing debate about Indigenous sovereignty and questions of reconciliation. The very framing of the contemporary constitutional and legal setting is colonial, and both historical and contemporary legislation have thus often been understood as a tool of colonization and assimilation. As John Borrows puts it in "Canada's Colonial Constitution", his opening contribution to this edited volume *The Right Relationship:* "Indigenous peoples are very poorly served by the present order. They are subject to the force of other people's political and legal will in most everything they do" (27). Hence, the question of whether and how the Canadian legal system and the constitution can productively serve to "negotiate Indigenous peoples' exit from colonialism" (to quote the title of an article by Michael Coyle) is a crucial one.

That such an exit is not accomplished by merely integrating 'Indigenous elements'

into the Canadian legal system but that it presupposes a complex transformation of the understanding and the practice of law in Canada has been the argument by a number of Indigenous scholars in law, political science and education, among them Chickasaw human rights lawyer James Sákéj Youngblood Henderson, Mi'kmaq educator and scholar Marie Battiste, Saulteau First Nations law professor Val Napoleon, Dene political scientist Glen Coulthard, and Anishinaabe legal scholar John Borrows. Borrows holds the Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law and, together with Napoleon, established the first Joint Degree Program in Canadian Common Law and Indigenous Legal Orders at the University of Victoria in 2018. In previous monographs such as *Canada's Indigenous Constitution* (2010) and *Freedom and Indigenous Constitutionalism* (2016), he has explored potential trajectories for such a societal transformation. The volume under discussion in this review – co-edited with Michael Coyle, law professor at Western University – takes a close look at the specific problems and discussions regarding the implementation of historical treaties in a framework of colonial structures and competing legal traditions between Indigenous and common law. The volume, as the editors explain, centers around four leading questions: "*What role should history and historical promises play in the shaping of modern treaty relationships? If we seek healthy treaty relationships, what should the role of the courts be in resolving disputes, and what is their role in relation to political and public dialogue? What role, if any, should be played by Indigenous values and legal traditions in informing treaty implementations? Should we look to other forums to implement treaties and to resolve treaty disputes*" (5; italics in the original). The three parts that structure Borrows and Coyle's volume do not neatly each correspond to one of these questions; while each section has a focus that incorporates one or two of these points, all in all, the three parts to different degrees tend to cut across these questions, thereby highlighting how closely they are intertwined.

Part one "Treaty remedies – How Should History Shape the Law?" of this volume focuses on the first two questions, the role of history in the contemporary interpretation of treaties and the role of the courts. In "Canada's Colonial Constitution," John Borrows investigates the shift towards a greater provincial influence on Indigenous lives and the importance of Indigenous legal thought for contemporary and future challenges regarding Indigenous-non-Indigenous legal relations. In the following "As Long as the Sun Shines," Michael Coyle discusses the historical understanding of the treaty-making process and of the treaty parties' relationship and asks how this necessarily impacts a contemporary understanding of generic obligations. In "Indigenous Rights Litigation, Legal History, and the Role of Experts," Kent McNeil analyzes the role of legal historians as expert witnesses, highlighting the potentially murky distinction between legal historians as both *historical* and *legal* experts and the different functions of providing expertise and opinion in a given case. Julie Jai in "Bargains Made in Bad Times" then looks at the role of modern treaties in the interpretation process of historical treaties, while Sari Graben and Matthew Mehaffey in "Negotiating Self-Government Over & Over & Over Again" conversely discuss the role of colonial history in the interpretation of modern treaties. Francesca Allodi-Ross takes up an often-neglected issues by discussing concerns of treaty disputes *within* Indigenous communities in "Who Calls the Shots?".

Part two "The Rule of Indigenous Legal Orders: Treaty Rights or Right Relationships?" focuses on the third of the guiding questions, the role of Indigenous value systems and legal frameworks for treaty implementation. In "Rights and Remedies with Common Law and Indigenous Legal Traditions," Mark Walters suggests understanding contemporary treaty relations through the lens of the Indigenous legal traditions that were at play when treaties

were made, complementing Canadian law with a principle similar to the already existing "cooperative federalism" and thereby creating a new basis for contemporary treaty relations. Aaron Mills/Waabishki Ma'iingan offers a perspective by way of Anishinaabe constitutionalism in "What Is a Treaty?", arguing for an understanding of treaties as 'constitutional associations' that not only regulate the relationship between political communities/nations, but that further establish a new political community across these distinct entities. Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark looks at the different types of questions asked when treaty relations are approached through Anishinaabe legal traditions, including Indigenous storytelling and creation stories in her contribution "Changing the Treaty Question". In "(Re)Defining Good Faith through *Snuw'uyulh*," Sarah Morales shifts towards the impact of Indigenous legal thought on contemporary treaty negotiations; re-establishing 'good faith' by implementing established conflict resolution mechanisms may not only help prevent negotiation stalemates but also contribute to a true process of reconciliation.

The volume's part three "'Fitting the Forum to the Fuss' – Re-examining the Forums in which Treaty Disputes Are Addressed" focuses largely on the fourth question regarding alternative forums for treaty implementation and dispute resolution, but it clearly also highlights how such alternatives tie in with the previously treated question regarding the role of Indigenous traditions and legal thought. In "A Treaty in Another Context," Jacinta Ruru provides a comparative look at treaty dispute resolutions by discussing the *Te Urewera Act 2014* in Aotearoa/New Zealand that, in a "creative bicultural Maori/Crown settlement" declared the land its own legal entity. Jean Leclair in "Nanapush, Lon Fuller, and Historical Treaties" centers on the asymmetrical power structures in resolving disputes; as a consequence, she argues for alternative processes of lawmaking in which Indigenous peoples and frameworks play a more decisive role. The potential role of international law is the focus of Sara L. Seck's contribution "Treaties and the Emancipatory Potential of International Law". Harking back – like the previous two chapters – to the importance of Indigenous values and legal traditions, Seck argues that despite its imperialist history international law provides an indispensable framework in an ecologically interconnected world. Finally, in "Consult, Consent, and Veto," Shin Imai argues that in order to adequately recognize the "spirit and intent of historical treaties," Canadian courts need to shift from its current emphasis on the 'consult and accommodate' principle in their interpretation of the 'numbered treaties' to meet international standards and to develop a concept of prior and informed consent.

While all of the contributors to this volume – with the exception of Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark who is a political scientist – are legal scholars, these questions are clearly not confined to the legal realm and its practical applications but they provide an important backdrop for those scholars in literary and cultural studies who seek a deeper understanding of the complexities of the contemporary legal constellation facing Indigenous peoples, questions of sovereignty, and the dynamics that impact Indigenous cultural production, particularly by those Indigenous writers, artists, scholars, and activists who make sovereignty their explicit concern. Questions regarding Indigenous value and legal systems and their role in larger contemporary debates, while not the main focus of the book, also touch upon recent discussion pertaining to the crucial need of fully acknowledging Indigenous knowledge systems and Indigenizing theory, teaching, and methodologies. This collection, specific as it is to the discussion of the legal intricacies in the interpretation of treaties thus provides an indispensable reference not only for legal scholars but also for researchers and teachers in literary and cultural studies as well as anyone interested in some of the debates regarding Indigenous peoples' "exit from

colonialism" and Canada's path towards decolonization.

*Katja Sarkowsky*

Michelle J. Smith/Kristine Moruzi/Clare Bradford, *From Colonial to Modern. Transnational Girlhood in Canadian Australian, and New Zealand Children's Literature, 1840–1940*, Toronto/Buffalo/London: Toronto University Press, 2018 (280 pp., ISBN 978-1-48750-309-3, CAD 75)

In 2019, a report exposed 30 years of police and state disinterest in the case of almost 4000 women and girls murdered or gone missing, a reality check for the myth of Canadian postnationalism peddled by the Trudeau administration. It shines a light on the historical and ongoing disenfranchisement of women of color in Canada and complicates the narrative of Canadian white feminist agendas, raising questions around settler colonialism, justice, and the responsibilities of the nation-state to all citizens.

Tackling a historical perspective on girlhood, nationhood, and empire, the book discussed here thus appears as a timely endeavor. *From Colonial to Modern. Transnational Girlhood in Canadian Australian, and New Zealand Children's Literature, 1840–1940* may well be judged by its cover, which shows a historic reproduction of *The Child's Empire Picture Annual* from 1912. In the middle, we see panels with iconic landscapes from Great Britain, Canada, Australasia, India, and Africa, framed by two Union Jacks and presided over by a blond white girl on a settee, book in hand. The composition locates England and her colonies in the middle, flanked by the flag and overlooked by the young female reader. She might be an English armchair traveler reading about the colonies; or she might be a young reader in the colonies, exploring imperial connections. The image of girls reading in, through, and for empire captures the book's theme, a "model of transnational girlhood" (23) in the settler colonies Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, from the mid 19th century to the mid 20th century.

*From Colonial to Modern* examines Anglophone transnational girlhood and maps the literary market for girls, covering an impressive body of materials from magazines, novels, and travel literature, written and published both in the metropolis and the three "burgeoning" nations it considers. Covering the century between the onset of an international book market around 1840 to the upsurge of nationalism and independence in the 1940s, it charts the development of transnational girlhood "from Colonial to modern", offering an important look at the interrelation between empire-building and gender in the larger framework of the New Imperial Histories. In three sections, the authors compare and contrast texts from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada as well as British texts of fictive girls travelling to these destinations. The sections are "Empire and Transnational Flows," on readership and the publishing market, "National and Transnational Dynamics," on the interrogation of imperial norms by themes like family, natural environment, and race, and "Modernity and Transnational Femininities," on futurities and anxieties of modern girlhood post-WWI.

*From Colonial to Modern* contrasts British images of colonial girls with stories from the colonies, showing girls as key civilizing figures and imperial mothers. The selection of settler colonies creates gaps: South Africa and India, both present on the book cover, are left out; the former due to its status as a Dutch colony (5). Then again, *From Colonial to Modern* accomplishes no small feat: it locates colonial girlhoods in the "emerging nations", girls' "relationships to the imperial centre and Indigenous peoples," and reads reading "girls' print culture across national boundaries to identify and interrogate transnational commonalities and differences" (19). Given this trajectory, the sections cover a lot of ground, which shows in the close readings. Readers looking for a critique of heteronormative cultures will find this addressed in the conclusion.

The monograph offers a valuable survey of girlhood in Anglophone print culture throughout the empire; its comparative findings concerning the reading practices and publication industry are remarkable, not least because of the structure. Each chapter bridges the distance between New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, thus delivering on the premise that "colonial girl's reading can be understood as remarkably similar, regardless of where the books originated" (45). Specifically, chapter two provides a very readable assessment of the literary markets, considering the numbers of books advertised for girls, the politics of reviews, and catalog recommendations that groomed specific audiences. Intriguingly, this brings to light the different relations to the empire during the heyday of gendered children's book publishing in the 1880s and '90s; whereas British publishers considered Australia as "dumping ground," the Canadian market was characterized by competition from its Southern neighbor and the budding North American publishing industry. *From Colonial to Modern* offers two key insights: first, that readers and writers transformed their presumed marginality into increased liberty from normative constraints; and second, that imperial and national ideologies coexisted and did not jar during the period observed here.

Methodologically, *From Colonial to Modern* builds on a transnationalism that is text- and literacy-based, and casts girls as participants in discussions around allegedly female concerns and nation-building functions, such as motherhood and racial purity. Their experience is portrayed as already mediated, storified for others or offered to them through literary examples.

But the focus on print and literary cultures comes at a cost. Time and again, the analysis chapters brush on the issue of the body, be it with citing the "fashioning" of girlhood (53) or attributing a chapter to race (chapter 6), or the common topics of girls magazines: "athletics, exercise, and sport; health; cooking; pets; and employment" (63). While, through readership, girls participate in the "refining and contesting [imperial] definitions of girlhood" (54), their experience of being on the outskirts of Empire is mitigated. As conventions in the colonies are loosened and described by a period author as "better than the stiff old country" (52), what this might mean is left up to imagination. Body techniques such as horse culture and riding serve as example: pragmatism dictates that, while farming in unkempt territory, girls had to leave the side saddles and engage in a different body regime than English girls at home. How did outdoor life interrogate scripts of metropolitan urban girlhood?

What will Canadianists glean from this monograph? *From Colonial to Modern* offers intriguing readings, of Montgomery's classic *Anne of Green Gables* but also of her lesser-known works, as well as of less canonized texts like Catherine Parr Traill's *Canadian Crusoes* (1852), or the religious tract *Shenac's Work at Home: A story of Canadian Life* (Robertson 1866). Canada is an exoticized, adventurous setting for colonial girls that permits transgression, but Canadian titles of the turn of the century still herald female sacrifice and homebuilding (31). Yet the book's look at Canada falls back behind key premises in Canadian Studies: first, its focus on an Anglophone print culture disappears encounters between the Anglophone and Francophone girls. Second, by looking at Canada in the imperial context, it problematically isolates Canada from the North American cultural industry and from US-American images of white femininity which were also known to Canadian girls.

Hence, the hen-and-egg question remains: is the new model of transnational girlhood proposed here created in print culture or vice versa? How can the focus on textuality be thrown into relief by rephrasing the questions asked? And what are the political implications of the turn to nationalism after WWII in the countries examined, where white supremacy and Anglocentrism/Anglophilia shape girlhood and femininity well into the present? *From Colonial to Modern* skirts the issue of empire by

proposing transnationalism, all the while claiming that this girlhood might be understood as "imagined community" (12), which jars with the same concept. The premise of a "belief in shared commonalities of white girlhood and a shared world view" (16) risks a dated look, as another celebration of imperial dressed up in a transnational garb. Readers from various disciplines might take issue with this approach, yet this also illustrates the importance of revisiting the meaning of "nation" and empire on the transnational turn.

*Stefanie Schäfer*

Matthew Hayday/Raymond B. Blake (eds.), *Celebrating Canada. Volume I: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016 (450 pp, ISBN 978-1-4426-2713-0, CAD 29.96)

As a kid growing up in Ottawa in the 1950s, I always looked forward to one of the year's highlights – the fireworks display at the city's Exhibition Grounds on May 24, the holiday marking Queen Victoria's birthday. There, the thousands of spectators were treated to a magnificent pyrotechnic show, culminating in tableaus suited to occasion, one of which usually showed Vicky herself in proud profile. In comparison, Dominion Day, coming just a little over five weeks later on July 1, was a non-event; public celebration was minimal, and since schools were already out for the summer by then, we kids never regarded it as a "real" holiday.

It was only many years later that it occurred to me how odd all this was. Fifty years after Queen Victoria's death, we were surely the only country in the world still marking her birthday – and determined to continue doing so, if the childish ditty we used to chant was any guide: "The twenty-fourth of May // Is the Queen's birthday, // If we don't get a holiday // We'll all run away." And unlike every other country in the world, the "national" holiday – in Canada's case marking the day we came into existence – passed relatively unnoticed, little more than an opportunity for politicians to pontificate and leader writers to (modestly) recall the country's achievements.

A country's holidays are an expression of its values, as reflected through events and individuals and institutions it chooses to remember and honour. Together they create an image of how it sees itself, and as such they are intimately linked to the concept of identity. Given that the concern for identity has been a kind of cottage industry in Canada ever since its birth in 1867, holidays make an especially interesting lens for viewing the country. Which is precisely the aim of the publication under review. As the editors state in their introduction: "This book considers the role that holidays and annual celebrations have played in the construction of national, regional, provincial, and community identities."

The bulk of the volume comprises sixteen chapters by various authors, each focused on the celebration of some particular holiday or set of holidays. Temporally these span more than a century and a half, from the middle of the nineteenth century ("Claiming the Streets: Negotiating National Identities in Montreal's Parades, 1840–1880") to the present ("Marketing the Maple Leaf: The Curious Case of National Flag of Canada Day"). In between, a range of holidays is covered, both those of national scope – Thanksgiving, Victoria Day, Empire Day (including its repercussions in French Canada), Remembrance Day, Dominion Day, Canada Day (Dominion Day rebranded) – and others more limited geographically: Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, National Acadian Day, and the provocatively named Chinese Humiliation Day (created in 1924 by the Chinese Canadian community in British Columbia in direct response to the highly restrictive Chinese Immigration Act of 1923). These chapters are flanked by a lengthy (26-page) "Introduction" and a brief "Conclusion", both by the editors of the collection.

The treatments of the individual holidays in the various chapters differ considerably.

Some focus on a relatively short period of time, others look at more long-term developments. Comparisons are made in a few cases with similar holidays celebrated outside Canada, particularly elsewhere in the Commonwealth (or, earlier, the Empire). Some focus on legislative efforts to forward the cause of a particular holiday, others put more emphasis on efforts to gain support for a proposed holiday among the general public. But though the authors' approaches differ, they tend to share a number of central themes. One of these is the constructed nature of the holidays under discussion – in some cases when it comes to their creation, and in all cases where celebratory practices are concerned. Another is the political/ideological nature of the holidays; they were all promoted in order to further a particular cause – Anglo-Canadian patriotism, imperial unity, a bilingual/bicultural Canada or whatever. Holidays, in other words, are very much a product of their times. (My prediction: within the next decade Canada will declare some kind of statutory holiday relating to the First Nations.) A third aspect that recurs as one reads through the volume is just how hard it is to create a holiday. There is no guarantee that efforts along these lines will be successful; in fact this seems definitely to be a case of 'many are called, but few are chosen'. And success, if it comes, only occurs after a long period of concerted effort. And even then the final shape a holiday takes may well be very different from what its promoters initially envisaged. The complicated nature of the Canadian polity, and particularly the French-English relationship, brings a fourth common strand to the story of Canadian holidays, with many social, cultural, religious, nationalist and other implications in play in their creation and development. And finally, holidays tend to be ongoing projects, continuing to change over time. This is something I was reminded of recently when speaking to some Czech friends of mine. They had visited Canada at the beginning of the summer, where they happened to find themselves in a small town on Canada Day. Remembering my childhood, I could hardly recognize their enthusiastic description of the day, filled with events for young and old, the Canadian flag flying everywhere, public barbecues, and in the evening – yes, a magnificent fireworks display. No trace of the muted – one might say almost stunted – patriotism of my youth.

The holidays treated in *Celebrating Canada* by no means make up an exhaustive list. Setting aside those that were essentially 'inherited' and as such are in a sense 'unproblematic' (at least so far) – New Year, Good Friday, Christmas Day and Boxing Day – two major summer holidays are not dealt with. The first is Labour Day (celebrated, as in the USA, in September) and the second the (perhaps uniquely?) Canadian Civic Holiday, a generic term for a holiday held on the first Monday in August that goes by a multitude of local names in the country's provinces, cities and towns and has as its focal point the country's municipalities, key actors in the Canadian political system as well as being of immense importance in Canadian life in general. And of those holidays no longer celebrated widely, the most noticeable omission (aside from a brief appearance in the article mentioned above about parades in Montreal in the nineteenth century) is probably that of Orangeman's Day (July 12), once an annual demonstration of the power, especially in Ontario, of the Orange Order (as a child in Ottawa I was still able to witness the parade on the "Glorious Twelfth", led by King Billy on his white horse).

However, the preceding comments should not be taken to imply any serious failing in the publication: owing to the highly decentralized nature of the Canadian federation, there is almost a plethora of holidays at all levels – federal, provincial, territorial, municipal – and no book could even attempt to cover them all. On the contrary, the individual chapters in the book, each with its own way of dealing with the topic under consideration, explore, in sensitive and detailed fashion, the compli-

cated forces at work in the development of the country's main holidays, and offer many original insights. And the extensive "Introduction" to the publication takes their conclusions and enlarges on them in the context of a broader social and historical narrative: this text could in itself serve as an extremely useful introduction to the study of Canadian culture. Definitely a publication to be highly recommended.

*Don Sparling*

Lothar A. Beck/Ulrich Vogel (Hg.), *Teaching Canadian Ecologies*, Baden-Baden: Tectum, 2018 (114 S., ISBN 978-3-8288-4226-7, EUR 26,80)

Im Sinne der Neuausrichtung der Arbeit des Marburger Zentrums für Kanada-Studien hin zu Ökologie und der Zusammenarbeit mit Schulen widmet sich Band 13 der Marburger Schriften zur Lehrerbildung der Aufbereitung von *Canadian Ecologies* für den Schulunterricht. Im Anschluss an eine interdisziplinäre Ringvorlesung zu kanadischen Ökologien entwickelten zehn Marburger Lehramtsstudierende in Kooperation mit Lehrern und Lehrerinnen fünf umfassende Unterrichtskonzepte. Die Unterrichtsmodelle widmen sich aktuellen kanadischen Themen, die als Doppelstunden bis hin zu mehrwöchigen Projekten für die Sekundarstufe II (10./11.–13. Klasse, Niveau nach GER: B1–B2) zur direkten Umsetzung in die schulische Praxis aufbereitet sind. Ausgehend von der allgemeinen didaktischen Begründung nach Klafki sollen die vorliegenden Konzepte gezielt Medien-, Analyse-, Urteils- und Handlungskompetenz im Rahmen interkulturellen Lernens fördern. Zusätzlich zu kompakten thematischen Einführungen, didaktischen Überlegungen, tabellarischen Stundenverläufen, Materialien und Lösungsschlüsseln erscheinen ergänzende Materialien und Informationen auf der ILIAS-Website des Zentrums für Lehrerbildung, auf dessen Inhalte allerdings nur Mitglieder der Universität Marburg zugreifen können.

Das Unterrichtskonzept „Canadian Ecology of Past and Present, Fact and Fiction" (2.1.) von Rebecca Abraham et al. ist als mehrwöchiges E-mail-Projekt zwischen Universitätsstudierenden und Schülern und Schülerinnen (SuS) der 10. bis 11. Klasse angelegt. Im Rahmen dieses interdisziplinären Projekts erarbeiten die SuS verschiedene Aspekte von *Canadian Ecology* und werden bei ihrer Recherche via E-mail von den Studierenden unterstützt. Ziel ist es, die SuS zu befähigen, sich in arbeitsteiligen Expertenteams durch selbstständige Recherche ein ihnen unbekanntes Thema (darunter u.a. „Oil and Gas Exploration in Canada's Arctic", „Native Canadians and Ecology") anzueignen, dieses mündlich zu präsentieren und kritisch zu reflektieren. Die hohen Anforderungen, die sich dadurch an die SuS ergeben, sollen durch die Unterstützung der Lehrkraft und der Studierenden ausgeglichen werden. Das Modell folgt der Struktur von Recherche, Ausarbeitung, Präsentation und Abschlussdiskussion, welche durch den gezielten Einsatz von Methoden, wie dem *Gallery Walk* und der Fünf-Finger-Methode, aufgelockert wird. In ihrer ausführlichen Stundenplanung, die neben klar formulierten Stundenzielen auch konkrete methodische Überlegungen sowie die benötigten Unterrichtsmaterialien enthält, liefern die Autoren und Autorinnen praktizierenden Lehrkräften eine lückenlose Anleitung zur Umsetzung des vorgestellten Konzepts. Das Unterrichtsmodell „Whose Land? – A Critical Perspective on the ‚Canadian Dream'" (2.4.) von Jessika Jesse kann aufbauend auf das E-Mail-Projekt durchgeführt werden. Wie allen in diesem Band erschienen Unterrichtsentwürfen, steht auch diesem eine kompakte thematische Einführung voran, welche die Geschichte der politisch-kulturellen Charakteristika Kanadas, wie den *Canadian Dream* und *Idle No More*, mit der aktuellen politischen Situation in Verbindung bringt und zahlreiche zusätzliche Quellen zur Erschließung des Themas nennt. Ziel der Unterrichtseinheiten ist es, den *Canadian Dream* kritisch und multiperspektivisch zu be-

leuchten und vor allem die indigene Perspektive nachzuvollziehen.

Mit „Multiculturalism: Are Newcomers to Canada Generally More Accepted by the Canadian Population than Newcomers to Germany?" (2.2.) ist es Rebecca Brömmeling und Felix Kremer gelungen, eine vergleichende Analyse der Einwanderungspolitik Kanadas und Deutschlands für den Schulkontext aufzubereiten. Ähnlich wie beim E-mail-Projekt sollen die SuS in Kleingruppen und im Rahmen der Struktur Erarbeitung/Recherche, Präsentation und Diskussion sechs Themen und Argumente zu der Frage, ob der in Kanada praktizierte *Multiculturalism* ausschlaggebend für die relativ friedliche Koexistenz verschiedener Kulturen in Kanada ist, erarbeiten. Diese Argumente werden in einer von der Lehrkraft moderierten Podiumsdiskussion vorgebracht. Die Rollenkarten für die Podiumsdiskussion sowie die ausformulierten Aufgabenstellungen und Informationstexte zu den sechs Themen sind dem Unterrichtsentwurf angehängt, sodass auch dieses Konzept direkt in die Praxis umgesetzt werden kann. Potentielle Schwierigkeiten die Komplexität des Themas betreffend werden in den didaktischen Überlegungen erläutert, wobei die Durchführung der verschiedenen Phasen in nur neunzig Minuten vor allem Organisationskompetenz der Lehrkraft und der SuS verlangt.

Die Unterrichtskonzepte „Tourism and Ecology in Northern Canada – The Yukon" (2.3.) von Kirsten Cordes und „Teaching about Canadian Oil Sands" (2.5.) von Klaus-Peter Profus behandeln hochaktuelle Themen, die den SuS durch die Arbeit mit ausgewählten authentischen Texten und dem sinnvollen Einsatz verschiedener Medien zugänglich gemacht werden. Beginnend mit der Herstellung eines persönlichen Bezugs werden die Lernergebnisse nach Recherche- und Diskussionsphasen jeweils in Form von Blogeinträgen über den Yukon und Leserbriefen zur Ölsandproduktion gesichert. Auch bei diesen ambitionierten Unterrichtsentwürfen stellt sich die Frage einer möglichen Überforderung der SuS, der aber, wie von den Autoren und Autorinnen angedacht, über Binnendifferenzierung und sinnvolle didaktische Reduktion entgegengewirkt werden kann.

Der Band hält, was Martin Kuester eingangs verspricht: Er dient als Anregung, kanadische Themen für den Schulunterricht zugänglich zu machen, und bietet Lehrkräften fünf umfassende, praxiserprobte Unterrichtskonzepte zu *Canadian Ecologies*. Die Unterrichtsmodelle folgen der Struktur thematischer Einstieg, Erarbeitung, Diskussion und Reflexion, die in Form von forschendem und exemplarischem Lernen realisiert wird. Durch klare Ziel- und Kompetenzformulierungen wird der Bezug zu Curricula und dem „Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen für Sprachen" hergestellt, wodurch sich die Konzepte hervorragend zur Umsetzung im Regel- oder Wahlpflichtfachunterricht der Sekundarstufe II eignen.

*Lena Starkl*

## Isabelle St-Amand, *Stories of Oka: Land, Film, and Literature*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018 (315 pp., ISBN 978-0-88755-819-1, CAD 27.95)

Almost 30 years after the siege at Kanehsatà:ke and Kahnawà:ke, the Oka Crisis remains of crucial significance for both First Nations and the Canadian nation state. In late 1989, the mayor of Oka had given green light for expanding a golf course from nine to 18 holes and for building luxury condominiums on land that was claimed by the Mohawk community and that includes a Mohawk burial ground. When all attempts to object by the Kanehsatà:kehró:non were ignored, and when the construction works were about to begin in March 1990, community members decided to occupy the territory, which they had been defending for nearly three hundred years. Over the months that followed, tensions intensified, and when Oka's mayor ordered a taskforce to forcefully intervene in July 1990, it culminated in a chaotic

shootout that left a corporeal of the Sûreté du Québec dead, ended in the withdrawal of the police forces, and resulted in an open conflict that would even bring the Canadian Army to the siege site. While the overt conflict ended in September, after 78 days, many of the questions at its core remain unresolved.

Isabelle St-Amand's monograph *Stories of Oka* presents an ambitious, yet very enlightening reading of filmic, literary, and other artistic renderings of this crisis. It is ambitious for its approach of including a wide variety of voices: Indigenous and non-Indigenous; anglophone and francophone; documentary filmmakers, poets, novelists, and musicians. St-Armand's pluralistic strategy emerges from her own reading of the event as "a focal point that reveals the overall relationship among all peoples in [Canada]" (26) – a relationship that remains imbalanced and inseparable from "the deeply colonial dynamic driving [it]" (3). This imbalance, as she elaborates in the first chapter, makes it impossible to regard such an event from an impartial standpoint: "[S]tudying the Oka Crisis […] encourages the realization that the status quo is not a neutral position, but a dominant colonial stance that is most often taken to be the natural order" (27). In this spirit, she acknowledges her own background as a settler scholar, explains the limitations that go along with this position for such a project, and points to the resulting inevitability of engaging with "various individuals and cultural sites from the acknowledged, overt position of an outsider" (7). Consequentially, she also constructs her theoretical framework as a dialog on equal grounds between Indigenous and non-Indigenous academic knowledges, in a way that revisits "the event from perspectives that are both intertwined and antagonistic, [to open] up a space in which different interests and forms of knowledge regarding the conflict become related and opposed" (28).

After an extensive second chapter on the "Settler Crisis and Indigenous Resistance", which contextualizes the territorial disputes and the siege in their past and present dimensions, St-Amand continues with an exploration of performative aspects of the event. A particularly noteworthy distinction she points to concerns the framing of the discourses of Oka's municipal council and the Mohawk community: While the former highlighted the legality of the planned construction works, the discourse of the latter pointed out that the problem is rather one of legitimacy – a distinction that "reminded a settler society of a presence that preceded it and questioned what it considered to be certainties" (81).

The following two chapters focus on two documentaries, *Okanada: Behind the Lines at Oka* by Albert Nehrenberg, and Alanis Obomsawin's *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*. Nehrenberg, a journalist for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), made his way behind the occupiers' barricades near the end of the siege, at a point when the Canadian Army tried to prevent all reporting. Out of his recordings, Nehrenberg produced a documentary that features rare footage about the final days of the crisis, allowing some of the Mohawk occupiers to speak who had not been given a voice in other media reports, but had nonetheless regularly been portrayed as outlaws involved in terrorism, organized crime, and smuggling. With these recordings from behind the barricades, Nehrenberg's documentary becomes an eyewitness account with a decolonizing effect, as St-Amand observes: "By paying increased attention to small details and discreet action in expression, *Okanada* helps to dismantle the mythic figure of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's noble savage as well as that of the criminalized warrior" (132). Yet at the same time, as she suggests, Nehrenberg's documentary does not "lock [non-Indigenous viewers] into a defensive position" (133). In the following chapter, Nehrenberg's documentary is juxtaposed with Alanis Obomsawin's Indigenous perspective in her perhaps most famous work, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*. St-Amand stresses the differences in the approaches of the two docu-

mentary filmmakers: While the journalist Nehrenberg retains his position as an impartial third party, Obomsawin uses her filmmaking to actively take a stand for the Mohawk community: "[T]he filmmaker's camera made an assertive activist gesture in moving around the site […] often deliberately intended to protect Indigenous protestors and community members from incidents of violence at the hands of police officers and soldiers" (138). This perspective, suggests St-Amand, "can be understood as embodying an Indigenous aesthetic and enacting a form of self-determination in creation" (145). St-Amand convincingly shows how *Kanehsatake* actualizes the concept of 'visual sovereignty': The way her perspective frames the conflict dismantles Western stereotypes about the 'Indian warrior' figure that continued to dominate media perspectives at the time, and her way of narrating the event relies predominantly on Indigenous experiences and worldviews (147).

From these two documentary films, St-Amand's study moves on to literary accounts of the Oka Crisis. Again, she first presents a chapter on works by Québécois and Canadian writers, before she turns to Indigenous accounts. Yves Boisvert's poetry collection *Voleurs de cause* stands at the center of the discussion in the chapter on "Settler Literary Narratives". St-Amand regards his work as revealing of what performance studies scholar Diana Taylor describes as 'percepticide' – a privileging of certain points of view that make others disappear. Boisvert's poetry, as St-Amand shows, engages with the ways in which the media presented the event, privileging white interests and thus perpetuating acts intrinsic to the colonial project (189). By highlighting this bias, *Voleurs de cause* manages to subvert hegemonic perspectives: "[T]he imposters in this case are not the Mohawk warriors but politicians and government representatives" (192). In its last chapter, *Stories of Oka* focuses on "Mohawk and Other Indigenous Literary Narratives". Isabelle St-Amand adequately refers to them as 'wordarrows', a term coined by Gerald Vizenor, meant to describe the agency that is attached to Indigenous counter discourses challenging Western narratives. The literary renderings of Oka by Indigenous artists, as St-Amand observes, are used in this sense and therefore need to be considered as intrinsically political acts (203–204). While the discussion encompasses a number of different texts, two observations St-Amand makes stand out: First, Indigenous writers seem to focus more strongly on writing about traumatic and other effects the crisis has had on communities and families, while non-Indigenous writers more frequently celebrate "the warriors' stance for reasons of marginality or the accusations they level against the established order" (205). Second, almost none of Quebec's Indigenous writers, with the exception of the Mohawks, addressed the Oka Crisis for nearly two decades.

Isabelle St-Amand's *Stories of Oka* is a rich, innovative, and thoroughly researched study of the ways in which the armed resistance at Kanehsatà:ke and Kahnawà:ke is reflected in documentary film, literature, and other arts. It is precisely the multiplicity of perspectives she provides, both in her theoretical framework and the works she studies, that makes the study so valuable. This diversity helps to reveal "the institutional structures, narrative bases, and imaginary representations underlying the relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers, and so [open] a window on the state of those relationships" (246), as she writes in the conclusion of her book.

*Christoph Straub*

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Les comptes rendus de lecture sont attribués par Dr. Doris Eibl, responsable de ce domaine de publication. Merci de vous adresser à elle pour vos propositions de compte rendu (Doris.G.Eibl@uibk.ac.at).