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The 15th European Seminar for Graduate Students in Canadian Studies was hosted at the University of Graz, Austria, by the Department of Romance Philology from Thursday, September 28th to Sunday, October 1st, 2006. The goal of the conference was to bring together European students working on a Master's or Ph.D. thesis in Canadian Studies. These students were invited to present their current research topics, and were given the chance to meet and exchange ideas with students from other European countries. The presentation topics came from a variety of different disciplines, ranging from literature and history to political science and cultural studies. With 20 participants and 19 presentations, 13 different countries were represented. Graz aimed its focus on establishing a relationship between Western and Eastern Europe; therefore, this year, perhaps more than in other years, many participants came from the East.

Comme notre titre le suggère, les textes présentés dans ce recueil donnent une perspective transculturelle sur le Canada. Une perspective qui s'étend à travers plusieurs cultures (dans notre cas à travers plusieurs cultures européennes). C'est-à-dire que ces articles mettent en évidence non seulement les différents aspects de la culture canadienne, mais en présentant le Canada, ils révèlent aussi les aspects distincts de leur propre culture. À Graz, l'accent mis sur la dualité de l'Europe – entre Ouest et Est – éclaire sous un jour nouveau et particulièrement enrichissant la façon dont on perçoit et dont on étudie le Canada.

As much as the study of Canada has undoubtedly broadened the horizons of many of our participants, their reflections have been of great importance to establish how Canada is perceived in the world. An important part of defining one's identity or culture comes not only from the inherent characteristics that form that culture, but also from an outside perspective. The contributions within this volume constitute a mirror that allows Canadian culture to be reflected through the eyes of young European Canadianists; a mirror that is indispensable and that should continue to be held up annually.

Nous voudrions remercier tous les participants de la conférence pour leurs efforts et leurs profondes réflexions sur ce que représente actuellement le Canada ainsi que le Réseau européen d'études cana-

diennes (REEC) pour son support financier dans la publication de ce recueil.

The 15th European Seminar was an inspiring example of the intellectual inventiveness that can be created when young transcultural minds are put together. It was an undoubtedly rich and diverse conference, both in topics and cultures. The 15th European Seminar was a success in that it brought about interesting intellectual and educational discussions, and allowed the networking between young Canadianists not only from Western and Central Europe but also from Eastern Europe. It proved that a large forum of young Canadianists exists in Europe (and in other parts of the world), and is growing in size.

Klaus-Dieter Ertler   *Graz/Warsaw, June 2007*
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In memoriam
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A *Kanata* No More: Plotting a New Canadian Landscape

Abstract

Taking the spatial undercurrents in Northrop Frye's public criticism as its polemical point of departure, the following text aims to re-examine the broad conception of "landscape" found in the Canadian imagination. With a theoretical recasting of "landscape" drawing from the work of James Corner and Denis Cosgrove, the former is put forward within the urbanizing Canadian context as a means of both perceiving and inflecting the spatial and social implications of the newly emerging imperative of Canadian urban density.

Résumé

Prenant comme point de départ polémique les thématiques spatiales présentes dans l'œuvre critique de Northrop Frye, le texte qui suit tente de réexaminer la conception floue de « paysage » qui se trouve dans l'imagination canadienne. Avec une ré-interrogation théorique de "paysage" qui s'appuie sur les écrits de James Corner et Denis Cosgrove, il est vu, placé au sein du contexte canadien en pleine urbanisation, en tant que moyen de percevoir et subtilement modifier les implications spatiales et sociales du nouvel impératif qu'est la densité urbaine canadienne.

> It seems to me that Canadian sensibility has been profoundly disturbed, not so much by our famous problem of identity, important as that is, as by a series of paradoxes in what confronts that identity. It is less perplexed by the question "Who am I?" than by some such riddle as "Where is here?"
>
> (Frye, 1995, 222)

Try to imagine….

As an opening phrase it is one that makes its appearance without much effective or affective weight. A contemporary audience, or reader, upon coming across it in an academic lecture or critical text

might indeed experience a slight tightening of that space between spine and shoulder blades, wincing at that precise spot where Nabokov, along in a way with Baudelaire, said we experience literature; the request does not seem quite right, somewhat elicit, a proposition prior to a proper proposal. It is the author's, or more accurately, the storyteller's devious device. Upon its intonation or invocation, whether oral or written, it is as if fact, analytical depth and serious intent can all be readily left on a more earthly, and grimly felt plane. There is certainty in some form of platonic ascent. Despite this rise to untold heights, its evocation also calls up a very subtle perfume of safety that soothes the listener; as it is here that "truth" can be wholly subjective, a construction of whimsy without boundaries. It may have become such a rarity at present because it does nonetheless, in common rhetorical currency, possess a shabby but sincere veneer of crumbling talent; here, it is no storyteller of great renown that is regaling us with an existential tryst enveloped in a spiraling plot of decadence and genius, but rather a dear uncle recounting the near seizure of his fourteen foot "yacht" off the coast of Madagascar by "characters", customs officials in reality, that resembled the most ruthless pirates that the imaginary of exotic banditry can conjure up; here "Try to imagine."... is invariably followed by "if you can"; and, with anticipatory glee, shipwrecks, incorrectly brandished muskets, not to neglect the long, serene stretches of crisp white beach, always curving around an unknowable bend....

In brief, it is a risky opening act in front of a cold audience with palms at the ready but as of yet still, face downwards in suspended judgment. This same audience usually hopes for its rhetorical avoidance for, and here is where its deep value lies, "it does not know where its asking might lead". This spatial uncertainty, the imaginative unknown into which an imagined tale, but also and, more importantly distinctive, a "creative argument" can lead, are territories that a certain Frye, Northrop Frye, espied as famously composing, in his own words, "some such riddle". The unraveling of this "riddle" today entails, beyond the reading of beautiful novelistic and poetic horizons, the reassertion of the Canadian imagination as a significant analytical territory to which the rhetorical query "Where is here?" might point, as long as it is followed by a newly sonorous "Try to imagine."...

Frye's "Conclusion" to the 1965 edition of *The Literary History of Canada*, disseminated more widely in his collection of essays enti-

tled *The Bush Garden*, and particularly the queries quoted above, have long held sway in the Canadian context both over the fields of English literature and literary theory. Frye's is a presence that does not just stand as a well-proportioned statue in the central quadrangle of its field; his is a veritable looming, between earth and sky, that Martin Douglas captured so well in his portrait of Frye dating from 1976[1]. If the above reaffirmation of the "imaginative" function may have seemed a bit forlorn, or perhaps a bit unnecessary, as I know there are many unqualified fabulists and veritably talented "dear uncles" that follow the pages of this work, I would ask that it generously be seen as a smooth shifting between planes, a transition, a crossing of boundaries that will gradually take on clarity and significance. Given Frye's position in Douglas' work (seated on that imaginary throne in the sky with the Canadian wild, glimpsed from the edge of a promontory discernible in a thin foreground, extending below his symmetrical brogues), it would seem that any query emanating from such mythic lips, at such an imposing remove from the ground, would resound long, loud and far; and this is precisely the scope that the "some such riddle" of "Where is here?" has attained. The Canadian literary tradition that Frye simultaneously molded and mined is a *lignée* that has gradually come to constitute a canonical categorization. While his seminal literary critiques and theoretical postulates are, as stated above, between "earth and sky", they are also not of primary concern here. More than an astute reader, in his mind the "ideal" reader, Frye was also a public critic; and an incredibly observant one at that. It might seem too difficult to ignore the literary inherent in Frye's criticism, and this is no doubt a valid charge, however the broadness of the Canadian imagination, both in its applicability and its composition, seems to justify a more general approach to Frye as public critic. As molder and miner, or, more glamorously, sculptor and archeologist, Frye's inflections upon the Canadian imagination's construction and identification are certainly ambiguous. In asking "Where is here?" Frye was no rhetorician using the somewhat contrite, high and heavy-handed mechanism of the mode; his was a question to be answered. This is actually a false circuit of question-and-answer within the text itself, as Frye answered and re-answered, perhaps never stopped answering, as well as reformulating the question throughout his incredibly prodigious life as a critic. What lies behind the query's seemingly simple façade, that of "here", of "place" as a definable and analyzable series of "paradoxes" that confront the politics of identity within Nation

and territory, is a genuine and acute consideration of space, both abstract and concrete, as, for lack of a better word, the "episteme" of the Canadian imagination.

While it may seem odd to imagine Frye as a man at ease in the wilderness, it is, at least at a conceptual level, the remote heath of land upon which he articulately set many constituent themes of the Canadian imagination. Though many critics have leveled the charge at Frye that his was a willed wilderness, a preemptive and presumptive, almost colonizing emptiness, an argument with a surface-level depth of merit, his tropic sketching of the Canadian imagination, perhaps familiar to many readers, was undoubtedly spatial[2]. The following themes, first delineated by Frye, have slowly garnered a more basso-like resonance over the past half-century: the frontier (both imagined and eternal), nomadism, contemporary pioneering, grids, monumental infrastructure, the movement from rural to urban garrisons, the abstraction of space, the impact of the pastoral myth and ecology; this resonance has been amplifying itself not in the disciplines of literary theory and English studies, but rather in the interstices between the multiple fields of Urbanism, Cultural Studies, Architecture and, foremost amongst these in novelty, Landscape. This is where Frye's "Where is here?" has taken me in my attempts at providing a first-word answer.

Prior to delimiting and defining the confluence of these disparate disciplines, it might be of use to see what, if anything, "Canadian" space means, and, more concretely, where it exists. This is not really the moment for elegant argumentation given that "spatial theory," as the sub-discipline has come to be called, is a conceptual structure that always seems to be striving to strike a delicate balance between abstraction and concreteness that inevitably becomes a little too Cartesian or much too Lefebvrian; the second a toponymical nod to the "insider" status that abounds in the field. If there is no room for elegance, I will at least strive for clarity; this is, I suppose, the necessity of our world become "legible".

Within Canada's thirteen provinces and three territories, it is not altogether common to find much contemporary allegiance to having made up a rather large part of that murky cartographic whole known as the "New World". Beyond the very just and problematic issue of Native land claims, a useful and illuminating undercurrent to hold up against the unmoored Western appropriation of the Canadian imagination, the "settler" perspective, as defined by Margaret Atwood in

Survival, is a generally stealth conception of "origin" in relation to "land" unbeknownst to contemporary inhabitants. Given the Anglo Saxon origins of many of these newly arrived settlers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Atwood's *Survival*, following the same line as other studies of Canadian literature and landscapes, including Frye's own "Conclusion", notes that Edmund Burke's cult of the beautiful and the sublime held sway in the former, while the latter came under the siren song of Wordsworthian romanticism. She goes on to explain that "what you were "supposed" to feel about Nature under the first mode was awe at the grandeur of Nature; under the second, you were supposed to feel that Nature was a kind Mother or Nurse who could guide man if he would only listen to her. In the popular mind, the two modes often combined; in any case, Nature was 'good' and cities were 'evil'" (Atwood, 1972, 60). While such categorical usages of the beautiful and the sublime have been subsumed by other qualifications of the aesthetic, they have not lost, at some level, their ability to please, terrify, and, more generally, teach. This third element differs from Wordsworth's nurse-mother idealization of Nature and veers more towards the valuable contribution these terms hold for the construction of a certain, though marginal, "tradition" in the perception of the "Canadian landscape". I would like to introduce this term with a touch of trepidation since, as my title suggests, it is its reinvention that is in question. While it may appear to be a most benign and pleasing backdrop to what could be termed "real study" or "desired travel", the Canadian landscape as a manifestation of the "landscape idea", a concept put forward by the American landscape architects and theorists James Corner and Denis Cosgrove, and to be expanded upon below, could conversely be seen as a synthesizing mode of apprehension, and potentially, of action. To give this backdrop slightly more than a stage-set two-dimensionality it might be of use to establish a schematic narrative of the changing perceptions of the Canadian landscape; so long as it can be parsed up or entirely reworked at a later moment. A shared conception of the Canadian landscape has moved from the perception of an ambiguous wilderness, filled with willed, preemptive and presumptive emptiness, both sublime and picturesque, terror and framed beauty, to a collection of humanized, man-made "environments", reminiscent of Frye's "garrisons", unequivocally confounded and conjoined with a new functionalist Nature, in which, in a gradual process of problematic development, or "urbanization", centres have emerged from peripheries, and the course of study laid out by

Wordsworthian Nature has been overridden by an anarchical form of home-schooling that sees the exploitation of natural resources as its new triumvirate of reading, writing and arithmetic; an unwieldy "single-sentence" tradition that is still unspooling itself into the present. In a good example of the Burkian sublime, that persists today in an imagined and perhaps more complicated form, Linda Hutcheon makes the following, almost irrefutable, claim: "That terror of the hostility of nature was what Frye came to see as the single most important defining force on the Canadian imagination" (1995, XVII). As Frye himself took note, that sense of communal "terror" has gradually shifted towards a more active and confrontational relationship with nature, and, more problematically, the urban environment. That the "urban" as a construct, has come to replace "Nature" is not entirely correct; although, a rereading of Atwood's delimitation of the settler perspective could readily see the usurping of Nature's role by that of an expanding form of the "urban". Like most pedagogic narratives, that of the Canadian landscape can only allude, in a brusque way, to the careening trajectory of its true development and shifting perceptions. What can be relatively easily stated as a baseline, or perhaps more profoundly, as a harmonic core, is the persistence of landscape as a, or perhaps the, fundamental idea anchoring the Canadian imagination.

This, of course, makes of the Canadian landscape, in a somewhat mimetic manner, both a synchronic and diachronic element to any study, or even simple perception (that of the contemporary tourist for instance), of the boundless themes pertaining to the conceptualizations of Canada, and "Canadian" literature, politics, economic theory or film, amongst the numerous other cultural manifestations that compose and reflect a society. Landscape, in its function as the ideational harmonic core alluded to above, can float through each manifestation in its own gentle way, never imposing its rhythmic will, but ever so slightly inflecting the latter's pitch, tonality and more general score. Denis Cosgrove, the aforementioned landscape architect and theorist, makes the claim that

> [i]n recent critical thought, landscape is approached as a spatial, environmental, and social concept rather than as a primarily aesthetic term. It denotes not only the ensemble of forms and features resulting from human interventions on the earth's surface but also the cultural, economic, political, and technical processes that

> produce and sustain such spaces. Landscape is thus much more than a visual descriptor of the natural world as shaped by human agency. Landscape is best understood as a way of seeing, imagining, and representing the external world. (1999, 223)

James Corner complements Cosgrove's delimitation. He states:

> It is increasingly recognized that landscape harbors a profound environmental and existential promise for architecture and urbanism, provoking new forms of experience, meaning and value. The still-emerging architectural conception of landscape, then, is less that of scenery, greenery, wilderness, and arcadia and more that of a pervasive milieu, a rich imbroglio of ecological, experiential, poetic, and expressively "living" dimensions. (1999, 16)

This, in succinct summation, is the "landscape idea".

The conferral of this novel, and incredibly ennobling set of imperatives upon landscape is a shift that takes a few moments to comprehend. What landscape painting, the picturesque park and landscape architecture in their strict senses have passed on through tradition is a pleasing aestheticization of space. The import of the aesthetic on the Canadian imagination, as outlined above in relation to the contexts of the eighteenth and nineteenth century settler perspective, is one that seems, at present, to be terribly undervalued. This is no matter of style, of the Canadian sensibility as being aware of aesthetics in the banal qualitative assessment of patterns and textiles, of plaid and fleece. Rather, this is an overriding concern with, as well as projection of, scenic beauty, imagined vistas and a conquerable wilderness; and so of the aesthetics of space. What the "landscape idea" does is provide an analytical framework to deepen the treatment of space. At present, it would seem that perceptions of the Canadian landscape, of academic, tourist and industrialist alike, largely tend to fall into one of two categories: the first, a perception of the country's natural scenography (and so its inherently aesthetic value; here the picturesque or tamed sublime rules); the second, a vision of an economic depot of natural resources of sorts, that may conjoin with a tainting of the environment's ecological richness or bounty. The latter leads Hutcheon to recall that "it was [Frye's] strong historical sense that made him describe Canadian culture in

this way: initially less a society than 'a place to look for things' (furs, minerals, pulpwood)" (1995, XVII). Atwood counters with the American writer Edmund Wilson's reminiscence; he writes: "In my youth, of the early nineteen-hundreds, we tended to imagine Canada as a kind of vast hunting preserve convenient to the United States" (1972, 23). It is in between these two boundary markers that the landscape idea strives to take hold. This should not discount the traditional, and also valuable, emphasis placed upon the aesthetic perception of Canadian landscape. In many ways, the course of study I am proposing to put forward attempts to plane along this perceptual mode as a sort of *point de fuite* into the deeper social concerns to which many Canadian cultural "artefacts" (here I use the term to denote films, novels, architectural drawings, maps, soundscapes, documentaries, photo-narratives, and most importantly, defined spaces; both cultural and spatial production that makes the politics of Canadian space "manifest") point through their articulation of the boundary between beauty or form on the one hand, and, on the other, meaning or purpose or power. The broad appeal of the Canadian landscape rests a great deal on its formation of a seemingly universal, or at least Western, ideal. This is a tangent that is worth extending as it really seeks to comprehend the paradigmatic pleasure that we all derive from perceiving Canada as a composite of picturesque spaces of our own devising. The geographical lexicon becomes our palette, with fjord, inlet, tundra, infinite prairie and craggy peak all working together to enervate our desire for travel, arrival and encompassing movement. What these perceptions of the Canadian landscape must newly contend with is that equally important element beyond the "green" landscape of the picturesque imagination: the urban. This is no attempt to dispel those imagined compositions of Canadian space each of us holds so dear, for these are crucial locuses for myth making, romance, in both reality and the more subtle turn of the dedicated Canadianist, reading and storytelling. These instances of thought Canadian landscapes cannot be dismissed as the linear perspective of travel brochures or personal fantasy. Nor can the incursion of the dedicated amateur as "intelligent" tourist discount the phenomenon of mass tourism. Surely, it must be possible to "educate" the latter to travel lightly and move, to decontextualize a page from Marc Bloch's historiography, like a finite rumour through the green, as well as gray, landscapes of Canada. The pedagogic ability of the landscape idea rests, following Cosgrove, on its being perceived as "a way of seeing, imagining, and representing the

external world" that might lead to a stretching of the dominance of the aesthetic perception of the Canadian landscape, in itself an admirable, initial ideal, if, at times, longing persistently for a misanthropic emptiness, in order to deepen its scope to the social structures underpinning the aforementioned "scenography" of Canadian space.

That paradigmatic beauty particular to the Canadian landscape (an oxymoronic phrase that nonetheless holds true, or at least partial truths) plays on a complex set of pleasing visual indicators; a dry way of saying that this country is indiscriminately seductive. We are defenseless when faced with the aesthetic charms of this Casanova of landscapes. There is, through this paradigmatic inference, a certain cosmopolitan quality that emanates from Frye's initial spatial circumlocutions surrounding the Canadian imagination. Its landscapes please not only this imaginary's construction, but the very conception of that imagination by an international collection of individuals (so far seen primarily as either researcher-student or tourist), both Western and beyond; although I am not entirely comfortable with the latter totalizing abstraction, despite its necessity. This bears the interrogative repeating of that strangest of couplings intimated above: Canadian Casanova? Unlikely as it may seem, the Canadian landscape seduces effortlessly, however it is that very ease that must be put into question for to deepen its relevance beyond the aesthetic is to complicate its beauty with the urban.

With strange couplings, new riddles and open questions and landscapes beginning to abound, it might be of use to turn now to a bringing together of idea, landscape and the social conception of Canadian space.

Le compositeur canadien R. Murray Schafer nous dit que "[o]urs are not peoplescapes" (1984, 78). Vrai ou faux, il est certain que notre Casanova possède une qualité subtile tirée de la misanthropie. Le paysage canadien décrit jusqu'ici apparaît, soit vide, soit, et ceci est surtout le cas lorsque nous considérons nos perceptions contemporaines, en train d'approcher une *plénitude socialisante*. Comme la bonne fillette qui reçoit ses premiers patins deux ou trois tailles trop grands, l'ampleur du pays, tant temporelle que spatiale, commence à toucher la frontière ronde du fond de ses patins; un enveloppement qui rappelle des souvenirs d'enfance, du froid et de promesse. C'est justement grâce au fait, que j'espère montrer que le paysage canadien n'est plus exclusivement d'une nature pittoresque et lointaine, mais aussi progressivement vu comme urbain que cette potentialité

du social commence à prendre son ampleur. Ceci ne nie pas les complexes questions socio-identitaires qui ont marqué la pré- et post-histoire du pays. C'est plutôt une reconnaissance de l'observation, peut-être simplificatrice, suivante: le Canada commence a apparaître habité dedans. Avec cette densité, minimale, à ses débuts, ressort une sorte de focalisation des structures sociales, des interactions quotidiennes qui, dépassant nos "communautés" originelles, prennent leur signification dans le cadre urbain. Il serait peut-être utile d'introduire ici une nouvelle méthode de percevoir la ville en termes sensoriels qui a été décrite par Mirko Zardini, directeur des programmes au Centre Canadien d'Architecture, dans son introduction au catalogue de l'exposition "Sense of the City". Partant de l'hégémonie de la vue, de l'œil, dans la planification des agglomérations urbaines, Zardini synthétise l'hypothèse qui voit l'espace urbain comme une "atmosphère". Il écrit que "atmosphere [.]. implies the physical presence of the subject and the object; it focuses attention on place; and above all, it presupposes a sensory experience" (2005, 23). "Atmosphère" apparaît donc comme le partenaire logique de cette qualité scénographique dans la perception du paysage canadien que nous avons citée ci-dessus. Certes, "atmosphère" et "scène" commencent à relever du lexique théâtral, implicitement illusoire, mais elles sont désormais utiles en tant que moyens, pour prolonger notre lexicographie dangereuse, brechtienne. Rappelez-vous que le but est de pouvoir considérer le paysage canadien dans sa totalité en suivant les postulats de l'idée du paysage formulés par Corner et Cosgrove. Pour effectuer cette tâche, il faut, avant tout, devenir subtilement "aliéné" de notre paysage archétype et imaginaire; inévitablement pittoresque. C'est évidemment ici que le "Verfremdungseffekt" met ses pieds sur l'estrade pour nous aider à voir le caractère "construit" du paysage canadien. Ceci est plus que la composition de chênes, ruisseaux et arbustes du pittoresque, plus que la palette géographique imaginée citée ci-dessus, le "construit", perçu grâce à notre réalisation que le paysage canadien est en train de jouer le paysage canadien, est ce qui va nous mener à cette ampleur socialisante et, progressivement, vers une analyse intelligente de cet espace social. "Plumpes Denken" brechtien ou non, logique forcée ou fausse, il est certainement une vérité partagée qui reconnaît que le paysage canadien en outre de falloir être déchiffré, déconstruit sans recours au courant théorique parallèle, doit aussi être mis à une distance non pas aliénante, mais aliénée à sa mesure, qui pourra voir tant la "scène"

naturelle que son "atmosphère" urbaine; en bref, un tout sensoriel et non pas un tout sec et pseudo-scientifique.

Avant que le "Verfremdungseffekt" cède à l'appel "exeunt" qui commence à être chuchoté dans les coulisses, il pourra peut-être servir de transition à l'égard de la question de Frye qui plane et pèse toujours sur l'imagination canadienne. Le philosophe français Jean-François Lyotard nous dit que "[t]o have a feeling for landscape, you have to lose your feeling of place" (Corner, 1999, 11). D'une manière révolue, ceci est justement ce que le "Where is here?" de Frye a accompli. "Localité" et "spécificité" sont, non pas "perdues" dans le contexte canadien, mais, grâce à Frye, réinterrogées en continu, réintroduites dans la construction du paysage; c'est à nous de percevoir ce processus de médiation. Sans aucune morbidité ou rancœur, je voudrais suggérer que nous pourrons considérer la citation de Frye qui est suspendu au-dessus de ce projet et l'idée du paysage plus généralement, comme l'inscription sur un catafalque. Il n'y a aucune doute que ce catafalque est fait de marbre, gris, noir ou blanc, c'est à vous de décider. Il est poli avec soin, dans les cercles concentriques du canon. Mais, après tout, il faut reconnaître que la question et ses réponses quasi sans fins sont inscrites dans une pierre prise dans la terre canadienne et planant au-dessus d'elle. Elle ne pèse pas uniquement sur la littérature canadienne, mais sur son imagination et imaginaire, sur le paysage lui-même, en veillant comme un souvenir qui nous rappelle que le Canada est avant tout non pas uniquement le plébiscite de tous les jours de Renan, aussi important celui-ci soit-il, mais le nouveau monde d'un "espace partagé", pris dans le plein élan de son urbanisation, intensément cosmopolite du fait de l'immigration, et, dans le cadre du voyage, tant intellectuel que touristique, nécessairement aliéné. Lyotard encore une fois: "[i]t is not estrangement that procures landscape. It is the other way around. And the estrangement that landscape procures.i. s absolute" (Corner, 1999, 11). Est-ce que le marbre est éternel? Inscrite dans nos souvenirs et dans le canon, la question de Frye demande cette séquence: immersion puis aliénation. La beauté doit être étudiée, compliquée, "socialisée", même à travers l'absolu. Peut-être, justement à travers l'absolu.

Having left Frye's portrait to hang in the mind's eye, perhaps it has begun to take on that imposing quality of tradition. While the eye seems to clamber up…and up.a. nd up to meet Frye's solemn gaze, the viewer is nonetheless placed on a promontory. Like the carefully chosen belvedere intimated above, we are, at present and at least, at

Frye's feet. This is no subjugated position, however. It is one of privilege and perspective. His brogues touch the ground with the lightness of collage, delicately and tentatively. This is the distance from which Frye's question and its canonization reaches us now; echoing through time, space and texts. Frye's query and its pertinent but subsumed call towards the social weigh on our perception of the contemporary Canadian landscape as imaginatively our own. We ask ourselves "Where is here?" But of course, here is, at once, tangibly there, but also, and more problematically, immediately in the mind; yes, "some such riddle" indeed. Yet, beyond this mental space of the Canadian imagination, across the Atlantic, the three-dimensional country has reached a first sense of plenitude, of density, that has begun to engender a novel, metropolitan sensibility. We can, of course, continue to imagine the Canadian landscape as an empty expanse of geographic wild, but it is my hope that this will become a recognized "thinking into being" of the imagined spaces of myth, romance, fiction and travel. If, to follow Lyotard once again, our estrangement from the Canadian landscape, both imagined as well as urban, can become "absolute", then perhaps we will be able to see beyond our imagination's own border with the "if you can" and, however briefly, "los[e] our feeling for place" and gain the ability to plot.

Endnotes

1. The painting in question currently hangs in the reading room of the University of Toronto's E. J. Pratt Library.

2. Much of the momentum of the text's polemic was launched after coming across Richard Cavell's "Where is Frye?, Or, Theorizing Postcolonial Space" (1995).

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L'« Histoire de la Nouvelle-France » de Marc Lescarbot – historiographie ou littérature ?

Résumé

Mon article a pour sujet l'« Histoire de la Nouvelle-France » de Marc Lescarbot. Lescarbot, avocat et écrivain français, participa en 1606 à une expédition en Nouvelle-France. Dans son œuvre « Histoire de la Nouvelle-France », il résume l'histoire de la colonisation française en Amérique du Nord et y ajoute le récit de ses propres expériences. Je me suis demandée si l'on pouvait attribuer une valeur littéraire à cette œuvre qui se veut à l'origine historiographique et ethnographique. D'après la théorie de Hayden White, tout texte historiographique se sert de structures narratives propres à la fiction. Après une introduction à la vie et à l'œuvre de Lescarbot, je vais analyser quelques passages de l'« Histoire » qui confirment la théorie de Hayden White : Les Amérindiens ainsi que les navigateurs français sont représentés comme des personnages d'un roman d'aventures ; les débuts de chapitres sont composés avec soin et contiennent souvent des citations et des proverbes ; de nombreux micro-récits insérés dans le texte témoignent de la volonté d'attirer la curiosité du lecteur. L'« Histoire de la Nouvelle-France » est donc plus qu'un texte scientifique – il utilise des structures narratives et rend perméable la frontière entre historiographie et littérature.

Abstract

My article is about Marc Lescarbot's "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France". The French lawyer and writer participated in a trip to the French colonies in Canada in 1606. In his work "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France" he describes the history of French colonies in North America as well as his own experiences. I raise the question of whether it is possible to attribute a literary value to this historiographical text. According to Hayden White's theory of metahistory, historiographical texts employ methods innate to fiction. After introducing Lescarbot's life and work, I will analyze how White's theory can be applied to Lescarbot's text: Native Americans as well as the French discoverers are represented as literary characters; the be-

ginnings of chapters are well composed and adorned with quotations and proverbs; anecdotes are inserted in order to provoke the reader's curiosity. "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France" is therefore not just a scientific text – Lescarbot uses narrative structures which make historiography and literature indistinct.

Il y a exactement 400 ans, Marc Lescarbot, avocat et écrivain français, a participé à une expédition en Nouvelle-France, en Acadie plus précisément. Il décrit dans son oeuvre les expériences vécues pendant ce voyage aventureux et retrace également l'histoire de la colonisation française sur le continent nord-américain. Son « Histoire » qui paraît la première fois en 1609 offre au lecteur français d'alors des informations précieuses sur une Amérique lointaine et exotique.

Le lecteur d'aujourd'hui remarque dès les premières lignes l'ambition littéraire de ce texte historiographique. Lescarbot ne se contente pas de transmettre des informations sobres et scientifiques à ses compatriotes – il crée un univers dans lequel un narrateur omniscient dirige les aventures des explorateurs français et de la population indigène.

Peut-on toutefois attribuer à l'« Histoire » une valeur littéraire ? Le théoricien américain Hayden White a établi une théorie selon laquelle tout texte historiographique se sert de structures narratives propres à la fiction. Après une introduction à la vie et à l'œuvre de Lescarbot, le présent article montre en quoi l'auteur de « l'Histoire » a utilisé de tels procédés narratifs.

L'auteur et son œuvre

Marc Lescarbot est né entre 1570 et 1580 à Vervins en Picardie. Il a fait des études de droit et a travaillé comme avocat à Paris. En 1606, Sieur de Poutrincourt lui propose de participer à une expédition en Nouvelle-France organisée par de Monts, responsable de l'exploitation d'un monopole spécialisé dans le commerce de peau de castors. Lescarbot n'hésite pas à tourner le dos à la France. Des ennuis financiers, voire un conflit avec la justice aurait facilité sa décision. Lescarbot correspond donc parfaitement à l'immigré type de Nouvelle-France, tel que le décrit Allan Greer : « pauvre, de sexe masculin et célibataire » (Greer 1998, 25).

Le 13 mai 1606, « Le Jonas » lève l'ancre pour traverser l'océan atlantique. Le 27 juillet l'équipe de Poutrincourt arrive saine et sauve à

Port-Royal, une petite forteresse française en Acadie fondée par de Monts en 1605. Poutrincourt s'apprête bientôt à explorer les contrées acadiennes. Durant son absence il délègue à Lescarbot la direction de la petite colonie. Ce dernier s'occupe de la petite communauté de Français expatriés et en profite pour étudier la population indigène, la faune et la flore de ce pays inconnu.

Le voyage de Lescarbot s'inscrit dans le contexte d'un épisode peu glorieux de l'histoire de la France. Tandis que l'Espagne, le Portugal et l'Angleterre se précipitaient pour conquérir le Nouveau Monde, la France était en prise avec des difficultés intérieures et ne commençait à explorer le continent américain qu'à pas hésitants. Le navigateur breton Jacques Cartier a posé la première pierre de la colonisation française des contrées nord-américaines en érigeant une grande croix dans la baie de Gaspé en 1534 – acte symbolique qui hante jusqu'à nos jours l'imaginaire québécois. Mais, alors que les ressources royales s'épuisaient, la colonisation du continent nord-américain restait toujours à l'état de projet. Ce n'est qu'au début du XVIIe siècle que – grâce aux initiatives du roi Henri IV – la France recommence à s'intéresser au Canada. Le voyage de Lescarbot se situe donc dans le contexte d'une reprise des conquêtes coloniales. Toutefois, l'empire colonial français n'est pas en mesure de rivaliser avec la supériorité coloniale anglaise et finira par céder en 1763. L'équipe de Poutrincourt est obligé de rentrer en France au bout d'un an – Sieur de Monts se voit retirer l'exploitation commerciale du monopole et ne peut donc plus financer l'expédition.

Dès son retour en France, Lescarbot commence à rédiger l'« Histoire », un plaidoyer en faveur de la colonisation française de l'Acadie. Ce texte fait partie d'un corpus remarquable de récits sur la Nouvelle-France. L'influence de Français en Amérique du Nord est modeste à l'époque comparée à celle des Anglais. En revanche, les colons français disposent d'une documentation beaucoup plus riche que celle des autres pays colonisateurs. Maurice Lemire distingue plusieurs catégories de récits sur la Nouvelle-France. D'après lui, l'histoire se définit par l'utilisation de sources abondantes et par une documentation qui dépasse la simple expérience de l'auteur (Lemire 2000, 91).

L'« Histoire de la Nouvelle-France » de Marc Lescarbot constitue la première histoire des colonies françaises en Amérique du Nord. Elle se distingue non seulement par l'immensité du projet**,** mais aussi par une nouvelle image de la population amérindienne qu'elle véhicule.

Lescarbot pose la pierre pour le concept du « bon Sauvage ». D'après Paolo Carile, Lescarbot « annonce un relativisme culturel qui, bien plus tard deviendra une conquête plus généralisée » (Carile 2000, 20).

L'« Histoire » de Lescarbot adopte des structures semblables à des relations de voyage de l'époque. Elle est répartie en six livres. Le premier livre a pour sujet les voyages de Verrazano, Ribaut, Laudonnière et de Gourgues en Floride, le deuxième livre raconte le voyage de Villegagnon au Brésil. Dans le troisième livre il est question des expéditions de Cartier et de Champlain. Ce n'est qu'au quatrième livre que Lescarbot insère le récit de son propre voyage. Le cinquième livre parle des voyages effectués après le retour de Lescarbot. Le sixième livre se distingue des cinq autres : il ne s'agit pas d'un récit chronologique d'un voyage, mais d'une étude ethnographique sur des tribus indigènes du Canada.

L'« Histoire » constitue donc un texte historiographique et ethnographique. Pourtant, Lescarbot vise à attiser la curiosité du lecteur en utilisant des techniques propres à la fiction. Peut-on alors porter un regard littéraire sur l'œuvre scientifique de Lescarbot ? Plusieurs approches théoriques permettent d'éclaircir cette question.

Approches théoriques

Tout d'abord, il faut souligner que les récits de la Nouvelle-France occupent une place privilégiée dans l'histoire littéraire du Québec. Dans les dictionnaires ou monographies sur l'histoire de la littérature québécoise sont mentionnés les « textes fondateurs » qui – quoique de nature historiographique voire ethnographique – sont reconnus comme une « mine d'inspiration pour la littérature nationale » (Lemire 2000, 18). Bien qu'elle soit pleinement reconnue par la tradition québécoise, l'« Histoire » n'est toutefois pas considérée comme une œuvre littéraire à part entière. Il faut en effet attendre les travaux du théoricien américain Hayden White qui permettent d'établir un lien entre littérature et historiographie. White propose le concept de « Metahistory ». D'après lui, historiographes et écrivains se servent des mêmes techniques narratives.

> Although historians and writers of fiction may be interested in different kinds of events, both the forms of their respective discourses and their aims in writing are often the same. In addition, in my view, the techniques or strategies that they use in the composition of their

> discourses can be shown to be substantially the same,
> [...]. (White 1985, 121)

Les travaux de Guy Laflèche vont dans le même sens. Il souligne que les textes fondateurs du Québec ne sont pas des textes littéraires. Cela n'exclut pourtant pas – selon lui – une lecture voire une analyse littéraire de tels textes, au contraire :

> On voit dès lors que cette appréhension n'a plus beau-coup de rapports avec la lecture documentaire de tels textes, celle de l'historien ou du spécialiste des sciences humaines. Je ne prétends pas lui donner plus ou moins de valeur que celle-ce : je crois seulement qu'elle est plus immédiate. (Laflèche, 1978, 61)

L'évolution de l'analyse littéraire permet – selon Laflèche – d'étudier les textes fondateurs du Québec dans une perspective littéraire. Il faut seulement savoir distinguer entre « l'analyse d'une œuvre littéraire » et « l'analyse littéraire » d'un texte : « La place de l'adjectif change tout » (Laflèche 1999, 112).

Analyse

L'auteur de l'« Histoire » se soucie avant tout de capter l'attention du lecteur, de le tenir en haleine par un certain nombre de techniques narratives : l'insertion de micro-récits, la représentation des navigateurs et d'Amérindiens comme les personnages d'un roman, l'insertion de proverbes ou de citations au début des chapitres.

Les micro-récits

Lescarbot insère dans son texte de nombreuses anecdotes qui aèrent le récit chronologique et créent une atmosphère romanesque. Il s'agit de légendes amérindiennes, d'incidents survenus durant les expéditions françaises ou bien des légendes qui viennent de France et des histoires racontées par les auteurs de l'Antiquité. La façon dont Lescarbot introduit ces micro-récits dans son texte est révélatrice de l'intention de Lescarbot : le style utilisé rappelle celui des contes de fées: « avint vn iour qve », « il y evt », « il arriva un accident étrange », etc. Lescarbot s'éloigne donc de la documentation purement scientifique.

Dans le quatrième livre, Lescarbot raconte par exemple l'histoire de l'Indien Bituani. Bituani est amoureux d'une fille dont le père lui refuse la main. Les Français sont alors appelés à jouer le rôle de

médiateur dans ce conflit. Ils proposent d'envoyer Bituani à la chasse**,** afin de prouver qu'il est capable de nourrir sa future femme. Cela fut fait et les deux finirent par se marier. Le micro-récit est introduit par la formule suivante : « Entre autres choses [.]. avint vn iour qv'vn Sauvage nommé *Bituani*, trouvant bonne la cuisine dudit sieur de Monts, s'y étoit arrété [.]. » (HNF, IV, IV, 509). L'anec-dote se termine par la morale de l'histoire : « [.]. donnant à entendre que ce qu'on acquiert avec peine on le doit bien cherir » (HNF, IV, IV, 510). Lescarbot ne veut pas seulement divertir son lecteur en ajoutant des micro-récits à son texte, il se soucie également de don-ner des leçons morales à ses compatriotes.

D'autres micro-récits cherchent à susciter le voyeurisme du lecteur pour le sang et la violence. Dans le sixième livre, Lescarbot décrit l'exécution d'une prisonnière armouchiquoise qui a aidé un autre prisonnier à s'évader. Lescarbot s'amuse à raconter en détail l'exé-cution de la prisonnière tuée à coups de couteau par les filles d'une tribu souriquoise. Il n'épargne même pas à son lecteur la description d'une torture infligée à un prisonnier de guerre par une tribu iro-quoise.

On observe en outre le souci d'emmener le lecteur dans l'imaginaire des indigènes. Lescarbot insère dans son texte des légendes indien-nes témoignant de leurs idées métaphysiques. Il est par exemple question d'une légende indienne sur les origines de l'humanité : Dieu a tiré des flèches sur la Terre, qui ont donné naissance aux hommes et aux femmes.

Lescarbot s'amuse également à raconter des incidents survenus du-rant les voyages des Français. Ce type de micro-récit vise surtout à divertir le lecteur par le comique de certaines situations. L'anecdote sur un marin français, ivre mort, prenant son bain dans la mer glacée en constitue un bon exemple. D'autres anecdotes au contraire font frissonner le lecteur. Les famines à bord des navires se prêtent par-faitement à satisfaire le besoin de sensations du public. Lescarbot raconte par exemple l'histoire d'une équipe qui est obligée de man-ger un de ses camarades. Il souligne l'horreur de l'événement par son commentaire : « [.]. chose si horrible à reciter, que la plume m'en tombe des mains » (HNF, I, VII, 255). En outre, Lescarbot rapporte avec détails l'histoire de Nicolas Aubry, jeune Français qui participa à une expédition en Nouvelle-France en 1604. Le jeune homme s'égara dans la forêt canadienne et ne fut retrouvé affamé que seize jours plus tard. Lescarbot raconte l'aventure de la perspective de

l'équipe partie à la recherche d'Aubry, puis place la narration du point de vue de l'égaré: le lecteur vit les retrouvailles inespérées dans la peau du jeune Aubry :

> Et comme ils eurent traversé la Baye Françoise, ils entrèrent en ladite baye Sainte-Marie par vn passage étroit qui est entre la terre du Port-Royal, & vne ile dite l'Ile Longue : là où après quelques sejour, allans pécher, ledit Aubry les apperceut, & commença d'vne foible voix à crier le plus hauement qu'il peut. Et pour seconder sa voix il s'avisa de faire que jadis Ariadné à Thésée, comme le recite Ovide [.]. . Mettant son mouchoir à son chapeau au bout d'vn baton. Ce qui le donna mieux à connoitre. (HNF, IV, IV, 507)

Le changement de perspective permet au lecteur de s'identifier avec le jeune Aubry et de donner au texte les airs d'un roman d'aventures. Après, Lescarbot aime à compléter le récit des légendes amérindiennes ou des aventures sur le sol canadien par des légendes de France ou d'Europe. Lescarbot n'hésite pas non plus à comparer ses expériences en Nouvelle-France avec la vie en Europe. Ainsi, l'aventure du jeune Aubry qui a survécu à la faim pendant seize jours lui rappelle le récit de miracles semblables survenus en Europe.

D'autres micro-récits servent à donner une dimension humaniste à l'« Histoire ». Lescarbot veut faire partager au lecteur sa connaissance approfondie de l'Antiquité romaine et grecque en insérant des passages des écrits de Pline ou bien Hippocrate.

La représentation des navigateurs français et des Amérindiens

Le souci de « fictionnalisation » se manifeste particulièrement dans la représentation des navigateurs français et des Amérindiens. Au troisième livre, Lescarbot cite de longs passages des textes de Cartier et de Champlain. Au lieu de mentionner simplement l'auteur de la citation, Lescarbot en fait tout un jeu. Tels des pions, Cartier et Champlain sont déplacés par un narrateur omniscient sur l'échiquier de la narration. De plus, Lescarbot alterne les citations des deux auteurs et ne se soucie donc plus de l'ordre chronologique de son récit. Il choisit les passages les plus captivants, les commente et les compare. Ce sont surtout les passages où Lescarbot passe d'une citation à l'autre qui méritent notre attention. Au huitième chapitre du troisième livre, Lescarbot fait le lien entre deux citations comme suit :

> Or maintenant laissons le Capitaine Jacques Quartier deviser avec ses Sauvages au port de la rivière de *Saguenay*, qui est *Tadoussac*, & allons au devant de Champlain, lequel nous avons cy-dessus laissé à *Anticosti* (qui est l'ile de l'Assumptiō), car il nous décrira *Tadoussac* & *Saguenay*, selon le rapport des hōmes du païs, au pardessus de ce qu'il a veu : [.]. » (HNF, III, VIII, 418)

C'est un narrateur omniscient qui présente les deux explorateurs français comme les personnages de sa narration, c'est lui qui dirige le parcours de Cartier et de Champlain en Nouvelle-France. Au lieu de fournir à son public un rapport positiviste de ce qui s'est passé, il invite le lecteur à une promenade fictive dans le monde révolu des deux explorateurs français.

Le même phénomène peut être observé dans la représentation de la population indigène du Canada au sixième livre. Lescarbot ne se contente pas d'une description purement scientifique des Amérindiens. Tout comme les navigateurs français, il présente aussi les autochtones par le biais d'un narrateur omniscient qui dirige le récit. Déjà, il est toujours question de « nos Sauvages » – Lescarbot s'approprie les Amérindiens pour créer un monde fictif. En faisant le tour de situations différentes de la vie de la population indigène (la naissance, l'enfance, le travail, les mariages, les obsèques, etc.), Lescarbot laisse entrevoir à son lecteur les cérémonies et rites d'un monde exotique et peu connu. Toute la structure du sixième livre correspond à ce besoin de « fictionnalisation » : Lescarbot commence son étude par la naissance et tous les rites qui accompagnent cet événement, puis, analyse et décrit le travail, la nourriture, le mariage, les danses, etc. pour clore un récit par les rites des obsèques. Au début des chapitres, le narrateur joue avec les Amérindiens et les déplace comme les pions d'un jeu : « APRES avoir parlé des vétements, parures, ornemens, & peintures des Sauvages, il me semble bon de les marier, afin que la race ne s'en perde, & que le païs ne demeure desert » (HNF, VI, XII, 389). Ce ne sont pas les Indiens qui se marient, c'est un narrateur qui s'occupe désormais du mariage. Et après les avoir mariés, le narrateur « place » ses personnages au cœur d'un banquet : « Après donc avoir marié noz Sauvages il faut appreter le diner, & les traiter à leur mode » (HNF, VI, XIII, 393).

Les débuts de chapitre

La volonté de dépasser le discours purement scientifique se manifeste également dans la composition des débuts de chapitre, notamment au sixième livre. Lescarbot insère des citations, des proverbes, se sert de métaphores, commente le processus de la narration et est toujours soucieux d'établir des liens entre les chapitres.

Les citations qui ornent les débuts des chapitres sont souvent tirées de la bible. Le chapitre sur l'éducation des enfants commence par exemple comme suit : « LE Tout-puissant voulant montrer quel est le devoir d'vne vraye mere, dit par le Prophete Essaie : *La femme peut-elle oublier son enfant qu'elle allaite, qu'elle n'ait pitié du fils de son ventre ?* » (HNF, VI, III, 350). Lescarbot fait ensuite l'éloge de la mère indienne qui allaite son enfant, une habitude qui se perdait dans les milieux privilégiés de la France du XVIIe siècle. Ainsi, Lescarbot n'hésite pas à utiliser ces débuts de chapitres pour critiquer discrètement ses compatriotes. Martin Gosmann insiste même sur le fait que le but primordial de l'« Histoire » consisterait dans « une critique mordante à l'adresse de la société française de l'époque ». Gosmann compare Lescarbot avec Montesquieu. Dans les *Lettres Persanes*, ce dernier critiquait la France par la correspondance fictive de deux Persans se rendant sur le sol français. D'après Gosmann, « [.]. l'Indien de Lescarbot annonce le Persan de Montesquieu » (Gosmann 2001, 42). Au début du dixième chapitre, Lescarbot saisit également l'occasion de critiquer ses compatriotes en utilisant une citation biblique:

> CE n'est merveille si les Dames du jourd'hui se fardent : car dés long temps, & ne maints lieux le métier en a cōmencé. Mais il est blamé és livres sacrez, & mis en reproche par la voix des Prophetes : comme quand Ieremie menace la ville de Ierusalem : *Quand tu auras* (dit-il) *eté détruite, que feras-tu ? Quand tu seras vetuë de cramoisi, & parée d'ornemens d'or, quād tu te seras fardé la face, tu te seras embellie en vain, tes amoureux t'ont rebuttée, ilz cherchent ta vie.* Le Prophete Ezechiel fait vn semblable reproche [.]. . (HNF, VI, X, 381)

Lescarbot insère également des proverbes français ou latin au début des chapitres: « LES anciens ont dit *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus*, & nous François disons, Vive l'amour mais qu'on dine.

Après donc avoir marié noz Sauvages il faut appreter le diner, & les traiter à leur mode » (HNF, VI, XIII, 393). Ces deux proverbes permettent d'établir un lien avec le chapitre précédent. Après avoir parlé des cérémonies de mariage, Lescarbot peut alors enchaîner sur les banquets et festins des Amérindiens. L'utilisation d'un proverbe latin montre encore une fois l'ambition humaniste de Lescarbot.

L'auteur utilise aussi de métaphores afin de rendre plus élégants les débuts de chapitres. Son étude des vertus et des vices de la population indigène est introduite comme suit : « LA Vertu, comme la Sagesse, ne laisse pas de loger sous vn vil habit. Les nations Septentrionale ont été les dernieres civilisées. Et néantmoins avant cette civilité elles ont fait de grandes choses » (HNF, VI, XIX, 417). Quand Lescarbot aborde la description de la nourriture des Amérindiens, il se sert de l'image de la terre comme mère universelle : « Considerons-la [la terre] donc, mettons la main dans son sein, & voyons si les mamelles de cette mere rendront du laict pour sustenter ses enfants, & au surplus ce qui se peut esperer d'elle » (HNF, VI, XXIII, 436). C'est aussi au quatrième livre que Lescarbot fait valoir ses talents poétiques : « LA nuit commençait à plier bagage pour faire place à l'aurore, on mit la voile au vent [.]. » (HNF, IV, XV, 561). Un autre exemple nous montre une fois de plus que l'« Histoire » de Lescarbot est plus qu'un récit sobre : « Le Soleil commençoit à échauffer la terre, & oeillader sa maitresse d'vn regard amoureux, quand le Sagamos Membertou [.]. nous vint avertir [.]. » (HNF, IV, XVII, 573).

Les débuts de chapitres contiennent aussi des commentaires de Lescarbot. Le chapitre intitulé « Des Exercices des femmes » lui donne l'occasion de transmettre à ses lecteurs sa position concernant le rôle de la femme : « LA femme dés le commencement a été baillée à l'homme non seulemēt pour l'aider & assister, mais aussi pour étre le réceptacle de la generation. Le premier exercice donc que ie lui veux donner après qu'elle est mariée, c'est de faire des beaux enfants, [.]. » (HNF, VI, XVII, 411). Ainsi, les études ethnologiques de Lescarbot se font toujours à partir du système de valeur européen de l'époque. Lescarbot tient à établir des parallèles et à détecter des différences entre le Nouveau et l'Ancien Monde. Le chapitre sur les bijoux des Amérindiens commence donc par ce constat :

> NOVS qui vivons par-deça souz l'authorité de noz Princes, & des Republiques civilisées, avons deux grans tyrans de nôtre vie, ausquels les peuples du nou-

veau monde n'ont point encore assujettis, les excés du
ventre, & de l'ornemēt du corps, & bref tout ce qui va
à la pompe […]. (HNF, VI, XI, 384)

Ce passage témoigne aussi de la critique subtile du mode de vie
européen que Lescarbot essaie d'introduire dans son texte. Tout
comme Gosmann, Pioffet souligne cet aspect de l'« Histoire » dans
son analyse du sixième livre : « Combien humbles apparaîtront les
Souriquois et les Armouchiquois à côté de toutes les vanités mondai-
nes ! » (Pioffet 1997, 194)

Les débuts de chapitre sont également souvent caractérisés par une
remarque de Lescarbot relative au processus de narration. Tout
comme dans un roman de l'époque, un narrateur omniscient
s'adresse au lecteur afin de reprendre ce qu'il vient de raconter ou
bien afin d'annoncer ou commenter la suite de la narration. Dès le
début de l'« Histoire », le lecteur peut entendre le narrateur lui dire :
« AYANT parlé de l'origine du peuple de la Nouvelle-France, il est
à propos de dire quelle est l'étenduë & situation de la province, quel
est ce peuple, [.]. . Ce que je feray, Dieu aidant, en six livres, [.]. »
(HNF, I, IV, 241). Au début du huitième chapitre du deuxième livre,
le narrateur s'engage à satisfaire les attentes de son public : « DE-
VANT que remener nos Genevois en France, [.]. , il est à propos de
contenter les plus curieux en décrivant vn peu plus amplement qu'il
n'a eté fait ci-devant, le lieu où ils avoient jetté les premiers fonde-
mens de la France Antarctique » (HNF, II, VIII, 321).

Conclusion

L'« Histoire de la Nouvelle-France» de Marc Lescarbot s'approprie
plusieurs techniques narratives : l'insertion de micro-récits captive
l'attention du lecteur, les navigateurs français ainsi que les Amérin-
diens sont représentés comme des personnages d'un récit fictif, la
compositions des débuts de chapitres fait preuve d'une ambition poé-
tique. Il faut tout de même garder à l'esprit que ce texte a pour but de
transmettre des informations de nature historiographique, voire eth-
nographique. On peut donc difficilement parler d'une œuvre pure-
ment littéraire. Il est pourtant incontestable que le texte dépasse le
cadre de la documentation purement scientifique. L'auteur fournit au
lecteur de précieuses informations par le biais de techniques narra-
tives qui renvoient à la fiction. Le texte de Lescarbot confirme donc
la théorie de Hayden White et rend floue la frontière entre littérature
et historiographie.

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Postcolonial Theory and Law: Conceiving of a Postcolonial State

Abstract

In this paper it will be argued that the limitations of a liberal legal approach to comprehensive Aboriginal land claims and self-government treaties requires a re-orientation to fully appreciate the potential of these treaties. Therefore, instead of a liberal accommodation approach, a postcolonial legal theory and methodology will be articulated which has the potential to unleash the postcolonial possibilities inherent in these treaties. This argument will then be briefly demonstrated through the discussion of the provision in the Nisga'a Final Agreement relating to Nisga'a Land.

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous discuterons les limites d'une approche légale et libérale concernant l'ensemble des réclamations des terres indigènes et des traités d'autogouvernement, qui exige une réorientation afin d'apprécier pleinement le potentiel de ces traités. Par conséquent, au lieu d'une approche libérale de logement, nous articulerons une méthodologie et une théorie légale postcoloniale qui a le potentiel de libérer les possibilités postcoloniales inhérentes à ces traités. Nous démontrerons ensuite brièvement cette argumentation grâce au débat sur la mise en place de l'Accord Définitif de Nisga'a concernant la terre de Nisga'a (Nisga'a Land).

Introduction

Since the adoption of Aboriginal comprehensive land claims and self-governance policies, Canada has had to face the spectre of self-determining Aboriginal political and legal organizations. While these developments have been generally analyzed from a perspective drawn from liberal legal theory, Aboriginal comprehensive land claims treaties and self-government agreements have posed incommensurable challenges to liberal legal thought. In this paper the argument will be made that postcolonial theory provides a more appropriate theoretical model from which to begin to develop a

framework for understanding the legal and political relationships created by such agreements. To further this proposal a postcolonial legal theory, and a postcolonial legal methodology will be briefly defined, then used to examine a select provision of the *Nisga'a Final Agreement* (NFA) – one such comprehensive land claim and self-government agreement implemented on May 11, 2000. Through this examination this paper will argue that a postcolonial orientation is a more appropriate model to understand the operation of the NFA within Canadian law and government. Through this theoretical discussion, a select provision of the NFA will be explored to demonstrate the possibility of a postcolonial legal theory as a means to creating a more inclusive Canadian political and legal community vis-à vis Aboriginal peoples.

The Limits of a Liberal Approach

The radical shift that occurred in government policy in relation to Aboriginal groups in Canada during the last few decades of the 20th Century has posed many challenges to the Canadian legal and political system. In this section a brief summary of these changes will be presented, followed by a discussion of how these changes challenge a liberal understanding of differential group rights as articulated by Will Kymlicka's theorization of liberal accommodation. Through this discussion it will be argued that ultimately a liberal accommodation approach fails to be an appropriate legal theorization of Aboriginal comprehensive land claims and self-governance, as this approach ultimately makes the law an instrument of liberal values. As such, this theorization is a far too narrow and fixed conception of the law to deal with the challenges of imagining a Canadian state where Aboriginal self-determination can be actualized.

Prior to the adoption of the comprehensive land claims and self-government policies, Aboriginal rights were always sublimated to the Canadian state, and its forenamed constituting sovereign power's legal and political structure. The *St. Catherine's Milling* case, by way of illustration, characterized Aboriginal land title as merely a "personal and usufructary right dependent on the goodwill of the Sovereign" (549). Governance of Aboriginal groups was facilitated through the paternalistic mechanisms of the *Indian Act* that replaced Aboriginal self-governance with a hierarchically state administrated colonial rule.

In contrast to this wholesale denial of Aboriginal rights and title, we are now witness to a general legal recognition of Aboriginal rights, title and self-governance in Canadian law. The long process to recognition had many landmark moments, however, it is important to discuss a few of these events to create a background for the discussion of the limits of liberal accommodation theories, and the subsequent proposal of a postcolonial legal theory. One of the first signs that Aboriginal title was a right that the Canadian government could no longer ignore was the *Calder* case. In this case the Nisga'a argued that Aboriginal title to their lands had not been lawfully extinguished. While the Nisga'a were unsuccessful, the court split evenly on the issue of whether Nisga'a title had been extinguished. The Nisga'a ultimately lost the case on the procedural ground that they had not obtained a fiat from the Lieutenant-Governor in accordance with the *Crown Procedure Act (B.C.), 1960*. In thus case we thus saw the real possibility of the court recognizing a pre-existing Aboriginal right to land constituted externally from the Canadian legal and political system.

These and other legal proceedings were only a small part of the history of this turbulent period in Native-Canadian relations. Between the time the *Calder* case was initiated in 1967 and judgment handed down in 1974 matters of Aboriginal Canadian's status within the Canadian state were coming to a head. Native political and legal agitation had lead to several government initiatives on Native entitlements, culminating in the infamous *White Paper* of June 1969. In this document the federal government outlined their initiative to abolish "Indian" as a legally significant category, thus, in the opinion of the government at the time eliminating the discrimination and "special treatment [that] has made of the Indians a community disadvantaged and apart" (2). Aboriginal peoples, however, had an entirely different view of the proposals. Abolition of the *Indian Act*, in the view of most of the Aboriginal communities in Canada, would compromise their ability to maintain their distinct identities within the Canadian state. The *White Paper* proposals were viewed as another attempt to fully assimilate Aboriginal peoples into the Canadian "melting pot". Response to this document was swift and vituperative[1].

In view of the Aboriginal uprising against the proposals contained in the *White Paper*, and the legal movement towards recognizing Aboriginal land title government policy took a radical turn. On August 8,

1973 then Indian Affairs Minister Pierre Trudeau announced that the government would negotiate with groups who had not signed treaties. This decision was formalized in the adoption of the *Comprehensive Land Claims Policy*, 1973. Nearly twenty years later, in 1982 the Government of Canada would entrench Aboriginal rights through recognizing and affirming existing Aboriginal rights in the Canadian Constitution in section 25 and 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. This provision provided a constitutional guarantee of any existing Aboriginal right not to be unilaterally extinguished. While an early draft of this provision contemplated entrenching "the rights of aboriginal peoples of Canada to self-government within the context of the Canadian federation, that are set out in agreements" (Whyte, 1987, 77), the specific reference to Aboriginal self-government was ultimately rejected as a constitutional amendment. It would be later government policy developments that accepted Aboriginal self-government. In 1990 the Trudeau government would adopt the *Community-Based Self-Government Policy*, which would be replaced in 1995 by the *Inherent Right of Self-Government Policy*. While the effect of the adoption of these policies to facilitate independent and unconstrained Aboriginal sovereignty is a matter of great debate, these policies marked a great shift away from the perception of Aboriginal rights as merely "dependent on the goodwill of the sovereign" (*St. Catherine's Milling*, 549).

This brief sketch, while in no way doing justice to the legal and political fight for recognition of Aboriginal land rights and self-governance, does demonstrate the recent shift in government policy in relation to Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The legal and political stance in relation to Aboriginal rights has progressed to the point where not only Aboriginal rights have been entrenched, but also entitlement to self-government has been recognized. If self-governance is taken to mean an independent sovereignty, we are witness to the affirmation of Indigenous governance structures that are potentially not in harmony, and even in conflict, with Canadian legal and political structures and values.

Concurrent with the emergence of Aboriginal self-government, came the attempts to theoretically reconcile the potential of Aboriginal rights to land and governance powers with a liberal theorization of the Canadian constitutional structure. This theorization, exemplified by the work of Will Kymlicka, attempted to articulate a liberal theory for minority rights that had the ability to reconcile differential

group treatment with liberal values. In the balance of this section a brief summary of the core concepts of Will Kymlicka's liberal accommodation argument as it relates to Aboriginal peoples will be described, followed by a discussion of the limitations of this approach. While, admittedly, this is not covering new ground, as Kymlicka's approach has been faced with a sustained critique by both political and legal scholars; a review of this critique is important to frame the central theoretical challenges that Aboriginal self-government has presented to the political and legal academy which the postcolonial approach in this paper will begin to address.

The core contribution of Will Kymlicka's theorization of minority cultural rights in a liberal society is to recognize the importance of culture as the framework that provides people the basis for individual choices so important to the actualization of liberal "good"[2]. In this way Kymlicka mounts an argument for why differential treatment of minority groups is not indeed a violation of principles of liberal equality. The recognition that a dominant liberal culture is not culturally neutral provides a basis for reframing differential treatment of minority cultures not as a mark of inequality, but indeed as a necessity to address the disadvantages experienced by minority cultures that are disproportionately affected by living as a political community founded upon different cultural values, rules, and patterns. This basic argument, however, has some fundamental limitations. One limitation, as expressed by Spaulding, is that "the criterion of entitlement is vulnerability or disadvantage, not membership in a numerically 'minority' culture per se" (Spaulding, 1997, 44). The implications of this critera is that ultimately cultural membership is not an "a prior"*i* moral interest, but rather, overshadowed by the overall liberal imperative of equality. While in the case of Aboriginal peoples currently, disadvantage can be clearly and visibly seen, an argument such as this does not recognize that maintaining cultural affiliations has any fundamental value in and of itself. As Kymlicka writes,

> [t]he survival of a culture is not guaranteed, and, where it is threatened with debasement or decay, we must act to protect it. Cultures are valuable, not in and of themselves, but because it is only through having access to a societal culture that people have access to a range of meaningful options. (Kymlicka, 1996, 83)

In effect, dying cultures are valuable, however, how would this approach negotiate a vibrant non-majoritarian culture that does not harmonize with liberal values? Is a culture less valuable as a horizon of expectation once it is no longer "disadvantaged". Minority cultures, seemingly, will be tolerated as the poor little sister, but could never ultimately have equal moral status as the liberal majoritarian culture.

One may allege however, that if in a consequential sense the protection of minority cultures is still achieved, then this difference is trivial. The significance of this theoretical characterization in relation to Indigenous peoples, however, has fairly important consequences that have been highlighted in the critique offered by Patrick Macklem. If cultural affiliation is not morally important, and merely justified through disproportionate effect, then we ultimately face a situation whereby Aboriginal rights are merely justified within (and ultimately limited by) the unilaterally imposed Canadian liberal governance structures. At the core of Macklem's critique, is thus that Kymlicka's liberal accommodation approach cannot justify Aboriginal self-governance that is not sublimated to the Canadian liberal state (Macklem, 1993; 1995). This poses some fundamental problems to reflecting the currently accepted perception of inherent and pre-existing rights to Aboriginal self-government and self-determination. As Spaulding describes:

> Self-determination thus entails – as Patrick Macklem emphasizes – a substantive freedom of action that minority rights by themselves do not. In other words, there are really two planes of justice involved in comparisons between the claims of peoples and minorities, the justice of the authority of sovereign governments, and the justice of actions of sovereign governments towards their citizens. Kymlicka's equality argument for national minority rights operates only on the second of these planes, regulating the distribution of cultural membership between citizens, but not affording cultural communities a sovereign mandate. What is inherent and inalienable about Kymlicka's equal right to security of cultural membership is that this right always entitles cultural minorities to demand devolution of powers from the state, but never entitles its holders

to exercise such powers independent of state authority.
(Spaulding, 1997, 54-55)

While Kymlicka may be attempting to justify differential rights within a liberal system, even Canadian jurisprudence and government policy has reflected an inherent Aboriginal right to self-government that surpasses this limited conceptualization.

In response to Macklem's criticisms Kymlicka reoriented his analysis of Aboriginal rights in his more extended articulation of liberal accommodation found in *Multicultural Citizenship.* The addition Kymlicka makes to this liberal accommodation model specifically recognizes a historical foundation of Aboriginal rights founded in the unilateral assertion of European sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples during the time of colonial expansion. The argument states that because Aboriginal people were unwillingly, and though not stated explicitly in Kymlicka, often forcefully, included in the contemporary liberal democracies in which they now reside, there is a historical argument for the liberal state to recognize a pre-existing inherent Aboriginal sovereignty on the basis of lack of original consent (Kymlicka, 1996, 116-121). That being said, though, this right to self-determination is then qualified by the ultimately more important considerations of equality. To illustrate, Kymlicka sees that the recognition of "too large" of an Aboriginal land base that would create "unfairness" to other members of the society, should therefore be a limit of historical recognition of claims. Additionally, in a footnote rich in suggestion, he even states that historical claims to land "do not, by themselves, explain why indigenous peoples have rights to self-government" (Kymlicka, 1996, 220). Throughout this argument we see a fundamental ambivalence between a strict rationalization of rights based upon historical forceful inclusion, and an effort to limit the consequences of recognizing such rights. Ultimately the reliance on equality to temper the potential effect of a strict historical compensation approach to Aboriginal rights speaks to the inability of liberalism to recognize "autonomy for Aboriginal nations" (Spaulding, 1997, 61), by clinging to a liberal ontology. And indeed, this is not surprising as recognizing Aboriginal self-determination, if truly self-determining, is potentially inconsistent with the recognition of liberal principles as guiding political and moral values. Aboriginal self-determination must then be ultimately constricted by values of liberal equality, if recognized within such a universal liberal ontology.

The previous paragraphs have briefly outlined the moral and political limitations of Kymlicka's liberal accommodation theory as it relates to Indigenous peoples. There is an additional necessity however, to translate this moral and political argument into its legal manifestations. An examination of Kymlicka's political theory, while demonstrative of the limitations of such a liberally founded approach for Aboriginal self-determination, is still only a political theory. As such it is important to link how this liberal approach intersects with the Canadian legal approach to Aboriginal rights and self-government. While it is admittedly a bit reductive to characterize the entire operation of the Canadian legal system within one set of political or moral tenants, we can generally view the approach of the Canadian legal system to Aboriginal rights and self-government as primarily liberal (Christie, 2003, 72-82). Indeed, liberal arguments such as Kymlicka's have even regularly been at the heart of Aboriginal advocacy. Whether Aboriginal peoples engage with these arguments because they themselves share them, or from legal necessity; liberal arguments for Aboriginal rights have been a regular occurance in the legal and political realm[3]. This complicity of law and liberal ontology, as Christie argues, is a fundamental limitation to the legal recognition of Aboriginal rights. He writes that as long as liberalism "underlies and animates the law [.]. the law cannot protect the interests of Aboriginal peoples" (Christie, 2003, 68). Aboriginal peoples, in a legal system animated by liberal values, will only successfully be able to argue for rights that fit within a liberally oriented legal framework. They will not, however, be able to successfully protect aspects of their culture that are either inconsistent with liberal values, or create a society which does not serve liberal ends. Law, if a willing servant of liberal values, then, will only be able to be the instrument of liberal ends. Thus, as was proposed at the outset of this section of the paper, this limitation lies at the heart of the inability of a liberal legal approach to transcend its own ontological and epistemological tenants in order to truly recognize cultural difference, and not just similarity.

In summary, there is a discontinuity between the recognition of Aboriginal self-government as an inherent independent right and the attempt to maintain an overriding liberal orientation. If we see both law's origin and ultimate end as serving liberal values, Aboriginal self-determination becomes a powerless exercise that can only be operative so long as it harmonizes with these values. This indeed, is not self-determination at all. As Christie concludes, the relationship

between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians cannot and should not be so easily dispensed with by simply constituting the relationship within a liberal, or for that matter, any alien ontology. He writes that

> If Aboriginal people are to continue living as Aboriginal people, to hold to the value of the ways of living of their ancestors, honouring their wisdom and sacrifice, they must resist coming to think of themselves as simply collections of people with interests in and claims to certain rights within the framework of the Canadian polity, or as communities whose identities can be entirely fluid and contingent.

> Finally on top of these two separate endeavours is the task of working out the appropriate relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies in a multi-national Canada. Little can be said a priori about the contours of this relationship, as it would arise at the confluence of two separate worlds, each coming to terms with enormous responsibilities and tasks that lead them into this final endeavour. (Christie, 2003, 114-115)

A Postcolonial Legal Orientation: Theory and Methodology

If we recognize that the reliance on an overarching liberal ontology is ultimately inappropriate for approaching the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities in Canada, we are thus left with the question of characterizing this relationship in a way that recognizes no ultimate set of principles or values that can be the normative arbiter to guide this relationship. In this section of the paper, I will demonstrate that through approaching this relationship from a postcolonial perspective this vacuum of defined fundamental guiding legal and normative principles becomes a horizon of possibility, rather than a problem. In such a short paper, while it will be impossible to articulate a fully comprehensive version of a postcolonial orientation, some key understandings that form a foundation for such an approach will be outlined. As such, in this section the beginnings of a postcolonial legal theory will be charted followed by a brief discussion of the methodological guidelines necessary for such a postcolonial approach.

If in Kymlicka we see a recognition of the value of cultural community within a liberal framework, in postcolonial theory we see a recognition of the cultural as the foundation for the creation of any/all normative framework(s). This shift is achieved by re-conceptualizing our understanding of culture. In the work of Homi Bhabha, he argues for a shift from conceptualizing culture as an epistemological object to an enunciative practice. As he describes,

> [i]f culture as epistemology focuses on function and intention, then culture as enunciation focuses on signification and institutionalization; if the epistemological tends towards a reflection of its empirical referent object, the enunciative attempts to repeatedly reinscribe and relocate the political claim to cultural priority and hierarchy (high/low, ours/theirs) in the social institution of the signifying activity. The epistemological is locked into the hermeneutic circle, in the description of cultural elements as they tend toward totality. The enunciative is more a dialogic process that attempts to track displacements and realignments that are the effect of antagonisms and articulations – subverting the rationale of the hegemonic moment and relocating alternative hybrid sites of negotiation. (Bhabha, 1994, 255)

If, as Bhabha argues, culture is enunciative, there are several implications which are fundamental to how we understand and conceive of culture. Culture is not a fixed "object" of knowledge that can be quantified, but rather the ongoing re-articulation of negotiated value(s). The telling of any cultural story, whether it be of the past or the present, through its re-articulation, is a present production of cultural meaning, not simply the telling of an "authentic" tradition. It is the reflection to the past to produce the present and create the future.

Through understanding culture in this way, we neither have a fixed notion of culture whereby we observe the continuation of some group's authentic pattern of living, nor do we observe culture as an entirely unbounded fluidity. Instead we can understand culture as the present re-articulation of a perceived past which cannot avoid being affected by the dialogic or heteroglossic processes which surround it.

The implication for cultural interaction of viewing culture in this way is that we have to "rethink the profound limitations of a consensual and collusive 'liberal' sense of cultural community" (Bhabha, 1994, 251). Instead of maintaining elaborate rationalized fictions of liberal universality, we must instead face the spectre of supplementarity and cultural agonism (Bhabha, 1994, 251-255). As James Youngblood Henderson has stated we need to realize that "theory and reasoning are supposed to help us understand the diversity of the world, not be a substitute for it" (Henderson, 2002, 49). Through a postcolonial orientation, where culture is performative, at the borders of cultural contiguity, as Bhabha has argued, we see sites of hybridity and liminality where the "hegemonic moment" becomes "hybrid sites of cultural negotiation" (Bhabha, 1994, 255). Sites of cultural contiguity therefore have to be understood as "generative".

While generally we can characterize the interactions of culture as performative negotiations resulting in sites of generative hybridity, there is a particular effect of these negotiations in the (post)colonial context. Colonial discourse is affected by hybridity in very particular ways, according to Bhabha. This, he describes, as the splitting of colonial authority. As Bhabha describes

> Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and the individuation that reverses the effects of colonial disavowal, so that the other "denied" knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of authority – its rules of recognition. Again it must be stressed, it is not simply the content of disavowed knowledges – be they forms of cultural otherness or traditions of colonialist treachery – that return to be acknowledged as counter-authorities. For the resolution of conflicts between authorities, civil discourse always maintains an adjudicative procedure. What is irremediably estranging in the presence of the hybrid – in the revaluation of the symbol of national authority as the sign of colonial difference – is that the difference of cultures can no longer be identified or evaluated as objects of epistemological or moral contemplation: cultural differences are not simply there to be seen or appropriated. (Bhabha, 1994, 163)

Thus we see that the presence of cultural difference in a colonial context causes the unsettling of the authority and the corruption of

the epistemological foundation of the colonial authority allowing generative postcolonial possibilities. This generative force is indeed what scholars working in the loosely defined area that can be described as Indigenous Humanities, have identified as the potential for postcolonial theory. As Isobel Findlay has written, a postcolonial vision

> [.]. lends its name to multiple processes, works in progress, and diverse aspirations and applications with outcomes as distinct but related as political emancipation, cultural renewal, and a fervent hope for justice for all… The current phase is preoccupied with the intersecting domains of social, cultural, and economic as well as with the demoralising discourses of globalisation and cyber-community [.]. . In insisting that these processes are both completed and ongoing, one employs an increasingly distinctive postcolonial double gesture marking a shift from binary oppositions (either/or) to the more productive and processive modes of both/and. (Findlay, 2003, para. 7)

In this vision of Aboriginal-Canadian relations a postcolonial orientation would avoid the epistemic violence that is the hallmark of colonialism. Whilst liberal accommodation theories require Indigenous peoples to adopt a worldview that harmonizes with the liberal worldview, a postcolonial relation would sustain a dynamic heterogeneous account of difference. This alternative orientation would account for a version of Canadian society whereby both Aboriginal and other worldviews cannot only be accommodated, but can become formative of social, legal and political systems.

Therefore, from the work of Homi Bhabha, we can draw some important alternative postcolonial understandings of culture and cultural interaction. Culture, as performative, in the colonial moment operates to unsettle the foundations of colonial discourse through hybridity. If we relate this basic understanding to Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal legal relations we can see the potential of a postcolonial legal theory. As was argued in the previous section, a liberal political and legal ontology is ultimately inappropriate for conceptualizing the relationship between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in Canada as it remains the vehicle for supporting only manifestations that harmonize with liberal values. Through postcolonial theory we can begin to see how a (colonial) discourse grounded in one cultural value system

should not be seen as epistemologically "a priori" in the face of cultural difference. If culture is recognized as an enunciative manifestation, we instead can view liberal legal ontology as only one set of enunciated values that are involved in a "problematic [.]. of cultural difference" (Bhabha, 1994, 179). Law, then, can become one site that negotiates this hybridity. Further, the authority of colonial law itself must be renegotiated as it faces the unsettling of its own authority. These recognitions are thus the foundation of a postcolonial legal orientation.

A postcolonial legal theory, however, also requires a methodological reorientation to reflect this alternative heterogeneous epistemological foundation. If we are not engaging in an "internal perspective criticism" (Christie, 2003, 71) whereby we critique how well the law is actualizing the ontological theory that we ascribe to it (in this case liberalism) and instead are engaging in an "external perspective criticism" (Christie, 2003, 71) from a postcolonial legal orientation, a methodology that can hope to explore the enunciative negotiations of different cultural values must be found. To further this purpose a combination of Foucauldian discursive analysis, and research methodologies prescribed by Indigenous approaches to research will be put forward.

Foucauldian discourse analysis is appropriate to the task of a postcolonial legal analysis for both its expanded scope, and its particular focus. In a general way, the idea of discourse has expanded the acceptable enunciative productions that one should ideally be concerned with. In Foucauldian terms, "discourse is both plenitude and endless wealth" (Foucault, 1989, 118). Another Foucauldian method, genealogy, is useful in engaging in a postcolonial legal analysis. Genealogy is the process of exploring and narrating what Foucault has termed 'subjugated knowledges', or the emergence of the knowledge that lay "buried or masked in functional coherences or formal systematizations" (Foucault, 2003, 7). Through relying on the interminable and potentially endless rediscovery of masses of local and particular narratives, histories, and occurrences a broader, and more contested, understanding can potentially be achieved. The notion of genealogy, then, potentially allows the validation of the invalidated, the legitimating of the illegitimate. As described in *Society Must be Defended*,

> Genealogies are therefore not positivistic returns to a form of science that is more attentive or accurate. Ge-

nealogies are, quite specifically, antisciences. It is not that they demand the lyrical right to be ignorant, and not that they reject knowledge, or invoke or celebrate some immediate experience that has yet to be captured by knowledge. That is not what they are about. They are about the insurrection of knowledges. Not so much about contents, methods, or concepts of a science; this is above all, primarily an insurrection against the centralizing power-effects that are bound up with the institutionalization and workings of any scientific discourse organized in a society such as ours. That this institutionalization of a scientific discourse is embodied in a university or, in general terms, a pedagogical apparatus, that this institutionalization of scientific discourse is embodied in a theoretico-commercial network such as psychoanalysis, or in a political apparatus – with everything that implies – is largely irrelevant. Genealogy has to fight the power-effects characteristic of any discourse that is regarded as scientific. (Foucault, 2003, 9)

The genealogical method, then, has two aspects that provides one with the ability to not only recover, but honour knowledges which have been traditionally excluded from institutionalized and centralized discourses such as law. The first aspect being the recognition of the power dynamics[4] tied to official (and marginalized) knowledges. The second aspect being the method that insists on an accumulation of what can be termed as primary sources that far outreach secondary materials that have been filtered through a Eurocentric lens. Thus, genealogy becomes what Foucault has described as the "gray, meticulous and patiently documentary" practice that "operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times" (Foucault, 1994, 369).

The other familiar Foucauldian approach is what he terms "archaeological" analysis. The practice of archaeology, I believe, explains a rather contrary desire in Foucauldian method to that of genealogy. If genealogy is concerned with interrogating the excessive local and particular enunciation, archeology is concerned with the more general trends of intellectual dispersal. As Spivak explains, "Foucault suggests that a study of local foci [foyers] alone will not suffice for

power/knowledge analysis. The larger lines of overall strategies must be tracked at the same time" (Spivak, 1999, 103).

Thus archaeology demands an analysis of broader strategies, or discursive regularities of power/knowledge. As Foucault explains,

> [a]rchaeological description is concerned with those discursive practices to which the facts of succession must be referred to if one is not to establish them in an unsystematic and naïve way, that is in terms of merit. At the level in which they are, the originality/banality opposition is therefore not relevant: between an initial formation and the sentence, which, years, centuries later, repeats it more or less exactly, it establishes no hierarchy of value; it makes no radical difference. It tries only to establish the regularity of statements. In this sense, regularity is not the opposition to irregularity, which, in the margins of current opinion or the most frequent texts, characterizes the deviant statement abnormal, prophetic, retarded, pathological, or the product of genius); it designates, for every verbal performance (extraordinary, or banal, unique in its own kind or endlessly repeated), the set of conditions in which the enunciative function operates, and which guarantees and defines its existence. In this sense, regularity does not characterize a certain central position between the ends of a statistical curve – it is not valid therefore to index the frequency or probability; it specifies an effective field of appearance. Every statement bears certain regularity and it cannot be dissociated from it. One must not therefore oppose the regularity of a statement with the irregularity of another (that may be less expected, more unique, richer in innovation), but to other regularities that characterize other statements. (Foucault, 1989, 144)

It is in archaeology, then, we find the enunciation of a method to trace overall strategies in the power/knowledge nexus. Here we can see the potential of a powerful critique of the general discursive field surrounding the interaction with Aboriginal peoples and the law. This type of inquiry allows not only for the tracing of the power dynamics around specific Aboriginal issues, but a mechanism to

understand the deployment of legal statements and the regularities that attempt to govern their meaning.

Broader scope, as demonstrable in genealogy and archaeology, is one of the hallmarks that makes Foucauldian discourse analysis appropriate to a postcolonial legal orientation. The specificity and the particularity of how this scope is deployed, however, enables this broad scope not to dissipate into generalist description. While one should broaden and increase the range of ones investigations, one should not lose the particular contexts of discursive enunciations. A Foucauldian approach to discursive enunciations, or the speech act directs us to "restore to the statement the specificity of its occurrence" (Foucault, 1989, 287). This directive makes it imperative for one doing indigenous research, for example, to use testimony and story telling as a primary way of understanding as these enunciations can help us understand how statements were understood by the particular Aboriginal people at the time of their evocation. The insistence on the speech act also asserts the priority of localized history. As Foucault describes:

> The speech act is not what took place just prior to the moment when the statement was made (in the author's thought or intentions); it is not what might have happened, after the event itself, in its wake, and the consequences that it gave rise to; it is what occurred by the very fact that the statement was made – and precisely this statement (and no other) in specific circumstances. (Foucault, 1989, 83)

Whilst the history and the consequences of statements are also exceedingly important for the indigenous reading(s) of history, this approach is useful in directing one to explore the statement and its context itself. In attempting to understand historical treaties or agreements, for example, one can see the relevance of such an approach. In addition, this approach highlights the importance of understanding modern treaties in their particular circumstances, rather than from solely a general level of interpretation.

For the reasons previously expressed, and for others, in Indigenous humanities there is an agreement that this level of specificity is important. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, by way of example, has identified aspects of the Indigenous Research project such as claiming, testimonies, reading and representing as crucial undertakings. Claiming

is the Indigenous assertion of the rights and responsibilities in the modern world. Testimonies are a way that indigenous peoples create space for their stories. Reading involves the rereading of Western histories to "understand what has informed both internal colonialism and new forms of colonialism" (Smith, 1999, 149). Representing is the struggle for indigenous peoples to have recognized voices about their own histories and futures. All of these strategies have an insistence on the primacy of Indigenous voices to be an appreciated and valued part of knowledge or discourse through recognizing and undermining the epistemic rules that have traditionally excluded this type of account.

Admittedly, it is never wholeheartedly possible to represent unfamiliar world views from within the European academy, but the methodological principles presented here do allow for the greater recognition and acceptance of discursive productions from wholly or partially "othered" groups. Indeed guided by the words of James Youngblood Henderson, we must begin to explore the "supplement" to the established closed ranks of European epistemology. In Foucauldian terms we must recognize that there is an ongoing discursive conflict played out on a continuous and interminable scale.

In this section I have argued that a postcolonial legal orientation is a more appropriate model for understanding Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations as it allows understanding law potentially as a vehicle for negotiating cultural difference, rather than being a vehicle for the actualization of liberal values. I have also argued that Foucauldian discourse analysis is an appropriate methodology to undertake this task, as it harmonizes with both the demands of postcolonial theory, and the contemporary work being done in Indigenous Humanities vis-à-vis Aboriginal research. In the final section two provisions of the NFA will be analyzed using a postcolonial legal orientation to demonstrate how this orientation can help us better understand both the limitations and the possibilities of comprehensive land claims treaties.

Postcolonial Legal Analysis of Nisga'a Lands in the NFA

While the treaties resulting from the comprehensive land claims and self-government policies have been criticized for engaging in the self-same liberalization that this paper has vilified, in this section of the paper a core land provision of the NFA will be analyzed using a postcolonial legal orientation. Through this analysis I hope to show

that this orientation can help to liberate the understanding of the treaty from the shackles of liberal ontology, and attune us to its generative possibilities.

The primary provisions relating to land in the NFA have three categories of interests that are significant. The only category which I am going to briefly discuss is the core Nisga'a territory where they hold ultimate rights over the land, and how these rights differ from the general legal constructs that exist outside of this agreement in Canadian law. Through this comparison we begin to see how the rights created in the NFA, rather than being merely substantively externally defined rights, are instead an open-textured entitlement that through combining fixed definition of rights, and recognition of Nisga'a power have the potential to evade the confines of liberal construction.

In the NFA the core lands are "Nisga'a lands" that

> [.]. the Nisga'a Nation owns [.]. in fee simple, being the largest estate known in law. This estate is not subject to any condition, proviso, restriction, exception, or reservation set out in the Lands Act or any comparable limitation under any federal or provincial law. No estate can be expropriated except as permitted by, and in accordance, with this Agreement. (NFA, ch. 3, s. 3)

This description of Nisga'a lands is far from radically liberatory, and even at first glance appears to be a regression from the recognition of Aboriginal "sui generis" title in the *Delgamuukw* case. A fee simple, as these lands are described, may be the largest estate known in law to individuals in Canada, but it is not technically the largest estate known in the law. A fee simple, as described by Ziff,

> [.]. [i]s the closest approximation to absolute ownership in the Anglo-Canadian system of landholding. Although it may endure for only a second, and may relate to the small scrap of ground, it is commonly recited that the fee simple is the largest estate known to the law. This is true in conceptual terms: it is of potentially infinite duration and confers upon the holder a larger bundle of proprietary rights that those attaching to other estates, freehold or non-freehold. (Ziff, 1996, 148)

A fee simple, however, is limited by the powers that the state exerts over the land, as they in fact are the ultimate owners of the land. The Crown (government) holds radical or allodial title. As such a fee simple, owners interest is affected by taxes, expropriation (compulsory purchase), police powers, and escheat. Taxes are fairly straightforward and familiar. The Crown – the state (both federal and provincial) in Canadian terms – can impose taxes on individuals holding the land. The Crown also holds the right to expropriate the land. This means that the Crown can acquire the land, usually with a payment in exchange for fair market value, without the consent of the owner. Police powers are also fairly straightforward in that an owner is not free to do anything upon or with his land, such as violate the criminal law. Finally, escheat is the rule that if no heir is to be found for an owner then the land will revert back to Crown ownership.

A fee simple grant to the Nisga'a, as a result of these fairly common but devastating limitations, rather looks like a fairly poor deal for the Nisga'a people. This would simply make them the equivalent of a corporate landholder, it would seem. In further exploring the agreement however, we begin to see that the definition of Nisga'a lands is far more complex than a basic fee simple. In relation to taxation, in Chapter 16, section 1 we see that the Nisga'a Government "may make laws in respect of direct taxation[5] of Nisga'a citizens on Nisga'a lands in order to raise revenue for Nisga'a Nation or Nisga'a Village purposes" (NFA, ch. 16, s. 1). This, however, as stated in the next section, does not affect the powers of either the federal or provincial government from exercising this power. The Nisga'a government, however, are also competent to levy direct taxes as well. The Nisga'a thus hold a supplemented fee simple, as they also have the power of taxation – a state power.

Another aspect of Nisga'a Land where we find some differences from the garden-variety fee simple is in respect to expropriation (compulsory purchase). While the NFA allows the Provincial and Federal governments the power to expropriate Nisga'a lands when the expropriation is "justifiable and necessary for a public purpose", "of the smallest estate or interest necessary [.]. for the shortest time required, for that provincial public purpose", and "with the consent of the Lieutenant Governor in Council" (NFA, ch. 3, s. 55 a-d) there are also innovative provisions in regard to the effect of this expropriation. The first, more mundane legal point that has been causing problems for other Aboriginal people under treaty reconciliation

processes is the unwillingness of the government to grant land in compensation, rather than simply giving monetary compensation. In chapter 3, section 57, instead of money compensation an owner can request equivalent Crown land instead. If this form of compensation in not requested, available, or the Nisga'a Nation and British Columbia agree upon alternative compensation then money can be awarded. This helps to ensure that land, which is so important for the survival of the Nisga'a Nation and culture, is not slowly eroded away by expropriation.

The more significant legal point in relation to expropriation is the effect on Nisga'a legal jurisdiction and powers over Nisga'a Land. Nisga'a Land, as well as a land entitlement, is also an important category for the creation of Nisga'a Government jurisdiction. On Nisga'a land, for example, the Nisga'a have certain powers over taxation, land title, education, health, administration of justice and social services. Expropriation, however, does not affect the applicability of Nisga'a laws on Nisga'a Lands "except to the extent that those laws are inconsistent with the ability to use and occupy that land for the purpose for which the estate or interest is expropriated". Thus despite the Crown expropriating Nisga'a land, the Nisga'a retain their jurisdiction over the land despite its expropriation, unless the laws are directly inconsistent with its expropriated use.

Another characteristic of Nisga'a Land that demonstrates the expanded nature of Nisga'a fee simple is in relation to policing. Over Nisga'a Lands the Nisga'a Lisims Government the Nisga'a have the competence to make laws in relation to policing within Nisga'a lands through "making laws for a Nisga'a Police Board and a Nisga'a Police Service" (NFA, ch. 12, s. 1) under the agreement. The powers which the Nisga'a Government are competent to legislate on include the creation of a Nisga'a Police Service, and the establishment of Nisga'a Courts. Again we see here that the Nisga'a Lands fee simple also includes powers that no average fee simple would grant to its owner – powers of governance.

Finally, in relation to escheat, there is an avoidance of the Crown's reversionary right to land when there are no heirs or assigns. This allodial power, extraordinarily important to maintaining the land base provided as Nisga'a Land under the agreement, could potentially disaggregate Nisga'a Lands irrevocably. As such, in Chapter 3, section 7, if any land escheats to the Crown, the Crown will transfer, at no charge, that parcel estate or interest in respect of Nisga'a Lands

back to the Nisga'a. Thus, the Crown's ultimate allodial claim is avoided, though not denied, through this provision.

Through this discussion of Nisga'a Lands we can see that the Nisga'a hold a much expanded version of fee simple. Not only do the Nisga'a hold the largest bundle of rights an owner can hold under our landholding system, but also hold governmental powers in relation to the land. Land is a primary resource that Aboriginal people have fought to maintain and recover in Canada. This agreement demonstrates that this important resource, while being defined by terms familiar to the Anglo-Canadian legal system, indeed creates a "sui generis", hybrid form of land holding. In relation to land, the treaty has created powers that move beyond the static definition of rights. As such we can see that while in relation to the land the Nisga'a have rights to land defined in terms familiar to the Canadian legal system, they also have powers over the land that are more similar to those of government itself. If we conceive of these additional powers merely as a mechanism ultimately subject to the limiations of liberal accommodation these powers are merely evocations of empty authority. If instead we view these powers as postcolonial evocations of Aboriginal self-determination, these provisions become mechanisms pregnant with the potential to effect true Aboriginal self-determination. These powers, in a postcolonial legal sense, may not ultimately be harmonious with the Canadian legal and political system. This agonism may, however, lead us to a better and more truly inclusive postcolonial state. It also may not, but this uncertainty is the price of potentiality. As the masked Guy Fawkes states in the movie *V for Vendetta* "there's no certainty – only opportunity". If, however, our futures are uncertain, rather than dictated by an accepted ontological value system, we as a political community may work harder to ensure that our future is a positive, fair and inclusive one.

Conclusion

At the outset of this paper I undertook the lofty task of arguing that a postcolonial legal orientation is a more appropriate approach to Aboriginal comprehensive land claims and self-government treaties. Liberal accommodation, or any pre-set variant of liberal ontology, is ultimately limited as a political and moral theory for the accommodation of cultural difference. When translated into the law, a liberal ontology suppresses the potential of the law to negotiate different cultural values by having an "a priori" overarching value system that

dictates and limits the potential of the development of a postcolonial law and ultimately a postcolonial state. In relation to the law's ability to actualize Aboriginal inherent self-government, this limitation frustrates the project almost entirely by only allowing self-determination to the extent that it harmonizes with the dominant liberal value system. A postcolonial orientation, I have argued, is a model whereby we must accept that culture itself as a generative force. At the borders of cultural contiguity liminal spaces of negotiation are opened up for the creation of hybrid manifestations of law through agonistic negotiation. If we see the law as a system engaged in this negotiatory process it opens up the potential through the law of creating a more diverse, complex, and more inclusive political community. In the words of James Youngblood Henderson, "[c]reating false uniformity is a useless activity. We must learn to exist with diversity and its processes" (Henderson, 2002, 48).

Through political and legal processes we have seen the recognition of inherent Aboriginal land and governance rights. Recognition, however, is only the beginning of the process. We must now define not only what self-determination or self-government means, but how it can be implemented in ways that evade the colonial oppression of a unilaterally imposed legal and political system. In the NFA we see an attempt to construct, through the law, the Nisga'a as a self-determining political entity. As the Nisga'a Lands provisions suggest, there is the potential for Nisga'a entitlements to exist both within the Canadian legal system, and exceed it – be both subject to it, and be beyond it. This potential, however, may require one small but momentous change – a change in orientation.

Endnotes

1. Cf. Cardinal, 1960.

2. Kymlicka's core arguments can be found in Kymlicka, 1991, Kymlicka, 1996, Kymlicka, 1998 and Kymlicka, 2001.

3. Cf. Spaulding, 1997, 70. Spaulding identifies that Aboriginal advocates employ liberal equality arguments regularly, and so concludes that this assists in justifying the limitation of Aboriginal rights upon equality ground. He writes that "[a] second reason why Kymlicka's demand for an individual equality limit on assertions of self-determination deserves a response is that Aboriginal rights advocates rely upon individual equality rights in so many of their

arguments". I emphasize this fact in the introduction to this paper. It is possible to explain this tendency as the detached demand that non-Aboriginal societies adhere to their own, non-Aboriginal principles in their treatment of Aboriginal peoples. This would be a legitimate stance, but I believe that more than this is at stake in such arguments. It seems to me that when Aboriginal commentators such as Patricia Monture-Angus and Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond speak out against the racial discrimination embedded in Canadian law, they must be read as appealing to a value shared between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies, one that manifests itself in different ways but does not compromise on a basic commitment to value every person equally – the same conception on which Kymlicka's liberal equality is built. If I am wrong on this, and explanation stands to be given how self-determination advocates relate their claims to the equality arguments now achieving success in cases such as *Mabo v Queensland*. Either self-determination is consistent with some conception of individual equality rights, in which case self-determination advocates need to examine the fit of Kymlicka's particular proviso within their perspective, or it is not, in which case some explanation needs to be given how individual equality rights can be enlisted in the cause of self-determination.

4. There exists an ongoing debate about the Foucauldian relationship between power and agency. In texts such as *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Foucault, 1991) and *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1998) there is the description of a power that seems inescapable, thus negating any possibility of individual agency. In *Archaeology* (Foucault, 1989) and *Society* (Foucault, 2003), however, there is a power dynamic that arguably allows individual agency to be exerted within these microstructures of power (Cf. Said, 1986).

5. Direct taxes are defined in the *Canadian Encyclopedic Digest* I, 3,§ 21 as follows: "John Stuart Mill's definition of a direct tax as 'one which is demanded from the very person who it is intended or desired should pay it' as opposed to an indirect tax, as one which is a tax demanded from 'one person in the expectation and intention that he shall indemnify himself at the expense of another, such are the excise or customs,' has been adopted generally by the courts when determining the constitutional validity of a taxing statute. The mere fact that a tax is passed on, does not make it an indirect

tax. Thus a mobile home tax dependent upon the use of land and likely to be passed on is not rendered an indirect tax when it is in effect a tax on land and within the legislative competence of the province. Nor is a sales tax on royalty charges, the entire cost of which is passed on to consumers, an indirect tax. The fact that a provincial tax on fuel sold or delivered to ships within the province is paid by the vendor rather than the purchaser, does not convert an otherwise direct tax into an indirect tax. It is the general tendency of the tax to which regard must be made. If the general tendency is for the tax to be paid by the person upon whom it is levied, it is a direct tax; if the general tendency is for the tax to be paid by someone else, then it is an indirect tax".

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The Contribution of Hungarian Poets to the Multicultural Canadian Literature After 1956

Abstract

This paper will analyze the poetry of Hungarian 1956 immigrants settled down in Quebec, focusing on the avant-garde literary review Arkánum, *founded by them in the 1980s. The most outstanding figures of this circle are George Vitéz and László Kemenes Géfin. Our presentation will concentrate on László Kemenes Géfin's and Robert Zend's (though, not closely related to Arkanists) double cultural identity as reflected in their literary work. On the one hand, how the various aspects of their life as immigrants influenced their literary expressions, on the other hand, to what extent were these poets bound to their native literary culture? At the same time, the* Arkánum *review is a good representative of the late avant-garde movement both in Quebec and in Hungary. Our question, to be answered, is to what extent their avant-garde characteristics can be approached on a regional, on a national and on an international scale? Our other major focus point is the analysis of the poems themselves from a double perspective. Therefore, we aim to examine questions of form and use of languages-linguistic identity and the problems of the content-cultural identity (themes, motifs), which can be related to the different levels of avant-garde literary scenes. Also, we wish to examine how they could contribute to the enrichment of the multicultural reality of Quebec.*

Résumé

Notre article a pour sujet la poésie des immigrants hongrois, faisant partie du grand flux des immigrants après la révolution de 1956, qui se sont établis au Québec. Le cadre de l'exposé est l'analyse de la revue littéraire Arkánum *fondée par George Vitéz and László Kemenes Géfin dans les années 1980. L'analyse de la poésie de László Kemenes Géfin et Robert Zend (ce dernier n'appartenant pas strictement aux Arkanistes) va suivre à l'introduction générale de la revue. Notre présentation examinera leur double identité culturelle qui se reflète dans leurs œuvres. D'une part, comment les aspects différents*

de leur vie en tant qu'immigrants ont influencé leurs expressions littéraires ? D'autre part, à quel point ces poètes étaient-ils attachés à leur culture littéraire d'origine ? L'autre grande partie de notre présentation sera consacrée à l'analyse des poèmes eux-mêmes dans une double perspective. Ainsi, nous examinerons à la fois les problématiques de l'identité linguistique (bilinguisme) et celles de l'identité culturelle (thématique, motifs) qui peuvent être liées aux différents domaines des scènes littéraires d'avant-garde et expérimentales. Enfin, nous voudrions également analyser comment ces phénomènes ont contribué à l'enrichissement de la réalité multiculturelle du Québec.

Introduction

In our paper, we are going to analyze the poetry of the Hungarian 1956 immigrant generation in Canada. After the revolution of 1956, 300,000 immigrants left the country. Out of these 300,000 immigrants 40,000 settled down in Canada. In Quebec some of these 1956 Hungarian immigrants founded the neo-avant-garde literary magazine called *Arkánum*, namely László Kemenes Géfin, George Vitéz, József Bakucz, and Sándor András. Canada´s multicultural policy of welcoming different ethnic voices encouraged Hungarian poetry abroad. On the Hungarian scene, evidently, only the Hungarian artists who were living abroad during the Communist Regime could express their thoughts freely due to the freedom of speech. Often, literatures, which are not part of the mainstream literature that sells well, are considered to be part of the counter-culture, which is in this case the small-scale neo-avant-garde literature. "The majority of the Hungarian neo-avant-garde literature was produced outside the borders: in the neighbouring countries (mainly in Yugoslavia), in France, in other European countries, and in the United States and in Canada" (Dereky, 2004, 11)[1].

Hungarian emigrant literature has always existed abroad, especially in the territories surrounding the country. Also, in the West, émigré literature was written in Hungarian. However, it is important to mention that while Arkanists have written in Hungarian, other Hungarian-Canadian artists have created pieces of art equally in English or in French. This Hungarian literature in the West is a unique issue and had never happened before, explains Kemenes. It derives from the historical context, since the great wave of emigration of 1956, when young people left the country to become writers and poets outside

Hungary. This is thus a special literary phenomenon, because after the disappearance of the generation of the émigré poets of 1956, due to the change of the historical context, the poetry represented by Arkanists, gave way to a different practice and perception of art.

The *Arkánum* Literary Magazine

The literary magazine *Arkánum* was founded in 1981 by poets who immigrated to North-America: George Vitéz, László Kemenes Géfin, Sándor András, and József Bakucz. The idea to found a literary circle was born in the late '70s. The aim of the *Arkánum* group was to create a literature that was unfeasible in Hungary because of the political situation. As they were living in the West, it allowed them to enter into direct interaction with the contemporary tendencies of Western Europe and North America. The émigré poets were under the direct influence of the Western mind and thus had the possibility to acquire the technical and intellectual innovations of the English, French, or American literatures. In an interview, László Kemenes Géfin declares: "What we found and was happening there went into our way of thinking and into our works, and this made the perspective different, the perspective through which we saw the world" (Tomkiss, 2003, 64). Although the majority of critics identify the *Arkánum* group with Hungarian literature, it is important to mention that Arkanists placed themselves onto the international stage. Already, with the title, they wanted to suggest their place in the world literature of modern times. "The big enemy of the man is opacity", says André Breton in *Arcane 17*. This quotation can be found in the editorial of the first number of *Arkánum*. This was the age when access to contemporary authors, which were considered to be their models, was limited, if not forbidden in Hungary. Thanks to Arkanists, certain crucial literary figures of the West could appear in Hungarian: Ezra Pound, Samuel Beckett, André Breton, Gertrude Stein, or William Carlos Williams.

The *Arkánum* magazine had a unique and original voice. It disseminated art beginning from avant-garde at a high level. They had to reconsider historical avant-garde, and in addition, the time of neo-avant-garde was over in Quebec. However, in the case of the '56 émigré poets, the period of neo-avant-garde was delayed. In their case it became full-fledged when it was not practiced anymore in the West. That is why they needed to rethink it. As Sándor András claims, Arkanists tended to approach avant-garde from the point of view of content, their myths and mythical thinking being important

for them (Tomkiss, 2003, 67). *Arkánum* was essentially founded on the literary and artistic taste of the editors, who in this way could practice a neo-avant-garde approach free from the actual Hungarian political-cultural life. The magazine also intended to change values: it is no more the Hungarian historical past, the sentimentalism, Hungarian mannerism, which are the examples to follow. Rather, their aim was to abolish taboos, they intentionally refused any kind of political censorship, of prudery, of nationalism, of religion, of auto-censorship, and of inferiority complex (Kemenes, in Tomkiss, 64). Also, they wanted to break away with the minority-complex, with the feeling of misfortune, and with the self-pity of Hungarians.

In the magazine, besides the Arkanists' creative writings, (poetry, prose, essays, letters) which were always centred around a main topic, we find the column of literature reviews. The Arkanists devoted their attention to works published in Hungary. They strongly criticized the Hungarian literary tendencies and strategies in the reviews. As Kemenes expresses in an interview, the Arkanists could attentively follow the literature in Hungary in not only physical, but also spiritual liberty (Ibid., 70). The introduction of contemporary theorists (Barthes, Deleuze, Lyotard, etc.) was important in order to promote Arkanist literary knowledge. In the meantime, works by contemporary Hungarian authors and Hungarian literary translations were also included. The typography of the review was very simple and neutral. The cover is white, only the title and the number are indicated in black. We can rarely find images or supplements. This was a conscious choice on behalf of the editors: for in this way the reader can really feel the interior content of the magazine.

Arkánum was primarily important when consciously manifesting political opinion. According to the *Arkánum* group, a literary text always implies politics. Also, there is criticism referring to the magazine as a medium to provoke a scandal. According to critics, with the publication of certain texts *Arkánum* slapped the face of the general taste. Moreover, this was a conscious and responsible gesture they were proud of. This comes from the abolition of auto-censorship. Therefore, texts of pornographic content were published. The official Hungarian educational policy accused the authors of perversion and of having sick and guilty thoughts. At the same time, from the Arkanist point of view, these works were not written in order to provoke a scandal. The authors justified their ideas; they represented

the subconscious, their desires, and their free associations on the human being with literary exigency.

The experience of being an immigrant, living in a new world while being attached to a mother country, or the feelings about identity, can be expressed through the literary works of the poets who spend their creative period abroad. In this way, bilingualism or multilingualism plays a crucial role in the work of an immigrant author. In the case of the émigré authors, we can speak about sequential language acquisition: evidently, Hungarian immigrants arriving in Canada had to learn a second language, which was usually English. This was the case with the Arkanists as well, for they left Hungary in their twenties or thirties, thus they had to learn a foreign language as adults. However, it has to be mentioned that while their poetry was predominantly monolingual, in everyday life they were bilingual (Kürtösi, 2002, 225). Later, when we speak about poetry, it is the question of the poet's conscious decision on how to use the languages: uniquely the mother tongue, or uniquely the second language, or mixing the two. The literary and linguistic affiliation of these Hungarian-Canadian poets is problematic. In the case of the Arkanists, the linguistic liberation means separation from the Hungarian literary traditions. The attitude of immigrant Hungarian writers changed towards language, they regarded it as a constructive material, in this way they re-evaluated their relation to the whole Hungarian and Quebecois literary and cultural traditions. Though predominantly they use only the Hungarian language, many times they incorporate (at least) one foreign language in their creative activity. That is the reason for which they simultaneously belong to two literatures: to the Hungarian and to the Canadian. The Canadian authors of Hungarian origin, who employ several languages, do it in the literature of a country which is officially bilingual. The choice and the shifting of languages are particularly significant in Canada. Robert Zend, although not closely related to Arkanists, is also preoccupied with bilingual poetry and the situation of Hungarian-Canadian poetry. We can see a humoristic approach to this in one of his poems entitled, *Kiáltvány* (Manifesto). Robert Zend is famous for his poems, rich in diverse linguistic plays and strategies.

Mi,
Kanada magyarjai,
Követeljük,
Hogy a francia legyen Kanada

Második nyelve!
(S az angol,
természetesen,
a harmadik.). [2]

In the Manifesto, the author is demanding on behalf of Hungarians living in Canada, French to be the second language of this country, and English "of course" the third one. The irony behind the lines lies in the fact that he does not tell us which should be the first language, but with some imagination we all may guess that he wants Hungarian to be the first language of Canada. The *Manifesto* shows the poet's interest in language, using one of its symbol, the bilingualism and his self-definition as a Hungarian in Canada.

Another example will be presented on how multilingualism is present in Canadian-Hungarian immigrant poetry. This poem is taken from Robert Zend's "Magritte" poems. The poem *Kétnyelvű Magritte* shows how the techniques of a Magritte collage, the Belgian surrealist master, inspired Zend:

<div align="center">

Kétnyelvű Magritte
(Hunglish)
Mondscheinparty Budán egy angol lánnyal

Fel
jött
a
Please Hold me tight
az
égre
(Montreal, 1971)

</div>

The title of the poem *Kétnyelvű Magritte* (bilingual Magritte) *Hunglish* (coined from Hungarian and English) indicate that the poem is bilingual. In fact the subtitle *Mondscheinparty Budán egy angol lánnyal* brings in another language, German. The meaning of this sentence already provides a three language context. *Mondscheinparty* (Moon shine party in German) in Buda, which is part of the Hungarian capital, "egy angol lánnyal" (with an English girl), which brings in English. The poem itself is two-dimensional, the vertical line reads "Feljött a hold az égre" (which means The Moon has come up on the sky) and the horizontal line is "Please hold me tight", with "hold" as a junction point. As Kürtösi expresses, the poem acquires a unique effect, an extra dimension of playfulness for

the junction point "hold" means something in both languages, "moon" in Hungarian and in English is a verb, while their spelling is identical (cf. Kürtösi 1993). Zend makes use of the collage and the "picture in the picture" technique also used by Magritte, which shows the reception of 20th century western tendencies by the Arkanists. His strong attachment to pictograms in poetry comes from the fact that he worked in the cinema business. His humour does not lack sarcasm and irony expressed over his situation of a hopeless and solitary man. Following the presentation of these two poems, we can agree with Bakucz and Horváth and say that Zend's poetry, mixing humour with fear, is visionary when using effective imagery (see Béládi et al., 1986, 226).

Following the aspect of linguistic identity, the question of cultural identity will be analyzed in the case of the Hungarian-Canadian poets. Identity or the lack of identity plays an important role for Arkanists. This phenomenon can be put in a wider context. As Bakucz and Horváth explain, the Hungarian émigré poets continued their studies at universities of the host country and established their life at cultural institutions (Béladi et al., 1986, 224)[3]. Hungarian scholars continue analyzing their attitude towards their father country and their host country. These poems dating from the 1980s, the period we are focusing on, can be described as rather dealing only indirectly and silently with nostalgia towards Hungary. Living for more than fifteen years in Canada and thus already integrated into Canadian society, their being homesick is no longer influential within these poems. Their chosen home is their natural environment. The relationship between nature and its inhabitants is merged in their poetry of the decade. The authors continue to elaborate on how some of them found their place in their new country, they became established partly due to their Canadian higher education and the time spent in the country. However, others had the feeling of alienation and exile. Their sorrows contributed to another kind of contemplation on life, that of tragic isolation. This phenomenon comes from the paradox of an immigrant's life: isolated from Hungarian literary life, meanwhile practising Hungarian literature held a key role for these poets. They had to play the role of representatives of Hungarian literature in Canada. However, we must not forget that public lectures interested mostly Hungarians living in or outside Hungary or Canada. Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, a Canadian scholar of Hungarian and German origins, formulates the same phenomenon from a different approach. According to him, this issue raises the problem of

the centre versus the periphery paradigm in North America and Europe (Tötösy, 1998, 121). He opposes the traditional cultural homogeneity of East Central Europe with the cultural diversity of postmodern Canada. He connects his approach to the problem of canonization with regards to majority as well as ethnic minority writing. His argument is applicable to the case of Arkanists.

> The situation suggests [.]. a two-pronged marginalization of ethnic minority writing, so in the "home" literature and again in the location of its production when it is classified as ethnic minority writing with reference to a country's mainstream literature, in the case of Hungarian-Canadian ethnic minority writing in reference to English-Canadian and Québécois-Canadian literature. (Tötösy, 1998, 149)

We can further develop this argument by saying that their multiple identities (Hungarians in Montreal, Quebec, or Canada in general) had different effects and influences in their country of origin and within their host country. Here an evident question comes up. Tötösy makes an interesting point by bringing the specificity of the "Europeanness" of Hungarian literature, which has always been questioned in Europe, into the "altérité" of the Hungarian language and the people's historical "locus" (Tötösy, 1998, 149). He explains these two notions in the following way. Although situated in Europe, linguistically, and thus culturally, Hungarians have always been isolated.

Given these assumptions, can we say that through their works they present themselves more American than European, or vice-versa? Can we speak about different identities: human, artistic, ethnic, or only about one identity where these aspects appear? For their exile was quasi voluntary, they lived their experience of émigré and immigrant in themselves, as Kemenes puts it, the poet is "exiled in himself" (as quoted by Jankovics, 1991/1992, 112). It is not necessarily the confrontation between the new world and the old and familiar world, but it is the personal identity crisis, which is significant. According to the critic Jankovics, the only solution to this problem is to live and work in another language. The immediate meeting with the English and French languages influenced the poetic and linguistic work of Arkanists considerably.

According to Jankovics, in the case of the Arkanum group, Kemenes Géfin is the most concerned with the question of identity. When we refer to the notion of a double identity, we agree with Tötösy that identity, in the case of émigré authors, is much more complex than mere transparency (Tötösy, 1998, 150). He denies the simplistic but often expressed opinion about these authors, which says that their "oeuvre" is only autobiographical, lacking multiple layers and sophistication. On the contrary, he argues for the polyvalence coming from their unique identity situation. He treats this topic directly, as it is the case in the following excerpt of his poem entitled *Fehérlófia*:

> A, haven't you become already more or less Canadian?
> B, can we still speak about your Hungarianness?
> C, why do you still want to return home?
> D, what do you think, are you needed at home?
> E, wouldn't they say, he didn't manage over there either, will he eat our bred now?
> F, why is it necessary to write in Hungarian over here?
> G, are you afraid to give up your identity?
> H, why do you complain so much?

Throughout this passage, the motif of double identity can be revealed, that is, how much the poet feels at the same time Canadian "and" Hungarian. There is a clash between the desire for freedom within the new home and the very strong emotional attachment to the mother country that consists of the desire to return back home (C: "why do you want to return home?") and in the use of Hungarian language in the creative activity (see line F).

At the same time the fear of getting home can also be detected, in lines C and E. Because of the new mental environment, the poet is afraid of the fact that he might have become more Canadian: A and B. The poet imagines a hypothetical situation of returning home. His being very far away from home for decades, he doubts whether he could be accepted by Hungarians.

After Said, concerning their mother tongue and the geographical distance between Quebec and Hungary, we can speak about multiple displacements. This displacement signifies isolation in several ways: Did they feel displaced, geographically, culturally, politically, intellectually? Writing in Hungarian, Kemenes Géfin considers himself to be Hungarian, but different from those living in(side) the country

at that time: "the distance [...] affords [...] a more realistic perception. We look at Hungarian-ness through bifocal glasses, that is what we see is the same but from a different perspective" (Kemenes Géfin, Symposium, 131). This distance gives perspective, a more precise and objective point of view, presenting the events through a filter.

Arkanists tried to integrate the values of their new cultural environment while forming their own intellectual life. As Jankovics claims, their identity is never lost, only regained, and reaffirmed. Because of the relativity in distance, it is the mother tongue that allowed them not only to express themselves in a free way, which would have been impossible in Hungary at that time, but also to form their originality in Canada. The integration of several languages in poetry is obviously not only an artistic creation, but a kind of poetic and linguistic recreation. György Vitéz accentuates that it is inevitable that certain Hungarian themes occur in their poetry, for they are "in their blood" (Symposium, 134). In order to preserve their identity, they turned to the world of Hungarian mythology, to folk tales (cf. Kemenes Géfin's *Fehérlófia* where he brings in Hungarian mythology).

Conclusion

Thanks to the activity of the magazine, a Hungarian literature was born which could not have existed inside the borders of the country. It is important to see that the traditions of Hungarian poetry and contemporary western tendencies live together. The importance of Arkanists lies in the fact that they had the possibility to meet people, to read literary and artistic works, to encounter schools prohibited or inaccessible in Hungary. With this work of mediation, they strongly contributed to the extension of the horizon of Hungarian poetry at the end of the twentieth century.

The well-known, recently deceased Hungarian poet, György Faludy, who used to live in Canada for decades, said: "I regard my presence in the Diaspora as a positive thing. I came out to write on behalf of those who cannot do it. I feel I have done a service by this to Hungarian literature" (Symposium, 130).

Our paper touched upon the fact that Hungarian national immigrant literature has always been connected to bilingualism. In the case of *Arkánum*, the mixture of the two languages, Hungarian and English, played a crucial role in the construction of neo-avant-garde Hungarian-Canadian poetry. However, in Hungary the influence of the poets in question has only been slowly getting the attention of critical

discourse. Only one thesis and a dissertation have been written on the topic.

Canadian multiculturalism undoubtedly contributed to the free practice of Hungarian literature outside Hungary. As critic Kürtosi observes, at the time of Trudeauian multiculturalism, Canadian society greeted the new voices.

We conclude our article with the words of Faludy, according to whom Canada played a considerable role in the flourishing of immigrant Hungarian poetry: "Multiculturalism has helped the development of Hungarian literature in this country".

Endnotes

1. All the quotations from the Hungarian publications are our translations.

2. We/the Hungarians of Canada/ demand/that French be the second language of Canada!/(And English/of course/the third one.)．．

3. Kemenes was a professor at Concordia University; Zend worked at Toronto Radio; Vitéz was a clinical psychologist in Montreal.

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Revolution and Female's Destiny in Nancy Richler's Novel *Your Mouth is Lovely*

Abstract

In this article I investigate the problem of revolution and women's destiny in Russia, in the middle of the revolutionary storms, described in Nancy Richler's novel "Your Mouth is Lovely". The novel takes place during 1887-1912, a time of obvious crisis for the monarchy in Russia, including the horrific Bloody Sunday massacre and the failed revolution of 1905. To make the comprehension of historical details easier for readers, I will give a short historical summary of this period. Revolution in the novel is presented as a dark force that takes control over people's lives and manipulates their feelings. I will, therefore, also discuss the extent to which Miriam, the main protagonist, as well as other women, who are also finally destroyed in one way or another, is in charge of her own destiny. I will try to answer the following questions: how do women in the novel face life crises such as death, treachery, neglect and political crises such as revolution? How does revolution influence women's destinies, and why women see revolution differently? How do women manage to keep their personal freedom and dignity in a time of disasters and social catastrophes?

Résumé

Cet article présente les recherches que j'ai effectuées autour de la problématique de la révolution et de la destinée des femmes en plein tumulte révolutionnaire, d'après le roman de Nancy Richler « Your Mouth is Lovely ». L'histoire se situe entre 1887 et 1912, période pendant laquelle la monarchie russe est en crise. C'est aussi une période où se déroula le terrible massacre du célèbre « Bloody Sunday » ainsi que l'échec de la révolution de 1905. Afin de rendre les détails historiques plus compréhensibles pour le lecteur, je vais tenter de résumer brièvement le contexte de cette époque. Dans le roman de Nancy Richler, la révolution est présentée comme une force obscure prenant contrôle de la vie de ses acteurs et manipulant leurs émotions. L'analyse portera donc sur le fait de savoir jusqu'à

quel point Miriam, personnage principal, comme toutes les autres femmes, reste maître de son destin. Pour cela, je vais tenter de répondre aux interrogations suivantes : Comment les femmes du roman affrontent-elles les crises que traversent leur vie telles que la mort, la trahison, l'indifférence, les crises politiques et finalement, la révolution ? Dans quelle mesure la révolution influence-t-elle le destin des femmes ? Pour quelles raisons les femmes posent-elles un regard différent sur cet événement qu'est la révolution ? Comment parviennent-elles à conserver leur liberté et leur dignité dans une période de désastres et de catastrophe sociale telle que celle-ci ?

Nancy Richler – Back to Her Russian Background

Nancy Richler, a Canadian writer from a Jewish and Russian background, has recently published only two novels, but her short stories continuously appear in numerous periodicals and anthologies. Despite the fact that the author is not yet extensively recognizable in the international literary field, her first novel, *Throwaway Angels*, was short-listed for the Arthur Ellis First Novel Award in 1996, while for the novel *Your Mouth is Lovely*, she received the Canadian Jewish Book Award for Fiction in 2003. *Your Mouth Is Lovely* is a lyrical saga of family secrets and sorrows set in turn-of-the-century, tsarist Russia. Her rich portrait of the lives of Russian Jewish women, consistently fresh and dynamic, managed to attract the attention of many readers. The novel has been translated into six languages and published in nine countries.

According to the author, the content of the novel, which takes place in Russia, was motivated by a desire to explore her own Russian heritage. Richler's family moved to Canada before her birth, but the experience of living in Russia was so painful for them that her parents "never spoke of it because they were so relieved to be out of there" (Carniol, 2002, 2). The novel tells the story of an ordinary Jewish woman, Miriam, who is unwillingly involved in the circumstances of her era and becomes a revolutionary. The author succeeds in creating both a microcosm of Jewish life in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century and a macrocosm of Russian history at the same period, at the dawn of the Communist Revolution. According to the author, the inspiration for the book came as she composed a short sketch about her own birth, even though Richler insists that the book is not autobiographical and that her intention was not to document her own feelings. The novel appears as a family

story, a saga, following the literary tradition of Dickens, Dostoevski and Tolstoy. The decision to write from the perspective of a woman was influenced firstly by a book, *Narodniki*[1] *Women*, whose study of female terrorists during the Russian revolution enthralled Richler, and secondly by her frustration with the focus on men that characterizes much of the Jewish literature of the 19th century. Consequently, she decided to incorporate the "mind-sets and activities of the women who turned to terror during that time" (Richler, 2003, 353) into her work. Richler declares, "I definitely wanted to know about women's experiences in the shtetl, [a small Jewish village]" (Carniol, 2002, 3). Her own experience of growing up in an Orthodox Jewish community helped her to write convincingly about the feelings of a Jewish woman in the 19th century.

Richler revealed that the novel is a work of fiction, but it is set in a particular time and place that she has tried to portray as accurately as possible. Some of the characters are based on historical persons. Among these are, Dora Brilliant, an explosives expert with the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and Nastya, a character based on the Izmailovich sisters, daughters of a general, whose house became the headquarters of the Socialist Revolutionary Party in Minsk (White Russia).

To present a distant historical situation with such exactness and accuracy in dates and occasions, the author had to investigate many personal memories and historical works throughout the course of her research for the book[2]. As a result, Richler created a vital, credible world, full of peculiar details, symbols and tones which are thoroughly believable. The clarity and authenticity of the narrative associate the novel with the stories of Isaac Babel[3], in which extreme reality is charged with mystery and softened with humour.

The Russian Revolution of 1905

The novel takes place during the period 1887-1912, a time of obvious crisis for Tsar Nicholas II's monarchy in Russia, including the horrific Bloody Sunday massacre and the failed revolution of 1905. It was a time of suicide attacks, demonstrations, terror, pogroms and random acts of violence among workers and peasants.

Nicholas II (son of Alexander III), the last Russian tsar[4], came to power in 1894. Like his predecessors, he stubbornly refused to allow any political change. Political and economical difficulties in Russia were intensified by a harsh defeat in the Russo-Japanese War in

1904 that was regarded as a national disgrace. The economic situation for large segments of society was desperate. The conditions in which industrial workers lived were equally depressing and prompted numerous strikes and violent outbreaks. Nicholas II found himself facing a nation that desperately needed fundamental government reforms and basic civil rights.

By 1905 two major revolutionary groups had recovered from the oppressive 1880s. The Marxist Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) was formed in 1898 and then split in 1903, forming the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, seized power in Russia in 1917 in an event known as the October Revolution.

The Socialist-Revolutionary Party (SRs)[5] was founded in Kharkov in 1900, and its secret "combat organization" arranged political assassinations, notably that of V. K. Plehve (1904) and Grand Duke Sergei (1905), two Ministers of the Interior. Miriam, the main character in the novel, also belonged to the Socialist revolution. These killings drove the government to grant more draconian powers to the police. In 1903, one-third of the Russian army in western Russia had engaged in "repressive action". The revolt started on January 22 when a peaceful, mildly reformist, protest march in St. Petersburg was shot at by troops, with more than 1,000 killed or injured. This day became known as "Bloody Sunday"[6].

The massacre caused revolt throughout the nation. All across Russia, different sections of the people moved into active protest. The peasants and workers joined with the middle classes, intelligentsia and (minority) national groups against the absolutism and oppression of the Tsarist monarchy. Each class had different aims however; the two forces that played the leading part in the revolution were the workers and the peasants, who raised economic and political demands while the middle-classes sought mostly the latter. The workers' act of resistance was the strike. There were massive strikes in St. Petersburg immediately after Bloody Sunday; over 400,000 workers were involved by the end of January. The tsar left the country and headed to America, where he spent the next few months at a peace conference working to put a complete end to the recent Russo-Japanese War.

Once back in Russia, the Tsar issued the October Manifesto after a particularly violent strike in October, a document which gave basic

rights and liberties to the people, and brought an end to the 1905 Russian Revolution. A ministerial government was to be put in place, and the Duma was elected[7]. The Manifesto put an end to the bitter 1905 Revolution, and there were few revolts in the following years.

Miriam – An Unwilling Revolutionary

The novel demonizes the revolutionary spirit, an evil force that seduces and then destroys, while it glorifies the courage and strength of women struggling for their freedom and identity. The novel is also unique for its portrayal of a strong-willed even though confused woman, Miriam, influenced by both her religious upbringing and the superstitious surroundings of her childhood and youth. *Your Mouth Is Lovely* captures Miriam's life, and shows how small choices, twists of fate, and betrayals can determine a particular life, even at great, transitional moments in history. The novel is both a romance and a meditation on the changes that swept through Russia at the beginning of the 19th century. All the main characters embody the conflicting impulses of the epoch, crucified between old and new.

The storyteller and the protagonist is a young mother, Miriam, who is only 23 and serving a life sentence in a Siberian prison for violent and subversive action against the state. She was sent to Siberia at the age of 17. The story is her memoir in the form of letters to her six-year-old daughter, who was taken away from her at birth. Miriam's greatest wish is to explain to her daughter the inevitability of fate which had brought her to prison and to expose the mystery of her birth and background to her. So, the tale is told with the tenderness of a mother's love, despite the hardships the characters endure. Miriam spends most of her time in flashback, but she gives us glimpses of her life in prison. She lives with several other women "politicals" in a frigid shack whose interior is coated with ice all winter. In summer, they grow a stingy garden in a courtyard outside. Madness is always on the edge of each woman's consciousness, and it intrudes so frequently that they have devised specific methods of trying to help each other hold onto sanity. "We are young, were once hopeful. We expected fire, revolution, perhaps a martyr's death. Never this monotony, this slow rot, this silence in which they have entombed us" (Richler, 2003, 82). The ecstasy is over. The idea of the revolution is not enough to keep the women's spirits high. Most of them become spiritually dead after some years in prison. The meaning of the cause disappears in the face of everyday survival in Si-

beria, and the women start longing for their families, children and homes. Miriam does not feel guilty for what she has done, but she hardly realizes why she has done it. The revolution loses its meaning for her the first day she spends in jail. She comforts herself with the idea that such is her destiny, which could not have been avoided, and her religious education helps her to survive the hopelessness of her situation. She knows she is dying, so she tries to explain her intentions to her daughter.

Miriam starts her confession with the painful circumstances of her birth in a small Jewish town in the north of White Russia. Because of her mother's suicide, Miriam gains the reputation of a child "with evil fate" and "marked by death". She says with bitter irony, "I shouldn't have lived, of course. A more respectful child would have died" (Richler, 2003, 20). Miriam's village sits between a pine forest and a vast marsh. It is isolated from the outside world, and the inhabitants are captured in their own superstition, prejudice and gossip. The women still believe in curses and in a malevolent supernatural.

Miriam's intelligent, independent and reasonable stepmother Tsila is an outcast, too. She tries to teach Miriam to see the world with her own eyes and to follow her own destiny, but even she cannot satisfy Miriam's wish for a different life. Miriam feels a certain connection with Tsila but cannot identify herself with other girls and women in the village who follow old traditions and spend their lives obeying their parents, serving their husbands, and reading the Torah. Miriam epitomizes the destiny of an abandoned child, alien in her own family and in her own community.

Miriam is a completely believable character, with the warmth, the fears and flaws of a real person. As a child, she begins to long for independence, though she is not well equipped for it, due to her sheltered upbringing. Miriam grows up insecure, seeking out approval wherever she can find it, because "[t]he cold indifference that had greeted my birth […] had chilled me so deeply that I craved warmth, sought it from every gaze that came my way, warmth and reassurance that were rarely forthcoming" (Richler, 2003, 140). Soon enough, approval comes along in the form of Sara Gittleman, the first girl who befriends Miriam, because she somehow knows, that Miriam is different from the rest. She becomes Miriam's gateway into the secret world of the socialist revolutionary. But Miriam's political involvement is not rooted in deep socialist conviction, ra-

ther, it is almost accidental, the product of friendship, grief, and circumstances. Miriam explains why she decided to join the circle in the following words: "It was a grief, a grief that in that early stage was still simple in its demands of me: to find what comfort I could by immersing myself in the same world Sara has inhabited" (Richler, 2003, 155).

Miriam is driven and shaped by the core of loneliness within her soul, and the "circle" appears to be the only opportunity to gain respect and sympathy from her comrades. She is not aware of obvious political and social crises in the country because her own spiritual situation is so miserable that she expends all her mental forces in discovering her own identity and her own way of life. Participation in the revolutionary movement enables her to gain sympathy and respect from the others, to become a member of a certain community, to overcome her isolation. Her aims are not political, but personal.

Through a series of events, Miriam finds herself increasingly drawn to the revolutionary activities in her small town, but her only true intention is to rebel against the other inhabitants, who are frustrated, envious and narrow-minded. Raised in a small community, she is truly disconnected from the world around her, and her whole life is one long attempt to discover the mystery of her birth and to revolutionize her own spirit. Revolution, which at the beginning gives Miriam an opportunity to overcome her loneliness and desperation, finally deceives and destroys her. She moves to Kiev to find Tsila's sister Bayla and is arrested for the first time. She spends six terrible months in jail, hardly realizing what has happened to her, but after her release she continues to help the revolutionaries. Again, her reasons are rooted in her isolation and a deep wish to become a member of a certain community: "It was only as I rushed through the streets with Nina after work that I began to feel a lightening of my mood, a relief that persisted as I gathered with others to discuss problems and issues not exclusively my own" (Richler, 2003, 230). She gets pregnant by Bayla's lover and is soon arrested again. Bayla flees to Canada with her new born daughter and Miriam is sent to Siberia for killing a soldier. Richler describes wonderfully how forces beyond one's immediate control manipulate lives. Miriam is caught at the unfortunate centre of a storm, and she has no option but to be drawn in. Her only explanation of her choice is the following, "I just thought that life could be better, finer" (Richler, 2003, 250).

She follows the stream of events, and even as the inevitable conclusion approaches, we find Miriam watching everything from a distance.

Revolution and Women in Tsarist Russia

The position of women, especially those who belonged to the lowest social classes, at the beginning of the 20th century in Russia was desperate. Russian women were weighed down with the burden of patriarchal family relations that served the class interests of the semi-feudal, semi-imperialist state. According to Laura Engelstein[8], imperial Russian law established an autocratic system of power within the family, similar to the one governing the operation of the state: the husband wielded absolute authority over the wife, and the father entirely dominated the children. Typically, the patriarchal situation prevented women from leaving their households or undertaking paid employment without the formal permission of father or husband, who controlled their access to the necessary official papers. No law protected women against physical abuse short of severe bodily injury (Engelstein, 1992, 74-74). Women from aristocratic families were also irredeemably "backward" and apolitical, unable to make any decisions about their place of living, property, education or travel. Passports usually remained in the hands of fathers or husbands, who prevented women from moving freely and participating in any juridical procedures without their approval.

Aleksandra Kollontai[9] explained in her manifesto to women workers that the life led by six million proletarian women in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century was still too dark, too unenlightened, and their existence too much in the grip of hunger, deprivation and humiliation. She appealed to women to protest against the conditions surrounding the woman worker: a 12-hour, or at best an 11-hour working day, a starvation wage of 12-15 roubles a month, accommodation in overcrowded barracks, the absence of any form of assistance from the state or society in case of illness, pregnancy or unemployment, the impossibility of organizing self-help, as the tsarist government savagely persecuted any attempts at organisation by the workers. Kollontai indicates that the main reason for women's passivity was their burden of oppression, terror of the spectre of poverty and starvation, refusal to believe in a brighter future and the possibility of fighting to cast off the yoke of tsarism and capital (Kollontai, 1984, 311-315).

Nadezhda Krupskaya, a Bolshevik leader and author of the pre-revolutionary pamphlet, "The Woman Worker", describes company housing at the Thornton Broadcloth Mill, which, like much of Russian industry, was foreign-owned,

> Workers lived in a huge building with an endless number of rooms, the partitions not up to the ceiling [...]. The din was ear-splitting. The walls were green with damp. There were two families in each of the rooms, which were not large [...]. They dried their laundry in the room, and it was so stifling the oil-lamps sputtered [...]. Dormitory rooms were terribly crowded [...]. The working day was incredibly long (12-14 hours at the textile mills). We saw some of the women workers lying on the cots in exhaustion, their faces in their pillows. (Mandel, 1975, 117)

With the 1905 revolution, the general picture radically changed, with many women now participating in events such as those led by Father Gapon (Bloody Sunday). Between 1905 and 1917, two clear currents emerged in Russia that vied for leadership in the women's movement. One was socialist, seeking nothing less than the complete liberation of all workers and peasants from class domination. The other was a feminist grouping that was more middle and upper class in its composition and political orientation. It focused its struggle on the right to vote; an important bourgeois democratic demand.

Revolution and Women in *Your Mouth is Lovely* – A New Hope

In her novel, Richler illustrates the importance of revolution primarily for women who proved to be strong and courageous during the Russian Revolution. Revolution for them was an opportunity to prove their equality with men and to enhance their own, mostly miserable, lives with the adventurous spirit of danger. They fought as hard as men and were treated the same as men. A Revolutionary circle is the only place in the novel where males and females are equal and women often behave even more determinedly, more heroically. The society of the novel expects men and women to conform to specific gender roles. In this society, women have to suppress their needs and desires and focus attention on men and children. Women are not even allowed to take credit for their own intelligence, bravery, and strength. A woman's chief duty is to sacrifice herself to the physical and emotional needs of others and, above

all, to submit to her husband. She is excluded from political life, which seemed to be so attractive and an exclusive men's domain, and is imprisoned in her own home. Other women in the novel, Bayla, Ljudmila, Malka, Sara, Dora, as well as Miriam, want to escape their destinies and to participate in something important. They feel excitement and joy in the face of all dangers accompanying the participation in the revolutionary movement, and they are proud of being "comrades". As Miriam says, they probably wanted life to be better, finer. The real differences in civil and political rights between men and women belonging to the same social class had been ignored for far too long within the traditional working class movement and thus encouraged women to sympathize with the only tangible opportunity – revolution.

In the novel, which stresses the importance of the spiritual involvement of women in the revolutionary movement, considering revolution as a kind of new, almost religious, liberation, women are entrusted with the same tasks as men: making of bombs, hiding weapons, spreading of papers, teaching of workers and participating in suicide attacks. Men are presented as a driving power behind the revolutionary movement, who inspire and encourage each other and new members, but women are a revolutionary soul. Their stoicism and vulnerability give the whole revolutionary context a special human meaning and goal. Women's devotion to the revolution comes from their hearts and, while men long for concrete results, higher salary, more work-places, more political power, women are satisfied with the process. They need the feeling of being equal, of being important because revolution effaces differences between genders. Women had the chance to escape their house imprisonment and to enter an alien but attractive and equitable world of struggle for freedom. During the time of revolutionary attacks, planning and risk, women feel alive, cherishing hopes that their situation will improve[10] after the revolution is over.

Conclusion

Miriam is not a typical revolutionary female, strong and determined, full of passion and desire to change the world. Nancy Richler shows revolution through the eyes of a completely frustrated and confused person, just one among many. Miriam does not understand revolutionary intentions; she longs for a free life and the chance to make her own choices. Revolution is the only way for her to be finally heard, even though her political involvement is almost accidental. She feels

desperate and allows herself be caught in the revolutionary fight, which leads her to her tragic end, but she does not regret it. At least she has been free and has experienced life, love and maternity. In her native village women are also imprisoned and their jail is even worse than hers in Siberia. Miriam faces all the catastrophes, from her first arrest until her final imprisonment, with dignity and a strange reassurance that such is her destiny. She makes friends among the revolutionists, her first friends, experiences desperation and relief, love and betrayal. Revolution was her sacred land, her blind choice, her way into freedom. If she had stayed in her town, she would never have experienced life and discovered her inner strength.

Revolution gave Miriam and other women in the novel a chance to escape isolation and an opportunity to break out of the boundaries of their lives. As women they committed two mortal sins: they killed men and, even worse, they dared to escape their destinies, to challenge the social order. Instead of following the way of generations of women in small Siberian towns and being enslaved for their entire lives, they resisted and were punished for it. For one year of freedom Miriam and Malka had to pay a lifetime imprisonment, Sara and Ljudmila with their lives, Dora her health and Bayla with her family.

Miriam's disconnectedness and longing set the tone of the book, which is both sweet and sorrowful. Her hopes for herself are lost but, because of her daughter, who is safe in Montreal, her life has not been without meaning and purpose.

Endnotes

1. Narodniki (närôd'nikē), Russian populists, adherents of an agrarian socialist movement active from the 1860s to the end of the 19th century. The movement attracted intellectuals who believed that political propaganda among the peasants ("narod", "people") would lead to their revolt and the liberalization of the tsarist regime (Shukman, 1982, 145). Martha Maxwell's book (Pergamon Press, 1990) describes the daily life of the Socialist Revolutionary women who were imprisoned at Maltzev between 1906 and 1912.

2. Including Orlando Figes's *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891-1924*. Penguin Books, 1998; Richard Stite's *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism and Bolshevism, 1860-1930*. Princeton University Press, 1978; *The*

Russian Worker: Life and Labor Under the Tsarist Regime. Victoria E. Bonnell (ed.), University of California, 1935; Simon Solomon's *My Jewish Roots*. Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956, and many others.

3. A short story writer and playwright, who was a correspondent for the Red Army forces of Semyon Budyonny during the Russian civil war. Babel's fame is based on his stories of the Jews in Odessa and his novel *Red Cavalry* (1926). He was the first major Russian Jewish writer to write in Russian. His destiny was tragic: on January 27, 1940, he was shot, on Stalin's orders, for espionage.

4. Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra and five children, four daughters and a son, were executed in Yekaterinburg shortly after the October Revolution. The imaginary story of his youngest daughter Anastasia, who supposedly escaped death, inspired one of the most mysterious legends in the 20th century (King & Wilson, 2003, 34).

5. The Socialist Revolutionary Party was an agrarian party founded by various Populist groups in 1901. Its program, adopted in 1906, called for the overthrow of the autocracy, the establishment of a classless society, self-determination for national minorities, and socialization of the land, which was to be distributed among the peasants on the basis of need. The party split after the Russian Revolution of 1917, and its radical wing joined the Bolshevik government. It was suppressed by Vladimir Lenin after the Russian Civil War (Shukman, 1982, 45).

6. Bloody Sunday (Russian: Кровавое воскресенье) was an incident on 22 January [O.S. 9 January] 1905 where unarmed, peaceful demonstrators marching to present a petition to Tsar Nicholas II were gunned down by Imperial guards in St. Petersburg. Despite the consequences of this action, the Tsar was never fully blamed because he was not in the city at the time of the protest (Shukman, 1982, 78).

7. The Duma served as a second governing body to aid the Tsar, but it had little power, and suffered difficulties later.

8. Her research focuses on the social and cultural history of late imperial Russia, with attention to the role of law, medicine, and the arts in public life. She has also explored themes in the history of gender, sexuality, and religion.

9. Kollontai was a Russian Social-Democrat from the 1890s, active in the international Socialist Women's movement, and a member of

the Mensheviks before 1914. She was elected to the Central Committee in 1917 and became a Commissar for Social Welfare in the Soviet government. She was also a diplomat of the Soviet Union in Mexico, Sweden and Norway and one of the very few "Old Bolsheviks" to escape death during the Great Purges of the 1930s (Shukman, 1982, 156).

10. Indeed, with the Russian Revolution of 1917, women won unprecedented gains, free abortion on demand, access to child care and the right to divorce, to name a few.

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A Comparative Study of Newfoundland and Irish Fiddle Styles

Abstract

Fiddle styles in Newfoundland are moulded primarily by French-Canadian, Scottish and Irish influences. The proposed paper will examine traditional fiddle styles in Newfoundland and will evaluate how they were influenced by Irish fiddle playing, with particular reference to technique, repertoire, style (including ornamentation, variation, tone, tuning and tempo), function, performing situation and status. Indeed the best know fiddle exponents, Emile Benoit (1913-1992) and Guinchard (1899-1990), display a mixture of influences including French-Canadian, Irish, and Scottish, in addition to their personal creativity.

Résumé

Des styles violoneux en Terre Neuve sont façonnés principalement par des influences franco-canadiennes, écossaises et irlandaises. Cette intervention propose un examen des styles traditionnels violoneux en Terre Neuve et une évaluation de la manière dont ils étaient influencés par la façon irlandaise de jouer au violon, avec référence particulière à la technique, le répertoire, le style (y compris l'ornementation, la variation, le ton, la mise au point et le tempo) la fonction/le fonctionnement, la situation performante et le statut. Les joueurs les plus célèbres, Emile Benoit et Rufus Guinchard démontrent un mélange d'influences franco-canadiennes, irlandaises et écossaises, en plus de leur créativité personnelle.

Introduction

Newfoundland is an island off the east coast of Canada with a population of *c*485,000 and an area of *c*11,390km. According to Frederick Rowe, Newfoundland is about eighteen hundred miles across the Atlantic to Ireland (Rowe, 1980, 2). The heritage of Newfoundland was formed from a mixture of geographical and historical forces. The island of Newfoundland was recognized for its cod fisheries and

much of the social, economic and historical developments of the province were influenced by its fisheries. The Europeans such as the Irish, English, Scottish and French were all attracted to these vibrant fishing grounds particularly during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many Europeans, particularly from the sixteenth century onwards, came there as both seasonal and permanent workers. Initially many of the migrants only stayed for the summer fishing season but eventually many of them began to settle permanently in areas known today as outports. Migrations occurred primarily from: (1) the southeast of Ireland; (2) the west of England; (3) the west coast of Scotland; and (4) the Brittany region of France. The English and Irish settlers settled on the east coast of Newfoundland often in the same outports. In the eighteenth century the French were scattered around the province but today they are mainly to be found on the Port-au-Port Peninsula on the west coast. The descendents of the Scottish Gaelic speaking settlers also live on the west coast and they are particularly evident in the Codroy Valley. All settlers brought their own customs, beliefs, dialects and cultural attributes to Newfoundland and of course this influenced the music.
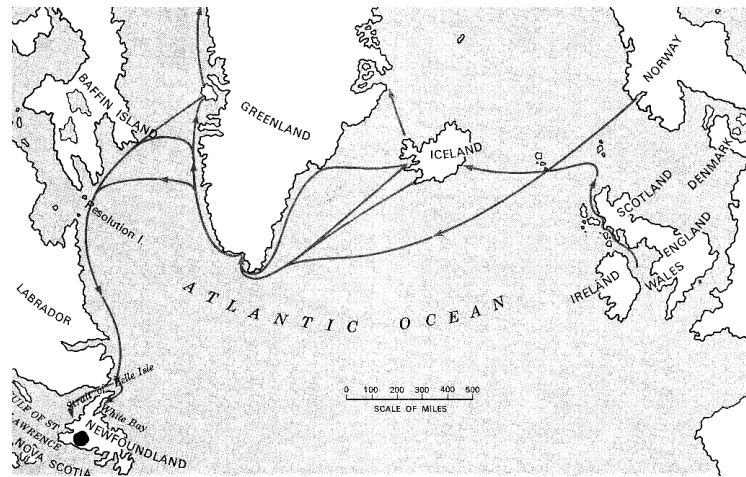

Fig. 1: Map of Newfoundland

Fiddle Styles

According to Lawrence E. McCullough, "style denotes the composite form of the distinctive features that identify an individual's musical performance" (McCullough, 1977, 85). In other words style refers to the features that distinguish the playing of an individual or group of performers. Characteristically the components of style include repertoire, ornamentation, variation (in both the melodic and rhythmic patterns), structure (including phrasing, articulation, accentuation), and timbre and tone production. It is the combination of, or the occurrence or non-occurrence of the above elements, which distinguish each individual's style from another. These variables may be added or subtracted as the individual performer pleases. The different variables help to create a basic analytical model by which one can judge a musician's performance.

Different areas and regions in a country may favour one or more of the above stylistic elements to a greater or lesser extent. In Ireland these styles are referred to as regional styles and are often named after the various counties that they are associated with. In Ireland we have a number of regional styles including: Northern style consisting of the Donegal style, the Sligo style, the Sliabh Luachra style, and the east and west Clare styles and individual personal styles. Fiddle styles in Newfoundland and fiddle styles in Ireland vary from place to place. In Newfoundland we have five main fiddle styles including the East-Coast style, the Codroy Valley style, the Port-au-Port style, the Northern-Peninsula style and the old-time style (Smith, 2000).

Newfoundland Fiddle Styles

The East-Coast Style

The East-Coast style refers to the fiddle style in the Avalon Peninsula and it is predominantly heard in places such as St John's, Torbay, Spaniard's Bay, Carbonear, Bat de Verde, The Irish loop, Bonavista and Fortune Bays, and the north-east coast. This style has a distinctly Irish sound and much of the repertoire played is of Irish origin. Paul O'Neill describes St. John's as "one of the oldest cities of the Western hemisphere" (O'Neill, 1974, 1). Fishermen from Somerset, Devon, Waterford, Cork settled here for over 500 years. Today it still retains a rich and varied cultural tradition. Many of the younger generation of fiddle players play every week at informal music sessions in pubs in the St John's area. These sessions are similar to the sessions in any Irish town or city. The session is a recent

development in Newfoundland and was influenced by Irish musicians visiting there in the 1980s, particularly by the Westmeath-born fiddle player Seamus Creagh and the Cavan-born flute player Rob Murphy, who both lived in St John's for a number of years. Some of their repertoire is still heard in the sessions in the city. They both were an inspiration to fiddle players in St John's and Billy Sutton a fiddler who resides in the city and who is originally from Harbour Grace still plays much of Creagh's repertoire. When Billy was asked about other fiddler players that he admired, he also mentioned the Irish fiddlers Frankie Gavin and Tommy Peoples (O'Connell, 2006).

The older generation of players in the Avalon Peninsula also play in an Irish style. Many of them never received formal training but grew up hearing the music played for dances in the halls, in their homes, and at community gatherings. Informal community gatherings such as "times" or kitchen parties were a common occurrence in small outport communities and here the musicians would gather and play for the dancers. "House Times" were similar to house dances in Ireland and involved dancing, singing, drinking, gambling and were usually an all-night affair lasting till the early hours of the morning[1]. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, dancing was popular in both countries. Dances such as the reel and the quadrille were common. In Ireland, initially the most popular instrument was the fiddle but in the early 1930s the piano and button accordions and the banjo became more popular. Similarly in Newfoundland, the fiddle was a popular instrument but again it eventually was replaced by the button accordion and the melodeon. In Newfoundland, during a house Time, the mouth organ was often used. If there was no musician available "chin music" was used. Chin music refers to "the mouthing of the notes of a tune when a musical instrument is not available" (Young, 2006, 49). In both Ireland and Newfoundland the clergy discouraged dancing. In Newfoundland, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Wesleyan Methodists frowned upon dancing in schools and church halls and as a result more house dances occurred (Cox, 1980, 57). In Ireland, the opposite happened as the Catholic Church discouraged dancing in houses and at the crossroads and when the dance hall act of 1935 was passed it forced all dances to be licensed. Thus, dancing moved from the house to the public hall where they were supervised by the clergy. In both countries, informal dances occurred outside. In Ireland such dances were referred to as "dancing at the crossroads" and usually occurred during the summer months (Moloney, 2003, xiv). In New-

foundland, such dances usually involved between twenty to fifty people (Cox, 1980, 60). In the latter half of the twentieth centuries, dancing declined in both Ireland and Newfoundland. In both Ireland and Newfoundland with the advent of new forms of entertainment and improved communication and technology, dancing declined.

Like in Ireland folk music is an aural tradition and often was passed down within families. Many fiddle players never learnt how to read music but instead learnt their repertoire from listening to other musicians in the locality or by listening to radio and records. Music was a part of their everyday life. Kevin Broderick, who was born in Lower Island Cove in 1923, currently resides in Bay de Verde. He is an example of an older player who was heavily influenced by the 1920s recordings of Michael Coleman, and Paddy Kiloran. He also listens to contemporary Irish fiddle players including Seamus Connelly, and Kevin Burke. His musical interest though is not limited to Irish fiddle players as he also likes to listen to: Jerry O' Brien (button accordionist), John Kimmel (button accordionist), The McNulty family, Winston Scotty Fitzgerald (Cape Breton Fiddle Player), Lee Cremo (Cape Breton fiddler), and Buddy Mac Master (Cape Breton fiddler). According to Glenn R. Blundon, "Broderick learned to play music on his own by listening to the record player, radio and musical programmes on television such as the Don Messer Show. He enjoys the old traditional music best, Irish, Scottish and Newfoundland tunes" (Blundon, 1982). Kevin learnt to play his first tune on the accordion at the age of seven and he began the fiddle when he was eleven or twelve. His father used to make fiddles and "there was always a fiddle in the house even though he couldn't play them very well" (Blundon, 1982). His mother used to play old-time dances on the accordion and Kevin was influenced by her love of music. His repertoire consists of mainly Irish tunes. Originally Kevin enjoyed playing for both square dances and festivals however today he prefers to play in the comfort of his own home. He enjoys playing with others and he only tends to play when someone visits the house. His style may be described as a simple Irish dance style. Irish fiddle music has made more of a transition from a dance accompaniment idiom to a listening idiom, thus many Irish fiddle players tend to use much more embellishment. Kevin plays many tunes that are commonly heard in Ireland including "Tobin's Favourite Jig", "Sally Garden's reel", "Easy Dropper Jig", "Irish Washerwoman Jig" and "Haste to the Wedding Jig".

The Codroy Valley Style

Codroy Valley is situated on the south-western corner of Newfoundland. The Codroy Valley fiddle style is reminiscent of both the Cape Breton fiddle style, and the Scottish fiddle style. It also displays characteristics of the Donegal fiddle style in Ireland. Many of the people living in the Codroy Valley today are of Acadian decent[2]. Both Scottish and Irish families emigrated from Cape Breton to the Codroy Valley in the early 1800s having heard reports of good soil and easily obtainable land (Mac Innes, 1997, 81). The main tune types heard are the strathspey, the march, and the reel. Unlike other parts of Newfoundland medleys consisting of the strathspey, a march and a reel are common. According to Margaret Bennett many tunes in this region were brought over from Scotland in the mid-1800s, and Gaelic airs and waltzes were added which had been learnt in Cape Breton or via the Sydney Radio Station[3] (Bennett, 1989, 76). Popular tunes played in the Valley include; "Calum Crúbach" or "Tom Dey" and "Lord MacDonald's" Reel. Irish immigrants settled in the Northern part of the Codroy Valley. As a result of this influx of Irish immigrants, it is not uncommon in the valley to hear jigs and reels that are commonly heard in Ireland. These tunes are often referred to as square dances and today, they are still used to accompany dances. Similar to Cape Breton fiddle players, Codroy Valley fiddle players also employ a number of bowing techniques; including; (1) Hack-Bowing, (2) Snap Bowing, (3) Cross-Bowing and (4) Back-Bowing. Some ornaments common to the style are the cut, treble and, to a lesser degree, double stops. Also characteristic feature of this style is the strong downbeat pulse and the dotted Scottish snap rhythm. Some fiddle players with the Codroy Valley style include Walter J. and Jim Mac Isaac, Lisa Mac Arthur, Joe AuCoin, and David Mac-Donald.

(1) Hack Bowing: "is a term used to describe the use of a down-bow on the dotted quaver followed by the up-bow on the semiquaver" (Menuhin, 1988, xix).

Fig. 2: Hack Bowing

(2) Snap Bowing: "Snap bowing is the most fundamental strokes in strathspey playing. The bow is moved in the same direction for each note, either up or down, with the shortest stoppage of the bow between the dotted quaver and the semiquaver" (Menuhin, 1988, xix).

Fig. 3: Snap Bowing

(3) Cross-Bowing: This technique involves slurring two or more notes together across two strings.

Fig. 4: Cross Bowing

(4) Back-Bowing: "is the term used for the employment of an up-bow, generally in the strong beat of a bar" (Menuhin, 1988, xx).

Fig. 5: Back Bowing

Fig. 6: Scottish Snap Rhythm

Danny Macdonald is one of the last of a generation of fiddle players from the Codroy Valley. At the age of 13 he started to learn the fiddle mainly from playing with his father and other musicians at "house times" and square dances. His father, John Archie Macdonald was also a fiddle player and no doubt was an influential figure. Danny describes his own fiddle style as a Cape Breton style and like many other fiddle players in the area he admires the fiddle music of Nova Scotia. Danny's favourite Cape Breton fiddle player is Cameron Chisholm and he also admires Jerry Holland, and Buddy and Natalie MacMaster. Much of Danny's repertoire like other fiddlers in the area consists of marches, reels, stratspeys, highlands and few waltzes and no laments. He uses double stopping, finger cuts and separate bowing in his playing. Today there are less "house times" and as a result most fiddle players tend to play at festivals and folk nights and the occasional organized square dance. Most fiddlers in the Codroy Valley prefer to play with some form of accompaniment preferably the guitar or the piano vamping (O'Connell, 2006).

Port-au-Port Fiddle Style

The Port-au-Port peninsula is situated in the western part of Newfoundland. This fiddle style is evident in places such as Black Duck Brook and Lourdes. France gained unique fishing rights to Western Newfoundland between the early 1700s and 1900s. As a result many French fishermen came from Brittany and eventually settled in the Port-au-Port peninsula. In the 1830s more Acadians settled on the west coast of Newfoundland and by the 1900s there were also English and Scottish settlers. Thus, this style has a French sound but has traces of Scottish, Irish and Canadian influences. Unlike Irish fiddle playing, clogging (tapping the feet alternatively on the beat and offbeat) is often used as a percussive accompaniment in the Port-au-Port style. The Port-au-Port style often has tunes in 6/4 time and extra beats added at the end of parts e.g. An Emile Benoit composition: "Jim Hodder's reel" (Russell, 1990, 32).

Fig. 7: Jim Hodder's reel (transcribed by Kelly Russell).

Howard Oliver is an example of a self taught fiddle player with a Port-au-Port style. He lives in Mainland in the Port-au-Port peninsula and at the age of 14 he started to play the fiddle. He learnt most of his repertoire from listening to recordings of French Newfoundland music and from listening to the Scottish hour on the radio. During his childhood there were a lot more fiddle players in Mainland. Today, he is the last of a generation of fiddle players as in many parts of Newfoundland the accordion has replaced the fiddle. His style reflects a combination of both Scottish and French elements. The Scottish elements are evident through his use of separate bowing, double stopping, his use of finger cuts and the type of repertoire he chooses to play. The French elements of his style are seen through his combination of a fast tempo and through the structure of the tunes he prefers to play (many of these tunes have extra beats added in both the first and second parts). In the Port-au-Port area fiddle players traditionally played to accompany dancers. Today, even though dancing is not as popular, fiddle players are still used to accompany dancing. Today organized square dances, festivals and the occasional "house time" are the main performance venues for fiddle players. Thus, the Port-au-Port fiddle style has not separated completely from the dance (O'Connell, 2006).

In both countries a lot of people play in an individual style which is often a mixture of several influences. Emile Benoit (1913-1992) from the Port-au-Port peninsula is an example of a fiddle player with an individual Port-au-Port style. Alphonsus Young (a fiddle player from the Port-au-Port peninsula) stated that "Emile had his own way of playing which is a mixture of French, Scottish and Irish with his

own compositional techniques" (O'Connell, 2006). Emile can be considered a prolific composer of Newfoundland fiddle tunes and also a creative storyteller. Emile had a unique way of composing tunes, many of which were inspired by his immediate surroundings and experiences. He wrote and named many tunes after the different people he encountered in his travels. He was discovered during the Folk revival of the 1970s and as result he travelled both nationally and internationally. Many people were inspired by his unique way of playing including Newfoundland fiddlers Kelly Russell, Christina Smyth, and Colin Carrigan.

The Northern-Peninsula Style

This style is found mainly in areas situated in the Northern part of Newfoundland such as Hawkes Bay, St Anthony and Cow Head. This style also has traces of French, Scottish and to a lesser extent Irish influences. In the Northern Peninsula anyone who played for a dance was called a "fiddler" regardless of their instrument. Rufus Guinchard (1899-1990) of Daniel's Harbour on the Northern Peninsula is an example of a player with a Northern peninsula style. His style reflects a mixture of influences ranging from French-Canadian, Irish, Scottish and personal creativity. He was the last of a generation of fiddle players in the community of Hawkes Bay. His style is fast and strongly associated with the dance. At the age of seventy-two, Rufus began his performing career due to the 1970s folk revival. He became very famous and started to tour the world with other well-known musicians from Newfoundland such as the fiddler Kelly Russell, and guitarist Jim Payne. He had his own unique way of holding the instrument: he held the violin with his left hand and rested the body of the instrument against the right hand side of his chest. He held the bow halfway up the stick. Unlike Irish fiddle players, and similar to the Port-au-Port fiddle style Rufus often added extra beats at the end of parts. Rufus did use finger cuts but this was not typical of the area. It is probable therefore that he was influenced by the Irish style here.

Old-Time Fiddle Style

This style developed in the late twentieth century and was influenced by the Canadian fiddle players Don Messer and Jean Carrigan. This style has traces of "down-east" or old style Canadian and American Country. During the 1950s, American military air bases were set up in Newfoundland and transmitters were installed so the American

soldiers could listen to American radio shows. The Newfoundland people could also access such radio shows that featured both "rock and roll", the old style Canadian and South American country music. This old-style fiddle style features much double stopping and tunes that use an alteration of first and third fingers (Stobbe, 2000, 31). It is not associated with a particular area of Newfoundland. Old-time fiddle style is associated predominantly with waltzes, reels and show pieces (Russell, 2003, 9).

Fig. 8: "Devil's Dream" (transcribed by Gordon Stobbe). There is an altera-
tion of first and third fingers in bars 22, 23, 30 and 31.

Fig. 9: Ragtime Annie (transcribed by Kelly Russell).

The fiddle player, Pat Hynes was born in Benoit's Cove in the western part of Newfoundland. At the age of 7 he started to learn the fiddle from his uncle. His style can be described as an old-time fiddle style. His influences include the southern American country fiddle style, the old-east Canadian style, and the Nova Scotia fiddle style. Fiddle players that he admires include: Tommy Jackson, Al Churney, Lee Cremo, Don Messer and Jean Carrigan. His repertoire consists of mainly jigs, reels, and southern and old time show pieces. He tends to use a lot of double stopping and unlike other fiddle styles in Ireland and Newfoundland he often plays in third position.

Influential Factors

Before the development of the media and transport in both Ireland and Newfoundland there were a lot more local styles associated with particular communities. In both countries, both local and regional fiddle styles were affected by the development of the media and transport. Today many of these local styles are extinct and what exist are mainly regional and personal styles. Radio helped to bring fiddle music to a wider audience. In Newfoundland, during the 1930s, radio programs such as *The Big Six* and *The Irene B. Mellom* were very popular (Fitzpatrick, 2001, 2). Such programs often featured recordings of artists from both Newfoundland and Ireland. The Irish-American group known as the McNulty family were a big hit on these types of shows. Radio exposed fiddle players in both countries to popular music from both America and Great Britain, and during the Second World War the influence of jazz and popular music increased.

The recordings of Michael Coleman were one of the first major recordings of a fiddle player to reach both Ireland and Newfoundland. Most fiddle players would have listened to his recordings around the time of their release which was during the 1920s-1930s. Many fiddlers would have incorporated some of the characteristics of Coleman's style into their own playing. Thus these 1920s recordings are often blamed for the disintegration of local styles. Many people stopped playing in their own local style and instead started imitating the style of Michael Coleman. As a result, many local styles have disappeared.

The evolution of style is a cumulative process which involves a conglomeration of elements to be absorbed unconsciously from various sources and then reshaped to form a new style that is distinct, yet

never entirely divorced from its original form. Personal styles are a good example of this and today in both countries they seem to be on the increase due to the larger number of commercial recordings available to musicians. Repertoire is an important element of style and often fiddle players will play particular tunes types more than others because of the area they came from. There are different names for the various tunes types in both Ireland and Newfoundland. Many tunes types in Newfoundland have an Irish equivalent. The Newfoundland "double" refers to tunes either in 6/8 or 12/8 and is called a jig (6/8) or slide (12/8) in Ireland. In Ireland the slide is usually associated with Sliabh Luachra area (an area encompassing parts of Cork, Kerry, and parts of Limerick). The "single" refers to a tune in 2/4 tempo which is called a polka in Ireland and again is mainly associated with the Sliabh Luachra area. The Newfoundland "treble" is in 4/4 time and is commonly known as the reel in Ireland. The hornpipe and set dance are not commonly heard in Newfoundland. The slow air instrumental tradition in Ireland originnated from both the piping and harping traditions. These instrumental airs do not form part of the repertoire in Newfoundland. Waltzes are mainly associated with the northern part of Ireland and are not commonly played throughout the country. In Newfoundland waltzes are more commonly heard and are associated with the old-time fiddle style. The strathspeys, fling, germans, and schottische or highland, represent the Scottish influence in both countries. In Ireland these tune types are mainly played in the northern counties and in Newfoundland they are mainly played in the Codroy Valley.

Irish Tune Types	Newfoundland Tune Types
Jigs: double jig 6/8, slip jig 9/8, Single jig 12/8	Double 6/8 or 12/8
Polka 2/4 (associated mainly with the Sliabh Luachra area)	Single 2/4
Reel: Single reel 2/4, Double reel 2/2	Treble 4/4
Hornpipe 4/4, Barndance 4/4	N/A
Set dances 4/4 or 6/8	N/A
Slow instrumental Airs, Airs of Songs, O' Carolan Airs	Similarly, songs are often played as instrumental Airs. However a separate instrumental air tradition does not exist here. O' Carolan airs are not part of the repertoire.

Waltzes 3/4 (heard mainly in Donegal)	Waltzes 3/4
Strathspeys 4/4, Fling 4/4, German 4/4, Schottische or Highland 4/4, Marches 4/4, (associated mainly with the Northern part of Ireland)	Strathspeys 4/4, Fling 4/4, German's 4/4, Schottische or Highland 4/4, marches 4/4, (associated mainly with the Codroy Valley).

Fig. 10: Repertoire

Structure

Unlike Ireland, Newfoundland tunes are often played beginning with the higher part (normally second part or "turn" in the Irish tradition). As is the case in Ireland, tunes usually have two main parts, with both parts being repeated. In both countries older musicians tended to repeat one tune for the figure of a dance unlike the modern practice of organizing tunes in selections or medleys. Similarly, in both Newfoundland and Ireland, tune names and melodies vary slightly from place to place. Some Irish tunes have been adapted and renamed in Newfoundland e.g. "Mussels in the Corner" in Newfoundland is the same as "Maggie in the Woods" in Ireland.

Phrasing

Phrasing refers to the way in which the main melody can be broken up into different segments. Phrasing adds accent and verve to a performance. In Irish fiddle playing, each part usually consists of eight bars in dance music. This can naturally be sub-divided into four-bar phrases, and divided further into two-bar phrases. In Newfoundland fiddle playing phrasing is not standard and varies from place to place. The East-Coast style has the most similar repertoire to Irish fiddle music and thus the phrasing is also similar. The Codroy Valley style is influenced by Scottish music and thus has similar phrasing. In western part of Newfoundland, the Port-au-Port style and the Northern style often have extra beats added in or taken out. This often occurs at the end of parts. This is a direct influence from the fiddle music of Quebec where musicians tend to phrase a tune more freely.

Articulation

Articulation in traditional fiddle playing is determined by the way in which an individual performer uses the bow. When using legato bowing patterns a fiddler would slur a number of notes in the one

bow. In staccato bowing he/she would use mainly separate bows. Many Irish fiddle players tend to incorporate both staccato and legato elements in their bowing. In both Ireland and Newfoundland, one type of bowing tends to dominate in particular areas e.g. in Ireland the Donegal style of fiddle playing tends to be quite staccato. Similarly, in Newfoundland, the Codroy Valley style of fiddle playing tends to also use staccato type bowing. On the other hand, the east coast fiddle style in Newfoundland and the Sligo style in Ireland tend to make use of both legato and staccato bowing techniques.

Accentuation

Accentuation occurs when the performer puts a stress or accent on certain beats in the bar. This usually occurs on the main beats of a bar. However, in both Ireland and Newfoundland, accentuation is not standard. In some Newfoundland "singles" and "doubles" the accent often occurs on the off-beats. Similarly, in Ireland, the Sliabh Luachra style also has the accent on the off-beats. In the other parts of Ireland and on the east coast of Newfoundland it is usual for tunes to have the accent on the main-beats.

Ornamentation

Ornamentation/embellishment is a vital part of Irish traditional music. In Irish fiddle playing both finger and bow ornaments are used. The main ornaments in Irish fiddle playing are: (1) single cuts, (2) double cuts, (3) full rolls, (4) half rolls, (5) open string rolls, (6) double stops, (7) drones, (8) trebling. Most ornamentation is used in the east-coast of Newfoundland, including both finger cuts and bow trebles. This may be due to the fact that the east coast of Newfoundland was settled by Irish immigrants and thus this style has a lot of Irish traits. Indeed in this area, many of the younger generation of fiddle players are now listening to the latest Irish groups and are using the full range of Irish embellishments. Due to the various settlements in the western part of Newfoundland the fiddle music has more traces of Scottish, French and Canadian musical traits. The Codroy Valley is strongly associated with Scottish music hence here there is much use of double stopping, trebling, and cuts. The old-time fiddle style is also heard on the west coast and these fiddlers make great use of the double stop. In the Port-au-Port peninsula some fiddlers use a finger ornament called the "squibble": "a single or double grace note using a triplet rhythm" (Quigley, 1987, 471)[4]. This ornament is associated with the influential fiddle player, Emile

Benoit, from the Port-au-Port peninsula. Some Port-au-Port fiddlers employ the use of the trill and finger vibrato in slower pieces such as waltzes. Emile Benoit was noted for exaggerating the use of the trill to keep the audience's attention.

Fig. 11: (1) The "squibble" (transcribed by Colin Quigley)

The single cut is similar to an acciaccatura in that it is a grace note which is played immediately before the main note that is being decorated. The ornament does not have any real time value but rather is crushed in between the melody notes.

Fig. 12: (2) The single cut

The double cut is particularly popular among fiddle players, and consists of two grace notes before the main note.

Fig. 13: (3) The double cut

Fig. 14: (4) full roll

The full roll is probably the most popular of all the embellishments. It consists of a main note and two subsidiary notes.

Fig. 15: (5) half roll

The half roll being similar to the full roll except that it takes up a crotchet rather than a dotted crotchet value and it starts on the grace note, the main note being omitted at the beginning.

Fig. 16: (6) open string roll

The open string roll is used to decorate open strings. It consists of the main note followed by three grace notes and ends on the main note again.

Fig. 17: (7) double stop

A double stop occurs when two notes are played at the same time. The interval of the octave is commonly used and the fourth and sixth to a lesser degree.

Fig. 18: (8) drone

Droning occurs when two strings are played simultaneously. A string is droned while the tune is played on a joining string. The drone itself is usually lower than the melody.

Fig. 19: (9) trebling

The art of trebling involves using the bow to initiate a very fast trip-let on the note being decorated. The treble is grouped in three and is normally played on one note.

Sliding is another effective ornament. It entails sliding the finger up to the note required. The slide itself consists of a microtonal change in pitch often indicated in musical notation by means of an arrow.

Variation refers to the altering of the melody by changing the me-lodic and rhythmic structure of a tune. Variation can be subtle or more elaborate depending on the individual performer's taste. The use of variation is not standard and again will usually depend on the performer in question. Among Irish fiddle players, variation is a common characteristic and is usually subtle and simple rather than elaborate and complex (although there are exceptions). It usually involves replacing long notes with embellishments or altering the rhythm slightly by adding a bowed treble or triplet. It is the combina-tion of adding in or leaving out these various different changes in the different parts and rounds of a tune that help make the rendition more interesting and avoids monotonousness. In comparison, New-foundland fiddle players tend not to use variation to the same extent and in some cases it is not used at all. This may be due to the fact that perhaps Newfoundland fiddle music has not quite made the same transition to a listening idiom as Irish fiddle music.

Fig. 20: example of subtle variation

Fiddle Techniques

In both countries many fiddlers are self-taught thus techniques are not standard. Older fiddlers both in Newfoundland and Ireland hold the fiddle lower down and slightly turned to the right. Again, in both countries the bow-hold is varied and will depend on the performer. In Newfoundland many fiddle players, particularly on the west coast use lower bridges to make droning and string crossing easier. This is not as common in Ireland.

Tone is an important feature of fiddle playing and it refers to the colour, timbre and overall sound produced by the fiddle player. Factors that affect tone include: the frequency, direction, position, and strength of the bow strokes and if vibrato is used. It can vary from performer to performer and depends on the quality of the fiddle and the way in which the bow is used. In some cases fiddle players who have never received any formal training often have a harsher tone. When comparing Ireland to Newfoundland, it was apparent that some of the instruments used in Newfoundland were of a poorer quality. Tone production may also be influenced by the function of the music. In both countries fiddle music was initially used to accompany dancers. However, in the early twentieth century, in Ireland when the dance declined, fiddle players started to play for a listening audience. As a result some Irish fiddle players started to improve their overall sound and technique. In Newfoundland fiddle players mainly play to accompany dancers at festivals. The overall tone production in Newfoundland tends to be much harsher than the southern counties in Ireland. However, there are exceptions, in northern counties of Ireland, Donegal in particular the tone produced here is of a much harsher quality than the southern counties of Ireland. The tempo of the music will also affect the tone. It can be observed that generally speaking Newfoundland fiddle players tend to play at a much faster tempo thus often contributing to a harsher tone. The type of bowing used will also contribute to the overall tone produced. Newfoundland and fiddle players from the northern counties of Ireland tend to use mainly separate bows thus often producing a harsher tone. In the southern counties of Ireland, fiddle players tend to use more slurred bows thus creating an overall smoother texture and a less harsh tone.

Conclusion

Newfoundland fiddle music has various influences due to the different settlements that occurred. The Europeans including the Irish, English, Scottish and French were all attracted to Newfoundland because of the vibrant cod fisheries. Many of these fishermen settled permanently in Newfoundland and brought much of their own cultural attributes with them. Over a number of centuries, Newfoundland fiddle style has evolved into a style consisting of Irish, French, Canadian, English and Scottish influences. Some areas of Newfoundland were settled more prominently by one origin of settler. This has led to the development of regional styles within Newfoundland. Similarly, regional styles also exist in Ireland. However, in both countries, many local fiddle styles have been lost due to improved communications re media and transport. Many fiddle players started to imitate the latest fiddle virtuoso and this resulted in many local styles disappearing. Today, in both countries both regional and personal styles are more prominent and local styles have mostly disappeared.

Initially the function of fiddle playing in both countries was solely to accompany the dance. However, today dancing has declined in both countries and the function of fiddle music is no longer solely to accompany dancing. In Ireland, fiddle playing has made the transition to a listening genre and it is not uncommon for fiddle players to perform at solo concerts, stage productions and in sessions. Today in Newfoundland fiddle music has not made the same transition to a listening genre as Irish fiddle playing. In Newfoundland though folk music is currently undergoing a revival. Newfoundland fiddle players tend to play at "house times", organized square dances, at folk clubs, and at festivals. In both countries, more and more fiddle players are promoting their music by making commercial recordings.

Newfoundland and Irish fiddle styles are similar but often have different tempi, tembre, ornamentation, variation, tune types, tune structure and repertoire. Generally speaking Newfoundland fiddle playing is much faster than Irish fiddle playing (except fiddle playing in northern counties of Ireland). Ornamentation and variation is much more prominent in Irish fiddle playing. There are similarities between tune types in Ireland and in Newfoundland: the Irish jig is equivalent to the Newfoundland double, the Irish polka to the Newfoundland single, and the Irish reel to the Newfoundland treble.

In Newfoundland the fiddle has declined in popularity as the button accordion and melodeon prosper. In comparison, in Ireland the fiddle still remains one of the most popular instruments in traditional music. By its nature though traditional music has to change to survive. Unless a tradition continues to evolve by embracing new directions and then choosing to maintain or discard the new elements then it will die. In both countries the fiddle styles have evolved in many different directions over the years. The fiddle in Newfoundland is not as strong as heretofore but with the current resurgence in interest a new impetus has been injected into the tradition. The future therefore looks bright for traditional fiddle playing in both countries with a large group of interested practitioners to promote the music and pass it to another generation.

Endnotes

1. "House time": Informal house gathering where anywhere from four to twelve people might gather in a kitchen and participate in card playing, storytelling, singing, dancing, drinking, and eating a "lunch" of beans, bread, jam, cookies, and biscuits (Wareham, 1982, 93).

2. "somebody from Acadia: one of the French settlers who colonized Acadia after 1604, most of whom were deported elsewhere in North America, especially to Louisiana, by the British authorities between 1755 and 1762" (Encarta, 1998-2004).

3. The Sydney Radio Station was (CJCB).

4. Similar to the Irish ornaments: single and double cuts.

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L'interaction entre littérature, ville et société : L'inscription littéraire et culturelle de Moncton dans les romans de Gérald Leblanc et France Daigle

Résumé

Tributaire d'un lourd passé, l'Acadie et son peuple ont vécu une crise identitaire et culturelle encore inachevée. Tiraillée entre la continuité historico-folklorique et le désir de se tourner vers la modernité, la société acadienne a acquis dans les années 80-90 des attitudes et des structures modernes. Actuellement, elle cherche toujours à allier l'individualisme post-moderne à l'action communautaire. C'est dans ce contexte qu'est née, à partir des années 70, une littérature dont le thème central est Moncton, capitale symbolique de l'Acadie. Sur base du concept de micro-cosmopolitisme proposé par Michael Cronin et de géocritique dont le théoricien est Bertrand Westphal, nous tenterons de montrer à partir des romans récents de Gérald Leblanc et de France Daigle la lente appropriation de l'espace urbain et moderne par une population « arrivée en ville ». Nous observons ainsi l'évolution de la construction d'un espace urbain imaginaire allant de la représentation d'une ville-tableau à celle d'une ville-sculpture. Avec la création d'une véritable capitale littéraire, nous parviendrons à la conclusion qu'il y a une réelle interaction entre la littérature, la ville et la société dont la meilleure image est la tentative de France Daigle dans son dernier roman de combiner la communauté et l'individualité.

Abstract

Governed by a difficult past, Acadia and its people have gone through an identity and cultural crisis, which is still ongoing. Wavering between historical-folkloric continuity and the desire to turn to modern times, the Acadian society has adopted modern attitudes and structures in the 80s-90s. They are, however, still looking to unite post-modern individualism and common actions. In this context, literature focusing on Moncton, the symbolic capital of Acadia, appeared in the 70s. Based on the concept of micro-cosmopolitism

by Michael Cronin and on the concept of geo-criticism by the theorist Bertrand Westphal, and through the recent novels by Gérald Leblanc and France Daigle, we will attempt to demonstrate the slow establishment of an urban and modern place by a population "just arrived in town". As such we can clearly observe imaginary urban construction evolving from a drawn town into a sculptured town. The creation of true literary capital leads us to the conclusion that there is genuine interaction between literature, town and society, which is clearly demonstrated in France Daigle's latest novel through his solution to combine community with individualism.

Etudier la littérature acadienne consiste à découvrir une littérature francophone minoritaire en contexte anglophone. Mon projet était d'analyser les liens étroits entre les œuvres littéraires acadiennes contemporaines et la société dans laquelle elles sont produites (De Poorter, 2005). En effet, une œuvre – particulièrement lorsqu'elle est créée dans une société minoritaire – acquiert un caractère collectif et devient, avec son auteur, l'instrument d'une « cristallisation des choix collectifs » (Paré, 1994, 139).

J'ai donc étudié l'influence de quatre romans acadiens sur la société contemporaine à travers le thème de la ville. Très attachés à leur contexte socio-historique, les Acadiens sont longtemps restés ancrés dans une tradition passéiste et ne se sont ni rapidement ni facilement appropriés l'espace moderne urbain. Comment donc Gérald Leblanc et France Daigle ont-ils pu, grâce à leurs œuvres, contribuer à ce processus d'appropriation ? Tout simplement en créant un discours sur Moncton qui était sans antécédents. Ils se sont placés en tant que bâtisseurs d'une Acadie moderne et de plus en plus urbanisée qui ne se définit plus seulement en fonction de ses valeurs traditionnelles. L'enjeu de la construction d'un Moncton imaginaire est de retrouver un espace identitaire dans lequel les Acadiens s'affirmeraient individuellement mais aussi collectivement.

Traiter du thème de la ville dans la littérature acadienne revient à traiter de Moncton qui, depuis son urbanisation à la fin du XIXe siècle, a adopté une politique de valorisation du savoir culturel de sa population. A cet égard, Moncton apparaît comme la véritable capitale de l'Acadie grâce à sa diversité culturelle et à son interculturalité croissante. Certes, Moncton reste une ville de taille moyenne (60 000 habitants, 150 km^2) mais elle se distingue économiquement, culturellement et politiquement. Selon les termes de Michael Cronin,

théoricien cherchant à « diversifier et complexifier le petit » (Cronin, 2002) afin de mettre en évidence la culture de la diversité qui existe dans les petites nations, on peut affirmer que Moncton est une ville micro-cosmopolite dans le sens où elle concilie « l'universel et le particulier, le global et le local » (Verbunt, 2001, 10). Il est donc clair qu'avec l'avènement d'un Moncton post-moderne, bilingue et multiculturel, des images fortes de la ville se dégagent de plus en plus des œuvres littéraires.

En tant que littérature minoritaire, la littérature acadienne est une littérature de l'exiguïté (Paré, 1994), c'est-à-dire qu'il lui manque des référents stables tels qu'un territoire défini, une langue et une identité. Dès lors, il lui est impossible de se fonder sur la cohésion d'une collectivité et d'une individualité. Toutefois, sa force réside dans la possibilité qu'elle a de se définir grâce à son autarcie et son hybridité. La diversité est ici salutaire.

La principale difficulté dans l'analyse d'une littérature minoritaire dont le sujet est une petite ville périphérique telle que Moncton réside dans le fait qu'il est difficile de la lire car rien ne situe cet espace périphérique dans la « ville-matrice », dans « l'espace par excellence où se déploient les personnages » (Ouellette, 1996, 139). Outre une analyse thématique et selon des notions littéraires venant de Walter Benjamin (1989, 434-472 ; 1979, 55-98) ou Michel de Certeau (1990, 139-164), j'ai basé ma lecture des œuvres sur la théorie de géocritique de Bertrand Westphal (2000, cité dans Doyon-Gosselin et Morency, 2004, 68-83), afin d'interpréter l'espace imaginaire qu'est le Moncton de Gérald Leblanc et France Daigle.

Avec une vision plurielle et diversifiée de l'espace, la géocritique est « l'examen des interactions entre espaces humains et littéraires » (Ibid., 17). La géocritique insiste surtout sur un rapport dynamique entre « espace – littérature – espace » (Ibid., 21), privilégiant ainsi l'interaction entre l'espace, la société et la littérature. Bertrand Westphal affirme dès lors que le mode de représentation des villes s'est réformé pour passer de la ville-tableau à la ville-sculpture et atteindre enfin la ville-livre. Cette transformation de l'espace urbain est présente dans les quatre romans analysés.

Avant de passer à l'analyse des romans de Gérald Leblanc et de France Daigle afin de mettre en évidence l'évolution de la légende monctonienne et de relever finalement certains changements dans la

société, provoqués par l'écriture de ces deux auteurs, présentons-les brièvement.

Né en 1947 au Nouveau-Brunswick, Gérald Leblanc compte parmi les auteurs les plus importants de la poésie acadienne contemporaine par l'abondance et la qualité de son œuvre. Il a publié au cours des vingt dernières années une dizaine de recueils tels que *L'extrême frontière*, *Géographie de la nuit rouge*, *Le plus clair du temps* ou encore *Complaintes du continent*. *Moncton Mantra* est le seul roman de Gérald Leblanc. Très engagé en littérature, Gérald Leblanc s'est toujours revendiqué acadien et a poursuivi tout au long de sa carrière la recherche des racines de son identité acadienne. Il est décédé à Moncton le 30 mai 2005.

France Daigle, née en 1953 au Nouveau-Brunswick, s'est très vite imposée comme une auteure acadienne de premier ordre grâce à une riche production de poèmes, fragments lapidaires, prose poétique, romans et pièces de théâtre. Ses derniers romans mettent en scène des personnages acadiens bien ancrés dans la réalité monctonienne où France Daigle habite encore aujourd'hui.

Une progression dans la représentation du Moncton imaginaire est d'ailleurs aisément visible entre les deux auteurs acadiens : en effet, tandis que *Moncton Mantra* de Gérald Leblanc se situe dans les années 70 (bien qu'il soit écrit en 1997) lors du début de l'arrivée en ville de la communauté acadienne, les trois derniers romans de France Daigle – *Pas pire*, *Un fin passage* et *Petites difficultés d'existence* – expriment le début d'une vie collective et individuelle dans la ville.

Gérald Leblanc met en scène l'arrivée en ville des années 70, constituant une période où l'insécurité identitaire est prégnante. La communauté qui tente d'y vivre n'est pas encore parvenue à accepter sa place au sein d'une collectivité moderne et urbaine. Pour se sentir chez soi, il lui faudra conquérir Moncton malgré le conflit présent en chacun des individus. C'est là toute la quête d'Alain Gautreau, jeune protagoniste et narrateur de *Moncton Mantra*.

Dans un premier temps, nous mettrons en évidence une « dynamique de l'étrangeté et de la familiarité » (Boudreau/White, s.p.), qui sous-tend l'entièreté du roman. Nous verrons ainsi le passage d'un sentiment d'aliénation à un apaisement allant de pair avec l'acceptation d'une vie en ville. Ensuite, nous décrirons la lente appropriation de l'espace monctonien par le narrateur, au fil de ses déambulations, de

ses marches et de ses passages dans des lieux de socialité. Enfin, nous verrons que l'expérience monctonienne est ici vécue sur un mode multi-sensoriel et dynamique. Plus ressenti que vécu, Moncton pourra être comparé à une ville-tableau impressionniste mais aussi cubiste, contrastant avec la manière dont France Daigle peindra son propre Moncton.

Selon notre analyse géocritique et sur base d'un article de Raoul Boudreau et Mylène White, il nous est aisé d'observer que l'appropriation de l'espace urbain se traduit par une constante transformation du négatif en positif, du sentiment d'étrangeté à celui de familiarité à travers une double aliénation qui est celle de la langue et de l'espace. Le négatif sera donc déconstruit pour être reconstruit en un élément positif qui permettra alors au protagoniste d'accepter sa place dans Moncton.

Bien qu'il entretienne une relation équivoque avec l'environnement linguistique de sa ville, le narrateur ne rejettera jamais l'anglais, la langue de l'Autre. Pour lui, les Acadiens francophones sont « minoritaires, certes, mais [il] aime la friction que cela occasionne parfois » (Leblanc, 1997, 135-136). Il apparaît clairement que pour Gérald Leblanc, l'anglais n'est pas seulement considéré comme une menace, mais peut être compris comme une ouverture vers l'Autre et vers l'américanité. Cette langue qu'est l'anglais permet d'accepter la culture américaine et témoigne de l'interpénétration des cultures.

En plus d'évoluer dans Moncton sans ancrage linguistique, Alain Gautreau a le sentiment d'habiter dans un lieu sans identité et sans relief spatial. Cette condamnation à vivre dans une périphérie provoque d'une part chez notre héros une impression de solitude avant qu'il ne puisse intégrer et accepter l'espace urbain qu'est Moncton ; et d'autre part, l'aliénation spatiale aura pour conséquence l'utilisation fréquente des thèmes de l'exil et de l'errance.

La particularité de *Moncton Mantra* sera de considérer cette impossibilité de s'ancrer dans un lieu anonyme comme un défi qui pousse Gérald Leblanc à mettre Moncton en parallèle avec des grandes villes telles que New York, San Francisco, Toronto ou encore Montréal. C'est ainsi que Moncton se présente rarement pour lui-même mais presque toujours en rapport avec d'autres lieux, en s'y opposant. Mettre Moncton sur le même plan que des métropoles américaines est une comparaison qui peut paraître audacieuse et utopique, compte tenu de la taille réelle et de l'importance de cette dernière.

Néanmoins, cela reflète bien la manière dont Moncton est perçue dans l'imaginaire : c'est une fièvre, un fantasme, un rêve.

Alain Gautreau évolue donc dans Moncton sans ancrage spatial, linguistique ou identitaire. Le narrateur dira d'ailleurs qu'il se laisse « aller à la dérive » (Ibid., 78). Mais cette dérive est essentielle pour transformer l'aliénation en familiarité. Malgré son sentiment de non-appartenance face à la langue et à l'espace urbain, le jeune Acadien parvient finalement à accepter sa condition et sa place dans Moncton en faisant transparaître des sentiments équivoques, une sorte « d'amour-haine » (Ibid., 112).

Alain Gautreau évolue donc dans un contexte très sombre et malsain où tout est tension, excitation : c'est un espace habité par la drogue, l'alcool, les amours homosexuelles, la musique, les bruits de la ville et les références américaines. Il est donc clair que la modernité des années 70 est considérée comme néfaste et apparaît au départ comme une déperdition culturelle. Notre jeune héros, au contact de Moncton, se transforme en animal de ville et parcourt Moncton dans toutes les directions à la recherche de sa propre reconstruction. Celle-ci se fait à travers ses marches et ses déambulations que nous pouvons faire contraster.

Lorsqu'il va au hasard des rencontres, lorsque sa destination n'est pas préétablie, Alain Gautreau prend l'aspect d'un flâneur ou même d'un errant, selon les termes de Walter Benjamin (1989, 434-472). C'est lors de ses déambulations nocturnes que la confusion du protagoniste est la plus profonde. Aller là où son instinct le porte afin de « traduire en prose un état d'esprit, [de] rechercher le sens que prend pour [lui] cette ville » (Leblanc, 1997, 57) rejoint bien la figure du flâneur qui erre dans la nuit de la ville, en quête des vices de la modernité. Il mêle son intimité à celle des autres tout en se fondant dans une foule anonyme. En tant que flâneur, Alain Gautreau fait de la rue son lieu de prédilection en entretenant des liens privilégiés avec elle.

Néanmoins, en regard à la théorie de Michel de Certeau (1990, 139-164), il n'est pas rare de voir Alain Gautreau prendre l'allure du marcheur qui sait foncièrement où il va. Nous pouvons alors le suivre à la trace, sa description topographique étant parfois très précise. Selon Michel de Certeau, le cheminement du marcheur crée un espace dynamique en actualisant les multitudes de possibilités qu'un ordre spatial présente. Le marcheur fait le choix de tourner à gauche plutôt qu'à droite, de longer telle ruelle plutôt qu'une autre, de tra-

verser une grande artère au lieu de faire le détour par des petits quartiers. Privé de lieu, Alain Gautreau marche afin de se l'approprier. Lorsqu'il préfère la marche à l'errance, le narrateur est beaucoup plus rationnel grâce au contrôle qu'il maintient sur son espace réapproprié. Il profite de ces instants pour réfléchir à sa place dans la ville mais également au « devenir de nous » (Leblanc, 1997, 101), c'est-à-dire à l'avenir de l'Acadie et aux problèmes identitaires qui sont ancrés en lui.

L'aboutissement des errances et marches ne sont autres que les lieux de sociabilité, autres scènes de l'appropriation de l'espace monctonien. Les cafés et bars étudiants sont un lieu de regroupement, un lieu communautaire. Faisant partie intégrante de l'urbanité et de la vie d'Alain Gautreau, ces lieux lui permettent de communiquer, d'établir un climat de connivence avec les autres, de prendre conscience de soi et des autres, et de s'approprier Moncton, dans un mouvement de va-et-vient entre les différents établissements et selon les heures du jour.

Mais surtout, pour s'approprier la ville, Alain Gautreau utilise l'écriture qu'il considère comme une « catharsis » et dont le projet est d'élaborer un « plan d'écriture qui aura Moncton pour thème » (Ibid., 57). L'écriture de sa ville devient pour lui une obsession qu'il répète comme un mantra dont le but est bien entendu l'appropriation de l'espace urbain. Deux mantras cohabitent donc dans ce roman : d'une part, l'écriture, et d'autre part Moncton lui-même. Sans la formule magique du « mantra », Moncton serait réduite à sa plus simple réalité : une petite ville sans charme, banale et immobile. Mais grâce à l'écriture, à l'imaginaire et au romanesque, Moncton apparaît comme une ville illimitée, dynamique et teintée d'une étrange singularité. De plus, Moncton représente ici la formule magique pour s'éloigner des coins mythiques et mémoriels de l'Acadie. Gérald Leblanc remodèle l'identité acadienne en l'opposant de manière très forte aux images et idées traditionnelles. L'auteur met ainsi au rancard un passé estimé folklorique afin de se tourner entièrement vers l'urbanité, vers un Moncton moderne.

A travers cette lecture, Moncton apparaît comme un lieu fragmenté, comme un lieu de tous les lieux alliant de multiples influences culturelles extérieures (canadienne, française, anglaise et américaine). Le moteur de ce lieu n'est autre que l'écriture grâce à laquelle, en construisant pas après pas son espace urbain, le narrateur subit un mouvement de transformation positive et s'ouvre véritablement à une

pluralité de cultures, d'idéologies et de traditions. Cette capacité de s'ouvrir à l'Autre, dans les années 70, est un pas décisif dans la construction future de l'Acadie.

En plus d'être une ville de tous les lieux, Moncton est également une ville de tous les sens, un espace urbain se fondant sur l'expérience sensorielle. Bertrand Westphal confirme notre hypothèse en disant que « l'exploration d'une topographie revient à une expérience sensible [dont] les nuances sont définies par le groupe ou la communauté » (Westphal, 2000, 33). Déformée par les sensations d'Alain Gautreau, la petite ville nord-américaine constitue un mélange flou. Les exemples de l'exploitation multi-sensorielle de Moncton sont nombreux. Que ce soit au cours d'une promenade, au saut du lit ou encore lors d'une rencontre inopinée, l'un des cinq sens intervient presque automatiquement, surtout celui de l'ouïe et de l'odorat.

Toutefois, ce sont les lieux de regroupement estudiantin tels que le Kacho qui sont le plus propices au mélange de la palette sensorielle, nos cinq sens étant mis à contribution dans cet environnement sensuel. Par exemple, l'élément le plus intéressant dans ce type d'endroit est la fumée contribuant à donner une certaine densité à l'espace dans lequel se meuvent les personnages. Cette densité n'est pas étrangère à l'impression d'intimité, de cercle protégé que procurent les cafés ou autres lieux de socialité (Laforger, 1983, 119-120). En ce qui concerne l'ouïe, ces lieux sont associés aux éclats de voix, aux conversations, au brouhaha général ainsi qu'à de la musique stridente. La fonction du bruit est celle de rassurer et d'apporter un simulacre de présence, opposé à la solitude que ressent le héros de *Moncton Mantra*.

Gérald Leblanc nous livre donc sa vision spontanée et presque instinctive de sa ville. En mélangeant les sons, les odeurs, les corps, les goûts et les couleurs, nous pouvons dire que le romancier acadien fait de Moncton une ville-tableau impressionniste, à l'instar de Cézanne ou Monet : elle est peinte à l'aide de la palette des cinq sens dont le sixième pourrait être l'écriture.

En plus de former ce tableau de type impressionniste, l'image de la ville dans *Moncton Mantra* s'apparente à une vision kaléidoscopique qui peut rappeler sans conteste les tableaux cubistes analytiques. En effet, nous passons d'un lieu à l'autre – de Bouctouche à Moncton, d'un appartement à l'Université, d'une chambre à une autre, d'une rue à un parc, du Kacho à une party improvisée – sans aucune tran-

sition provoquant une impression de décomposition. Tout se bous-
cule, se fragmente : la ville est peinte sous plusieurs angles permet-
tant ainsi de l'observer selon différents points de vue.

Dans ce Moncton impressionniste mais aussi cubiste, dans cette ville
résolument moderne et dynamique, l'Acadien qu'est Alain Gautreau
a appris à assumer pleinement son identité urbaine en tant qu'indivi-
du. L'individualisme une fois accepté, il reste encore le projet d'ave-
nir collectif à s'approprier. Cette volonté de l'intégration de l'indi-
vidu dans la collectivité évoluera au fil des romans de France Daigle.

Avec la trilogie de France Daigle, nous quittons le contexte de
l'arrivée en ville pour entrer dans une fiction ancrée dans la réalité
sociale et linguistique des années 90 où l'identité et l'appartenance à
une collectivité sont en passe d'être redéfinies. Les trois romans de
France Daigle constituent une évolution dont le seul enjeu est d'allier
enfin les formes multiples de la modernité, de la mémoire, de
l'identité, de la collectivité et de l'individualité.

Pas pire, le premier roman de la trilogie, constitue l'amorce de
l'ouverture de l'Acadien vers la modernité et vers l'Autre, ouverture
qui sera concrètement mise en scène dans le second roman. Pour
arriver à ce sentiment d'ouverture, France Daigle construit son
Moncton imaginaire à partir du mode ironique et utopique. De nom-
breux éléments, parmi lesquels nous trouvons de véritables symboles
de l'Histoire, seront désamorcés par l'ironie de l'auteure et permet-
tront à l'individu de prendre de la distance face à son folklore. De la
même manière, France Daigle va créer un Moncton utopique et ima-
ginaire que nous pourrions qualifier de « Moncton de l'espoir ».
Cette mise en scène imaginaire d'un quartier francophone et acadien
met en évidence l'espoir illusoire et parfois aliénant qu'ont les Aca-
diens d'habiter un jour dans un Moncton francophone.

Au sein de ce Moncton imaginaire, nous trouvons le Moncton de la
modernité, qui est investi tout au long du roman par des objets mo-
dernes. Mais la particularité de France Daigle est de mettre cette
modernité en évidence dans son opposition ou dans sa cohabitation
avec les images de la tradition. Prenons les deux exemples les plus
frappants afin d'illustrer notre propos.

Tout d'abord, le contraste entre les deux entités s'observe lors des
passages relatifs au cheminement vers la source d'eau. Nous appre-
nons en effet qu'il existe une source où les gens vont puiser de l'eau
pure gratuitement mais à laquelle la narratrice ne parvient pas à aller

à cause de son agoraphobie. Elle préfèrera ainsi s'arrêter en chemin dans une quincaillerie où est installée une toute nouvelle machine distributrice d'eau pure. Il est facile de comparer la volonté d'aller à la source pour puiser de l'eau au désir de retrouver les bases de son identité culturelle dans le lieu originel. Le fait que ce soit la modernité qui prenne le dessus est révélateur : l'identité acadienne se révèlera désormais dans la modernité dont les caractéristiques sont l'urbanité et l'américanité.

Mais d'un autre côté, la modernité peut parfois cohabiter avec l'Histoire et former un curieux mélange. C'est le cas du réaménagement de la rivière Petitcodiac en un site historique où l'hypermodernité (machines, courants artificiels, équipe de récréologues, correcteurs de dérivation ultrasensibles) est au rendez-vous. Ce Moncton transformé par les Irving[1] allie donc à un présent déshumanisé par une hypermodernité, un passé acadien recréé par cette même modernité. Alors que ce projet de haute technologie permet d'exorciser et de banaliser le lourd passé des Acadiens ainsi que de le rendre accessible aux touristes, cet alliage contemporain aura également pour conséquence de rendre la mémoire collective conventionnelle et de figer le passé. Ce choc entre deux époques est bien représenté lorsque les courants réels et les courants artificiels se heurtent et bloquent le système d'ouverture de l'aboiteau. Nous comprenons donc bien qu'il est difficile – mais pas impossible – de concilier un passé banalisé et un présent commercialisé.

Ce qui est essentiel est que France Daigle parvient à créer une modernité qui se nourrit de la tradition et de la mémoire collective, contrairement à Gérald Leblanc. De deux éléments distincts, France Daigle n'en fait qu'un seul, complexe et pluriel. Le tiraillement obsédant entre passé et présent immédiat est donc moins angoissant puisque la communalité de l'Acadie moderne découle de la multiplicité de la vie contemporaine. L'individu parvient donc à une certaine stabilité identitaire au sein de sa ville. Reste encore à faire le lien avec l'avenir de l'Acadie dans le but de s'épanouir collectivement.

Ce roman est donc bien l'amorce de l'ouverture de l'Acadien vers la modernité mais aussi vers l'Autre. Cette ouverture vers l'extérieur contribue à faire de Moncton une ville se suffisant à elle-même tout en étant reliée à d'autres espaces. L'Acadien est identitairement attiré par sa communauté, par son centre, sa ville, son Histoire. Malgré cela il est poussé par la société urbaine et postmoderne à quitter son centre pour aller vers l'extérieur. Ce mouvement centrifuge est pré-

sent au dénouement de *Pas pire* et tout au long d'*Un fin passage*. Il se changera en mouvement centripète dans le 3e roman, *Petites difficultés d'existence*, pour faire de Moncton un centre du monde, où un avenir collectif serein pourrait avoir sa place.

Enfin, nous pouvons placer ce roman dans une perspective horizontale et immobile. Ce n'est qu'à la fin du roman que le paysage prend de la hauteur allant de pair avec le début du mouvement centrifuge dont nous parlions. Le Moncton de *Pas pire* se construit donc à la manière d'un tableau réaliste. Alors que Gérald Leblanc privilégiait une image parcellisée de Moncton, France Daigle préfère nous transmettre une vision globale de son espace, un peu à la manière des View Master ou diapositives, en passant constamment d'une vue générale à une autre.

Pas pire s'ouvre donc sur *Un fin passage* qui se déroule partout sauf à Moncton, proposant ainsi une vision de Moncton par procuration. Le fait le plus saillant de ce roman est la description que Terry et Carmen font de leur petite ville nord-américaine depuis Paris. Ne trouvant pas directement les mots pour décrire Moncton, ils y parviennent finalement en utilisant la vie artistique de la ville, y associant de nombreux peintres et leurs œuvres faites de couleurs grosses et épaisses. Ce couple donne ainsi une nouvelle densité à Moncton. D'une ville-tableau réaliste et sans dimension, nous entrons doucement dans l'agencement sculptural de *Petites difficultés d'existence*.

Outre cela, c'est lors de ce voyage à Paris que le couple acadien a pris l'initiative de s'ouvrir à d'autres espaces, au monde extérieur. Ce nomadisme n'est donc plus un exil ou un déracinement mais cela figure plutôt le rayonnement des Acadiens et leur désir de parler aux autres afin de se connaître et d'être reconnus. Mais le retour vers Moncton est inévitable afin de garantir un équilibre entre l'origine et les changements. Le processus de transformation esquissé par le couple se poursuivra jusqu'à une ébauche de solution dans *Petites difficultés d'existence*.

Petites difficultés d'existence est le roman tourné vers l'avenir : les personnages évoluent dans un contexte moderne et ouvert sur le monde, et façonnent la vie des Acadiens en transformant un vieux bâtiment désaffecté en un édifice regroupant lofts, marché, bar, librairie et galerie d'art.

Sur base de la théorie de Mario Bédard (2002, cité dans Doyon-Gosselin et Morency, 2004, 79), insistons ici sur la nature et la fonc-

tion du loft par rapport à la collectivité acadienne, en l'associant à un haut-lieu. D'après le théoricien, la singularité du haut-lieu provient avant tout de sa hauteur, « une hauteur bien plus qualitative que topographique, en ce qu'elle surimpose à sa nature fonctionnelle première, une dimension symbolique qui l'institue comme marqueur référentiel structurant » (Ibid., 51). Investi de valeurs humaines et naturelles, ce type de lieu rend compte du complexe socioculturel d'une population et de son territoire. Ainsi, il acquiert non seulement une dimension symbolique mais aussi un statut imaginaire, nous permettant de le comparer à un haut-lieu imaginaire en devenir.

Mario Bédard nous apporte également le concept fort intéressant de « lieu de condensation » (Ibid., 65). Lieu symbolique le plus achevé, le lieu de condensation est « le signe visible d'une réalité invisible » (Ibid.) et permet aux valeurs d'une société de devenir concrètes en réactivant la densité d'un lieu. C'est exactement ce que fait Zed en rénovant le vieil entrepôt : il donne à Moncton une nouvelle densité, une nouvelle forme, comme cela avait été amorcé dans *Un fin passage* lors de la description de Terry et Carmen à propos de leur ville.

Alors que dans *Pas pire* et *Un fin passage*, Moncton était une « ville-tableau » avec ses couleurs « grosses et épaisses », Moncton acquiert ici une densité sculpturale. En effet, le projet imaginaire de Zed, en se révélant un haut-lieu de condensation, sert de métaphore à Moncton, dorénavant « ville-sculpture ».

Cette transformation en une ville-sculpture témoigne de la nécessité d'un projet collectif acadien pour habiter l'espace. D'ailleurs un des noms proposés pour le bâtiment est « Loft in Space » (Daigle, 2002, 49), jeu de mots portant sur la série télévisée « Lost in Space ». Ce calembour a bien entendu une portée symbolique : plutôt que d'être perdus dans l'espace, les Acadiens l'habitent.

Grâce à ce haut-lieu, nous atteignons une sorte de troisième niveau. Le premier niveau était représenté par le Moncton toponymique, factuel et n'avait pas de réelle importance. Le deuxième niveau est le Moncton imaginaire et utopique. Enfin, le troisième niveau qu'atteint France Daigle est le projet de société représenté par la construction du loft. France Daigle transforme ainsi Moncton en une ville-livre. Moncton est en effet une ville nord-américaine écrite et qui s'écrit encore actuellement. En tant qu'univers imaginaire accompli, cet espace urbain fait dorénavant partie de la diégèse romanesque.

En tant que micro-quartier, le loft permet enfin à la communauté acadienne de trouver une base stable à son désir de communalité et d'individualisme. Cette construction se révèle être la solution à la nécessité de joindre le besoin de valoriser son appartenance collective et la nécessité d'un individualisme dans la société contemporaine post-moderne. Le loft est donc une recomposition communautaire reposant sur l'idée moderne et individualiste de la liberté.

Toutefois, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que ce projet collectif fondé sur une légitimité individuelle est un projet qui reste imaginaire. France Daigle a tout simplement imaginé la solution à une harmonisation entre solidarité traditionnelle et pouvoir des individus. La question à se poser est de savoir si l'aménagement des lofts ne pourrait pas devenir une réalité dans cette société micro-cosmopolite et moderne qu'est Moncton.

Au terme de notre analyse et en regard à la théorie géocritique soustendant l'entièreté de notre travail, nous constatons que des liens étroits se sont tissés entre les œuvres littéraires acadiennes analysées et la société dans laquelle elles sont produites. Dans une relation dialectique, la littérature induit des changements sur la société autant que les mouvements sociaux influent sur les écrivains eux-mêmes. Il s'ensuit donc que si la société a un impact indiscutable sur l'œuvre, l'œuvre a aussi le potentiel d'influencer la société. En tant que lieu où la production culturelle circule rapidement entre l'Université, le centre culturel Aberdeen et quelques endroits de prédilection des écrivains et artistes, Moncton garantit une circulation des œuvres en peu de temps. Par conséquent, dès qu'elle pénètre le milieu artistique de Moncton, la production culturelle s'intègre immédiatement au discours collectif et participe à de nouvelles formes d'expression de ce discours, transformant les conditions historiques, économiques, politiques et culturelles du pays.

Toutefois, les évolutions sociales seront plus facilement mises en évidence au cours de l'évolution des littératures elles-mêmes. Au vu de cette constatation, il est clair qu'il faudrait analyser un corpus beaucoup plus large que celui étudié précédemment et s'étendant des années 70 jusqu'au XXIe siècle, afin d'avoir un aperçu global et complet de la situation. Outre cela, il faut bien se dire que la quête de l'espace urbain est loin d'être terminée : l'étude sera dès lors plus prégnante dans quelques décennies. Quelques décennies d'écriture ont néanmoins permis de positionner Moncton de façon plus ou

moins positive comme la ville génératrice de l'épanouissement et de l'expression de l'identité urbaine dans la société fictive et réelle.

Les romans de France Daigle et Gérald Leblanc ont mis en évidence la contradiction de l'espace dans lequel vit tout Acadien : Moncton est représenté comme un espace d'affirmation collective face à la mondialisation mais aussi comme un lieu d'affirmation individuelle par rapport à la « communitas » acadienne. Nous retrouvons ainsi dans les romans analysés le désir de se distinguer collectivement par rapport à tous les autres espaces existants mais aussi la volonté de différer individuellement.

Nous comprenons donc bien, en regard à ce que préconise Pascale Casanova à propos des littératures minoritaires qui doivent passer par « l'édification d'une capitale littéraire, banque centrale symbolique, lieu où se concentre le crédit littéraire » (Casanova, 1999, 336, cité dans Boudreau et White, s.p.), que Gérald Leblanc et France Daigle sont mus par la même volonté : transformer Moncton en une capitale littéraire à partir de leur univers imaginaire. Car, comme le disent Raoul Boudreau et Mylène White, « comment montrer que Moncton fait une place à la littérature, sinon de lui donner une place dans la littérature ? » (Ibid.).

En décrivant Moncton, nos deux auteurs espèrent créer une mythologie littéraire de cette ville, à l'instar de la légende parisienne qui a évolué à travers les siècles, au fil des œuvres poétiques et romanesques. Comme nous l'avons vu lors de l'explicitation de la théorie de Michael Cronin à propos du micro-cosmopolitisme, Moncton réunit certaines caractéristiques qui la rend propice à l'investissement littéraire : la concentration de ressources intellectuelles et artistiques, une image de libéralisme idéologique et un désir d'ouverture sur l'étranger et sur la modernité.

De plus, Moncton offre une disponibilité rare à la création d'une nouvelle mythologie littéraire acadienne. En effet, ni Gérald Leblanc ni France Daigle n'ont à déconstruire, dans leur description de Moncton, l'image folklorique de l'Acadie attachée à ses villages traditionnels : pour créer l'image d'une Acadie moderne, ils partent chacun d'une ville vierge d'écriture, d'un « désert culturel » (Boudreau/White, s.p.), même en ce qui concerne l'éventuelle concurrence de la culture néo-brunswickoise de langue anglaise (celle-ci concentre effectivement ses institutions à Fredericton). Moncton est ainsi en passe de devenir le siège d'un imaginaire littéraire acadien

moderne, dont le paradoxe se trouve au cœur même de l'identité ambiguë de cette petite ville nord-américaine : elle est en effet majoritairement anglophone mais culturellement acadienne. L'écriture permet donc d'inscrire Moncton au centre du monde et de le faire exister comme ancrage identitaire pour le peuple acadien, dans l'imaginaire mais également dans la société réelle.

Le début de l'écriture d'une légende monctonienne a permis aux Acadiens une réappropriation identitaire, culturelle et linguistique. La littérature constitue ainsi le lieu par excellence où s'exprime la quête de légitimité.

En outre, nos deux auteurs iront à l'encontre des stéréotypes du monde contemporain prescrivant constamment que les « petits » pays s'enracinent dans leur folklore et refusent de s'ouvrir aux influences interculturelles. En effet, lors de nos considérations, nous avons pu mettre en évidence l'ouverture de l'individu acadien vers l'extérieur, la perméabilité d'un peuple à l'interculturalité et à la modernité. L'Acadie tente ainsi de garder un équilibre entre l'enracinement et l'ouverture, entre la mémoire et l'invention, entre la différence – indispensable à l'existence de soi – et l'altérité, indispensable à l'évolution de cette personnalité collective.

Bien que le roman urbain en Acadie se dirige donc dans la bonne direction en s'imprégnant de la richesse culturelle de l'Autre, remarquons toutefois que les personnages mis en scène dans les romans étudiés sont tous représentés de manière homogène, aucun d'eux n'étant immigré ou réfugié. Pour remédier à ce problème, il faudrait donner la parole aux individus venant d'autres cultures et vivant à Moncton. Ceci constitue une prochaine étape vers laquelle se dirige la littérature acadienne.

Enfin, Gérald Leblanc et France Daigle – par l'intermédiaire du peuple acadien – assument leur marginalité et font de leur exiguïté une chance. La littérature acadienne a donc fait de Moncton et de l'Acadie des espaces ouverts et modernes, donnant à une population en quête de légitimité sa propre identité collective et individuelle. En tant que lieu d'échanges, nous pouvons dire de Moncton que c'est un « entre-lieu […], un tiers-espace qui se situe aux antipodes du non-lieu » (Lord, s.p.). Moncton apparaît ainsi comme un espace de liberté où tout est possible, l'entre-lieu étant « un espace interstitiel ouvert et générateur de métissage » (Bédard, 2002, 62) et rejoignant le concept de lieu anthropologique proposé par Marc Augé « où tentent

de se mettre en place les repères de l'identité, de la relation et de l'histoire » (Augé, cité dans Bédard, 2002, 62).

En regard à notre étude ayant porté globalement sur l'inscription de Moncton dans les romans récents acadiens ainsi que sur les interactions entre l'univers littéraire et la société, nous pouvons affirmer avec Pierre Nepveu et Gilles Marcotte que Moncton est une ville [qui] existe littérairement, puisqu'elle « devient une question, fait question » (Nepveu/Marcotte, 1992, 8). Toutefois, bien que les romans récents de Gérald Leblanc et de France Daigle constituent un nouvel espace de l'urbanité où s'articule une identité moderne du sujet acadien, la quête de l'espace urbain dans la littérature acadienne reste inachevée.

Notes

1. A titre informatif, la compagnie Irving contrôle des pans entiers de l'économie de la province grâce à l'exploitation forestière, au pétrole ou encore à la presse écrite. Fustigée par de nombreuses critiques, elle a créé un Ecocentre afin de préserver les lieux naturels, tels que la dune de Bouctouche.

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1958-1967 : Une petite décennie, de grands changements. Etude des représentations africaines aux Expositions universelles de Bruxelles en 1958 et de Montréal en 1967

Résumé

Cet article se concentre sur l'évolution des représentations africaines entre l'Exposition universelle de Bruxelles en 1958 et celle de Montréal en 1967. A première vue, les neuf années qui séparent ces deux expositions apparaissent comme une courte période. Or, les changements qui la marquent se révèlent fondamentaux. L'Expo 58 s'organise à une période charnière de l'histoire de la décolonisation. La représentation de l'Afrique à cette exposition est pleine d'ambiguïté : l'imposante section coloniale belge fait la démonstration des bienfaits apportés par la colonisation, les autres puissances coloniales européennes tentent de dissimuler leur affaiblissement et de jeunes nations africaines illustrent fièrement les avancées acquises depuis l'indépendance. L'Expo 67, qui se situe après le vaste mouvement de décolonisation entamé dès 1960, rompt définitivement avec les représentations de type colonial. Les pays africains seront présents à l'exposition en grand nombre, sur la Place d'Afrique ou dans des pavillons individuels et ils profiteront de l'Exposition de Montréal pour proclamer toute l'originalité de leurs cultures et la prise de conscience de leur identité nationale.

Abstract

This article focuses on the evolution of African representations at the Brussels World's Fair in 1958 and at that of Montreal in 1967. At first sight, the nine years which separate these two Fairs seems a short period; however, the transformations which mark it reveal a fundamental change. Expo 58 is organized at a period which marks the turning point of decolonization. The representation of Africa within this World's Fair is full of ambiguity: the imposing Belgian colonial section demonstrates the benefits brought about by colonization, the other European colonial powers try to dissimulate their weakening, and young African nations proudly illustrate the devel-

opments acquired since independence. Expo 67, which took place after the vast movement of decolonization begun in 1960, breaks definitively with representations of the colonial type. African countries will be present at the Fair in great numbers, on the African Square or in individual pavilions, and the Montreal World's Fair will allow them to reveal the originality of their cultures and the awakening of their national identity.

Introduction

Les Expositions universelles ont jalonné les XIXe et XXe siècles par leurs fréquentes organisations. L'idée d'y représenter les colonies naquit très tôt et l'Afrique prit toujours une place importante dans ce contexte. Au XIXe siècle, la représentation de l'Afrique en Europe s'en tenait surtout à distiller de l'exotisme plus ou moins raffiné et à satisfaire la curiosité du public par la présentation d'objets, d'animaux, mais aussi d'êtres humains issus de différentes régions africaines. L'exhibition de ces derniers est un phénomène contemporain des premières Expositions universelles : la présentation de villages indigènes, qu'une appellation récente a qualifié de *zoos humains* (Bancel, Nicolas et al., 2002, 8) va connaître un succès phénoménal dans le dernier quart du XIXe siècle et les Expositions universelles vont participer à les populariser. Ce type de représentation ne disparaîtra du paysage des Expositions universelles qu'à partir des années 1930, laissant place à la démonstration, souvent mise en scène de façon grandiose, de la mission civilisatrice engagée par les nations européennes en Afrique. Les pays colonisateurs feront appel à une grande variété de méthodes pour justifier leur entreprise en Afrique (et ailleurs dans le monde). La décolonisation de l'Afrique, entamée après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale va remettre en question ce type de représentation et le vaste mouvement de décolonisation des années soixante va définitivement offrir aux jeunes nations indépendantes la possibilité de se représenter elles-mêmes.

Cet article s'intéresse à l'évolution des représentations africaines aux Expositions universelles de Bruxelles en 1958 et de Montréal en 1967[1]. Le choix d'étudier ces deux expositions s'est imposé pour trois raisons. Premièrement, ces deux Expositions sont classées par le Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) comme appartenant à la « première catégorie » ; c'est-à-dire, que la construction des pavillons officiels est à la charge des participants (Convention de 1928) et que le délai qui les sépare est respecté (Protocole de 1948). Ces deux

Expositions se succèdent d'ailleurs sans intermédiaire de même caté-
gorie, ce qui rend l'étude comparative d'autant plus intéressante. La
deuxième raison vient directement du sujet choisi pour la comparai-
son : les représentations africaines. Bruxelles 1958 et Montréal 1967
sont, en raison des dates auxquelles elles s'organisent, des lieux
importants pour la mise en scène de l'évolution vers l'indépendance
de l'Afrique. Ce sujet nous permet d'envisager la décolonisation, qui
s'accompagne de changements politiques majeurs, sous un angle cul-
turel par l'étude des images, des symboles ou des stéréotypes véhicu-
lés par les pays en tant que colonies ou en tant que jeunes nations.
Enfin, troisièmement, les mentalités différentes à l'égard du colonia-
lisme en Belgique et au Canada constituent un facteur important dans
cette étude. Entre 1958 et 1967, il y a certes un changement d'épo-
que, qui s'accompagne d'une certaine évolution des mentalités, mais
le contexte sociogéographique dans lequel s'organisent ces deux ex-
positions n'est pas à négliger.

La décolonisation africaine

L'aide apportée aux Alliés par le monde colonisé lors de la Seconde
Guerre mondiale joue un rôle important dans l'évolution des men-
talités européennes. Les Empires restent très attachés à leurs colo-
nies, mais une certaine prise de conscience voit le jour. Dans cette
situation, chaque métropole réagit à sa manière. Le Portugal, resté à
l'écart de la guerre, continue sa politique coloniale sans envisager de
représentation africaine dans ses organes de décision. La Belgique en
fait à peu près de même à l'exception d'une certaine africanisation
de l'administration du Congo belge et du plan Van Bilsen en 1955,
qui prévoyait la formation – en trente ans ! – d'une élite congolaise
capable de participer à la gestion des affaires publiques. De leur côté,
la France et la Grande-Bretagne sont partagées entre une politique de
forte répression des mouvements nationalistes et un élargissement
des droits des colonisés. L'Organisation des Nations Unies (ONU),
qui voit le jour en 1945, au terme de la conférence de San Francisco,
participe à valoriser l'idée du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-
mêmes. D'autre part, l'URSS et les Etats-Unis marquent très signifi-
cativement leur hostilité au maintien des Empires coloniaux en sou-
tenant à différentes reprises les mouvements nationalistes. L'action
conjuguée des pressions nationales et internationales va, dès lors,
placer les métropoles européennes dans de mauvaises conditions
pour aborder la décolonisation de manière cohérente.
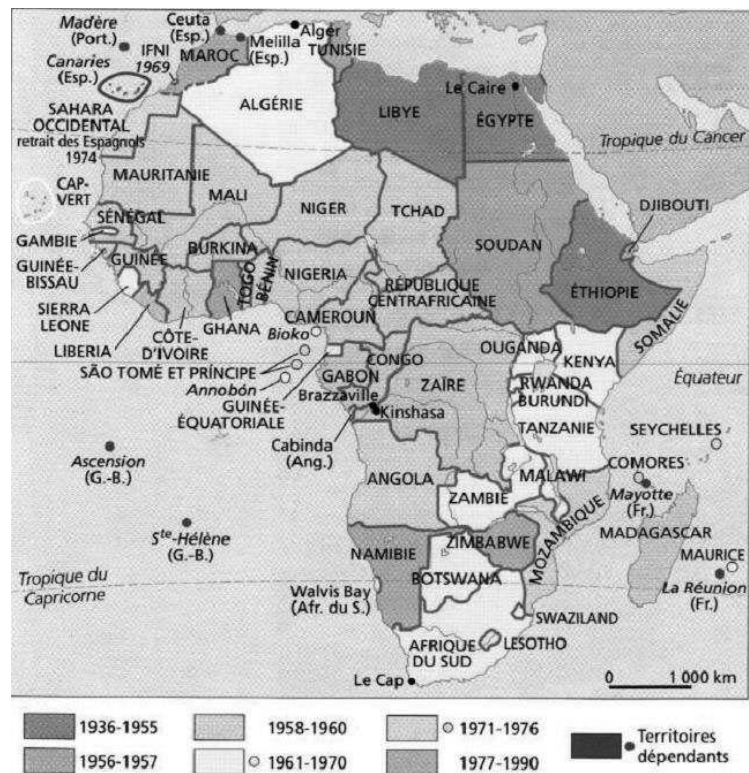
Source : « La décolonisation de l'Afrique » (Duby, 2001, 219).

A l'aube des années soixante, neuf pays africains avaient acquis l'indépendance. Ils avaient, soit échappé à la longue domination européenne (Libéria et Ethiopie), soit réussi à s'en défaire (Egypte, Libye, Soudan, Maroc, Tunisie, Ghana et Guinée). A la fin de la décennie, ils seront au nombre nettement plus significatif de quarante et un. Les territoires britanniques de l'Ouest africain et l'Afrique noire française connaissent des évolutions comparables : représentation croissante et plus équitable des Africains aux pouvoirs de décision, autonomie interne (« self-government ») et indépendance après une période plus ou moins longue de négociations. Les délais seront néanmoins différents. En effet, la période qui s'étend de 1954 à 1958 marque le début de la guerre d'Algérie, qui va se poursuivre jusqu'en 1962. La volonté française de sauvegarder l'Algérie va être propice à ses colonies d'Afrique noire, mais avant tout au Maroc et la Tunisie,

qui accèdent à l'indépendance dès le mois de mars 1956 (cf. Almeida-Topor, 1996). De toutes les puissances coloniales, seul le Portugal réussit à maintenir son empire africain jusqu'à la chute de la dictature en 1974 (Révolution des Œillets), date à partir de laquelle ses colonies acquièrent l'indépendance dans un climat de révoltes violentes.

Ce bref rappel historique de la décolonisation africaine permet de saisir tout l'intérêt d'étudier les représentations africaines en 1958 et en 1967 : à l'occasion de l'Expo 58 pour l'ambiguïté de la situation coloniale de l'époque et à l'Expo 67, en tant que témoin de l'évolution majeure accomplie sur le continent africain au cours des années soixante.

Les contrastes de l'Expo 58

L'Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles de 1958 accueille, pour une durée de six mois, quarante-deux pays et huit organisations internationales. Le succès de l'exposition fut énorme, puisqu'il atteint le nombre de quarante millions de visiteurs au lieu des trente-cinq escomptés. « Bilan du monde pour un monde plus humain » est le thème qui fut choisi pour illustrer la nécessité de « réhumaniser » le monde moderne. Le site se divise en trois sections : la section belge, la section du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi et la section des participations étrangères. Trois cas de figure africains sont présents à l'Expo 58 et ils reproduisent assez bien la situation coloniale de l'époque, partagée entre la persistance du paternalisme et les premières indépendances. L'année 1958 coïncide avec la commémoration du cinquantième anniversaire du rattachement du Congo à la Belgique, c'est la raison pour laquelle la section coloniale belge occupera une superficie de huit hectares occupée par sept pavillons et un jardin tropical peuplé d'indigènes. Le premier cas de figure est donc celui de la monumentale section coloniale belge. Le deuxième cas de figure concerne les autres colonies africaines : la France, la Grande-Bretagne et le Portugal, qui disposent chacun d'un pavillon à l'Expo 58 et dont les colonies seront représentées – à des degrés variables – au sein même du pavillon national. Le troisième cas de figure rencontré est celui des quatre jeunes nations indépendantes représentées à l'Expo 58 : la République arabe unie, le Maroc, la Tunisie et le Soudan. Le pavillon des Etats arabes regroupe en un pavillon l'Arabie Saoudite, l'Irak, la Jordanie et la République arabe unie (Etat formé par l'union de l'Egypte et de la Syrie). Nous nous intéresserons exclusivement à la province égyptienne de la R.A.U.

pour son appartenance au continent africain et dans le but de la comparer à la participation égyptienne de 1967.

L'année 1958 est particulièrement intéressante pour l'étude de la propagande coloniale belge. L'Expo 58 donne aux Belges l'occasion de mettre en valeur les efforts accomplis au Congo et, dans une moindre mesure, au Ruanda-Urundi. La commémoration du cinquantième anniversaire du rattachement du Congo à la Belgique explique l'importance accordée à cette section. Une citation accompagne le buste du roi Léopold II, qui accueille les visiteurs au palais gouvernemental : « J'ai entrepris l'œuvre du Congo dans l'intérêt de la civilisation » (Lambilliotte, 1961, 236). Les visiteurs sont donc immédiatement plongés dans l'ambiance paternaliste qui caractérise la gestion coloniale belge.

Pourtant, l'Expo 58 a joué involontairement un rôle non négligeable dans la brusque évolution politique du Congo qui surviendra l'année suivante (les émeutes des 4 et 5 janvier 1959 à Léopoldville), permettant une rencontre entre des Congolais de différentes provinces. L'image de l'homme blanc que se faisaient les Congolais va également être bouleversée par la rencontre avec des Belges vivant en Belgique. Pour Joseph Mabolia, venu travailler à l'Exposition, ce fut :

> Vraiment une révélation. Écoutez, il n'y a pas de comparaison possible. Les gens étaient vraiment hommes parmi les hommes pour tout dire. C'est tout. Il n'y avait plus de ces comportements qu'on observait ici, que non, que non ! Ce qui nous a frappé le plus ? Le fait de voir que le blanc travaillait aussi dur, très dur. Il pouvait être maçon, balayeur de rues, dans les toilettes pour nettoyer et tout cela. Et bien tout cela nous frappait. C'est peut-être anodin, me direz-vous, mais ma foi, nous n'avions pas ces images ici à la colonie. Donc nous découvrions que tout compte fait, il devait aussi, lui aussi, travailler exactement comme nous pour pouvoir vivre et nourrir sa famille. Et ça nous frappait beaucoup. Bref, c'était pour nous de nous rendre compte qu'il y avait une vie d'homme autrement que celle qui était vécue au Congo par les Blancs[2].

Les courants d'émancipation qui parcourent l'Afrique n'ont pas encore pénétré les frontières du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi,

mais on s'attache toutefois à donner une nouvelle image de rapprochement entre les Noirs et les Blancs. Cette équité, que l'on tente de souligner dans certains domaines, est cependant affaiblie par le paternalisme écrasant qui persiste dans la majeure partie des représentations.

Contrairement à la mise en scène de la section coloniale belge, la participation des colonies africaines françaises et britanniques à l'Expo 58 est plus discrète. La situation politique difficile qui les occupe explique sans doute la sobriété qui caractérise leurs représentations coloniales. En 1958, ces deux grands Empires vont ainsi rompre avec plus d'un siècle de représentations coloniales exubérantes à l'occasion des Expositions universelles. La France, qui a déjà concédé l'indépendance au Maroc et à la Tunisie, prend conscience de la perte à venir de ses colonies et dresse un dernier bilan de son œuvre. Les nouvelles structures politiques des colonies sont présentées au public par l'intermédiaire de panneaux explicatifs et de maquettes. Paradoxalement, il est intéressant de noter la focalisation française sur l'Algérie, à laquelle elle accorde une section à part entière, malgré le fait que la guerre de libération y ait été déclenchée quatre ans plus tôt. La machine de propagande républicaine profite de l'occasion que lui offre l'Expo 58 pour affirmer au monde que l'Algérie, française depuis 1830, le restera en dépit des circonstances politiques du moment. Du côté britannique, le pavillon constitue une participation très importante de l'Exposition, mais elle ne propose pas de section distincte pour ses colonies. Seule une cour intérieure (la Cour du Commonwealth) rassemblait les drapeaux des trente-deux territoires coloniaux britanniques. Le choix de la Grande-Bretagne de ne présenter que très discrètement ses colonies est délibéré et il témoigne sans doute d'une certaine lucidité à l'égard de la situation. A l'instar du message livré par la Belgique, le Portugal met en exergue la mission civilisatrice qu'il a accomplie en Afrique. Le Portugal est encore loin de se préoccuper de l'émancipation politique de ses colonies en 1958, il consacre donc une section entière de son pavillon à celles-ci et illustre l'unité profonde qui existe entre les différents territoires.

En ce qui concerne la participation des pays africains indépendants à l'Expo 58, on constate une série de points communs entre les quatre nations. Premièrement, la mise en scène des progrès économiques et sociaux depuis l'acquisition de l'indépendance jouit dans chaque pavillon d'une attention particulière en vue d'une reconnaissance internationale de ces efforts. A l'occasion de la pose de la première pierre

du pavillon soudanais, l'ambassadeur du Soudan à Bruxelles expri-mera clairement ce point de vue et le rôle capital qu'il joue lorsqu'un pays participe pour la première fois à une Exposition universelle :

> The Sudan wishes to show its complete adherence to the high human ideal of the Exhibition. It will display the problems and needs of a still young nation and show people what has already been achieved in the matter of social policy[3].

Deuxièmement, l'exaltation du sentiment national se retrouve, mais à des degrés divers, dans chaque présentation, y compris (et peut-être principalement) dans la section égyptienne qui figure pourtant dans l'ensemble arabe. Bien que le nationalisme se soit exprimé, il ne le fut pas de manière anti-occidentale, comme l'avait craint la France lorsqu'elle exprimait des inquiétudes face à la création d'un pavillon arabe unique.

Des nuances apportent toutefois leur singularité à chacune de ces participations indépendantes. Le voisinage immédiat du pavillon ma-rocain à celui de la Tunisie pouvait probablement confondre certains visiteurs distraits : pourtant, les participations de ces deux pays nord-africains se distinguent lors de la visite des pavillons. Le Maroc affiche plus visiblement ses efforts en vue de l'évolution sociale de sa population, tandis que la Tunisie met davantage en évidence son économie nationale, encore fortement imprégnée par l'artisanat (re-constitution d'un souk) et fait la promotion du tourisme. La section égyptienne du pavillon arabe reste, pour sa part, très classique dans la présentation de son passé et du secteur touristique. En revanche, elle se montre nettement plus engagée dans la mise en scène des progrès économiques et sociaux. Quant au Soudan, dont la participa-tion pouvait peut-être sembler symbolique vu sa taille (200 m²), il met particulièrement en exergue ses efforts en vue de l'éducation des jeunes et de l'instruction des adultes.

Les mentalités européennes en 1958 sont encore fortement im-prégnée par le colonialisme. Ainsi, lorsqu'il fut question d'inviter le Maroc et la Tunisie à l'Exposition, les organisateurs choisirent d'at-tendre l'autorisation du Commissaire général de la participation fran-çaise. Or, elle ne leur parviendra que deux mois après l'indépen-dance et ce n'est seulement qu'à partir de ce moment qu'ils se déci-dèrent à inviter officiellement les deux nouveaux pays à participer à l'Expo. De plus, l'éducation européenne de l'époque, qui plaçait

l'homme blanc en tant que supérieur aux autres, imprègne encore fortement la population puisque l'on eut à déplorer plusieurs incidents raciaux au village indigène de la section du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi.

Une réelle évolution : les pays africains représentés à l'Expo 67

L'Exposition universelle de Montréal de 1967 accueille soixante-deux pays participants, soit vingt de plus qu'à l'Expo 58. Elle surpasse également Bruxelles au niveau du nombre de visiteurs, puisqu'elle en voit défiler pas moins de cinquante millions. Du point de vue thématique, les organisateurs vont opter pour un thème humaniste, comme en 1958, en empruntant à Antoine de Saint-Exupéry le titre d'un de ses ouvrages : « Terre des Hommes ». En effet, la Compagnie Canadienne de l'Exposition souhaite « se préoccuper plus de l'artisan (l'Homme) que de ses outils (la technologie) »[4]. Deux des objectifs majeurs des organisateurs de l'Expo 67 étaient de réunir autant, voir plus de participants qu'à l'Exposition qui l'avait précédée, à savoir l'Expo 58 et de présenter les changements survenus dans le monde depuis lors. Parmi ces changements figurait l'accession à l'indépendance d'un grand nombre de pays d'Asie et d'Afrique. Le Commissaire général de l'Exposition, Pierre Dupuy, considéra donc qu'il était nécessaire d'aller rendre visite à ces pays pour obtenir leur participation. Son voyage en Afrique dura quatre mois et au total, vingt-cinq pays africains furent invités à participer à l'Expo. Ces visites en Afrique firent prendre compte à Pierre Dupuy que la majorité des pays étaient « trop jeunes pour avoir réuni les hommes compétents qui leur permettraient de construire chacun un pavillon national avec un budget raisonnable » (Dupuy, 1972, 60). Des pays comme la Côte-d'Ivoire et le Sénégal échappaient à ce jugement, mais ils étaient prêts, par solidarité, à se joindre aux autres dans un ensemble africain. C'est ainsi que naquit la Place d'Afrique, dont la construction fut permise à la suite d'investissements des pouvoirs fédéral, provincial et municipal. Quinze pays d'Afrique trouvent par ce moyen l'occasion de se présenter pour la première fois à une Exposition universelle depuis leur indépendance : le Ghana, le Niger, la Côte-d'Ivoire, le Cameroun, le Tchad, la République Démocratique du Congo, la Tanzanie, le Gabon, le Sénégal, le Togo, le Kenya, l'île de Madagascar, l'Ouganda, le Rwanda et le Nigeria.

Le même esprit de rassemblement fut suivi pour l'invitation des pays arabes, par l'intermédiaire de contacts avec la Ligue arabe. La proposition était de réunir les pavillons de ces pays dans un même envi-

ronnement. La République arabe unie accepta l'invitation de Montréal suite à l'intervention du Premier ministre canadien auprès du Président Nasser. L'Algérie accepta également de se joindre au groupe composé de la R.A.U. et du Koweït. La Tunisie et le Maroc vont, quant à eux, opter pour une participation distincte de cet ensemble. L'Ethiopie et l'Ile Maurice, qui participent pour la première fois à une Exposition universelle, vont également choisir de construire leur propre pavillon pour dévoiler leur pays aux visiteurs.

La Place d'Afrique, construite par la Compagnie Canadienne de l'Exposition universelle de 1967, fut aménagée en six groupes de pavillons. Chaque groupe est conçu de façon à créer des pavillons à la fois indépendants et interdépendants : il est donc possible de visiter chacun des pavillons sans avoir à en traverser un autre, ainsi que de se promener d'un pavillon à l'autre du groupe sans devoir passer par l'extérieur. Cette construction, malgré un accueil très enthousiaste du public ne fit pas l'unanimité chez les Africains. En effet, certains d'entre eux estiment que les visiteurs ne peuvent pas bien distinguer leur passage d'un pays à l'autre et ils regrettent que l'architecture ne rappelle pas les huttes à toit de chaume de l'Afrique.

Les quinze pays regroupés sur la Place d'Afrique présentent des similitudes au niveau des domaines qu'ils mettent en valeur. Le secteur touristique trouve généralement une place de choix, voire primordiale dans les pavillons. En ce sens, les concepteurs des pavillons ont bien à l'esprit l'attrait que constitue l'exotisme africain pour les visiteurs nord-américains et les retombées économiques positives qui pourraient en découler si ce secteur se développait. L'économie de la majeure partie de ces pays repose sur l'agriculture et l'extraction des ressources minières. Cette économie de type primaire s'accompagne de risques, étant donné qu'elle dépend des cours du marché mondial. En 1967, les pays africains prennent conscience des risques que contient cette économie héritée de la période coloniale : ils s'efforcent donc d'illustrer leur potentiel industriel et de favoriser l'apport de capitaux et de personnel étrangers. Les nombreuses visites de chefs d'Etat lors de l'Expo 67 ne sont d'ailleurs pas uniquement destinées à rendre hommage au Canada l'année de son Centenaire, elles permettent aussi de créer ou de consolider des liens économiques et sociaux (dans le domaine éducatif principalement). Les discours de chefs d'Etat africains à propos de la dépendance de leur pays à l'égard des pays développés sont nombreux à l'Expo 67. Nous

pouvons retenir celui du lieutenant général Joseph Arthur Ankrah, président du Conseil de Libération nationale du Ghana :

> Although Ghana is mainly an agricultural country, we have begun to industrialize. The success of our efforts will depend upon the amount of help in investments and technical know-how we receive from other developed countries[5].

Le choix d'une présentation au sein de l'ensemble de la Place d'Afrique offrait un avantage financier important aux pays participants, mais il provoquait aussi une perte d'individualité, déjà évoquée plus haut. Pour contrer ce problème, certains pavillons se distinguent de manière assez nette par une présentation originale (animaux, végétation et climat simulé au pavillon ougandais) ou par la mise en valeur d'un secteur caractéristique (la littérature au pavillon sénégalais). Les journées nationales, qui mettaient un pays à l'honneur durant toute une journée de l'Expo 67, furent aussi l'occasion pour les pays africains de présenter la singularité de leur culture par des spectacles de danse, de musique et des dégustations.

Contrairement aux pays installés sur la Place d'Afrique, les autres pays africains qui ont participé à l'Expo 67 ont pu concevoir leur pavillon individuellement. L'architecture est un élément capital dans une Exposition universelle : elle doit séduire le public au premier regard et elle offre aux nations la possibilité d'exalter une certaine idée de leur représentation.

Le Maroc et la Tunisie vont accorder une place primordiale, comme ils l'avaient fait en 1958, à leurs réalisations depuis l'indépendance avec l'avantage que c'est désormais une décennie de progrès qu'ils peuvent valoriser. Un article de la presse canadienne s'exprime ainsi, de manière fort élogieuse pour la Tunisie :

> Un nationalisme ouvert et généreux, une participation loyale mais sans abdication aux organisations arabes et panafricaines, le souci primordial du développement économique et social, la synthèse de la ferveur et de la mesure : ainsi apparaît la Tunisie, onze ans après avoir assumé une souveraineté qu'elle considère non pas comme une fin en soi, mais comme un instrument, indispensable d'épanouissement[6].

En 1967, la République arabe unie ne désigne plus le même Etat qu'à l'Expo 58. L'union formée par l'Egypte et la Syrie ayant été rompue par cette dernière en 1961, l'appellation ne représente plus que l'Egypte. La participation de la R.A.U. s'insère dans l'ensemble arabe, qui regroupe aussi les pavillons de l'Algérie et du Koweït. L'ensemble arabe se distingue du pavillon unique des pays arabes de 1958, étant donné que les trois pays qui le composent ont leur propre pavillon. En dehors de cela, la participation de la R.A.U. est assez comparable à la participation de la province égyptienne de la R.A.U. de 1958. Le succès que connut le pavillon de la R.A.U à l'occasion de la guerre de Six Jours (5-10 juin 1967) nous permet d'exprimer la conviction que les Expositions universelles participent à une meilleure compréhension de l'actualité mondiale des visiteurs.

Au sein de l'ensemble arabe également, la participation de l'Algérie nous a particulièrement intéressé par son rejet total de la période coloniale. La guerre extrêmement violente qui mena à l'indépendance algérienne marqua profondément le pays, ce qui explique l'image négative donnée sur l'ensemble de la période coloniale. Il est intéressant de comparer la mise en scène de l'Algérie à l'Expo 67 à celle de l'Expo 58. Cette dernière se consacre presque exclusivement à l'économie (agriculture, industrie, commerce) et la collaboration avec la France y est omniprésente pour tous les sujets abordés, y compris dans les perspectives d'avenir. A l'Expo 67, l'opposition au passé colonial est totale et soulignée dans tous les domaines, afin de faire prendre conscience aux visiteurs qu'il existait une Algérie bien avant la venue des Français. L'Algérie est le seul pays africain à aborder cette période de la sorte en raison de son accession à l'indépendance particulièrement violente, les autres pays n'en parlent pour ainsi dire pas ou traitent la question avec beaucoup de précautions.

L'Ethiopie a fait l'objet dès le XIXe siècle d'une sorte d'admiration de la part des Occidentaux car elle représentait à leurs yeux une sorte de « bastion civilisé » en raison de sa religion chrétienne et de sa légende nationale, qui fait remonter les origines du pays à Ménélik (Xe siècle ACN), fils de la Reine de Saba et du roi hébreu Salomon. Le symbolisme du pavillon éthiopien va perpétuer cette fascination, qui sera renforcée par la visite au Canada de l'Empereur Haïlé Sélassié Ier pour lequel les Canadiens ne tariront pas d'éloges. « Il symbolise une sorte de trait d'union entre le monde occidental et africain, entre la race blanche et la race noire, entre les pays riches et les pays sous-développés »[7], nous dit le *Devoir*. Le fait que son régime politi-

que soit encore fort peu démocratique est absolument passé sous silence dans les articles, qui ne présentent le pays que sous son meilleur jour, ce qui est tout à fait à son avantage pour sa présentation à l'Expo.

Le cas de l'Ile Maurice nous a particulièrement intéressée en raison de son statut. En effet, l'Ile Maurice, qui est pourtant encore cette année-là une colonie britannique, dispose de son propre pavillon à l'Expo 67. Elle bénéficie déjà d'une large autonomie politique et elle incarne donc une phase importante de la décolonisation, par laquelle de nombreux pays africains sont passés avant d'accéder définitivement à leur indépendance (la phase de « self-government »).

Bien qu'ils aient eu peu de contacts avec les Africains auparavant, la réaction des Canadiens face à ceux rencontrés à l'Expo 67 fut positive. Les Canadiens eurent beaucoup de sympathie et d'intérêt pour les jeunes nations africaines qui avaient pu, elles aussi, se libérer du colonialisme européen. Une enquête du quotidien *Le Devoir* s'inquiéta, à la suite de divers petits incidents techniques à la Place d'Afrique, de savoir si des accusations de préjugés raciaux existaient à l'Expo. Le journaliste réalisa cette enquête auprès des hôtesses africaines des pavillons qui affirmèrent unanimement n'avoir été victimes d'aucune attitude raciste depuis leur arrivée à Montréal[8].

Conclusion

Au terme de cette recherche, nous pouvons voir l'évolution évidente parcourue par les pays africains au cours des neuf années qui séparent l'Expo 67 de l'Expo 58. Cette évolution se traduit au niveau des représentations et des mentalités. Toutefois, la mise en scène des progrès économiques et sociaux jouit, dans tous les cas de figure rencontrés, d'une attention particulière en vue d'une reconnaissance internationale de ces efforts. Cette mise en scène va servir successivement – voire même simultanément en 1958 – le colonialisme européen et le nationalisme africain. En 1967, c'est consciemment que les pavillons africains réutilisent l'image de l'exotisme qui les accompagne depuis le XIXe siècle, afin de promouvoir un secteur en plein développement : le tourisme. Du point de vue des mentalités, l'accueil des Africains par le public fut différent à Montréal, le regard porté sur la colonisation de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique étant évidemment opposé. Il est important de souligner le rôle de l'Expo 67 dans la nouvelle visibilité dont disposent les pays africains aux Expositions universelles. Les efforts fournis par la Compagnie Cana-

dienne de l'Exposition universelle de Montréal de 1967 dans le but d'illustrer l'évolution politique du continent africain depuis 1958 n'auront pas été vains. L'adhésion de vingt-et-un pays africains à l'Expo 67, dont vingt totalement indépendants peut être considérée comme une franche réussite : les Expositions universelles d'Osaka (1970) et de Séville (1992) n'atteindront pas ce record, qui ne sera battu qu'en 2000, à l'Exposition universelle de Hanovre, où seront représentés quarante-cinq pays africains, sur un total très impressionnant de cent cinquante-cinq pays participants[9].

Le regard que nous avons porté sur les participations africaines dans le contexte à la fois technique, culturel et festif des Expositions universelles et internationales de Bruxelles et de Montréal, nous a permis de nous intéresser de près à l'évolution politique de l'Afrique dans les années cinquante et soixante. L'émancipation progressive, la lutte pour l'indépendance, la construction de l'Etat-nation et le panafricanisme sont des phénomènes que nous avons pu observer par l'intermédiaire des Expositions universelles de 1958 et de 1967.

Notes

1. Cet article présente les résultats de mon mémoire de licence. Pour plus d'informations voir : Hendrick, Aude, *1958-1967 : Une petite décennie, de grands changements. Etude des représentations africaines aux Expositions universelles de Bruxelles 1958 et de Montréal 1967*, mémoire de licence inédit, ULB, section histoire, 2006.

2. Interview de Joseph Mabolia. Reportage d'Eric D'Agostino et François Ryckmans, "Mémoire(s) noire(s) d'une indépendance", RTBF, 2000, <http://www2.rtbf.be/jp/matin/congo/c1958.html>, consulté le 27 novembre 2006.

3. "The Sudan. Mysterious Land of Sands", *Objectif 58*, n°32, November 1957, 17-18.

4. *Le thème Terre des Hommes*, Compagnie Canadienne de l'Exposition universelle de 1967, s.l., 30 avril 1965.

5. Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition Fonds, Visitor's Services Branch, RG71, Volume 144, Dossier ARC-71/144-5, Journée nationale du Ghana. Press release : Adress by Lieutenant-General J. A. Ankrah at Place des Nations, Montreal, 4th october, 1967.

6. J.-M. L., "L'image d'un nationalisme généreux : la Tunisie", *Le Devoir*, 13 juin 1967, 9.

7. Tainturier, J., "C'est la journée nationale de l'Ethiopie : l'empereur Haïlé Sélassié visite l'Expo", *Le Devoir*, 2 mai 1967, p. 5.

8. Archives municipale de Montréal, Collection de la Compagnie de l'Exposition universelle de 1967, P67, Expo 67 et TDH, 516, Coupures de presse par thème : Place d'Afrique, dossier D.23560.1-1, microfiche 4.103. J.V.D, « Afrique : l'incident est clos, les pavillons restent ouverts », *Le Devoir*, 16 mai 1967.

9. BIE, "Hanovre 2000", <http://www.bie-paris.org/main/pages/files/expos/2000-bis.pdf>, consulté le 27 novembre 2006.

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La saison de la détresse et de la déchéance. Felicia Mihali et Marie-Claire Blais, écrivaines du malaise paysan

Résumé

Felicia Mihali et Marie-Claire Blais dévoilent un aspect sombre et inhospitalier de la vie à la campagne ce qui contraste manifestement avec les descriptions mythiques de la littérature du terroir. Le monde du village pourrait être caractérisé par des mots tels que, travail pénible, inculture, débauche, misère, alcoolisme et tant d'autres à connotation négative. Le retard économique du village par contraste avec l'essor de la ville empêche les paysans de s'habituer au rythme des usines et les citadins au rythme des saisons.

Abstract

Felicia Mihali and Marie-Claire Blais disclose a dark and inhospitable side of the countryside, life, which is visibly different from the mythical descriptions present in the literature of the land. The life in the countryside is described through words such as painstaking work, lack of education, immorality, misery, alcoholism and so many others with negative connotations. The economic underdevelopment of the villages compared with the fast pace of life within the cities does not allow the peasants to adapt to the rhythm of factories, and the city dwellers with the rhythm of the seasons.

Dans mon article, je me suis proposée de trouver des analogies entre l'écriture d'une jeune écrivaine québécoise d'origine roumaine, Felicia Mihali, et celle de Marie-Claire Blais. Lors de l'apparition du *Pays du fromage*, en 2002, on pouvait lire sur la quatrième de couverture : « *Le pays du fromage* ressemble par certains côtés à *Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel* ». Certains critiques, comme Robert Chartrand, Antoine Tanguay et Pierre Thibeault, tout en restant prudents, ont signalé aussi le rapprochement lancé par ceux de chez XYZ, l'éditeur de Felicia Mihali. Or, j'ai essayé d'aller plus loin et de voir s'il s'agit d'une *simple fanfaronnade d'éditeur* ou si l'on peut

vraiment déceler des points communs entre le premier livre de Felicia Mihali, *Le pays du fromage* et le classique de Marie-Claire Blais, *Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel*.

À ce but, je me suis proposé de suivre une démarche sociologique et de considérer les deux romans comme des reflets de la vie campagnarde roumaine et québécoise. Des deux livres surgissent une sorte de mal de vivre et un défaitisme qui serait la conséquence de périodes historiques difficiles.

Le chef-d'œuvre de Marie-Claire Blais pourrait s'inscrire dans la lignée des romans québécois qui se veulent un cri d'éveil de la société, un stimulus pour l'anéantissement du mythe du Québec rural et pour l'avènement d'un nouvel ordre social où des mots comme urbanisation, syndicalisation et industrialisation seraient des réalités imminentes. Cette affirmation trouve appui dans le fait que cette saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel correspond, sur le plan de l'histoire du Québec, à la période après la deuxième guerre mondiale, nommée aussi « période des mutations ». La date de parution d'*Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel* est aussi un vecteur important, l'année 1965 se situe en pleine « révolution tranquille », révolution qui a été « beaucoup plus une libération des esprits, la naissance d'attitudes critiques envers les choses et les hommes que des actes proprement révolutionnaires » (Rioux, cité d'après Lafortune 1985, 150). Il fallait mettre fin à l'insensibilisation des Canadiens français à l'importance du progrès et du développement de l'industrie et du commerce ainsi qu'à une mythification du travail de la terre qui engendrait leur retard sur les peuples voisins, c'est-à-dire les Américains et les Canadiens anglais.

De son côté, Felicia Mihali jette un regard inquisiteur sur la réalité roumaine et dénonce, comme à contrecœur, la monstruosité du régime d'avant '89. Sous la forme d'un « credo » littéraire elle affirme : « En littérature, il faut oublier les choses vulgaires ou triviales pour sublimer le réel. Je n'avais pas besoin de parler du régime pour décrire les horreurs » (Mihali, cité d'après Thibeault 2002, 150). Le critique roumain Alex Ştefănescu reprochait à Felicia Mihali, lors de l'apparition du livre en roumain, en 1999, de vouloir « détruire des illusions alors que les grands écrivains créent de nouvelles illusions plus convaincantes que celles déjà existantes » (notre traduction) (Ştefănescu 1999). Le grand péché de l'écrivaine serait celui d'avoir touché à des images sacrées comme celle du village,

foyer de la sérénité, du calme et de la béatitude des premiers temps. Mais ce péché, elle l'assume et le renforce en affirmant :

> J'ai voulu frapper un mythe qui a fait carrière dans la littérature roumaine, celui du village vu comme nombril de la terre, l'espace de pureté, l'endroit qui nous sauve de la ville. Nous sauve de quoi ? Et à quel prix ? (Mihali, cité d'après Thibeault 2002, 150)

Parler d'engagement ou de littérature engagée, dans les deux cas, serait oser trop, mais la présentation et la description de la détresse et de la déchéance qui caractérisent le monde du village serait la critique la plus acerbe jamais envisagée. Le village est détruit justement par ce qui le représente : la famille, l'église et le travail de la terre. Pour Marie-Claire Blais, cette « sainte trilogie d'un peuple élu », celui des Canadiens Français, ne correspond pas à la réalité découverte sur le terrain qui plus encore, est bien loin de la philosophie basée sur la valorisation du passé, prônée par Maurice Duplessis et le Parti de l'Union nationale.

La maison parentale n'est plus l'endroit mythique où le soir toute la famille se réunit autour du père et de la mère. La famille d'Emmanuel est une famille nombreuse, gouvernée par « grand-mère Antoinette toute-puissante ». C'est elle qui apparaît dans la compagnie des enfants, c'est elle qui s'occupe d'eux car les parents n'apparaissent que sporadiquement : le père pour copuler et la mère pour accoucher et allaiter. Il n'y a pas d'affection dans leurs gestes et paroles, il n'y a qu'une écrasante insouciance et indifférence vis-à-vis de leurs enfants qui abîmeront pour toujours leurs âmes candides :

> Mais se vengeant de la morose indifférence avec laquelle sa mère l'avait souvent nourri les premiers jours, Emmanuel feignait de l'oublier, en lui préférant les rudes caresses de sa grand-mère […]. La nuit, il dormait dans la même chambre que ses parents, séparé de sa mère par l'ombre de son père qui enveloppait d'une terreur sacrée ses rêves du présent comme ceux de l'avenir. Il reverrait plusieurs fois, en vieillissant, cette silhouette brutale allant et venant dans la chambre. N'était-ce pas lui l'étranger, l'ennemi géant qui violait sa mère chaque nuit, tandis qu'elle se plaignait à voix basse : « S'il vous plaît, les enfants écoutent […]. (Blais 1976, 133-134)

Alors il n'est pas étonnant de retrouver les filles de la famille au bordel et les garçons, des ivrognes et des voleurs, en train de mettre le feu à l'école. Cette « marée d'enfants ayant l'odeur familière de la pauvreté » ne peut trouver consolation que dans la débauche et les vices. La masturbation individuelle ou en groupe les aide à avoir un peu de chaleur et à chasser les cauchemars qui les hantent.

Ni l'église, ni ses représentants n'échappent aux remarques moqueuses aux jeux de mots censés expliciter des termes religieux comme par exemple : « pieux » « des pieds nobles et pieux (n'allaient-ils pas à l'église chaque matin en hiver ?) » (Blais 1976, 7) ou « bonne » ; « Elle était bonne…elle allait toujours à la messe » (Blais 1976, 33) dit Jean Le Maigre en parlant de la « bonne petite bossue » que lui et le Septième « avaient déshabillée ensemble dans la cour de l'école, un jour de printemps » (Blais 1976, 32).

Monsieur le curé bénéficie de la déférence des autres grâce à son statut et conformément au proverbe déformé *L'habit fait le moine* car, à part l'habit, il ne reste plus grande chose de la bienséance d'un prélat. Il prêche le sentiment du devoir, la conduite morale et le carême alors que « lui-même mangeait bien et ne jeûnait que la veille de Pâques (et encore brisait-il son jeûne pour boire de la bière) » (Blais 1976, 36).

Mais l'image la plus scabreuse est celle du Frère Théodule qui s'identifie au Diable même et qui, après avoir commis des meurtres et des abus sexuels sur les garçons du noviciat, devient vers la fin du livre Théo Crapula. Or, toutes ces anomalies sont possibles car l'église n'est plus l'institution-modèle pour les croyants et les choses vont s'empirant. Le mal a détruit les fondements : les jeunes gens apprennent le vice entre les murs des orphelinats et des couvents et ne demandent pas mieux « que de quitter enfin pour la liberté ce sauvage paradis de leurs sens oisifs » (Blais 1976, 129).

Compte tenu de tout ce qui a été dit, on pourrait alors se demander sur l'avenir de ces enfants : ils ne trouvent de remède ni dans le sein de la famille, ni dans la foi religieuse, ni dans l'enseignement car leurs institutrices ont du mal à conjuguer le verbe *absoudre* et à « épeler » des mots comme « arosoir », « incangru », « éléfant » et « boureau » (écrits incorrectement dans le texte). En grandissant, ils ne peuvent plus se réfugier dans la forêt comme jadis, mais ils peuvent choisir entre une vie à la campagne ou aller en ville. Là-bas, contrairement à leurs attentes, ils devront affronter une vie pénible et

besogneuse. Mieux que les autres, grand-mère Antoinette a compris le destin qui est réservé à ces enfants : « Et puis je déteste les nouveaux-nés ; des insectes dans la poussière. Tu feras comme les autres, tu seras ignorant, cruel et amer » (Blais 1976, 8).

Dans le cas du *Pays du fromage*, le mépris de la pauvreté et de la misère frappe dès le titre et accompagné de l'odeur insupportable du fromage, traverse le livre pour nous montrer une femme en proie aux affres de la vie. En apprenant que son mari la trompe, une jeune femme d'une trentaine d'années décide de quitter la ville de Bucarest et de se retirer à la campagne avec son fils, Daniel. C'est là que commencent son périple et sa quête parce que sa vie dans le village ne ressemble pas du tout à celle du monsieur qu'elle guettait chaque jour de son balcon et qui est l'élément déclencheur de son départ :

> Pourquoi cette coïncidence, la vision du vieux soignant tranquillement son petit jardin en même temps que la découverte des billets doux adressés à mon mari par une certaine secrétaire ? Mon désespoir semblait faire écho à ce que mon grand-père appelait « le temps des larmes », ces quelques jours de printemps où les branches des vignes sèches, fraîchement coupées, laissaient derrière les coups du sécateur des pleurs salés. Les deux événements n'existaient pas l'un sans l'autre, ne pouvaient pas être séparés. (Mihali 2002, 24)

Or, le village n'est plus le même que celui de son enfance : il est presque désert, la solitude et le silence y règnent tandis que l'oubli menace de ruiner les maisons, désertées elles aussi. Les quelques habitants sont des vieux, des chiens et bien sûr, des poux, tout comme ceux que grand-mère Antoinette cherche dans la tête des enfants et qui sont le symbole de la misère et de la pauvreté. Des anciens bâtiments, l'église, l'école et le dispensaire, malgré leur importance dans la vie des villageois, il ne reste plus grande chose, tout comme de ceux qui les représentaient :

> L'église tenait encore debout, mais depuis longtemps on n'y servait plus de messes dominicales […]. Le prêtre était un de mes nombreux cousins et habitait un autre village depuis son deuxième mariage, interdit par l'Eglise orthodoxe. Chaque fois que les villageois avaient besoin de ses services, ils l'appelaient à contre-coeur et par pure obligation par l'intermédiaire de

> quelqu'un [...]. L'école était fermée depuis longtemps. Mes anciens professeurs étaient morts ou avaient déménagé. Les plus jeunes, quant à eux, faisaient la navette entre plusieurs villages où il y avait encore des enfants à qui enseigner [...]. Le médecin, quant à lui, venait au dispensaire, dont il n'existait plus qu'une seule pièce, une fois par semaine pour faire les piqûres aux malades ou laisser des ordonnances paraphées pour les maladies les plus fréquentes en cet endroit : diarrhée, grippe, hémorroïdes, ulcère, empoisonnement dû à la viande de porc, constipation, bronchite. Celui qui était autorisé à les remettre, c'était le vendeur du magasin. (Mihali 2002, 27-28)

Il en résulte qu'il n'y a que le magasin et son vendeur qui tiennent debout, un magasin où l'on trouve pêle-mêle tout ce dont les paysans ont besoin :

> de l'indispensable pain quotidien jusqu'aux bottes en caoutchouc, en passant par les pâtes, le bouillon, la soude caustique, le mazout, les allumettes, le sel, le fil à coudre, les caleçons, les pioches, les clous, les cuillères en aluminium, les seaux, les tocantes, les horloges, les pantoufles, les peignes. (Mihali 2002, 27)

Ce fragment rappelle un autre, celui où l'on décrit le Magasin Général du village d'Héloïse, la sœur de Jean le Maigre et d'Emmanuel et où l'on vend

> parmi les souliers, les bas de soie et les corsets, des poules (vivantes, mais que l'on tuait sous vos yeux si vous en aviez le désir), du chocolat, des pastilles pour le mal de gorge, de l'avoine, et mille choses qui, pour Héloïse, annonçaient la prospérité du village – allant des costumes pour hommes « taille moyenne » aux « bas pour dames », en passant par les « instruments de ferme et couvertures pour les chevaux ». (Blais 1976, 150)

Alors, il ne reste à la jeune femme que la maison qui acquiert de plus en plus d'importance, devenant un centre du monde tout comme le temple et la montagne et se rattachant à l'idée d'espace sacré. Elle devient un lien entre la terre et le ciel devant permettre à l'héroïne de retrouver ses origines et de se retrouver. L'arrivée de l'hiver, quand

la vie à l'extérieur n'est plus possible, pousse l'héroïne à quitter le logis de ses grands-parents et à se retirer dans la grande maison de ses parents, ce qui accentue encore plus la quête identitaire.

La « chute en soi » de la jeune femme prend la forme d'un détachement complet de la réalité environnante, des êtres qui l'entourent, plus exactement de son fils « Je suis alors tombée en léthargie. Je ne savais plus quand le jour commençait et quand la nuit prenait fin. Mécaniquement, je vidais le seau d'urine et je montrais à Daniel le pain sur la table » (Mihali 2002, 101). Par le biais de la rêverie, elle commence son périple dans le pays marécageux du psychique féminin en essayant de se retrouver dans l'histoire d'amour de ses aïeuls, Marie et Petre ou en remontant encore plus jusqu'aux anciens Grecs, à l'histoire de Troie. Elle devient « une sorte de Mère Universelle, fécondée par la seule haleine masculine » car le plus petit contact avec l'Homme la « faisait germer » et lui « laisser un embryon » (Mihali 2002, 141). Un argument de plus pourrait le constituer le fait que son fils, emmené par son père en ville, finit par ne plus l'appeler « maman » et ne plus la revoir.

Son isolement et son aliénation seront interrompus par la présence d'Elié et George, deux amis d'enfance qui l'entraîneront sur la pente de la débauche et l'empêcheront d'atteindre la liberté absolue, de se retrouver et d'échapper une fois pour toutes au complexe des origines :

> La maison d'où j'étais issue n'était pas un lieu quelconque. Elle était en fait la fontaine par où j'aurais pu descendre dans la profondeur de l'histoire du monde. Si j'étais échoué, cela est dû aux circonstances, au hasard, au fait que je n'ai pas été seule, que je n'ai pas eu la paix de tout revivre du début. Durant les premiers mois de l'hiver précédent, j'avais été à un pas de la grande découverte. Mais j'étais revenue. Cela ne valait pas la peine de venir jusqu'ici pour comprendre que mon avenir ainsi que mon passé étaient aussi difficiles à supporter sans intermédiaire. (Mihali 2002, 212-213)

Sa vie à la compagne sera interrompue par l'écroulement de la maison. Enterrée sous les délabres, elle va être malheureusement sauvée et rien ne pourra plus arrêter sa chute.

L'échec et le marasme de la jeune femme qui a rejoint son village natal situé « quelque part entre les petites villes de Rochiori et de

Draganeshti-Olt, à environ 160 kilomètres de Bucarest » (Mihali 2002, 19) s'apparente à une distance de milliers de kilomètres à celui de son compère Jean Le Maigre qui a quitté son hameau pour aller au noviciat et implicitement vers la mort. Sans exagérer trop, on pourrait les considérer comme des archétypes de leurs générations, générations de sacrifice et de malheur. Les deux seraient les victimes d'un système ébranlé par des idéologies de contestation matérialisées par une révolution sanglante en Roumanie et une révolution tranquille au Québec et le village, démuni de tous les mythes dont il a été investi, devient un coin de misère où « la vie semble arrêtée depuis des siècles » (Chartrand 2002).

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Historical Fiction in the Light of Globalization – Transnationalism, Transculturalism & Identities

Abstract

This paper analyzes the complex interactions between hi/stories, glo-balization and the construction of individual and collective identities in increasingly diversified realities. It does so by first focusing on the theoretical and literary contexts that have in the past decades shaped the Canadian cultural imaginaries. Subsequently, it gives an insight into recent developments in the genre and in the study of historical novels, before analyzing various interrelated concerns in three rep-resentative texts: Alistair MacLeod's No Great Mischief, *Jane Urqu-hart's* A Map of Glass *and Guy Vanderhaeghe's* The Last Crossing. *The final section draws some conclusions regarding the influence of globalization on the genre of historical fiction by referring to a new, trans/cultural Canadian imaginary.*

Résumé

Cet article se propose d'analyser les interactions complexes qui se manifestent entre l/es histoire/s, la mondialisation et la construction des identités dans des réalités de plus en plus diversifiées. Cette étu-de se penche premièrement sur les contextes théoriques et littéraires qui ont façonné les imaginaires culturels du Canada au cours des dernières décennies. Ensuite l'article donne un bref aperçu des déve-loppements récents dans le genre et l'étude du roman historique (anglo-canadien) avant d'analyser quelques sujets entrelacés dans trois textes représentatifs: No Great Mischief *de Alistair MacLeod,* A Map of Glass *de Jane Urquhart et* The Last Crossing *de Guy Van-derhaeghe. La dernière partie propose quelques conclusions con-cernant l'influence de la mondialisation sur le genre de la fiction historique dans la perspective d'un nouvel imaginaire canadien trans/culturel.*

"Perhaps that's why he became so interested in his-tory," she went on. "He felt that if you read everything and put the pieces all together the real truth would

emerge. It would be, somehow, like carpentry. Every-
thing would fit together just so, and you would see in
the end something like a "perfect building called the
past". Perhaps he felt that if he couldn't understand his
immediate past, he would try to understand his distant
past."
"Not so easy," I said.
"I know not so easy," she answered. (MacLeod, 2001, 215f)

In the past decades, theories on postcolonialism, multiculturalism
and hybridity, and the impact of the works of "migrant" writers[1] on
the Canadian literary scene have developed into dominant, reciprocal
concerns in (literary) academia. In the course of the evolvement of
these trends, the Canadian nation has come to represent a kind of
microcosm of globalization issues. Within the network of discourses
engendered by theory and progress, the understanding of the past,
undisputedly, continues to constitute one of the major aspects in the
development of distinct identities, be they national, regional, com-
munal or individual – thus, the relevance of literary texts which
negotiate hi/stories within Canadian cultures becomes evident.

Considering the complexity of this issue, it will be impossible for me
to provide the reader with a completely coherent picture as far as the
relations between historical fiction, Canadian identities and global-
ization is concerned. My approach to the issues and the ideas pre-
sented are best seen as follows: As a starting point, let us consider a
dot-to-dot – a picture in which you have to join the numbered dots
with lines in order to receive a likeness of some object, animal or
person. Now imagine an enormous three-dimensional dot-to-dot
without numbers, instead the option of multiple connections and
cross-connections and some of the dots are in fact moving. This is
the "G.L.I. (the globalization/literature/identity) dot-to-dot". In my
paper I will only discuss some of the dots and draw a few lines all of
which I have grouped under the headings "contexts", "texts in con-
texts – hi/stories" and "re-texting the hypertext"; the image itself will
remain fragmented and open for interpretation.

As some of the more optimistic theorists analyzing the relation be-
tween culture and globalization suggest, globalization stimulates a
new kind of imagination – it functions as promoter of agency as we
face an increasing set of choices regarding movements in time and
place. Yet the effects of global social and economic developments
are not only positive – in fact, the amount of poverty and injustice

caused by transnational policies, we only begin to grasp. Historical fiction in Canada, which has seen a rise of popularity in the last decade, seems, to a certain degree, to reflect this multiplicity of choices and multi-facetted imaginations in their positive and partially also negative perspectives. The three texts I will be referring to are representative of this state: Guy Vandehaeghe's recent novel *The Last Crossing* is set entirely in the 19th century and depicts the odyssey of a group of individuals through the American and Canadian West; Jane Urquhart's novel *A Map of Glass* connects the fates of a middle-aged woman and of a young conceptional artist in the 20th century with family histories of 19th century settlers; and finally, Alistair MacLeod's novel *No Great Mischief* evokes a dense tapestry of myth, tradition and memories, past and present inherent to the Gaelic community of Cape Breton.

It is the aim of this paper to consider these texts and contexts from various perspectives while keeping in mind questions such as: Why is the genre of historical fiction so popular in Canada with readers and writers alike? Does recent historical fiction differ from earlier forms of the genre and if so, has globalization[2] had an effect on recent historical fictions? I will try to negotiate possible answers to these questions step-by-step, or rather, dot-by-dot.

Contexts[3]

Context 1

Certain observations can be made regarding recent developments in anglophone Canadian literatures on a very general level.

In relation to (or reaction against) multiculturalism policies of the 1970s and 80s, Canada has witnessed, and towards the 90s, also welcomed, the emergence of migrant literatures in their own right. In fact, immigrant writers today constitute a major component of Canada's literary scene; they have not only enriched "Canlit" with fictions depicting their own communities and their situations in present Canada, and provided counter-narratives as well as affirmations of the supposedly multicultural nation, they have also very often dealt with rewritings of the past. The decisive turn in the reception of immigrant voices came with Joy Kogawa's successful novel *Obasan* (1981), a hybrid between autobiography and historical fiction in the broadest sense. In such cases, one has come to speak of "memory writing" which recounts immigrant experiences of the past in terms

of individual and re/collective memories, thus providing valuable fictions that rewrite Canadian history[4].

The development of diasporic cultures, which has been reinforced by globalization developments, has, I would argue, over the decades helped encourage a Canadian cultural imaginary[5] that not only is no longer focused on survival[6] or on a mosaic-like ethnic side-by-sideness (of minorities and majorities)[7], but a cultural imaginary that in fact reflects and enables an opening up towards less static concepts of (ethnic) identities.

Similarly, Native cultures and literatures have found, or rather have finally been acknowledged their place within the Canadian literary and cultural landscape. This is reflected not least in the publication of several anthologies of Native literatures in Canada, collections of critical essays and special issues of literary journals in the past decades[8]. Of course there have also been internal developments, within the body of Native literature; one of them is that after a long period of affirming and stabilizing their voice in the present, Native writers have slowly begun to approach the past and history in their terms of description and reality, which are radically different from that of most non-natives. As Herb Wylie asserts, "native writers in Canada have for some time been creatively reworking not just traditional oral forms but also various literary forms of the dominant culture" [and] "it is just a matter of time […] before we see native writers producing their own historical fictions" (Wyile, 2002, xvi).

This retrieval of historical space in fictional terms has to some extent already taken form in works such as Thomas King's *Green Grass, Running Water* and Lee Maracle's *Ravensong* both published in 1993, and also in King's more recent collection of short stories entitled *A Short History of Indians in Canada* (2005), and finally, in a collection of essays, short fictions and reflections on Canadian history by several Native authors entitled, *Our Story. Aboriginal Voices On Canada's Past* (2004)[9]. Needless to say, the impact of Native cultures on the Canadian literary consciousness has been important and highly (re)formative, even if appropriations of cultural voice are only slowly shedding their imperialistic tone in favour of reciprocally more reflected, transcultural discourses[10]. Once again the more positive ramifications of (recent) globalization have in the past decades played a decisive role in promoting these formerly neglected voices even more[11].

The past decades have seen a growing interest in so called urban (and also sub-urban) literature that depicts "world cities" and "regional world cities" (cf. During, 2005, 93f.) as the powerhouses of global interactions (in the widest sense). This literary urbanism, which is also applied in recent historical novels, can be seen as part of the turn towards a new "regionalism" – a designation when applied to literature frequently carried negative undertones throughout the second half of the 20th century. Speaking of regional literature today should not be understood in such negative terms, as it rather confirms a non-defensive, by far more self-confident sense of place and of "the local"[12]. In fact, the relation between more regional foci and urbanity is again another representative of the complexity and fluidity of contemporary cultural imaginaries, as urban pluralism resonates in "the local" while "simultaneously" expanding through and thus epitomizing the diversifying forces of globalization.

Context 2

Parallel to developments in literature as such, naturally we need to look at a second, equally relevant "muddle" of dots constantly in interaction with the former context, and that is theory – in particular postmodernism, postcolonial theory, and theories of identity and memory.

On a very general level, some critics argue that postmodernism has come to be superseded by the idea of globalization[13]; as far as literature is concerned most critics will react either annoyed or highly sceptical towards suggestions that "postmodernism" might no longer be an as adequate designation or framework for contemporary literature as twenty years ago. The problems here are engendered by two major related issues: that changes in literature reflecting the necessity to re-negotiate certain perspectives are yet difficult to pinpoint – and, especially if set against, a by definition vague literary notion/ movement. Already in 1992 Neil Besner highlighted this problem in a more optimistic essay (with regards to the concept of postmodernism):

> […] by not allowing more latitude to the boundaries of
> our understanding of postmodernism – a category that
> is by its very nature inimical to notions of firm borders
> – we miss an opportunity to widen our understanding
> of how our writing has developed and where it might
> be going. (Besner, 1992, 16-17)

Even more clearly, postcolonial theory, as repeatedly underlined by scholars, is finding itself in a crisis on an international scale as its deficiencies begin to struggle over its politics. What makes this theoretical context especially interesting is the specific, uneasy role Canada as a settler-invader nation has occupied within postcolonial criticism[14]. Additionally, postcolonial theorists have, one has to admit understandably, been very reluctant (to say the least) to link up with globalization issues[15]. According to Frank Schulze-Engler, current postcolonial debates might "manoeuvre themselves into a dead end" (2004, 53) because "most participants assume that the conflicts between "the West" and "the Rest" or "global capitalism" and the "exploited margins" are of primary importance in any consideration of 'postcolonial' literatures and cultures" (55). In order to avoid this, postcolonial critics ought to reassess their relationship to globalization by considering new insights into global cultural dynamics, especially into what Schulze-Engler calls "the micropolitics of modernity":

> For a criticism interested in the political dimensions of contemporary literature, an exclusive focus on the resistance to globalization, on the subversion of Western master-discourse of cultural supremacy and on the reassertion of the local or the national will no longer suffice; instead, it will have to branch out to cover not only the new dynamics of global cultural ecumene and its significance for an emerging transnational public sphere, but also the politics of civil society and the micropolitics of modernity explored in literary works from all over the world. (Schulze-Engler, 2004, 58-59)

Postcolonial criticism and the concepts of Eurocentric (cultural) imperialism have been highly relevant for the discussion of historical fiction in Canada because, as discussed above, they have influenced writers and critics in the inevitable process of re-writing Canadian history and also in their understanding of identities within Homi Bhabha's "dissemination"[16], or, in a sense, even post-dissemiNation, as suggested in an article by Marie Vautier:

> In recent postcolonial novels, one can see a new direction. This new direction has less to do with resistance to forces of empire, less to do with land and territoriality and "nation," and perhaps less to do with belonging and non-belonging. It has more to do with

> "l'imaginaire de l'identitaire", with the abstract, the mind, the spiritual, and even the soul. (Vautier, 2003, 270)

The "imaginaire de l'identitaire" mentioned by Vautier, similar to my understanding of what has been labelled "cultural imaginary", is also strongly linked to memories and the re/construction of hi/stories. Theories related to identity and memory construction have, too, become increasingly important, especially but not exclusively within the realm of literary and cultural studies. These concepts and theories have become especially relevant in relation to changes in our onto-logical and epistemological perceptions of the world as reflected in an increasingly globalized mimesis, perceptions including those of time and pastness. History or rather, how it is remembered, is a de-fining parameter for the construction of individual/familial/commu-nal/regional/national identities, and the analysis of the complex ge-nesis and synthesis of cultural memories of course helps get some insight into the poetics of historical fictions.

Context 3

For my last "context", let me turn towards globalization and global-ization theory. Here we also face a number of problems: first of all, globalization theory is well developed within certain disciplines such as economic and political studies, but has yet to find its way into (mainstream) literary and cultural theories. The second major prob-lem from my point of view concerning mainly those approaches that refer to the effects of globalization on world structures and cultures, is that most discussions lean towards oppositional extremes: either they focus on the negative effects of globalization as a continuation of imperialism in the name of capitalism leading to worldwide cul-tural sameness[17]; or it is the ultimate solution for humanity in that it fosters cultural understanding and a new variety of cultural differ-ences in the global community[18]; the former approach being too critical, and the latter too idealistic[19]. Even if some approaches seem highly inspiring, as During has noted, they often lack "any analytic power to bear on the conceptual/political difficulties that beset the analysis of global culture" and he adds, "we have yet to see what, if any, academic concepts and cultural maps will cover the various spheres of globalized culture as older terms such as postmodernism (and postcolonialism) fade" (During, 2005, 92).

That globalization is connected in many complicated ways to developments in Canadian literature and to the diverse theories at work, dealing with and influencing the Canadian cultural landscape and discussions on identity, has partially already been indicated before and will be discussed in the parts to come. What we can say so far is that at present we still lack interdisciplinary, (ideally non-political), clear, yet flexible, theoretical frameworks to analyze cultural production in the light of the diversity of global influences. I have already tried to hint at how historical fiction fits into this (con/textual) discussion – in the following, I will try to do so in greater detail and to refer to some examples.

Text/s in Context/s – Hi/stories

What the contexts so far discussed have shown and this is also the main argument of this paper, is that a certain amount of "rethinking" has to take place with regards to recent fiction – especially in the genre of historical fiction. The dilemma of postmodernism, already described earlier, by which I mean that since the 1960s we have been talking about literature mainly in terms of postmodernism without registering changes is wonderfully exemplified in the genre of historical fiction in Canada, which is dominated by two main distinct generic forms: the traditional (romantic) historical novel of the 19th century and (that which Linda Hutcheon defined as) "postmodern historiographic metafiction"[20].

This two-fold distinction does not do the genre's multitude of expressions – including recent historical fiction – full justice. Similar to the fragile borderline that distinguishes modernist and postmodern movements in literature, current developments (at least at this point) defy clearly observable borders of r/evolution. Yet it is not far-fetched to assume that certain shifts (must) have taken place, especially since the rise of modern communication and computer technology (since approximately the 1990s) – "shifts in interests and in the kaleidoscope of cultural imaginaries".

Some critics of Canadian literature have in the past years commented, on a very general scale, upon these shifts – as, for example, C. A. Howells notes:

> English-Canadian literary and cultural traditions have shown obvious signs of becoming destabilized during the 1990s, in what might now be seen as a necessary process of refiguring multicultural Canada in a very

> different mode from the cultural nationalism of the
> 1960s and 1970s. (Howells, 2003, 4)

Very few have attempted to theorize these recent changes; one exception is Jutta Zimmerman, who in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the GKS[21] in 2005 linked the exhaustion of postmodern narrative strategies to the rise of a re-evaluated "sentimentalism" (which, as she argues with the help of U.S. philosopher Richard Rorty, might be necessary to overcome contemporary social and global problems and to transcend difference). (Zimmermann, 2005, 90)

Only very recently have fairly young academics started to publish works bringing new insights into Canadian historical fiction. Gordon Bölling, for example, in a study entitled *History in the Making*, which underlines the continuing importance of metafiction in contemporary Canadian literature, notices a movement towards more universal themes. Bölling tries to resolve the methodological crisis of recent historical fiction by rejecting Hutcheon's concept of "postmodern historiographic metafiction" and defining "metafictional historical novels" as the dominant subcategory of historical fiction, which can be traced throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Herb Wyile has written the most comprehensive book on this subject so far. Published in 2002, the study analyzes approximately 20 (mainly recent) historical novels by relating them to the development of the genre in Canada since the 1960s as well as to present conditions; his book is not only a well-invested read, it also succeeds in creating links between the various contexts mentioned earlier in a very lucid way and he also dedicates a whole chapter to some reflections on the commodification of history in recent years. He argues in a highly convincing manner that recent historical fiction is less radical in content and form because

> […] it reflects the difficulties of negotiating a more
> postcolonial presentation of Canadian history within
> the context of a postmodern culture characterized on
> the one hand by skepticism of official history and on
> the other by strong pressures to render history in a com-
> modified and dehistoricized form. (Wyile, 2002, xiii)

A young German scholar, Birgit Neumann, focuses less on the various phases and the background of the genre but instead develops a very detailed narratological typology for recent historical fiction

(which she calls "fictions of memory") by drawing on theories of identity and memory construction.

Despite their completely different approaches to recent Canadian historical fiction, these three ambitious studies do have certain arguments in common (which also correspond to my personal observations), the most important being that recent historical fiction is representative of a Canada self-confident of its multiplicity of voices, and as especially Neumann and Wyile underline that it is also based on a new sense of historicity – a metaphysics that links the past more firmly to the present.

Before I come to my final part in which I would like to sum up what a rethinking of contemporary historical fiction might include, let us take one step back and look at the texts.

Historical fictions published since approximately the 1990s require a new understanding of the genre. Contemporary historical novels interact with the variety of contexts surrounding them and therefore resonate postmodern as well as modernist narrative strategies and postcolonial as well as global issues. Of the three novels discussed in this article, only Vanderhaeghe's *The Last Crossing* coincides with a more conservative understanding of the genre, in that it is entirely set in the (fairly distant) past, even if other characteristics link it strongly to the other two novels. *No Great Mischief* and *A Map of Glass* however, require a breaking up of the traditional generic boundaries in order to be understood as historical fictions. Both are to great parts also set in the present and work with cultural con/texts such as myths, family traditions, tales, memories, and diaries in order to convey "retexted" hi/stories. What makes these fictions "historical" in a more contemporary appreciation of this literary form is their focus on the importance of past events in the construction of individual and collective cultural imaginaries.

Birgit Neumann in *Erinnerung – Identität – Narration* (2005) rightly observes the significance of memories for recent fiction on a narrative and thematic level. In *The Last Crossing* the dandy Charles Gaunt, looks back on the events that make up the better part of the novel twenty years after they happened; while throughout the main narrative strand, the voices and perspectives of the individual characters involved in these events are presented. In Urquhart's *A Map of Glass* the main character Sylvia recounts her memories of her dead lover, Andrew, to the young artist Jerome, who found the corpse.

And while Jerome tries to come to terms with his childhood memories, he reads the notebooks of the man he found, which describe the history of his ancestors (formally separated from the rest of the story in the middle part of the book). The main character in MacLeod's novel is also situated in the present, but his individual memories and ancestral memories in the form of myths completely dominate the narration. The powerful integration of memory is of course linked to a concept of pastness that accepts the relative, reciprocally influenced and constructed nature of then and now. As Alexander MacDonald remarks in *No Great Mischief*:

> The *Calum Ruadh* who seems so present in thought and conversation in today's Toronto was, as I mentioned earlier, my great-great-great-grandfather. And he came from Scotland's Moidart to the New World in 1779. Sometimes it seems we know a lot about him, and at other times very little. "It is all relative," as they say. No pun intended. There are some facts and perhaps some fantasies that change with our own perceptions and interests. (MacLeod, 2001, 17)

Change, as also indicated in the passage above, is a major theme in all three novels – it finds its expression in a variety of forms; one of them the very concrete reference to the impact of consumerism and modernity on the past and our understanding of it. In *A Map of Glass,* the novel's second part focuses on the history of the family of the owner of a lumber business (especially his son Branwell Woodman), at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. The description of the fate of a significant building containing beautiful murals, which are finally completely destroyed, expresses the author's critical perspective towards the forces of modernity:

> Eventually, parts of the inn would be leased to spinster sisters trying to make a living by serving home-cooked meals to motorists on what was now a paved highway between Guelph and Goderich. […] Halfway through the twentieth century, the provincial government would decide to widen the highway and would expropriate much of the front yard. A decade after that there would be an attempt to reopen the building as a hotel, but that attempt would amount to little, the private company involved would decide to sell the property to the County Historical Society. […] Governments at all

> levels would become more interested in business than
> in history, and money to keep the inn standing would
> be in short supply. […] Finally, the fractured wall
> paintings would be covered by no fewer than ten lay-
> ers of paper flowers and paste and the landscapes
> would be forgotten altogether. (Urquhart, 2005, 292)

The destroyed and forgotten landscape murals are representative of the individual cultural imaginary of Branwell Woodman, Andrew's great-grandfather – these hi/stories are only re-enacted in the note-books and consequently the cultural imaginary of the "landscape historian" Andrew, which both are cherished by Sylvia who liberates herself from the constraints of her reality by narrating her personal past to Jerome, whom she finally also hands over the notebooks. In this intrinsic circle, thus, these hi/stories become an active part of cultural imaginaries in a globalized world, which is represented by the conceptual artist Jerome and his girlfriend, Mira, who is of South-East Asian descent. In this passing on of hi/stories, pastness and the post/modern concept of change meet:

> "Memories are fixed, aren't they?" she said. "They
> might diminish, they might fade, but they don't chan-
> ge, become something else. I am now, you see, his me-
> mory." She sat forward in her chair. "Andrew thought
> he *was* the history his forebears created, he felt respon-
> sible for that history, I think, and for those people.
> They are my responsibility now." Jerome glanced at
> her. Then he looked quickly away as if he felt sud-
> denly shy or embarrassed. Sylvia couldn't tell by the
> expression on his face what he was thinking. "I'm not
> certain that what you said about memory is correct,"
> he said. "I think it *can* change." (Urquhart, 2005, 75-
> 76)

Similarly, one of the main interests in *The Last Crossing* is the character of Jerry Potts, a Métis guide, and his forgotten achievements. The tragedy of the historical figure in the light of colonization and the "modernization" of the New World is captured in the following excerpt:

> He saw the half-breed scout as a perfectly equipped
> factotum for a crucial transition in history. Master of
> Indian tongues, mental geographer of an unmapped

> land, Potts also had strong links to white society, all this making him an invaluable bridge between two worlds. Yet once civilization had been established in the wilds, and railroads, banks, and schools had been established, Potts was dispensable. (Vanderhaeghe, 2002, 385)

In contrast to the former example, here it is the collective cultural imaginary that is threatened by substantial loss as the past is replaced by official history and only lives on in the voice of the narrator and its perception by the one person listening – yet the impact of the novel on "our" cultural imaginaries achieves the opposite.

In all the examples above, one might also observe a tendency towards a greater interest in the role of the individual in the shaping of his own as well as his community's (in the widest sense) collective imaginary. In doing so, the individual defines a "locus" or in the course of his/(or her/)stories several "loci" in constant interaction with the respective cultural imaginaries. "The local" thus becomes part of "the global", and vice versa. The ethnic and sexual pluralities of voices in these novels, all of which are set in specific regions of Canada (and North America)[22] demonstrate their multiple transcultural "texture".

Re-texting the Hypertext

From my point of view, one of the most crucial traits of historical novels of the past fifteen years is that they "echo a self-confident and stabilized if non-static, transcultural Canadian imaginary". This characteristic summarizes the effects on form and theme of all the influences exerted on the genre by the contexts in which it finds itself. The natural inclusion of a variety of myths, hi/stories, memories, and voices into recent fictions of the past, is in the first place the result of Canada's century long struggle to shed its colonial past and define its own identity, but it is also evidence of the effects of globalization on Canadian literature.

A second major characteristic already mentioned before is a new sense of historicity. Computer technology and ever-increasing mobility have altered our awareness of time; progress and change actually happen faster, we live longer and acquire a greater amount and variety of memories. If our understanding of history has often been dominated by linear structures, this has changed as we come to see the

negative consequences of global networks and policies – maybe history today should rather be called "retro-progressive".

Finally, we might notice a set of reciprocal tendencies: on the one hand a focus on the local and the individual, on the other hand a longing for an opening up of perspective, determined by the spectrum of difference(s) surrounding us. These two multiple, interconnected, and constantly renegotiated states of existence, refer back to what has before been identified as transcultural imaginaries.

In response to these observations two oppositional explanations can be found for the popularity of the genre of historical fiction in terms of globalization. Either the emergence of global networks and consumerism[23] can be seen as threatening Canadian identities with universal sameness which is why writers are turning so much towards regional and individual hi/stories, trying to grasp and give meaning to individual existence in an increasingly computerized world. In this case historical fiction can be seen as functioning as a form of "resistance". Or, globalization is encouraging the marketing of history, and thus historical fiction (and here I am not only referring to historical romances) becomes part of a leisure, or rather heritage industry; historical fiction then functions as "commodity".

I believe that both perspectives apply in the "G.L.I. dot-to-dot".

Endnotes

1. I here prefer the more reflected expression used in francophone literature ("littérature migrante") over the more common, yet also more problematic notion of "immigrant literature".

2. I might add at this point that I am aware of the fact that globalization in relation to the era of modernity is a concept the beginnings/ effects of which have been traced back far into the 19th century, yet I will use the word mainly to refer to recent effects of this evolution.

3. The numbering of these contexts is, of course, random, not hierarchical.

4. Other examples are the works by authors such as Michael Ondaatje, Rohinton Mistry, M. G. Vassanji, Sky Lee, Janice Kulyk Keefer, Eva Stachniak, Austin Clarke, Dionne Brand, Nino Ricci – only to name a few.

5. The term "cultural imaginary" has been used by critics here and there, as for example by James Skidmore in "Urquhart's Fairytale: The German Cultural Imaginary in *The Stone Carvers*". Heinz Antor et al. (eds.). *Refractions of Germany in Canadian Literature and Culture.* Berlin: De Gruyer, 2003, 320. In my understanding and use of the term, it refers to the constructed and constantly renegotiated interspace(s) between (collective or individual) cultural identities and the discourses that shape them (texts, images, myths, histories, memories, etc). It is strongly linked to the construction of cultural memories, only that it is perceived and lived more on a synchronic than on a diachronic axis (cf. the definition proposed by Jan Assman: "The concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity." (Jan Assman. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity". Trans. John Czaplicka. *New German Critique* 65 1995: 125-133.)

6. In terms of the concepts introduced in the 1970s by Margaret Atwood's *Survival. A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature.* Toronto: Anansi, 1972.

7. As suggested in essays such as Enoch Padolsky's "Cultural Diversity and Canadian Literature: A Pluralistic Approach to Majority and Minority Writing in Canada". Ajay Heble, Donna Palmateer Pennee & J. R. Tim Struthers (eds.). *New Contexts of Canadian Criticism.* Petersborough: Broadview Press, 1997, 24-42.

8. Cf. for example, publications by Renée Hulan and Hartmut Lutz, the anthologies published by Daniel David Moses/Terry Goldie and by Penny Petrone; and special issues of literary journals such as *Canadian Literature*, Nr. 167 (Winter 2000).

9. The way history is dealt with in First Nations and Inuit traditions is a very interesting and complex issue in its own right, which for understandable reasons I cannot delve into in this article.

10. Laura Smyth Groening recently published a book entitled *Listening to Old Woman Speak. Natives and Alternatives in Canadian Literature.* Montreal & London: McGill-Queen's UP, 2004. Groening's study not only describes the debate in some detail, it also

argues that from the 19th to the end of the 20th century nothing (or near to nothing) changed in the depiction of Natives in Canadian literature. From her perspective, Euro-Canadian texts that portray Natives and/or Native culture are dominated by the Manichean allegory (a term originally introduced by Frantz Fanon and later expanded by Abdul Jan Mohammed), which divides the world in mutually excluding opposites. Also postmodern authors such as Rudy Wiebe, according to Groening, even though they might attempt to present reformed views on the constructedness of history do not quite escape the dichotomy of the evil savage vs. the wise and educated and otherwise noble colonizer. Groening's examples are highly convincing and her argumentation certainly holds true for a number of novels published from the 60s to the 90s; but in my opinion, her analysis cannot be applied to recent historical fiction (or at least not all).

11. One example would be the launching of APTN, Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (which promotes a pan-Indian image) on an international basis in 1999 <http://www.aptn.ca/content/blogsection/ 4/31/>. Of course, here one has to be aware of the fact that such establishments can also contribute to a popularization of (new) stereotypes.

12. At the same time, this does not necessarily oppose the increasing use of non-Canadian settings in Canadian literature.

13. Cf. During, 2005, "As we've begun to see, since the nineties, globalization, a word with multiple meanings, has replaced "postmodernism" as a master term used to name, interpret and direct the social and technological transformations of the contemporary era" (81).

14. For a successful recent publication on this issue cf. Moss, 2003.

15. Postcolonial theory, originally intended and often still practiced as a highly political discourse, would by no means be able to sympathize with the "merits" of globalization, as they represent the cultural and economic imperialism of "the West".

16. Cf. Homi Bhabha. "DissemiNation. Time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation" (1994, 199-244). As only shortly mentioned at the beginning of his article, Bhabha's understanding of this term was of course strongly influenced by Jacques Derrida's deconstructialist reflections on 'dissemination', cf. Bhabha, 1994, 199.

17. These are most often theories with Hegelian-Marxist background, such as the works of i.e. Immanuel Wallerstein, Francis Fukuyama, and Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri.

18. Cf. for example, Arjun Appadurai. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Public Worlds, Vol. 1. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

19. For an overview on the various approaches to globalization cf. During, 2005, 81-95.

20. Cf. Hutcheon, Linda. *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction.* London: Routledge, 1988.

20. Gesellschaft für Kanada Studien (Association for Canadian Studies in the German-speaking countries). Zimmermann's paper was later published in *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien*; cf. works cited.

21. *No Great Mischief* is set mainly in Toronto and Cape Breton, *A Map of Glass* in Toronto and South-Eastern Ontario, and *The Last Crossing* focuses on the American and Canadian West.

22. Which in the specific Canadian case are often equated with "Americanization".

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The Politics of Self-Righteousness: Canada's Foreign Policy and the Human Security Agenda

Abstract

"Human security" has become a buzzword of post-Cold War global security governance. By subscribing to the human security leitmotif, Canada has actively participated in the construction of meaning that is attached to and associated with the term. However, it has done so primarily on a rhetorical level by appealing to the myth of Canada's "golden era" in the 1950s and its self-understanding as a "peace-keeper", "do-gooder", "honest broker" and "helpful fixer". It is through this emotionally appealing character that the Canadian human security agenda successfully reconstructed a common national identity notwithstanding the agenda's inconsistencies and severe cuts of its foreign policy budget.

Résumé

La sécurité humaine est devenue, après la guerre froide, le terme le plus influent dans le secteur de la gouvernance de sécurité globale. Le Canada a, dans les dernières années, influencé avec grand succès le sens du terme et a participé aux débats internationaux sur la politique de la sécurité humaine. Cependant le contenu de son agenda était poursuivi plutôt d'une manière rhétorique en évoquant le mythe de l'ère dorée de la diplomatie canadienne et la perception du pays comme « casque bleu », « do-gooder », « honest broker » et « helpful fixer ». C'est par ce caractère attirant et émotionnel que l'agenda de la sécurité humaine a reconstruit, avec succès, une identité canadienne au niveau national malgré l'absence de cohérence et un budget d'austérité sur le plan de la politique étrangère canadienne.

Canada's Foreign Policy Myth

Canada's largest book retailer, Indigo, has recently been running a campaign arguing that "the world needs more Canada". The ingredient of Canada that the world needs – and, hence, currently lacks – is in that case: books. Unsurprisingly, however, the slogan also resonates perfectly with a broader Canadian self-perception of its role in the world[1] and especially its appraisal of the so-called "golden era", the time when the Canadian diplomatic corps was regarded as the finest in the world and the country was doing good all over the globe, as a peacekeeper, a generous donor, a brave soldier or an honest broker (Cohen, 2003; Welsh, 2005). At least, so goes the official myth. It would take too much time and space here to evaluate how close to reality this self-image comes. Nonetheless, this self-perception serves nicely as a starting point for locating Canada's foreign policy under Lloyd Axworthy, subsumed under the label of "human security", and for placing it in the broader context of Canada's external relations since the end of World War II. Since that time two issues have been crucial for the formulation of the country's foreign policy, namely (a) its relationship with its Southern neighbour, and (b) the question of national unity and a common national identity (Keating, 2002, 1; Stevenson, 2000, 91). However, these two linkages cannot be illustrated without briefly elaborating on human security as a – at least rhetorical – new form of foreign policy (also see Bosold and von Bredow, 2006).

Human Security: A Conceptual Reformulation of Foreign Policy

As far as the repeated use of human security is concerned it has been widely accepted that former foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy introduced the term as a new "leitmotif" of Canada's foreign policy (Axworthy, 1997, 1999, 2001; Hampson et al., 2001; Donaghy, 2003). In doing so, he made resemblance to what had been defined some two years earlier by the publication of the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme which had defined human security vaguely as being both, "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" (UNDP 1994)[2]. The revolutionary idea behind human security was the reconceptualization of security in the sense that the referent object – that is the object to be protected – should shift from the state to the individual. In doing so, humans should become protected from physical violence – freedom from fear – as well empowered to provide

for their basic human needs – freedom from want (Paris, 2001). In the early years Canada's human security policy officially pursued an agenda of both components of human security but eventually ended up defining human security as noting but freedom from fear (MacLean, 2000). I will argue that it did so because it (a) lacked the resources to pursue a broader agenda, (b) was able to present the human security agenda as a logical continuation of its foreign policy since the end of the Second World War and (c) could hence successfully strengthen its national identity and the domestic danger of further fragmentation. Looking at the domestic, hemispheric and global contexts of Canada's foreign policy of the 1990s is thus a good starting point for understanding the use of human security foremost as an agenda to reaffirm Canada's national identity. Especially when one considers that the "real" dangers to the country's territorial integrity – that is national security – had vanished due to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Context of Canada's Foreign Policy in the 1990s

As most politicians also Canadian decision makers had to come to grips with a huge array of new developments and challenges in the early 1990s as is indicated in Table 1. As far as the above mentioned and two most fundamental dimensions of Canadian foreign policy are concerned, the country's relationship with the US at that time was (and, today still is) one of a simultaneous pushing and pulling. While the economic integration through NAFTA brought Canada closer to the US, a process of political alienation made Canada on the one hand "invisible and inaudible in Washington" (Mahant and Mount, 1999) and on the other hand saw the country pursuing policies that its southern neighbour disapproved of or simply ignored, such as the Kyoto Protocol or the efforts to establish an International Criminal Court (ICC). Together with the domestic challenge in the form of the – eventually unsuccessful – 1995 referendum in Québec to gain sovereignty and a too idealistic (or even: naïve) perception that the end of bipolarity would allow for a "peace dividend" Canada, ironically, like all other countries in the West faced a serious identity crisis. It was less threatened in its territorial integrity than ever before since the early 1940s, yet its decision-makers and population felt a deep sense of insecurity. David Campbell puts it this way:

In the West (and, of course in Canada, too; D.B.), the cold war was an ensemble of practices in which an interpretation of danger crystallized around objectify-cations of communism and the Soviet Union […] In consequence, through a series of ritualized perform-ances, each of which constituted a foundation that was subject to recurrent augmentation, the figuration of difference as otherness in the cold war rendered a contingent identity […] The vast majority of states […] that exist as states [do so; D.B.] only by virtue of their ability to constitute themselves as imagined communities. Central to the process of imagination has been the operation of discourses of danger which, by virtue of telling us what to fear, have been able to fix who "we" are. (Campbell, 1998, 169-170)

While this identity crisis was reflected in the official discourse, as I will illustrate soon, the "objective" decrease of military threats as well as the domestic economic downturn led to significant cuts in the foreign policy and defence budgets and an "economisation" of foreign policy. The latter point became most famously visible through the so-called "Team Canada" trade promotion missions of the Prime Ministers and the Premiers (Cohen, 2003, 101ff.; Kea-ting, 2002, 193-194). Put differently: while the human security agenda – as we will see – illustrated increasing commitment, in-ventiveness and activism, the financial means to back up the agen-da were reduced[3]. One has to bear these figures in mind, when it comes to an appraisal of Canada's human security agenda. What's more, one has to think more profoundly about the nature of security to understand its impact on identity formation.

Table 1: Levels and Dimensions influencing Canadian identity:

	Domestic Level	**Hemispheric Level**	**Global Level**
Political Dimension	Québec Referendum	US interests shift towards Mexico	Civil Wars, Failed States, Feeling of Uncertainty
> Fragmentation			
Economic Dimension	Period of Budget Cuts, Economic Reforms and Financial Austerity	Regional Integration through NAFTA	Team Canada missions, IT-revolution, free trade agenda
> Globalisation			
Security Dimension	Decrease in Spending and Size of the Military	Decreasing Importance of North American Defence Cooperation (NORAD)	Withdrawal from Europe, Expectation of a Peace Dividend
> End of the East-West Conflict / Cold War			
>> Feeling of Insecurity, Identity Crisis			

The "Securitization" of the Human Security Agenda

Invoking the term "security" as such is a political speech act which refers to a conceived "threat" that shall be reduced or eradicated by a policy that by itself will represent a result of that prior political act (Wæver, 1995; Buzan et al., 1998; Buzan and Wæver, 2003). It is noteworthy that for the speech act to succeed, it is irrelevant whether the threat is "real" or not (it is already debatable, in many cases, if that is possible on epistemological grounds). As Buzan et al. put it in writing on the issue of security and the political process:

> Security is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics. Securitization can thus be seen as a more extreme version of politicisation […] "Security" therefore is a self-referential practice, because it is in that practice that the issue becomes a security issue – not necessarily because a real existential threat exists but because the

> issue is presented as such a threat. (Buzan et al., 1998, 23-24)

If the mechanism of "how" to present or frame issues in terms of security has been illustrated, it becomes more important to see "whether" the argument for making something a security issue has been accepted or not. For discourse analysts, that is, whether the "uptake" has taken place (Blommaert, 2005, 43; Donahue and Prosser, 1997, 8f.): "A discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization – this is a 'securitizing move', but the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such" (Buzan et al., 1998, 25). Framed in this way, it becomes clear, that invoking a notion such as "human security" represents a "securitizing move" in that human insecurity (as opposed to human security) in its various aspects, issues and facets is presented as a threat which, eventually, becomes part of a discourse, and thus a dialogical practice. A successful "securitization" in that sense, however, does only mean that the audience (that is, domestically, the Canadian public) acknowledges or affirms the existence of the formulated threat. Thus, "securitization" only represents the successful "definition" of a threat, not the practice through which (human) "security" is to be "achieved"[4]. My argument here is that especially then-foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy, by continuously invoking the term "human security" in his speeches and relating it to traditional aspects of Canadian foreign policy since the end of the second World War, such as "peacekeeping" or "multilateralism", has tried to securitize a united Canadian identity[5] on the domestic level because the Canadian human security agenda included significant portions of Canadian foreign policy behaviour that – following the logic of an international structural change due to the end of bipolarity – had to be transformed but preserved in its core, be it the means (e.g. peacekeeping) or identity-related aspects (e.g. Canadian values). However, since the human security agenda is far from being a stable, clearly-defined policy agenda, Canadian human security policy always had to sell the changes on the agenda and its inconsistencies as a result of external factors the country had to act upon. Moreover, it had to be framed in a way that was conducive to affirm ingredients of national identity. This can be analysed by looking at the speech-acts, i.e. securitizing moves in Canada's foreign policy discourse[6].

Linking Human Security to the "Golden Era" Myth

For the human security discourse to be successful in Canada, it was thus important to introduce the term in relation with and complementary to the existing foreign policy context and national foreign policy "myth". This myth had largely been created throughout the period of the East-West-conflict in being a reliable (in Canada's self-perception: the most reliable) ally of the United States, however, differing from the neighbour to the south with relation to the conduct of its foreign policy in being multilateral and inventive. Hence, Canada was seeking new solutions to international problems and crises together with other partners, primarily within the UN. Especially the "invention" of peacekeeping through then-foreign minister Lester B. Pearson in the Suez-Crisis 1956 (with the creation of the first peacekeeping mission UNEF, the United Nations Emergency Force) and Canada's role and expertise in disarmament issues and continuous support for human rights have shaped the self-understanding of Canadian foreign policy identity in being a "helpful fixer", "honest broker" and "international do-gooder" (Cooper, 1997; Nossal, 1997; Melakopides, 1998; Keating, 2002; von Bredow, 2003). One rather trivial example of that self-understanding can be found on the back of the Canadian 10$ bill that shows a peacekeeper and the accompanying motto "Au service de la paix − In the service of peace"[7]. In addition, this self-understanding of being a state that serves as a role model for the rest of the world has had a tremendous impact in that the country has been depending on domestic support for its foreign policy. Given the fact that Canada's unity has been challenged continuously (e.g. by the Québec referenda in 1980 and 1995), foreign policy has had a long tradition of uniting the country. Prime Minister St. Laurent stated as early as 1947:

> We Canadians of English and French origin have embarked on the "joint" task of building a nation. One aspect of our "common enterprise" is our external relations […] The first general principle upon which I think we are agreed is that our external policies shall not destroy our "unity". (St. Laurent in Blanchette, 2000, 3, emphasis added)

The foreign policy review of 1995 "Canada in the World" (shortly released after the failed referendum on Québec sovereignty) – the official government statement on foreign policy – argued along the same lines and linked the existent foreign policy and security dis-

course with the issue of unity: "The measure of 'our success' in this world will be 'our ability' as a society to effectively focus our international efforts in a spirit of 'shared' enterprise" (emphasis added). This attempt to (re)unite the country in order to be successful in the international sphere was further stressed in the second paragraph which enumerates the "shared" values and links their preservation to the projection on the international level:

> […] Successful promotion of our values – respect for human rights, democracy, the rule of law, and the environment – will make an important contribution to international security in the face of new threats to stability. Acceptance of such values abroad will help safeguard the quality of life at home: Canada is not an island able to resist a world community that devalued beliefs central to our identity. (DFAIT, 1995, Summary)

After the link between the domestic (inside) and the international (outside) had been created, the notion of human security became associated with already existing features of Canadian diplomatic and foreign policy tradition:

> Because of the transnational or global nature of the threats, human security demands cooperative international action. Canada will continue to work with others in a variety of fora to address these issues […] Problems such as environmental degradation and growing disparities between rich and poor affect human security around the world and are areas where Canada can make an effective contribution by promoting sustainable development through its program of development cooperation. (DFAIT, 1995, ch. 4)

> International Assistance also contributes to global security by tackling many key threats to human security, such as the abuse of human rights, disease, environmental degradation, population growth and the widening gap between rich and poor. Finally, it is one of the clearest international expressions of Canadian values and culture – of Canadians' desire to help the less fortunate and of their strong sense of social justice – and

> an effective means of sharing these values with the rest
> of the world. (DFAIT, 1995, ch. 6)

It is interesting to see, that the definition or description of human security here was more in line with the initial thoughts and ideas of the term as they were presented internationally by the UNDP report (1994) and domestically by Jorge Nef (1999)[8]. Yet, this definition failed in receiving substantial support by the public, thus leaving it to Axworthy and his successors to define "human security" in a Canadian context (see Hampson et al., 2001; Rioux, 2001; Ross, 2001; Donaghy, 2003).

Axworthy's Securitizing Moves

After assuming office, Axworthy was in the beginning reluctant to use the term "human security". However, much of what should become part of the "human security agenda" was named in earlier statements. According to an article in the Toronto Star, Axworthy's top priorities at the outset of his term in office were forging a "coherent 'peace-building' policy out of the government's ad-hoc approach to peacekeeping and conflict resolution abroad". In addition, it was what he called "an international information strategy". For him "information is becoming a major tool in foreign policy but again, we have ad hoc responses" (Thompson, 1996). By the end of 1997 though, the efforts to negotiate a treaty to ban landmines and the human security paradigm came to represent two sides of the same coin. Especially in the Canadian discussion, the successful negotiation of the Ottawa treaty (and later on the creation of the ICC) has later been presented as a model for human security, both in terms of "practice", that is what Hampson and Reid (2003) call "human security negotiations", and in terms of a new "moral/ethical complex" (see the contributions in Irwin, 2003)[9]. How Axworthy understood human security and in how far that understanding was related to Canada's prior international experiences becomes more obvious looking at the way he described his human security agenda to the United Nations General Assembly:

> Changing times have set us a new and broader agenda,
> which includes focussing on the security needs of the
> individual – in other words, sustainable human secu-
> rity […] in the aftermath of the Cold War, we have re-
> examined and redefined the dimensions of interna-
> tional security to embrace the concept of sustainable

> human security. There has been a recognition that human rights and fundamental freedoms, the right to live in dignity, with adequate food, shelter, health and education services, and under the rule of law and good governance, are as important to global peace as disarmament measures. (Axworthy, 1996d)

In describing human security in that way, Axworthy explicitly located human security within the context of UNDP's initial conceptualization that saw human security as being linked to human rights and human development[10]. Implicitly, he associated these issues with Canada's policy expertise of the past decades, something that is more obvious in his Winnipeg address three months later:

> In recent years the world has experienced a profound geopolitical shift. The tectonic plates of international relations have realigned themselves and, as always when two plates meet, huge forces have been unleashed […] During the Cold War, when Canada acted to preserve peace and security internationally, it was within clear limits and constraints. We sent peacekeepers; we negotiated disarmament treaties […] Now security has become something much broader […] It is increasingly clear that preserving "human security" – human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, good governance, sustainable development and social equity – is as important to global peace as arms control and disarmament. It is in response to the need to preserve human security that the notion of peacebuilding has emerged […] If there is one conclusion that I have drawn from our consultations to date, it is that Canadians remain committed to an active, internationalist foreign policy. The issues and the setting may have changed, but Canadian support for an activist, middle-power approach is as strong as it was 40 years ago, when we launched the first peacekeeping force. (Axworthy, 1996c)

It should be obvious, that Axworthy's arguments here tried to (re)affirm existing features of a Canadian foreign policy identity, while externalizing the factors which might have necessitated a reformulation of the policy. This was expressed, most obviously here, by referring to the changing environment as one of mechanistic cau-

salities where "tectonic shifts" had taken place and "huge forces" had been "unleashed". In terms of the link between Canada's present behaviour in the international realm and its past experiences the list of issues under the human security rubric were always discursively connected to Canada's diplomatic and foreign policy tradition. One example being the obvious link between the "old" form of peace"keeping" and the "new" form of peace"building" and the subsequent characteristics of that new peacebuilding enterprise which derive from the aforementioned list of human security issues. His seminal 1997 article "Canada and human security: the need for leadership", which was published in the country's flagship journal *International Journal*, represented only a slightly different line:

> The Cold War concept of security emphasized the prevention of interstate conflict in order to avoid the perennial danger of escalation […] It is now clear that this approach to security was inadequate to foster stability and peace. Canada and a small number of like-minded countries such as Norway and the Netherlands began to reassess the traditional concept of security in order to identify those variables beyond arms control/disarmament which effect peace and stability. From this reconsideration emerged the concept of "human security" (Axworthy, 1997, 183ff.).

Instead of perceiving crude forces responsible for the post-Cold War turmoil, he now stated that the old concept of security was too narrowly defined to be adequate for the new realities. In addition, another historic analogy to the "golden era" of the human security agenda was made in the same text:

> […] Lester B. Pearson, Canada's secretary of state for external affairs, summed up this policy [improving international governance] in 1948 when he stated that Canada could not escape the results and obligations that flow from the interdependence of nations. But this internationalist vocation also provided Canadians with something enormously valuable: "it contributed to a uniquely Canadian identity and a sense of Canada's place in the world." The question for the future is how to build on Canadian foreign policy traditions so as to adapt Canada's international contribution to this changing world […] Canada […] is already actively en-

> gaged in a number of key areas: peacebuilding, peace-keeping, disarmament, particularly the campaign against anti-personal landmines; [...] (ibid., 184, emphasis added).

Not only did Axworthy mention the relationship of Canada's foreign policy and its national identity. His list of current activities also can be read as a move to securitize current policies against the background of an era that successfully united Canadians "and" where Canada "made a difference" in the world. It must have been at that time, however, that the budgetary means to uphold his activist rhetoric started to crumble, since the first ministerial document exclusively devoted to human security – and entitled "Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World" (DFAIT, 1999) – presented a much narrower picture of what the term actually meant. In it the experiences of the human security agenda, namely the Ottawa Convention to Ban Anti-Personal Landmines (signed in December 1997)[11] and the creation of the International Criminal Court[12] were referred to as "two initiatives in particular […]" that "have demonstrated the potential of a people-centred approach to security" (DFAIT, 1999, 4). By arguing that "…practice has led theory", theoretical reflections made earlier (that is, "before" the "two initiatives") were used for arguing that a rethinking of the early statements on human security had been necessary. This was made referring to the UNDP report of 1994:

> The very breadth of the UNDP approach, however, made it unwieldy as a policy instrument. Equally important, in emphasizing the threats associated with underdevelopment, the report largely ignored the continuing human insecurity resulting from violent conflict […] Over the past two years the concept of human security has increasingly centred on the human costs of violent conflict. (DFAIT, 1999, 3-4)

Put differently, human security had ceded to be equivalent with "human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, good governance, sustainable development and social equity" (Axworthy, 1996c) – because financial resources were lacking. Rather, these issues now represented "dimensions" of human security:

> The range of potential threats to human security should not be narrowly conceived. While the safety of people

is obviously at grave risk in situations of armed conflict, a human security approach is not simply synonymous with humanitarian action. It highlights the need to address the root causes of insecurity and to help ensure people's future safety. There are also human security dimensions to a broad range of challenges, such as gross violations of human rights, environmental degradation, terrorism, transnational organized crime, gender-based violence, infectious diseases and natural disasters. The widespread social unrest and violence that often accompanies economic crises demonstrates that there are clear economic underpinnings to human security. (DFAIT, 1999, 5)

Stating that "human security does not supplant national security" (ibid., 6) and "[…] human security and human development are mutually reinforcing, though distinct" (ibid., 7) allowed for the silent retreat of the foreign policy department from its initial broad understanding of human security and maintained the positive connotation and the national support of its human security agenda. In addition, it allowed the discursive reformulation of human security to add new aspects to the narrowed agenda: "Ensuring human security can involve the use of coercive measures, including sanctions and military force, as in Bosnia and Kosovo" and reiterates the uncoupling and continuous re-linking of human security with new issues since "[…] security policies must be integrated much more closely with strategies for promoting human rights, democracy, and development" (ibid., 8). Again, this indicated a half-hearted attempt to reconcile the old definitions and the new policies. Briefly summed up, human security started being a broad and potentially costly post-Cold War security agenda that focused on general individual well-being and was firstly transformed to a post-conflict agenda of peace-building. Due to budget constraints it was later narrowed to media-friendly and inexpensive campaigns of international humanitarian law treaties in the form of the Ottawa treaty and the Rome Statute – both based on a substantial input of the non-governmental sector – and ended up as a policy of traditional security policy by bombing Serbia in the Kosovo war in form of a "human security air campaign".

Securitization? Uptakes and Caveats

Given the numbers and length of existing articles and surveys on the results of Axworthy's "human securitization campaigns", the follow-

ing analysis concentrates on the contestation of some of the claims Axworthy made over the years with regard to his "human security agenda". It is interesting to see, that the continuation of a Canadian involvement abroad and an internationalist foreign policy was taken up and affirmed without preliminary limitations. This can also be observed as a consistent feature of public opinion, where 78% of persons recently interviewed stated that their country had "played an important role in the world" and 88% indicating that they were interested "in events or issues on the international scene" (Innovative Research Group, 2004, 6, 10). Furthermore, the idea of wielding "soft power" – another synonym for Canada's human security policy – was supported by nearly 70% of Canadians and more than 75% of francophones[13]. Thus, the overall securitization of the human security agenda can be described as successful, since most criticisms had rather minor objections against the agenda as such. As far as the new character of the human security agenda is concerned one critic argued that it was rather a continuation of the former foreign policy:

> Lloyd Axworthy, […] s'était, jusqu'à la récente crise, présenté comme un visionnaire, un leader […] Il faisait appel à « la sécurité humaine », un concept […] que l'on vendait comme nouveau. En reálité, on l'avait emprunté au gouvernement précédent en prenant soin de le ré-étiqueter pour faire croire à l'innovation et à l'héroïsme. (Michaud, 1999)

In terms of issues, however, there was a significant skepticism about the fact that human security and the use of force could be reconciled as Axworthy had claimed in the case of Kosovo. His critics argue that:

> On est tout de même en droit de se demander, à la lumière des événements au Kosovo, si le concept de sécurité humaine, que notre gouvernement considère comme la figure de proue de sa politique étrangère, est viable […] Malgré tout, l'implication canadienne au Kosovo correspondait plus à un concept de sécurité traditionelle […] L'ésprit de la sécurité humaine est plus proche de l'espoir lié aux droits de la personne que du fracas des bombardements. (Geiser, 1999)

Besides these criticisms which argued that Axworthy was trying to "sell" an "old security policy" as a new "human security policy",

other critics complained that there was no mandate of the UN for the Kosovo intervention (Spector, 1999) and an unwillingness to sacrifice "peace-enforcers", thus, lives of soldiers, by fighting the Kosovo war exclusively by air strikes on civilian and military targets (Bowes, 2001). Daudelin (2000) sums that aspect up in stating: "The idea that the protection of human rights might lead to killing innocent people does not fit readily in the starkly black-and-white moral universe in which the human-security agenda was originally framed". Eventually, the "human security agenda" earned criticism because the ambitions could not be met with an adequate amount of financial resources and material capabilities.

> Axworthy argues that "seismic shifts…have shaken the tectonic plates of world affairs" since the Cold War ended. Whatever that means, it sounds serious […] it's still a nasty world out there, where sheer clout is respected more than good intentions. That's clout, spelled c-a-s-h, for diplomacy and the firepower to back it up. Promoting Canada's interests, which include helping the United Nations […] requires investing in more than speech writers. (Barthos, 1998)

This perception of human security as mere rhetoric was widely shared by others. Clark (1999) writes that "our defence capability has shrivelled […] our help to poor countries has been cut sharply", Winsor (1999) adds, that "Mr. Axworthy has also come in for criticism from some academic analysts who argue soft power works only if it is backed up with muscle", this being itself an "uptake" of Hampson and Oliver (1998) and Nossal (1998/99). Apart from the perception that "human security" does not work with "soft power" alone but also needs hard power, thus military power (which is itself an argument that runs counter to those criticizing the use of military force in Kosovo) Axworthy's arguments for the general aims of the "human security agenda" became affirmed:

> So defending "human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, good governance, sustainable development and social equity", become important even in regions far from our borders, Axworthy told the National Forum on Foreign Policy last week. It's as close to a set of principles as we're likely to get to replace the bipolar thinking that shaped policy in the Cold War era. This analysis has prompted the Chretien

> Liberals to spend much of the past year, Axworthy's first as foreign minister, cautiously expanding this country's involvement abroad, and taking on the associated risks. […] Our cutbacks to foreign aid are a disgrace. And we could be a lot tougher criticizing countries like China, where human rights are routinely ignored (Barthos, 1996).

This is an aspect that received further support, in that case from Speirs (1997) who wrote "[…] foreign policy is more than serving Canada's short-term economic self-interest".

Conclusion

To sum up, the observation can be made that Canada's human security agenda became narrower over the years, and the securitization of the agenda more intensely linked to appealing to Canada's foreign policy tradition thereby (re)creating a Canadian "identity", with passages, such as the following, taking for granted that a situation of human security existed at the "home front":

> building an effective, democratic state that values its own people and protects minorities is a central strategy for human security. At the same time, improving the human security of its people strengthens the legitimacy, stability, and security of a state […] Where human security exists as a fact […] these conditions can be attributed in large measure to the effective governance of states. (Ibid., 6)

Mark Neufeld's argumentation that "human security" was never intended to represent a new type of (an international security) game, let alone to play any role on the international scene arrives at a similar conclusion when he writes that:

> In sum, in the internationalized state, the function of Foreign Affairs is neither to participate in the international(ized) decision-making process nor to act as a transmission belt into the domestic economy, but rather to provide a legitimating discourse in support of an increasingly fragile domestic hegemony. (Neufeld, 2004, 120)[14]

Further support for that thesis can be derived from a look at the meta-discourse on human security. In general, criticism never culmi-

nated in asking whether the "ends" of the human security agenda were justified (justifiable), rather the "means" were seen as inappropriate. Either, because hard power seemed to be lacking or because one recurred to military force in the Balkans. Or, because rhetoric on human rights was not defended rigorously or human development and foreign aid policies were not backed up with the necessary financial means. Another aspect of the means were to be seen in what the foreign minister referred to as "practice" (Axworthy, 1997f, 1998a, b; DFAIT, 1999), which included new actors operating in new multilateral settings, summed up by the statement that "due to the complexity of contemporary challenges […] effective interventions involve a diverse range of actors including states, multilateral organizations, and civil society groups" (DFAIT, 1999, 8). The fact that the domestic Canadian discourse revolved around the means may also explain that the changes that occurred "on" the agenda (such as the inclusion of the use of force as a possible means of a human security policy, see DFAIT, 1999) may have weakened the initial coherence of the arguments but never risked a perception of a human security agenda that might have represented a historic discontinuity as far as the country's foreign policy was concerned. It seems that this preservation of Canadian (righteous) self-perception is here to stay: "Canadians take pride in what we do in the world […] daily while at Foreign Affairs I saw how little separates what we do inside our border from what happens outside and vice versa" (Axworthy, 2003, 1).

Endnotes

1. As a footnote in the literal sense: you get nearly 30,000 hits for that phrase on Google.com.

2. The term had been coined prior to the 1995 World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen (MacFarlane and Khong, 2006, 148) and included seven areas of security concerns, namely: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security (UNDP, 1994, 24-25).

3. In terms of the three main areas of Canada's foreign and security policy, three indicators deserve special attention here: (a) the ministerial budget of DFAIT, (b) Canada's contribution of Official Development Aid (ODA) and (c) its military budget. In all sectors the 1990s and early 2000s saw significant cuts. In that period the downsizing of the foreign affairs budget equalled 25% and personnel was

reduced by 13% while the number of missions abroad grew by 12% (Daudelin, 2005, 116-117; Cohen, 2003, 137ff.). Simultaneously, the percentage of Canadian development aid has been cut from .46% at the beginning of the 1990s to .24% in 2002/03 in percentage of the national budget (see Copeland, 2001, 166-167; Cohen, 2003, 86; Welsh, 2004, 219). The military budget – which is needed to train and deploy peacekeepers – decreased by 23% between 1993 and 1998 and in 2002 ranked third last among NATO members only before Luxemburg and the Netherlands with a share of 1.1% of its GNP (Cohen, 2003, 47). In addition, Canada provided 10% of all peacekeepers in the Cold War period. Although the missions have significantly increased after 1990 (which automatically results in a decreased overall share of Canadian peacekeepers) the country has fallen behind countries such as Ghana, Jordan, Nepal and Portugal and, in 2001, had but a number of 263 blue helmets on duty. That means, it was the 25th largest contributor (Cohen, 2003, 66-67). Over the last five years DFAIT has received an annual $10 million for its Human Security Program (Greenhill, 2005, 20).

4. I owe this point to Felix Ciuta (2004).

5. This aspect, however, needs further commenting because of two reasons. First, identity is a locally produced feeling of belonging to a community or socially constructed group (see Bauman, 2001) that is in constant flux and therefore, by definition, can be stabilized on a long-term basis only through the process of successful (re)construction. However, this is a claim that, according to its critics, the Copenhagen School misses. Its securitization theory assumes that identity is to be observed within a framework that presumes a fixed actor identity (Buzan and Waever, 1997; McSweeney, 1996, 1999). My heuristic argument here is that despite the changes every utterance in the official human security discourse is dependent on a set of identity-affirming and identity-constructing patterns. Therefore, I can trace patterns of Canadian identity by documenting securitized parts of the agenda as well as contested ones because the latter will depend on arguments that are inseparably related to Canadian identity.

6. It might be noteworthy, that by successfully making "securitizing moves" with regard to "human security issues" the authority to define human security and the very use of the term becomes "securitized", too.

7. Additional background information on that can be found on the website of the Bank of Canada: <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/banknotes/general/character/background_10_peacekeeping.html>, accessed August 14, 2006. Also see Thomsen and Hynek, 2006.

8. This being the 2nd edition of his book that was initially published in 1995 by the above mentioned International Development Research Centre.

9. Though, coming back to the creation of the human security agenda, it is noteworthy that the foreign minister initially never referred to landmines as an issue of human security when talking about the issue. He did not even use the term in his speeches in 1996 and early 1997 (Axworthy, 1996a, b, c; 1997a, b, c). It was not before he clearly foresaw that an international ban on anti-personnel mines was to be achieved, that he talked about "human security" with reference to landmines. Moreover, in the early days he always used the term by adding the adjective "sustainable" (Axworthy, 1997a, b, c). Hence, one might argue, that for the human security agenda to be announced it needed a litmus test, which, in that case, was the Ottawa treaty. Eventually, early speeches of Axworthy seemed to reflect the ongoing discussions on landmines in the UN Security Council. There, landmines had been conceived of foremost as a danger to peacekeepers. Axworthy also stressed that aspect when he told his audiences that de-mining was the primary objective of Canada's policy (1996b).

10. Probably even unintentionally indicated by the prefix "sustainable". On the golden triangle of human dignity – human security, human development and human rights – (cf. Gaay Fortman, 2004, 5-15).

11. More information can be gathered from the website of the ICBL at <http://www.icbl.org/treaty/>, accessed September 28, 2005.

12. The statute Rome Statute was established on July 17, 1998, further information can be obtained at <http://www.icc-cpi.int/about.html>, accessed September 28, 2005.

13. The question asked for the approval or disapproval of the statement "Canada should focus its international efforts on working with non-governmental organizations to build support for specific solutions to key problems, like the ban on landmines, and not try and do so many other things" (Innovative Research Group, 2004, 21).

14. Another article, that is different in its focus, but similar in its findings on the substantiveness of Canada's human security agenda, is Grayson (2004).

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International Normative Change and Canadian Governmental Transformations Leading to the Ottawa Process

Abstract

The objective of this study is to examine international normative change and Canadian governmental transformations which lead to the Ottawa Process. The actual study is divided into two major parts. The objective of the first half is to elucidate the international dynamics leading to the adoption of a total ban of landmines and includes an international dynamics, which involved the Canadian government as a key player. To demonstrate the dynamics of the landmine ban, I have chosen the theoretical framework of the norm life cycle as a background against which the supposed "success" of the campaign will be assessed. The aim of the second stage is then the Canadian domestic dimension of the landmine case, namely the transformation in a dominant mode of governmental rationality, or governmentality. In an attempt to overcome this simplistic dichotomy, I make two arguments: firstly, counter to the popular perception that there is tension between the two "worlds", I argue that the landmine case suggests the emergence of a new type of functional-symbiotic relationship between key governments and nongovernmental actors. Secondly, while not denying the input of nongovernmental actors in the landmine case, it is suggested that a crucial moment enabling the landmine campaign to gain momentum was brought about by the emergence of a new type of rationality of key governments, the Canadian one in particular. In conclusion, an analytical interpretation extracted from both dynamics is provided.

Résumé

L'objectif de cette étude est d'examiner les changements des normes internationales et la transformation du gouvernement Canadien qui conduit au Processus d'Ottawa. Cette étude est divisée en deux parties principales. L'objectif de la première partie est d'éclairer l'aspect international du sujet qui a mené à l'interdiction absolue

des mines antipersonnelles. Une attention particulière est consacrée au gouvernement Canadien comme acteur principal. L'objectif de la deuxième partie est de démontrer la dimension canadienne de ce sujet, surtout les transformations dans les pratiques politiques du gouvernement canadien. En conclusion, à partir de ces dynamiques, une interprétation analytique est proposée.

Introduction

This study arises from dissatisfaction with predominant accounts concerning changes in interactions between nongovernmental actors and governments in contemporary world politics, namely the image of a tension between so-called state-centric and transnational worlds. Specifically, it can be conceived of as a response to an ongoing stream of celebratory commentaries on the alleged victory of the transnational world over the state-centric one in what has been hailed by commentators as a paradigmatic case: the campaign to ban antipersonnel landmines, with Canada as its principal actor.

The actual study is divided into two major parts. The objective of the first half is to elucidate the "international" dynamics leading to the adoption of a total ban of landmines and includes an international dynamics, which involved the Canadian government as a key player. To demonstrate the dynamics of the landmine ban, I have chosen the theoretical framework of the "norm life cycle" as a background against which the supposed "success" of the campaign will be measured. The norm influence is analytically conceptualized as a three-stage process: stage one investigates the norm emergence through persuasion of states by norm entrepreneurs (consciousness-raising stage); stage two is characterized by a wide acceptance of the norm (norm cascade); and the third stage focuses on the internalization of the norm[1]. This generic three-stage model will be applied to the landmine issue to show how different logics of action, sets of actors, their motives and strategies, shaped each of the three stages.

The aim of the second stage is then the Canadian "domestic" dimension of the landmine case, namely the transformation in a dominant mode of governmental rationality, or governmentality. The interpretation presented here can be seen as a corrective to what seems to be a universal generalization of the nature of the relationship between governments and nongovernmental actors on both theoretical and empirical levels. In an attempt to overcome this simplistic dicho-

tomy, I make two arguments: firstly, counter to the popular perception that there is tension between the two "worlds", I argue that the landmine case suggests the emergence of a new type of functional-symbiotic relationship between key governments and nongovernmental actors. Secondly, while not denying the input of nongovernmental actors in the landmine case, it is suggested that a crucial moment enabling the landmine campaign to gain momentum was brought about by the emergence of a new type of rationality of key governments, the Canadian one in particular. It was this change in governmental rationality which in turn produced an opportunity structure for nongovernmental actors involved in the issue.

International Dynamics in the Landmine Case

Moral Entrepreneurs, Middle Powers, and a Strategic Social Construction of the Humanitarian Frame

In the early 1990s, the landmine crisis attracted media attention after being neglected during the 1980s. The shift was due largely to ICRC surgeons and NGOs participating in medical assistance programs and demining operations (Hubert, 2000, 7; McGrath and Stover, 1991; Cahill, 1995). The origin of a global civil society movement is traceable back to November 1991, when the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAF) and a German NGO Medico International (ME) hired a renowned NGO activist, Jody Williams, to organize a global advocacy campaign to ban landmines. By the end of 1995, more than 350 NGOs were involved in a coalition that became known as the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) (English, 1998, 122). As far as the conceptualization is concerned, the ICBL and the ICRC were typical lead actors. The former can be understood as a broad "transnational advocacy network" or what Ethan Nadelmann (1990, 479-526) describes as transnational moral entrepreneurs who engage in "moral proselytism", while the latter could be viewed as the "epistemic community" since it possessed both principled and causal beliefs.

The erosion of the Cold War structure enabled "strategic social construction" of the landmines issue. Social movement scholars call this process cognitive framing or frame alignment (Snow et al., 1986, 464-481; Klandermas, 1997, 160-184). The process of framing narrowed the issue down to all antipersonnel landmines including self-neutralizing devices while anti-tank mines were excluded. The global civil society represented by the ICBL was a strategic

creator of a total-ban-on-landmines master frame[2]. The key success consisted in presenting the issue as a "humanitarian" one rather than a military-security one[3]. To bring about the change in perception of landmines, the issue needed to be desecuritized. I also contend that the issue was further reframed and resecuritized by the ICBL and the ICRC as a norm prohibiting "bodily harm to innocent bystanders" (humanitarian frame)[4]. In the processes of desecuritization and resecuritization, a crucial role was played by the mass media, visual ones in particular. Graphic images of maimed people were shocking enough to mobilize the public worldwide. It is noteworthy that the category of "innocent bystanders" did not equal the category of "civilians" since it "discursively" excluded elderly and male civilians. "Innocent bystanders" were represented by women and children. Furthermore, by leaving the military frame behind, "soldiers" were no longer a part of the discourse at all.

Since 1992, the ICBL focused on lobbying the governments of "critical states" with the purpose of securing their support. Critical states were represented by a group of like-minded states who imposed unilateral moratoria on export, sale, and transfer of landmines and in some cases even eliminated their stockpiles. The group included Canada, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Mexico, Norway and Switzerland. Most of the countries in this group can be considered as so-called "middle powers". This concept is centred on the notion of "distinctive mode of statecraft". Their characteristics include an inclination toward a good international citizenship, diplomatic activism, coalition building, and mediation. The pattern of middle power behaviour is also based on the idea of providing entrepreneurial leadership and acting as catalyst, facilitator, and manager (Cooper, Higgot and Nossal, 1993, 9-27; Cooper, 1997). As the example of Canada, an informal leader of the pro-ban states shows, states may also be critical because they possess moral stature.

Norm Cascade through Peer Pressure: Non-Hegemonic "Disciplinary Discourse" and the Notion of "Civilized Society"

The transition from the first to the second stage of the norm life cycle is centred round the idea of a "tipping point" or a threshold of a normative change. It occurs after norm entrepreneurs have persuaded a critical mass of states to become norm leaders and adopt new norms. The fact that the norm of the non-use of landmines cascaded through the international system can be understood as the result of peer pressure exerted upon other states by pro-ban states. This pro-

cess was synergically reinforced by the ongoing ICBL campaign focused on lobbying and approaching mass media. By May 1996, the number of states supporting the ban soared up from the initial eight to sixty. As Finnemore and Sikkink (1998, 901) assert, this stage is characterized by a dynamic of imitation as the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers in an active process of international socialization.

I suggest that the socialization of other states by "norm leaders" can be critically read as the "Selfs" attempt to impose a hegemonic discourse upon the "Other". The "Other" deemed to be any state breaking the emerging norm. The rationale was to "ensure" that all states will embark upon what was discursively referred to as a "civilized society of states". In addition, as Beier (2003, 795-808) maintains, even practices within the ICBL were not as transparent and democratic as would its present rhetoric suggest: the agenda was imposed from the Western "Centre" and a majority of non-governmental actors in mines-affected areas ("Periphery") were excluded from equal participation. Ethnical dimension can be thus understood as a strategic construction, since it represented a comparative advantage over other engaged actors: it enabled manipulation with public opinion by using a system of practices that included targeting, naming and shaming. An interesting point concerns the creator of disciplinary discourse: it was not represented by a hegemonic superpower as one might expect but by a coalition of middle powers and global civil society. Their aim was nothing smaller than a demand for a radical overhaul of the international structure/hierarchy after the CW. The powerfulness of such a constellation is documented by the fact that even though the two major actors (the U.S. and Russia) have not signed the Ottawa Convention, they have both implicitly recognized an emerging norm by a shift in their practices: the U.S. no longer manufactures antipersonnel landmines covered by the Convention, and Russia slashed their production by 90 percent. The above explanation thus clearly manifests a macrostructural change in the realm of international politics after the CW.

Norm Internalization and the "Autopsy" of the Convention

The third stage is characterized by the norm internalization. In May 1996, Canada, a non-formal leader of the group of like-minded states, presented a proposal for an alternative negotiation format concerning landmines. The importance of the proposal lay in the

fact that it enabled signing a convention by the pro-ban states without a threat of being blocked by the other states' veto (Brem and Rutherford, 2001, 171). The October 1996 Ottawa conference was the first outside-the-UN-system meeting, aptly entitled *Towards a Global Ban on Anti-Personnel Landmines* (Mathew and Rutherford, 1999, 25). The decisive moment of the conference was the concluding speech of Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, who called upon the international community to return to Ottawa to sign the ban on landmines by the end of 1997 (Lawson, Gwozdecki, Sinclair and Lysyshyn, 1998, 160). The Ottawa Process culminated in the December 1997 Ottawa conference where 122 states signed the Ottawa Convention, in spite of the refusal of three major actors – the U.S., Russia and China – to sign the Convention.

Reading the legal codification of the landmine ban "per se", the stipulation of the prohibitions "under any circumstances" seems to make the Convention robust. In practice, the prohibitions are thus valid in time of peace as well as in time of conflict, whether intrastate or interstate, both for offence and for defence (Goldblat, 2002, 237). That is the reason why we can consider the landmines as "illegitimate weapons" not only by how the issue had previously been socially framed, but also in terms of its international law codification. Nevertheless, the Convention can also be interpreted as being far from a "big success" as most of the literature would suggest. The Convention covers mines designed to be exploded by the presence, proximity or contact of a person and that will incapacitate, injure or kill one or more persons. The word "primarily" (e.g. "primarily designed…") has been dropped from the final Convention. This innocent play with words at first sight has, nevertheless, severe consequences: the problematic point is that "anti-vehicle mines" with "anti-handling devices" are not banned, though their effect is similar to that of "antipersonnel mines". In addition, as Goldblat (2002, 237) asserts, the fact that the Convention does not specify what is meant by the term "vehicle" could further increase the probability of ban circumvention. Another problematic point lies in the fact that the Convention does not encompass any verification system (such as monitoring and inspections). "Allegedly" it is because of the small size of landmines and the overall ease of their production. However, it can be argued that the Chemical Weapons Convention incorporates such verification even if the same explanation can be applied here too.

Canadian Domestic Dynamics in the Landmine Case

Middlepowerhood and a Shift in Governmentalities

An analysis of the discourse and political practices of Canada's post-Cold War foreign and security policy indicates the incorporation of advanced-liberal procedures into the concept of middle power. Yet there is nothing inevitable about the above combination: it is more a result of historical contingency than universal and linear development.

How has this link been forged and what has been its purpose? The answers to these questions are connected to the significance of middle-powerhood as well as the new diplomacy in the Canadian context. The association of Canada with the category of middle power has quite a long and interesting history. The notion came into being as WW2 was coming to an end: it was Canadian diplomat Hume Wrong who devised the functional principle in the first place, and it was subsequently adopted by the Prime Minister of that time, Mackenzie King, for his own concept of middle power. Later, Canada's government unsuccessfully sought to insert a reference to a special category of middle power into the UN Charter at the San Francisco Conference of 1945. Despite the absence of formal recognition, the category of middle power, underpinned by active internationalism and the belief in multilateral practices within the UN, became the bedrock of Canada's Golden Age in foreign policy (1945-1957) (Chapnick, 1999, 73-82). As I have argued elsewhere (Thomsen and Hynek, 2006, 845-858), Canada's foreign and security policy (CFSP) has had as its distinguishing feature a notable discrepancy between political discourse, which has given the impression of linear and continuous progress, often achieved by references to the Golden Age and middle power, and practical policy-making as conducted by each Canadian government since the WW2 onwards. It is the discursive continuity that has helped to form the perception of Canada as a country with a distinctive foreign and security policy, imbued with a normative ideal of middlepowerhood.

Although Foucault dates the advanced-liberal governmentality back to the 1970s, its manifestation in the topic of this analysis could only be discerned after the Cold War was over. The reason for this delay lies in the fact that the ideological polarization of world politics effectively created an environment where self-constructed middle powers, like Canada, Norway, or the Netherlands, were swayed by

the bipolarity between the U.S. and the USSR. Andrew Cooper (1997, 1-24) therefore speaks about middle powers as (ideological and military) followers of the U.S. during the Cold War, as compared to their newly expressed functional leadership qualities in the post-Cold War era. This post-Cold War, niche-oriented "New Diplomacy", discursively wrapped in a popular packaging of "middle power", lies at the heart of the change of governmental rationality, and as such is characterized by the extent to which nongovernmental actors have a significant share in the process of "government", or, in Foucault's own words, in the exercise of political sovereignty (Foucault, 1989, 296).

The chief advocate of the new diplomacy, Canadian ex-minister of foreign affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, readily referred to alleged similarities between his new diplomacy and the diplomatic practices of Lester Pearson, the main protagonist of the Golden Age. Anyone seriously interested in governmental rationalities and diplomacy as its carrier in world politics should immediately reject such a parallel. Pearson's diplomacy drew its strength from its exclusivity and secrecy, thus corresponding exactly with the main characteristics of the governmentality of organized modernity, whereas Axworthy's was exactly the opposite: media-oriented, with radical public speeches, and a definite openness as well as the involvement of non-governmental actors in both domestic decision-making processes and international negotiations (Cooper, 2000, 9-10). In line with the suggestion that a self-constructed status matters, it does indeed appear that the category of middle power has in Canada's case served a useful, though contingent, function as a kind of discursive cement between completely disparate political practices associated with two very different governmentalities. Axworthy's intention was, in fact, to use the category of middle power, which had been highly popular among the Canadian public and the international community, as a legitimizing factor for a radically new exercise of political sovereignty informed by the governmentality of advanced liberalism.

The governmentality of organized modernity typified the environment where knowledge about security was exclusively produced by and bound up with the government. Correspondingly, it was the government who monopolized the definition of what was and what was not knowledge about security. The direct consequence of this ideological polarization was, therefore, a military-based conception of national security, which effectively closed the discursive space

concerning possible alternative security concepts. The prohibition of nongovernmental actors' access to the production and definition of what counted as knowledge about security was then an inevitable corollary of this situation. Unlike the governmentality of organized modernity, the governmentality of advanced liberalism rests on the premise that "man appears in his ambiguous position as an object of knowledge and a subject that knows" (Foucault, 1974, 323). The departure from a narrowly defined, military-based concept of national security and the subsequent formulation of an individual-centred conception of human security, as promoted by the Canadian government, was the crucial moment in the opening of the discursive space about security. This was precisely what was needed to enable the individual to become an effective and efficient political subject of "government", thereby exercising political sovereignty together with the government (Foucault, 1991).

Re-reading the Landmine Case: Conducting Advanced Liberalism, Creating a Functional-Symbiotic Bond

This section offers empirical evidence, in this reinterpretation of the landmine case, for the argument that the nature of the relationship between governmental and non-governmental actors is one of functional-symbiosis. In concrete terms, it deals with changes in the nature of interactions between the Canadian government and nongovernmental actors subsumed under the umbrella known as Mines Action Canada (MAC), which has itself been part of a wide transnational advocacy network International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL). This re-examination refutes the claim of the majority of empirical studies on landmines (Horwood, 2003, 939-954; Lint, 2003, 19-21; Mathew and Rutherford, 2003, 23-36; Williams, 2000, 88-94; Thakur, 1999, 273-302; Price, 1998, 73-103) that this case was an unprecedented victory of the transnational world which allegedly challenged and pressurized the state-centred one. The aim of this section is not to provide the reader with a comprehensive descriptive account of the landmine case, but rather with an analysis of its key moments in respect of the establishment of a functional-symbiotic, Canadian government/NGO nexus between 1993 and 1997.

The first significant – and, as later developments would show, cardinal – opening of security discourse for nongovernmental actors took place in Canada in 1993. Although Canada was one of a few countries financially supporting demining activities at the very end

of the Cold War (ICBL, 2000), it was not until 1993 that the government's practices could be associated with the new advanced-liberal governmentality. A catalyst in this development was when, in 1993, the Liberal Party of Canada (LP) returned to government after nine years as the opposition party and made important changes to Canada's international and security policy. Their detailed and radical election programme "Creating Opportunities" (also known as the "Red Book") emphasized the fact that "Canadians are asking for a commitment from government to listen to their views, and to respect their needs by ensuring that no false distinction is made between domestic and foreign policy" (LP of Canada, 1993, 104-106). A crucial part linked to the opening of the security discourse for nongovernmental actors was acknowledged in the expressed need to have "a broader definition of national and international security" (Ibid., 105-106). This shift corresponds to what Dean calls governmentality "programmes", i.e. "explicit, planned attempts to reform or transform regimes of practices [which] often take form of a link between theoretical knowledge and practical concerns and objectives" (Dean, 1999, 211).

After the landslide victory in the elections, the LP started to fulfil the election promise by transforming the decision-making process in terms of inclusivity concerning nongovernmental actors (Government of Canada, 1995, 48-49). With regards to the landmine case, the key nongovernmental actor which began to attend governmental meetings was the umbrella group MAC in 1995, including, for instance, Physicians for Global Survival, CARE, CUSO, Oxfam and Project Ploughshares (Cameron, 1998, 432). The reaction of the NGO community to this change of governmental rationality has been aptly summarized by Paul Hannon, Executive Director of MAC:

> We had to learn, as NGOs, how to work properly […] you cannot do those things in the way it used to be organized, you know, like an anti-nuclear protest [during the Cold War]. You cannot do it with a mimeograph and a few things on a poster […] you cannot be ideological about these things, you have to go practical. And that is why you sometimes use business models; you learn how to run an organisation. That is the most efficient way how to do it […]. You bring in people who are different from you, with different ex-

> pertise, so good functioning NGO boards have law-
> yers on them, there are fundraisers, business people,
> human resources experts […]. We have learned that
> through a painful way, you have to do it, that was the
> part of our sophistication. (personal interview by au-
> thor, Ottawa, April 27th, 2006)

The course of these meetings suggests that the MAC seized the opportunity to use them as a strategic forum for educating govern-mental officials within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Inter-national Trade (DFAIT) on landmines as a humanitarian concern (Cameron, 1998, 432-434; Warmington and Tuttle, 1998, 48-50)[5]. These meetings served as a zone of socialization, and with the per-sonal contribution of André Ouellet, the minister of foreign affairs at the time, functional connections, a new relationship and a new un-derstanding of the issue started to emerge (Tomlin, 1998, 191-193).

Although Canada's government changed its stance and embraced the call for a total ban of APLs, its attention, nevertheless, was still directed towards the 1995 UN review conference of the 1980 Con-vention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW)[6]. The govern-ment's stance on the landmine issue shifted thanks to MAC's fram-ing of landmines as a humanitarian concern. However, this would not have been possible had the government not (i) previously taken decisions regarding the participation of nongovernmental actors into the formal decision-making process and (ii) extended the general notion of what security was. At the same time, government officials still believed in the appropriateness of the UN multilateralism as a platform for bringing about this change. The development of the CCW conference soon showed, however, the impossibility of push-ing Canada's radical proposal through. This was largely because the mechanism of the conference was still underpinned by the principles of the governmentality of organized modernity, as was made evident by the fact that NGOs were not permitted to attend negotiations, and also that governments needed to vote unanimously for any change to take place[7]. Despite the fact that advocates of incremental arms control saw the amended II. Protocol to the CCW Convention as a success, progress was simply not significant enough for the delega-tion advocating the non-military, human security-oriented total ban of the entire category of weapons.

A catalytic event in the development of the landmine issue occurred in the middle of UN negotiations in January 1996, when Lloyd Ax-

worthy replaced André Ouellet in his ministerial position. This change represented a boost to Canadian efforts as Axworthy was the most vociferous promoter of the new diplomacy. It was after Axworthy assumed office that the governmentality of advanced liberalism really came to the fore. Not only was the collaboration between the government and the MAC further deepened, but Axworthy also frequently invoked the concept of middle power to legitimate and justify his radical diplomatic methods (Axworthy, 1997, 183-196). Positive proof confirming the success of such legitimization is to be found in the responses from focus groups and questionnaires that were held and circulated during the final conference in Ottawa in 1997 by the company EKOS Research Associates. The overwhelming majority of heads of states, PMs, and senior government officials, who were the subject of this inquiry, associated the success of the Ottawa process with the fact that it was being steered by a group of middle powers, most notably Canada (Cameron et al., 1998, 7-13).

Axworthy had already begun to form a group of like-minded countries led by middle powers Canada and Norway during the CCW Conference and it essentially comprised the countries which had previously imposed unilateral moratoria on export, sale, and transfer of APLs and, in some cases, had even completely destroyed their stockpiles[8]. After Canadian hopes were dashed by the CCW Conference stalemate, it was the Canadian government, namely Lloyd Axworthy as its Minister of Foreign Affairs, and not the MAC as part of the ICBL, who redirected Canadian efforts to a non-UN fast track line with its own constitutive mechanism of self-selection, commonly referred to as the Ottawa Process. Explanations in Rosenau's vein fail to take into account the development of the Ottawa Process since the dichotomic representation of states and nongovernmental actors produces analytical blindedness to this phenomenon and these accounts have therefore limited value to the extent of being misleading.

With respect to the advanced-liberal governmentality of the Ottawa Process, it was the funding of the participation of nongovernmental actors, the MAC, and more generally the ICBL, by governments of like-minded countries, especially self-constructed middle powers, that played an important role in the process of knowledge production and organization. The Ottawa Process itself consisted of a set of meetings which were sponsored by, and featured self-selected, like-minded states on the one hand, and NGOs subsumed under the

ICBL on the other[9]. The purpose of these meetings was to jointly propose, discuss, and agree on a legally binding instrument, which would completely prohibit the entire category of APLs (Cameron, 1998; Lawson et al., 1998, 160-184). The two most important meetings were the ones organized in Norway in September 1997 and in Canada in December 1997. With respect to the former, not only did the Norwegian government sponsor activities which enabled ICBL to participate in knowledge production and sharing, but also, for the first time in the history of arms control, gave a nongovernmental organization (ICBL) an official seat in actual negotiations (Williams and Goose, 1998, 43). As to the latter, this was the actual conference where the previously negotiated and drafted treaty, the Ottawa Convention[10], was signed by 122 governments.

The Canadian partnership between the government and the MAC, itself a manifestation of the advanced-liberal governmentality, did not come to an end, however, with the signing of the Convention. Since then the Canadian government has donated more than US $ 130 million to support anti-mine-related activities. A significant portion has been specifically directed towards education programs and R&D concerning demining technologies, i.e. knowledge-related issues (ICBL, 2005; Maslen, 2004, 149-151)[11]. The Canadian government has also created The Canadian Landmine Fund from which the majority of the above activities have been funded. Consequently, these new functional-symbiotic relations are reflected in the institutional discourse: to mention but two examples, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)[12] emphasizes the importance of working closely with Canadian and international NGOs in its effort to end the suffering caused by landmines (CIDA, 2006); and secondly, nowhere has the new governmentality of advanced liberalism been more noticeable than in the case of a charity focused on landmines, The Canadian Landmine Foundation (CLF). Established by Axworthy when he was still Minister of Foreign Affairs, this body has been the most important mine-related non-governmental fundraising organization in Canada. Not only does the CLF stress the importance of the link forged between itself and the government, but it also reveals that the citizen Axworthy has been on its Board of Directors ever since (CLF, 2006).

Conclusion

The first part of the presented article was set to investigate what was an international life cycle of the norm to ban antipersonnel land-

mines. I chose a constructivist model of normative change as a framework within which this question was tackled. In this place, I would like to offer my own evaluation of whether the landmine case with Canada as the principal actor can be seen as a success or failure. It was this theoretical approach that contributed to forming my more optimistic, rather than pessimistic, opinion regarding the significance of the landmine case advocacy campaign and the Ottawa Treaty itself. As my own findings from the landmine case and other constructivist research dealing with security matters (Tannenwald 2005 for nuclear weapons case and Price 1995 for chemical weapons case) suggest, irrational elements and motives are often stronger than rational ones. As far as the landmine case is concerned, what I mean here by an "irrational" element is an emerging landmines "taboo", constructed through the process of stigmatization of the entire category of weapons (APLs). This is precisely what was achieved by the ICBL and critical pro-ban states by reframing APLs from military to humanitarian frame. Contrary to this stood the UK/US formal arms control proposal, based on the distinction between "smart" and "other" (i.e. "dumb") landmines. The latter advancement, which eventually failed, can be understood as an attempt to "rationalize" the landmines problématique. The Ottawa Treaty thus represents, despite its shortcomings, a successful legal codification through stigmatization. However, what I perceive as a yet more important factor is the emergence of a "customary norm" that is becoming truly universal in its scope. Even states that have not signed the Convention (e.g. the U.S., Russia, and China) recognize this norm and have already ceased or significantly reduced their production of APLs. Even if new technologies which do not clash with the Ottawa Convention are introduced, the already established landmines taboo will probably be "robust enough" to deter states from manufacturing and employing these weapons.

Most constructivist literature would stop at this point. Not my article, which can be seen as a consequence of my ongoing scientific curiosity. All the while during my own research on the evolutionary dynamics of normative change in the landmine case, I kept returning to asking two more questions. These questions had in their scope an ambition to say something more general about the landmine case (yet not to over-generalize the matter), about its broader context and origins. I was especially interested in investigating what can be understood as socio-political rationality of governing relationships. This was what part two of this study conceptualized through the

governmentality approach. I focused on analyzing the relationship between what the previous part of this analysis suggested to be two major actors in the case – the Canadian government and Canada-based non-governmental actors (the MAC as a member of the ICBL). The governmentality approach was the most suitable approach known to me for answering both the "how" question concerning underlying transformations of the relationship between the Canadian government and non-governmental actors in the landmine case, as well as the "why" question examining a symbiotic functionalism between the above two sets of actors in Canada.

The attributes of advanced-liberal rationality examined above in the case of Canada's exercise of political sovereignty can be compared to what Geoffrey Wiseman (2004, 47) calls "middle power plurilateralism", i.e. the notion that official entities (the Canadian government) can be joined by nongovernmental actors (MAC as the part of the ICBL) without necessitating reciprocal recognition as sovereign entities. Not only did middle powers act in the landmine case through nongovernmental actors, but they also gave these non-state actors a free hand in their agenda setting and issue framing, as well as in strategy selection and networking. Moreover, as the landmine case demonstrated, the knowledge about landmines was produced entirely by non-state actors, and the governments of self-constructed middle powers, most notably Canada and Norway, were subsequently provided with that knowledge.

Finally, there is the question of what the Canadian government has acquired by its advanced-liberal procedure. It is suggested that a government that builds a functional-symbiotic relationship with nongovernmental actors gains a comparative advantage over other states, insofar as it has at its disposal a rare and valuable type of human-oriented knowledge about security which, in turn, serves as an important basis for the worldwide reputation and symbolic status of a given country. Governments that have formed and discursively legitimated their collective identity around the category of middle power, frequently build both informal and formal coalitions of like-minded countries. For instance, as a result of successful practices of an informal like-minded group led by middle powers Canada and Norway in the landmine case, these two leading countries signed the bilateral Lysøen Declaration of 1998, and a year later expanded into The Human Security Network (HSN). The aim of such platforms is not only to bring about a system-wide normative change (e.g. a

prohibitive regime, be it of antipersonnel landmines, small arms and light weapons or child soldiers), but also socializing other participating actors into accepting norms, methods and procedures linked to this governmentality of advanced liberalism. It is self-constructed middle powers who often assume leadership and steer the direction of a like-minded group. The HSN is a flexible platform which can be, due to member governments' close cooperation with nongovernmental actors, regarded as the product of a plurilateralist organization informed by advanced-liberal governmentality. Moreover, the subsequent institutionalization of Canada and Norway's advanced-liberal experiences to the plurilateral HSN demonstrates more systematization in what were previously ad-hoc attempts to conduct the governmentality of advanced liberalism in world politics. Thus we might be able to expect more of these developments to occur in the future.

Endnotes

1. For a generic concept, see Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998.

2. For a generic concept, see Snow and Benford, 1992.

3. Phrases such as "landmine production cost is as little as $ 3 dollars apiece"; "for every 100,000 mines removed, another 2 million are being laid"; "it would take 4,300 years to remove all the landmines"; "500 people per week are killed or maimed by landmines, the majority of them civilians"; and "children mistake mines for playthings" represent examples of the shift in the landmines discourse and strategic construction of humanitarian frame.

4. As far as the analytical consequences of the frame shift are concerned, it would be naïve to understand the military frame as a "bad" one and the humanitarian frame as a "good" one. Such a Manichean vision would lead (and often does lead) to the oversimplification of the issue. The landmine case shows that in "real" strategic processes where preferences, identities, and/or social contexts are being reconfigured, rationality is inextricably bound with normative influence and the distinction between "rationalist" and "social constructivist" approaches is indeterminate, if not impossible.

5. An opinion poll from spring 1996 suggests the considerable influence of the MAC's mandate, since 73 percent of Canadians – as opposed to 22 percent of Americans – supported the total ban of APLs (cited in Tomlin, 1998, 211, fn. 25).

6. The formal name of the CCW Convention is "The Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects".

7. The first obstacle was overcome, very much in an advanced-liberal governmentality fashion, by the inclusion of representatives of the MAC in Canada's governmental delegation. The two entities thus literally exercised political sovereignty together.

8. The members of this informal coalition were Canada, Norway, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Switzerland, and Mexico.

9. As one highly-ranking official at DFAIT put it, "We had CDN $ 2 million to run the Ottawa Process and we used it very specifically for [funding] conferences and meetings" (personal interview by author, Ottawa, April 21st, 2006).

10. The formal name of the Ottawa Convention is "The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction".

11. Canada's R&D donation concerning demining technologies in the period of 1997-2004 alone accounted for US $ 15 million (ICBL, 2005).

12. CIDA manages a part of the Canadian Landmine Fund, alongside the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the Department of National Defence.

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The Equalization System in Canada: The Reasons Why It Seems Impossible to Reform

Abstract

Financial equalization is a fundamental element of Canadian federalism as a means of financing the provinces. It is an obligation of the federal government which aims to ensure all provinces offer the same quality of services to all Canadian citizens. The federal government fulfils its obligation since 1982 by using a complex formula. This article aims, on the one hand, to present the actual equalizing mechanisms as well as Prime Minister Martin's tentative reform of October 2004, and on the other hand, to analyze the political reasons that make reforming the system difficult and even impossible.

Résumé

La péréquation financière a pour but d'assurer à chaque gouvernement provincial suffisamment de ressources en vue de fournir aux citoyens des services de qualité comparable moyennant des taux d'imposition comparables. Il s'agit d'une obligation au niveau du gouvernement fédéral. Celui-ci a tenté en octobre 2004 de réformer ce programme afin de le rendre plus simple et, surtout, plus prévisible. Aujourd'hui, cette réforme est au point mort. Outre la présentation du système initial, cet article met l'accent sur les raisons politologiques susceptibles d'expliquer les difficultés rencontrées par le fédéral dans sa tentative de réforme de ce système essentiel.

Introduction

The Equalization system is an essential element of federal states. Most federal countries have Equalization mechanisms allowing for the distribution of wealth between the federal entities[1]. It is described as the cornerstone of a federation. Canadian Equalization is a federal competence regulated by article 36.2 of the Constitution. The amounts of Equalization given by the federal government to the provinces are calculated according to the "Equalization formula" which computes the theoretical amount necessary to a province to

ensure its public services. The need for Equalization is not new in the Canadian Federation. It can be traced back to 1867[2]. Moreover, Equalization is considered to be a national emblem like the national anthem or… the Canadian winter! The current system dates back to 1982 and is an important part of both the federal budget and the budget of the 8 out of 10 provinces who received money through this system. The debates over equalization are virulent because they hit upon an essential financial and psychologically essential concept.

Since 1982, punctual changes have complicated the equalization formula and, today, the system is extremely complex and therefore not understood. Canadian experts on this subject are rare. The press says that "only 200 people in the country understand it" (Waston, 2004). This shows how highly technical the subject is. Recently with the emergence of the problem of fiscal imbalance, provinces have requested that the federal government reform equalization. Consequently, Prime Minister Martin's government announced the so-called *New Framework* reform in October 2004 whose aim was chiefly to make the system easier and more foreseeable. Moreover, Paul Martin signed parallel agreements with the poorer provinces as a trade-off to ensure the victory of his party in the next elections. Those agreements are described as a threat to the general philosophy of the system as a whole. Today, the New Framework reform is at a standstill and nothing allows us to foresee an issue in the short or long term.

The aim of this article is to present the equalization and to understand the reasons why it seems to be so difficult to reform[3]. Firstly, the functioning of Canadian equalization will be presented (point II). Secondly the problems caused by the current system will be briefly exposed (point III) and the principles of the reform wanted by the Martin government will be described (point IV). Finally, I will try to establish the conjectural and structural reasons explaining why the federal power seems to be politically unable to reform by using its constitutional competency (point V). Given the importance of equalization in Canada, this last point has already been greatly studied. Nevertheless, our analysis is different for two reasons. On the one hand, the greater part of the analysis of equalization – maybe even all of it? – are economic studies (Courchène, 1973, 483-502; Vaillancourt, 1995, 38; MacNevin, 2004, 327; Broadway and Flatters 1982, 78). Our analysis, however, focuses on the political aspect of the subject, in particular the political obstacles to reform. How come

the federal government cannot politically use its constitutional competencies? On the other hand, the topicality of the New Framework (October 2004) means that it has not yet been commented on.

Canadian Equalization: How Does It Work?

a. The Principle: 3 Steps

The principle of equalization is found in article 36.2 of the 1982 Canadian Constitution:

> Parliament and the government of Canada are committed to the principle of making equalization payments to ensure that provincial government have sufficient revenues to provide reasonably comparable levels of public services at reasonably comparable levels of taxation.

Equalization is thus a purely federal competence: legally, provinces do not decide anything on the matter. The federal government had to decide how it would fulfill its constitutional obligation: it created a formula to do so. This formula involves three steps:

1. computing "the fiscal ability", i.e. the ability of each province to raise revenues from 33 revenue sources
2. calculating the "standard" which is the equalization norm
3. the payments "stricto sensu"

To begin with, the federal minister of finance will compute what is, for each province, its theoretical fiscal capacity. Thus, the federal government does not take into consideration the actual revenues of the provincial governments. The federal government uses the "Representative Tax System" (RTS) to calculate this theoretical fiscal capacity. After a complex calculation, the federal government will consider the potential revenues per inhabitant in each province. The federal government takes into account 33 taxes or revenue sources, such as, personal income tax, corporate income tax, sales taxes, property tax… and infers the fiscal capacity.
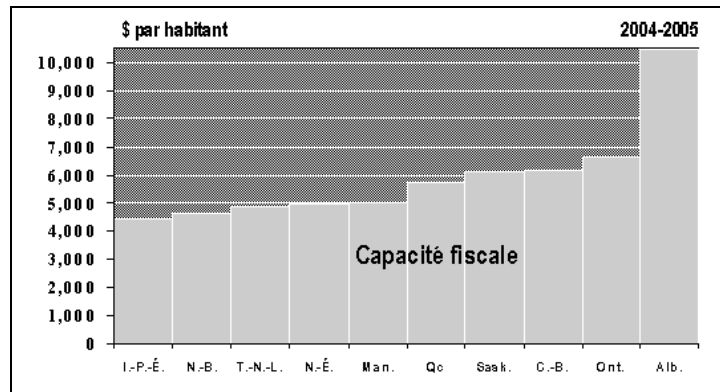
The results are as follows:

Figure 1 – Fiscal capacity of each province (given by inhabitant) –
(Groupe d'expert, 2005)

We can immediately see the enormous differences. Alberta, which has oil, is more than twice as rich as the poorest province, Prince Edward Island. It is striking to see that the four poorest provinces are on the Atlantic coast.

The second step is deciding the amount necessary for the provincial governments to ensure comparable services. This amount is the "equalization norm". Since 1982, this norm is the average of the five average provinces, which means the average of the ten provinces minus the wealthiest – Alberta – and the four poorest – the Atlantic Provinces. Consequently, the five taken into account are Manitoba, Quebec, Saskatchewan, Ontario and British Colombia.

Why such a strange calculation? Before 1982, the norm of equalization was the average of the 10 provinces, but the oil crisis of the seventies caused a strong increase of the oil revenues in Alberta, which consequently caused an increase of the average and then, of the equalization payments… the federal government was not happy! In 1982, in order to avoid the volatility of the payments, the federal government decided to exclude Alberta – the wealthiest province – from the average – and to compensate the four poorest as well, who together, have the same population as Alberta.
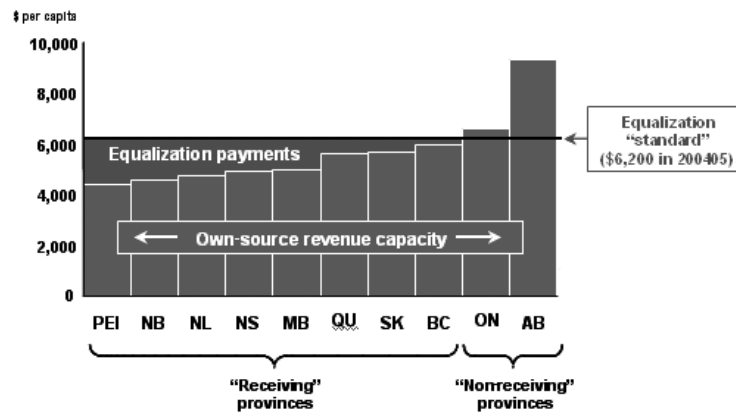
Generally, this norm amounts to $ 6200 per capita.

Figure 2 – Norm of equalization and fiscal capacity of each province
(Ibid.)[4]

The third step is simple: the federal government must pay the differ-
ence per inhabitant for the provinces whose revenue capacity is be-
low the standard to bring their capacity up to that norm. The total
amount is around $10 billion.

b. Correctives: 3 Elements

As we can see, the system of 1982 is thought to be coherent and re-
moved as far as possible from purely political considerations. Since
1982, this formula has been slightly modified. These changes were
mainly aimed at correcting eventual undesirable effects. Among
these changes:

- An upper limit (Vaillancourt, 1995, 8), to curb the increase
  of the transfers related to economic growth. The limit was
  abolished in 2002-2003.
- The bottom limit (*Le programme de péréquation*, 2004, 13),
  to curb the drop in the Equalization payments for each prov-
  ince from one year to the next at 1.6 % of the norm (i.e. $
  98 per inhabitant for 2004-2005). In other words, a province
  will not receive less that +/- $ 98 year to year (MacNevin,
  2004, 95).

- The "generic solution" (*Le programme de peréquation*, 2004, 11) prevents large decreases of the equalization entitlements of provinces that experienced substantial increases in revenues in certain circumstances. If a single province accounts for a large share of a given tax base, then the tax rate set by the province will have a large influence on the national average tax rate for that base. In the extreme case in which a single province accounts for the entire national tax base, its tax rate fully determines the national rate. In either case, and in the absence of any special provision, the province will have a significant disincentive to increase its tax rate on the base in question or even to increase the base, since all or most of the potential revenue gains would be offset by reductions in its equalization entitlements (MacNevin, 2004, 195-196).

c. Towards Destruction: Parallel Agreements

The integrity of the whole system has been threatened these past few years by the Atlantic Agreements concerning revenues from oil and natural gas resources off the shores of the Atlantic Provinces. On February 14, 2005, Prime Minister Martin concluded new agreements with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. These agreements protect these provinces until 2020: indeed, the federal government will continue to pay the same equalization notwithstanding their economic development. In other words, an increase of their fiscal capacity of $ 1 will not cause a decrease of their equalization (cf. Groupe d'expert, 2005).

Why those agreements? Martin had to save his government in June 2004 and promised these new agreements to try to keep the majority. For years, Newfoundland had wanted to keep 100 % of the revenues from oil and gas without loosing any equalization money. Martin wanted to stay Prime Minister.

> Martin avait dit à Williams (Premier ministre de Terre-Neuve) qu'il acceptait sa proposition concernant la protection des revenus pétroliers de la province. Prendre à son compte la demande de Williams assurait à Martin des votes supplémentaires dans la province. Les libéraux ont d'ailleurs ravi un siège aux conservateurs le 28 juin 2004[5].

Thus, Martin signed these agreements for purely political reasons. The other provinces, especially the rich ones, were unhappy because these agreements distort the equalization system. "The matters that province officials raised in connection with the resource categories were generally the overequalization caused by the Atlantic accords" (MacNevin, 2004, 227). Accordingly, "il n'y a plus un régime fiscal mais bien plusieurs, difficilement compatibles avec l'objectif même du programme de péréquation" (Finn, 2005, 2-3 and 11).

Current Problems Caused by the Equalization System

The system voted in 1982, and still in place today, has many advantages but also disadvantages. The shortcomings are criticized by experts and/or by the provinces. The aim of this article is not to ascertain the benefits and the damaging effects of equalization, economically speaking. Nevertheless, we will quote the most important problems which led Prime Minister Martin to try to reform the program of equalization:

- The calculation of the formula is so complex that no one in the Canadian federation understands it. If some economists understand it, politicians and the people, do not at all understand the purpose and the functioning of equalization. This being true, motivated Martin while he was Minister of Finance, to declare that "there is one guy who understands the equalization… but he's dead!" Consequently, many people ask for a simplification of the program.
- The norm of equalization based on the average of the five average provinces is criticized from all sides. The positions are unanimously in favour of going back to the average of all 10 provinces (Finn, 2005, 15; Duclos, 2005, 1).
- In the same way, the complexity of the system makes the result of the formula unforeseeable. The receiving provinces lament this. "Même le Ministre des finances (of Québec, i.e. Séguin) éprouve des difficultés" (Corbeil, 2004).
- The calculation of the formula via the RTS is contested by politicians and economists who plead for the replacement of the RTS by a macro-economic criterion, such as the provincial GDP.
- On the other hand, some would want a system which would take into account the needs of the provinces, as it exists in the Swiss or Australian systems (MacNevin, 2004, 229).

- A few provinces criticize the federal competency and, consequently, ask for it to be shared between Ottawa and the provinces (Volpe, 2005, 10).
- At last, the parallel agreements signed by Ottawa and the Eastern provinces are condemned by everyone, except the signatories of course. These accords are considered to be a threat to the system as a whole (MacNevin, 2004, 227).

The Attempt to Reform: "The New Framework"

In October 2004, Paul Martin organized a summit of the provincial prime ministers to present the reform of equalization and declared in his speech from the throne, his ambition to bring about the most important reform of equalization in the last 47 years[6].

However, the main subject in Canada in the matter of public finances is the fiscal imbalance. Although the equalization and the fiscal imbalance are two radically different things, they are politically interconnected. The reform of equalization initiated in October 2004 is considerable but, given its complexity, its importance in Canadian minds is less strong than the fiscal imbalance. There is a wide-spread confusion between the two concepts within the Canadian population because of the behaviour of the provinces who wanted to compensate the loss caused by the fiscal imbalance by an increase of the equalization payments.

In 2000, equalization payments began to decrease because of the slowing down of the Ontarian economy, which caused a decrease in the disparities, and consequently, a reduction of the equalization payments. Furthermore, the important surplus of the federal budget these last few years made the provinces argue for a reform of equalization (*Questions clés*, 2005).
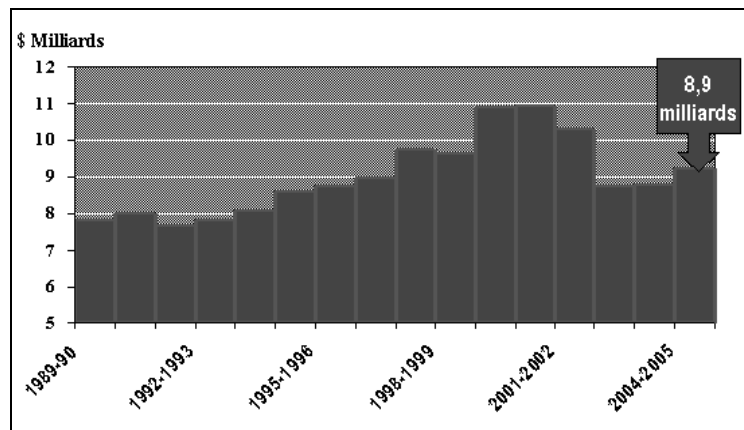
Figure 3 - Evolution of the amounts of equalization paid by the federal government since 1989 (Ibid.)

After the October 2004 conference, Martin presented the New Framework "as the most remarkable in the history of the programs" (Minister President, 2004).

a. The Envelope is Closed

The new financial framework for equalization was set and overall payments were increased to $ 10.9 billion for 2005-2006. This amount was legislated to grow by 3.5 percent in each subsequent year. This first change was essential: the formula would no longer determine the amount of the equalization and the share of each province. From then on the envelope would be closed. The level of financing would be re-examined in the middle of the ten-year period, i.e. 2009-2010.

b. Only the Provincial Shared Can Be Changed

Consequently, the changes caused by the formula would only change the share of each province while the global amount remains the same! This means that, if a new province becomes ineligible for payments, all the beneficiary provinces would lose something! On the contrary, if a poor one becomes rich; all the other poor will "win" a part of the federal amount.

c. The Parts Are Fixed for Two Years

Normal formula-based calculations of provincial entitlements were suspended, provincial payment shares from 2004-2005 were fixed on

the basis of historical data, and an interim formula was used to allocate payments for 2005-2006 (*Questions clés*, 2005).
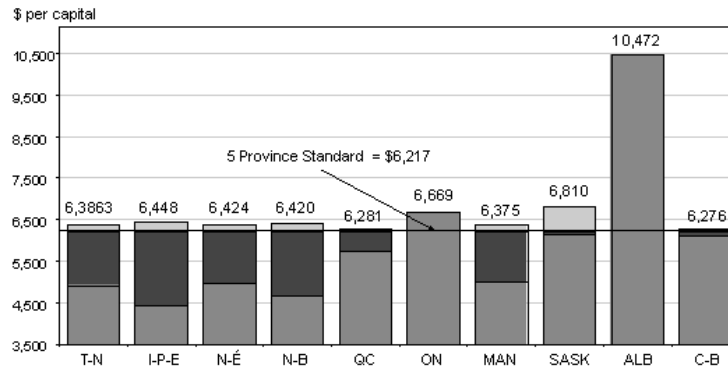

Figure 4 – Fiscal ability, equalization and amount of the New Framework for each province in dollars per inhabitant (Ibid.)

The New Framework of October 2004 does not provide an immediate solution to the issue of sharing federal money amongst the provinces. This is why the reform set up a group of independent experts whose mission was to advise the government about the distribution of payments between the provinces[7]. The conclusions of the group were expected for the end of 2005 (Minister of Finance, 2005). At last, the report was given to the new federal government in May 2006, but we do not know what the government will decide on that matter.

Analysis: Why the Reform Seems Impossible

What are the conjectural and structural reasons liable to explain in my opinion why the Canadian equalization, despite the 2004 attempt, seems to be impossible to reform?

a. Linguistic Opposition?

The traditional opposition between English-speakers and French-speakers is present in many constitutional subjects. However, in my opinion, it needs to be excluded in this matter. The tension in the debates on equalization is really between rich and poor provinces. Although the money is federal, the enormous amount paid by Ottawa comes from federal taxes which are almost exclusively paid by the

rich people, living of course in the rich provinces. In conclusion, the linguistic opposition is not an obstacle to the reform.

b. Conjectural Elements: A Weak Government and Anticipated Elections

Martin's government did not have a majority in Parliament since June 2003. Furthermore, the sponsorship scandal led the government to anticipate the elections of January 2006. We are faced with two conjectural elements: the weak parliamentary position of the government and the anticipated elections. Do they stand in the way of the reform of equalization?

On the one hand, Martin was obliged to find support outside the liberal party of Canada to survive. Could Martin complete his reform if he had enjoyed a strong majority in Parliament? It is difficult to imagine what would have happened. Nevertheless, most of the obstacles existed before the vote in the House of Commons. Thus, finding a majority in favour of the project was one of the obstacles, but not an obstacle for the equalization reform in particular. Martin has to work with the other parties on all subjects. On the other hand, the defeat of the government is an element explaining the failure. But we could not assume that the reform would have been possible, if Martin had survived a few more months, and for two reasons: First, the group of experts was faced with the problem of finding a solution, and today, we do not know what the government will (could) do. Second, equalization was not an issue in the elections at all. The question of equalization was not present at all in the electoral debates.

What about the future?

In his Speech from the Throne on April 4th 2006[8], Prime Minister Harper did not say anything about equalization, while it was one of the most important subjects for Martin two years earlier.

c. The Canadian Institutional System

Does the federal structure of Canada explain the difficulties of reforming equalization? A federal regime is never easy and additionally a very important law must be adopted with a special quorum, such as the "special laws" in Belgium to ensure that the minorities agree. In Canada, a federal country for 150 years, there is no such restriction. The competence of equalization needs a federal law adopted by a normal majority within Parliament. In conclusion, the

Canadian institutional structure is not a stumbling-block of equalization.

d. Complexity and Despoiling

The actual complexity makes equalization difficult to reform. Correctives were added to the 1982 system. They are justified but if you want to make the system easy by eliminating them, you will spoil equalization as a whole. The other political changes are also obstacles but they are not justified! They were adopted only for purely political reasons. But it does not mean that they can be eliminated easily. Let us bear in mind the parallel agreements of 2005…In conclusion; the correctives are considerable obstacles as well.

e. The Party System

In Canada, the political parties are horizontal: federal, provincial, municipal. Those parties exist at their level and only there. Even if they have the same name (for instance, liberal), they have a distinct structure. Among the parties, the politicians only seek to meet the interest of their institutional level, to the prejudice of the other governments. Of course, federal parties exist coast-to-coast but this does not mean that they take provincial interests into account. Therefore, the political structure and the behaviour of the politicians are two essential elements explaining the difficulties to reform equalization, because there is no structure that takes the general interest into account.

f. The Legitimacy of the Federal Competence

Some say that the competence in equalization should be shared between Ottawa and the provinces but no one gives any solution on how to do so…The main question is: why cannot the federal level politically exercise its constitutional competency? We have to look at the tension inside the federation. We can give three reasons:

1. Firstly, equalization is an essential element of the Canadian federation. It exists since 1857 and is considered as "the glue that holds a federal state together" (MacNevin, 2004, XV). Consequently, given its importance, the federal government cannot act unilaterally without prudence, without dialogue with the provinces.

2. Secondly, equalization also has a large financial importance: for the federal government, which pays approximately $10 billion a

year, and for the poor provinces, who receive the money (from 3 to 27 % of their budget).

3. Thirdly, although the money comes from the federal budget, the indirect payers are the people living in the wealthy provinces that do not receive any equalization (Alberta and Ontario). The federal government must not forget this, and must realize that it cannot do what it wants without any consideration for Toronto or Calgary, even though those two provinces have no legal power in the matter.

The aforementioned three points make equalization a very important element within Canada, and the federal government is driven to find a compromise with the other actors. Otherwise, its decision could be seen as illegitimate, and therefore impossible to be applied.

Conclusions

The aim of this article was to present the functioning of equalization payments in Canada and the reasons for the difficulties to reform them. This subject was current because the Martin government decided in October 2004 to attempt the most remarkable reform in the history of the programs[9]. The equalization payments are unconditional transfers from the federal government to the provincial governments whose theoretical fiscal capacity per inhabitant is below the norm of equalization consisting in the average of the fiscal capacity of all the provinces, except for Alberta and the four Atlantic Provinces. Equalization is a commitment that is stated within article 36.2 of the Constitution. At present, 8 out of the 10 provinces are receiving (i.e. all except Alberta and Ontario). The share of equalization payments within their budgets is important, and the total amount given by the federal government amounts to approximately $ 10 billion a year. The current system has certain shortcomings, in particular, with regards to foresight, transparency, and legitimacy of the federal competence.

The New Framework reform presented in 2004 was intended to answer those contestations but it never occurred. The essential reasons of the difficulty to reform equalization are:

-   Firstly, the frightful complexity of the system and the unpredictability of equalization making it difficult to reform.
-   Secondly, the political incapacity of Ottawa to decide unilaterally, for fear of displeasing the wealthy provinces, brings the legitimacy of federal competence into question;

> although another repartition of competence within the federation would be even more difficult to do.
> - Finally, the structure of the political parties does not allow for a global measure of Canadian interests. Also, the electoral behaviour of the political actors focuses on the preoccupations of only one institutional level, eventually to the prejudice of the other levels of power.

Endnotes

1. For an international approach of equalization, cf. Lotz, 1998, 120.

2. For a historical overview, cf. Broadway and Flatters, 1982, 2.

3. This article is a summary of the author's research paper: Defraiteur, 2006.

4. Canadian press from October 2004 : "L'effet Boomerang"; "Péréquation : victoire totale de Martin"; Corbeil, 2004; Cornellier, 2004; "Ottawa a 'saigné' le Québec pour satisfaire le Canada anglais"; "Péréquation: victoire totale de Martin"; Waston, 2004.

5. MacNevin, 2004, 230; Duclos, 2005, 3; Aubry, 2005, 16; Brett and Strain, 2005, 1; Godbout and St-Cerny, 2005, 35.

6. Speech from the Throne, October 2004.

7. The Panel comprised: Al O'Brien, Chair; Elizabeth Parr-Johnston, Fred Gorbet, Robert Lacroix and Mike Percy.

8. Speech from the Throne, October 2004.

9. Paul Martin's Speech from the Throne, October 2004.

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Modern Trends of Development in the Higher Educational System of Canada

Abstract

At the end of the 20th century dramatic changes in the state regulation of the economy of Canada took place. This fact has had an influence on the higher education system: public funding has been reduced and the process of commercialization has become more active. This article analyzes the positive and negative aspects of commercialization and the influence of this phenomenon on the main trends of development within the higher education system in Canada. Particular features of the Canadian higher education system are examined. The correlation between commercialization and increasing tuition fees is analyzed. Topics such as distance education and the internationalization of the higher educational system and its evolving goals under the influence of commercialization are discussed. An analysis is made of how commercialization influences R&D in Universities.

Résumé

A la fin du XXe siècle, des changements importants ont eu lieu au Canada en ce qui concerne les buts et les mécanismes de l'intervention de l'Etat dans l'économie. Ce fait a exercé une influence sur les modalités de fonctionnement du système de l'instruction supérieure. Particulièrement, le processus de commercialisation s'est activé. Cet article analyse l'influence de la commercialisation sur le développement du système de l'instruction, ainsi que ses conséquences positives et négatives. Il s'agit des particularités du système de l'instruction supérieure canadienne. Cet article examine la corrélation entre la majoration des droits d'inscription et le processus de commercialisation. Les aspects tels que l'internationalisation de l'instruction supérieure et la mise en œuvre de l'éducation à distance, leur rôle changeant et leurs buts dans le cadre d'une telle commercialisation sont analysés. Ainsi le présent article analyse

l'influence de la commercialisation sur le développement des travaux d'études et de recherches (R&D) des Ecoles Supérieures.

Features of Canada's Higher Educational System

In the modern world, within a knowledge-based economy, higher education is regarded as having social, economic and public value. The system of higher education is an important link within the chain of progressive development for an individual, for society, for the economy and for the state in general. Education was one of the main issues at the G-8 Summit in July, 2006. It is an issue of common concern.

Canada belongs to a group of countries with a highly educated population; it holds 5th place among OECD countries that have a population that holds a university degree (Education Indicators in Canada, 2005). The Canadian system of higher education offers a wide range of educational programs. The higher educational system has three key principles as its foundation. First and foremost, egalitarian access to education. This means an absence of barriers, such as religious, class, or racial, to obtaining an education. Second, are egalitarian educational opportunities. This principle supposes that every citizen, wherever one lives, has access to education of the same high quality. The third principle is cultural pluralism of education, which means preserving a bilingual educational system and guaranteeing financial support to every citizen despite one's race or religion.

The Canadian higher educational system and the university as an integral part of it have particular features. The features are united in the "idea of a Canadian university" (Jones, 1998, 69). The "idea" includes facets that are associated with the way in which Canadians talk and think about a university. The Canadian idea of the university includes "the notion of the university as a public, autonomous, secular, degree-granting institution" (Jones, 1998, 78). The key words here are "public" and "autonomous". "Higher education, like health care, is regarded as being too important to Canadian society to be left in the hands of private interests" (Skolnik and Jones, 1992, 123).

Universities and colleges in Canada historically possess a high level of autonomy; they have their own "body", they are united in the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), which represents their interests at home and abroad.

Higher education in Canada in general falls under provincial juris-diction, which means an absence of a federal ministry of education and the existence of one in every province and territory. The Federal government can influence the educational system only indirectly. Coordination of activity is provided through the special forum CMEC (Council of Ministers of Education Canada).

The Phenomenon of Commercialization in the Higher Educational System of Canada

At the end of the 20th century dramatic changes in the state regula-tion of the economy of Canada took place. This fact has had an in-fluence on the system of higher education: public funding has been reduced and the process of commercialization has become more ac-tive. Commercialization is mainly regarded as the strengthening of private entities in the sphere of education. Canadian experts see three main aspects which demonstrate commercialization at the moment:

First, the intention of corporations to use educational institutions as a space for advertising and as a market place. Educational institutions are attractive for this purpose because young adults are the most ac-tive group of consumers. At first glance, this trend cannot do any da-mage, but there have been cases in which corporations have tried to widen their credentials. One corporation tried to influence the con-tent of a university newspaper by requiring that the name of the cor-poration be mentioned in articles (Turk, 2000, 4).

Second, the introduction of corporate terms alien to the educational system until only recently. Students are called "consumers" and "cli-ents"; professors are "providers"; the system of education is called "production" or "the factory". Vocabulary is believed to reflect fu-ture trends. The introduction of corporate terms is regarded as a pre-condition for the establishment of a corporate management model (Turk, 2000, 4).

Third, there is a dramatic change in the system of funding. The phe-nomenon of commercialization is evolving and deepening. It influ-ences the way the higher educational system is developing and its further function; it touches the basic values of education. Under these new conditions of reduced public funding, Canadian universi-ties look for additional sources of funding other than public. They are as follows: increased student fees, donations and endowments, private research contracts.

By this process the Canadian University is becoming less a public institution and more a private one, less accountable to the public interest and more beholden to private interests.

The Influence of Commercialization on the Main Trends of Development in the Higher Educational System

An increase in tuition fees is one additional source of funding. The increase took place in the 1990s and this trend still continues. One of the main principles of the higher educational system of Canada is the availability of education in financial terms. By the 1960s higher education had transformed from a privilege of the elite to a right of the masses, this being one of the features of progressive democratic development of the state. A consonant increase in tuition fees is a challenge to the principle of availability. Obtaining an education comes down to a dependence on an individual's financial situation and not one's intellectual talents. Restricted access to education is a potential challenge to the successful development of a state. The situation in Canada is not critical, of course; however allowing it to proceed uncontrolled could have negative consequences. In my opinion, support for the higher education system and the freezing of tuition fees (as much as possible) should be a priority of educational policy.

The Government of Canada takes measures to provide access to education. There are well developed programs of student loans and grants on both Federal and Provincial levels. But surveys show that despite the high standard of living in Canada, every year more and more students have to take out a loan, the amount is rising, and more students are experiencing difficulties repaying loans. This may lead to a trend in which higher education will be less accessible, which would contradict the principle of egalitarianism; though this principle is not mentioned in the Constitution, it is believed to be a part of the Canadian mentality.

Internationalization and Attracting Foreign Students

In a globalizing world the internationalization of higher education becomes a natural way of developing the higher educational system as a whole. Canada is seen as a global centre for international education along with the US, UK and Australia. Attracting international students to study in Canada is part of immigration policy. In *Speech from the Throne*, 2002, it was mentioned that "The government [...] will position Canada as a destination of choice for talented foreign students" (Speech from the Throne, 2002, 9). In the context of estab-

lishing its new role and place in the world, "Canada could play a leading role in using education to build a relationship with a new generation of decision makers around the world" (Greenhill, 2005, 21). However, when public funding is being reduced, internationalization is regarded not only as a natural process, but also (and most importantly) as an additional source of funding. According to Statistics Canada data, the tuition fees for foreign students in Canada are more than twice as much as for Canadian citizens. In the 2004-2005 academic year, the tuition for an international student seeking a bachelor's degree was 11,903 CDN compared with 4,172 CDN for a Canadian citizen. According to data collected by Citizenship and Immigration Canada in the year 2003, there were 151,450 international students in Canada. The majority of students coming to study in Canada were from South Asia: South Korea, China, Japan. They accounted for 43% of international students studying in Canada.

However, foreign students cannot be regarded as a stable source of funding for each university. First, the flow of foreign students is highly dependent on the economic situation in their home countries, and varies from year to year. Second, the instability of tuition fees and their constant growth can have a negative influence. Third, not all provinces are equally attractive to international students. In the past 15 years, there have been three leaders in attracting students: Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, with a growing emphasis on British Columbia. Foreign students usually choose universities and colleges in big cities, such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Thus, priority is given to universities in the big cities of the most prosperous provinces. Small universities in small cities in more difficult circumstances and in need of funding just cannot stand up to the competition. To avoid an imbalance, an adequate strategy based on collaboration among the provincial and federal governments, and university and college authorities would be prudent.

Distance Education

Such issues as distance education are under the influence of commercialization too. Here the influence of commercialization is very ambiguous.

In this epoch of globalization, the demand for higher education has risen greatly in a knowledge-based economy. Traditional educational institutions cannot completely satisfy the demand. This is one reason for the development and implementation of distant educational pro-

grams using computer technologies, the internet, and real-time courses. Nowadays distance courses are offered by traditional institutions, which are trying to widen their activities and by completely virtual universities (for example, British Columbia Open University, Athabaska University). By the mid 1990s, 54% of traditional Canadian universities and colleges had distant programs (Zaretskaya, 2002, 84). Canada is one of the leaders in this sphere. One of the motivating reasons for the development of distance education is geography – distance education is essential to solving the problem of access to higher education. Wide implementation and further development of distance education is possible due to the high level of computerization in this country. There is quite a wide choice of programs offered distantly. Tuition for distant programs is less in comparison with traditional higher education programs. This fact opens additional opportunities for low-income people to obtain a degree. The average fee for a distant degree program in Canada is 2,000-3,000 CDN in total, in comparison with 12,000-16,000 CDN for the whole period of traditional study for a degree.

Distance education is a natural way of developing the higher educational system, it has many positive aspects and solves a number of problems, but at the same time it is somewhat of a challenge to the higher educational system. Distance education dramatically changes the manner of learning, and the development of distant technologies further motivates commercialization because the establishment of distant courses requires large expenditures on modern IT (information technologies); this motivates universities to make contracts with corporations. In the long-term, distance education requires lower expenditures than the traditional education system, which is why, in the context of unstable funding, especially diminishing public funding, distance education is often regarded as an additional source of funding, not primarily as a source of new opportunities in the educational process; quite often, and not only in Canada, the question of quality is sidelined. Thus, the influence of commercialization on this aspect of education is ambiguous. There is much that is positive: it is an impetus for the development of new technologies in education and the preservation of Canada's leading role in the issue. However, it should be taken into consideration that the primary intent of distance education is to widen the horizons of educational opportunities and to improve the quality of education, and not to derive benefit.

University R&D

In the new century, economic growth and the place and role of a state in the world to a great extent depends on its Research and Development potential. Canadian governments at all levels have always been concerned about it, but because of the difficult economic situation in the 1990s it could not pay sufficient attention to the issue. In that period the situation dictated other priorities: the goal was to gain control over the budget deficit by all means possible, so as to guarantee the normal functioning of the economic system in the future. At the beginning of the 21th century the government put forward an initiative to create an economy based on science, education, and innovative development, it was called Canada's Innovation Strategy. Its main goal was "to move Canada into the top 5 OECD countries in terms of research by 2010" (Education Indicators in Canada, 2003, 127). In 2000, Canada spent 1.8% of its GDP on R&D, compared with an OECD average of 2.2%, in the year 2005 the figure was 1.07% of the Canadian GDP. R&D in Canada is carried out in several sectors: business, federal and provincial governments, and the private non-profit sector. Universities are important centres of R&D, because systematic, scientifically-based investigation is a core function of faculty research and an integral part of training students (Education Indicators in Canada, 2003, 127-128). In Canada the university sector is the second largest contributor of R&D after business. That is why the topic of university R&D cannot be put aside while talking about the higher educational system of the country.

At the end of the 1990s the Federal government took measures in improving the situation in the R&D sector by establishing a number of grant programs. In 2000, however, governmental grants were 1/3 less than what those universities in the U.S. obtained from their government. On the one hand, government programs are very supportive, on the other, they raise some new problems. The grants are awarded through competition and usually those universities which have been previously successful in receiving grants manage to win again. A member of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) and expert James Turk says that in reality, the 10 leading universities manage to get the greatest part of funding (Kondro, 2002, 128). This situation challenges the democratic system of egalitarian access to quality education. It is an interesting fact that governmental support is organized as a system of "meeting grants", when a university should render a sum equal to the sum it gets from

the government. This mechanism has been shown to be effective in regard to big universities but has turned out to be discriminatory towards small universities; their budgets are not large enough to cover their portion of "meeting grants". As a result, the intellectual potential of these universities remains underutilized.

The establishment of such a mechanism spurred commercialization in university R&D. Universities, which could not cover their share, sought support from corporations. Thus corporations were given a chance to further penetrate the sphere of university R&D. This fact has both positive and negative sides. The first challenge is the possible conflict between corporate interest and research ethics; such cases are known. The second challenge is as follows. As a rule, corporations look for maximum profit from research results in the short-term. Thus they give priority to applied research, and basic research, which cannot produce rapid benefits, loses funding, though it is more important for the further development of science. However I would like to emphasize that until recent times there has been a lack of applied research at universities, and it is a positive feature of commercialization to advance this. The important thing is to preserve the balance between applied research and theoretical research; otherwise commercialization can be a danger. The third issue is a possible narrowing of the focus of university research. The rush for corporate sponsors narrows a university's focus to fields that have "market value". Projects unable to attract corporate funding become sidelined. As a rule, research projects in social studies and the humanities suffer, despite having public value, for example a project whose goal is to promote democracy or cultural diversity. The fourth issue is the risk of creating a two-tiered system. Reliance on corporate funding is moving Canada towards a system of have and have-not universities (CAUT's statement to the House of Commons, 2003).

However, along with challenges, commercialization offers many advantageous benefits to university R&D. It leads to renovations in infrastructure and wage increases for researchers. These two facts, to some extent, contribute to solving the problem of a brain-drain to the US. The aim of this overview and analysis is not to diminish and demonize the role of corporate sponsors, but to show that a mechanism for a division of power should be established, especially taking into consideration the fact that corporations are as interested in universities as universities in them. It is only logical to honor both sides' interests, as well as the "idea" of the position of Canadian uni-

versities as institutions serving the public interest. To preserve this function an adequate federal and provincial government policy is required, which would help to prevent university interests from becoming excessively subjugated to corporate interests.

Conclusions

Thus**,** we can see that commercialization has an influence on the main trends in the development of the higher educational system in Canada. This phenomenon has both positive and negative effects. It is rather difficult to give concrete conclusions about the consequences of commercialization. One reason for this is the following: the effects of commercialization cannot be expressed in financial terms; they belong to the category of abstract values and principles the higher education system is based on.

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In Search of Transcendence in a Post-Sartrian World in Douglas Coupland's Fiction

Abstract

Man has entered Postmodernity spiritually handicapped: God was proclaimed dead and expelled from the realm of human spirituality; the universal moral and ethical code dissipated when man enclosed himself inside his simulacra – his private version of reality. Now he seems to have neither religion, nor applicable tools to re-embark on the transcendental path. In his fiction, Douglas Coupland takes under close scrutiny the spiritual condition of man today. He leads him through various settings of the post-modern world and wanders with him in the spiritually barren landscape, which in fact, turns out to be a reflection of his mindscape. As Coupland expressively suggests, man, despite his unrestrained freedom, self-sufficiency, and nearly godlike attributes occasioned by modern science, harbours within himself the indelible need for experiencing the transcendental realm. In my research, I analyze the ways in which Couplandian characters seek transcendence in the world shaped by the Sartrian philosophy – philosophy that acknowledges the absence of God and renders man divine qualities. Firstly, I focus on the protagonist in the world of denied spirituality where, due to the lack of adequate means, he is able to pursue only the glimpses of transcendence in his past, longings, or vague memories. However, propelled by the awareness of the alternative super ordinate reality, he gradually progresses in his search and discerns that the presence of another human person might also be the source of transcendence. Finally, when he embraces the concept of divinity as indispensable to his life, he reclaims his spiritual self. To analyze the Couplandian journey towards transcendence I use philosophical concepts of Søren Kierkegaard, Charles Taylor, Emmanuel Levinas, Herbert W. Richardson, and Karol Tarnowski.

Résumé

L'homme est entré dans la Postmodernité spirituellement handicapé. Dieu a été déclaré mort et expulsé du royaume de la spiritualité humaine; le code moral et éthique universel s'est dissipé quand l'homme s'est enfermé dans ses faux-semblants – sa version privée de la réalité. Maintenant il paraît n'avoir ni de religion ni les outils applicables pour reprendre le chemin transcendantal. Dans sa fiction, Douglas Coupland inspecte l'état spirituel de l'homme d'aujourd'hui. Il le guide à travers diverses scènes du monde postmoderne et erre dans un paysage dénudé, qui, en effet, se révèle être la réflexion de son paysage mental. Comme Coupland le suggère expressivement, l'homme, malgré sa liberté sans retenue, l'auto-suffisance et ses attributs presque divins grâce à la science moderne, entretient le besoin indélébile de connaître le domaine transcendantal. Dans ma recherche, j'analyse les modes sur lesquels les personnages Couplandiens cherchent la transcendance dans le monde formé par la philosophie sartrienne – la philosophie qui reconnaît l'absence de dieu et attribue les qualités du divin à l'homme. Premièrement, je me concentre sur le protagoniste dans le monde privé de la spiritualité, où, faute de mesures adéquates, il est capable seulement d'apercevoir des éclairs de la transcendance dans son passé, ses rêves ou ses vagues souvenirs. Déterminé par la conscience de la transcendance, il progresse quand même graduellement dans sa recherche et s'aperçoit que l'autre être humain peut être la source de la transcendance. Enfin il perçoit le concept de divinité comme indispensable pour sa vie, il retrouve son être spirituel. Pour analyser le voyage Coupladien vers la transcendance, j'utilise les concepts philosophiques de philosophes comme Søren Kierkegaard, Charles Taylor, Emmanuel Lévinas, Herbert W. Richardson et Karol Tarnowski.

As man entered Postmodernity, he has been faced with the dissolution of most of the grand mysteries. The universe has expanded so significantly that it has become an impossibility to delineate its borders. Paradoxically, it also shrank – it could not contain spirituality anymore. The world and man needed God no longer. Divinity has been expelled. In the era of modern zeitgeist it was Jean-Paul Sartre who became the spokesman for the human person. Man, as it appeared in the Sartrian world, was free from any external obligations. His freedom was extreme and undeniable. The new religion attribu-

ted divine qualities to man; he became a demiurge; he existed through and for himself. If there was any meaning to be coined, he was the blacksmith, if there was morality to be established, he was to do it. Anything larger than him was denied – the transcendental and the spiritual were rejected.

Man of today – man of Douglas Coupland's fiction – inhabits the post-Sartrian world – a world scarce in spirituality, deficient in established morality, with the overturned hierarchy of divinity. However, it is not the world man yearns for. Spirituality and existence within a larger-than-man-himself scheme, as Coupland asserts throughout his novels, is the ultimate destination. Many a time, it cannot be arrived to; it resides beyond man's capabilities; very often man harbors no awareness of transcendental being and thus fails to discern it. Couplandian fiction stages the entire search for transcendental meaning encapsulating the characters with no recognition of the transcendent, and then attempts to discern the glimpses of spirituality, and finally the act of embracing spirituality within one's life.

The world in Coupland's fiction as it opens up to a search for transcendent meaning is dark and spiritually barren. Couplandian characters exist with no awareness of transcendence. Their world is totally devoid of a unifying force that would bind all the elements together: man absentmindedly drifts in a spiritual vacuum. In their lives, even the remains of transcendence are gone; it seems transcendence has never existed there.

Such is the world that emerges from the novel *Girlfriend in a Coma*. The characters reveal no awareness and no desire to ascribe transcendent meanings to their lives. Their minds are preoccupied with the modern life, their hearts are set to satisfy their material needs and they crave nothing more. The lives of Pam and Hamilton, the characters of *Girlfriend in a Coma*, after their friend's lapse into a coma, dry up of vitality and purposefulness. They have reduced themselves to objects operating in a certain system:

> No centre. It does not exist. Look at our lives: we have an acceptable level of affluence. We have entertainment. We have a relative freedom from fear. But there is nothing else. At least [we] accept things as they are. We get our jobs done. We pay our taxes. We never forget people's birthday. So just let us be. (Coupland, 1998, 95)

Thus, the mere being and functioning as clogs in a machine defines their lives. Their existence is so spiritually sterile that they cannot even conceive that man could find himself against some greater pattern. Their lives stretch only between the tangible; they are limited to what is easily available. The job – producing monsters and dead bodies for the movie industry – is to compensate for the loss of their inner feelings. They live in the state described as the death of man as spirit. They have experienced the death of death, which means that spirituality is no longer a part of death (Kojève, in Lawler, 1999, 28). Thus Pam and Hamilton's workshop filled with "bodies bleeding […] bodies slated to vanish, bodies just returned from the beyond" (Coupland, 1998, 88) becomes the ultimate answer to the question concerning the afterlife or what is beyond. With every body they create, they learn there is nothing apart from matter, no spiritual core, no centre that is concealed – they can penetrate every bit of it. They have dismantled the mystery and they found nothing: the secret is not kept away from humans – the secret does not exist.

The numbness of their lives is vividly presented as it is rendered through the eyes of Karen. She wakes up to the world of her friends after seventeen years of being comatose. With her eyes fresh to the present moment because still rooted in the past, she gauges the world with the forgotten measure of authenticity. This allows her to discern the difference, and to state what has happened to the world: "There is 'hardness' I am seeing in modern people. Nobody seems to be able to endure simply being them 'selves'. The whole world is only about work: 'work work work get get get'" (Coupland, 1998, 153). The priorities she used to cherish have descended in the hierarchy. She feels incompatible with modern life. She sees a barren place, a wasteland: "A lack of convictions – of beliefs, of wisdom, or even of good old badness. No sorrow; no nothing" (Coupland, 1998, 213). As she conceives it, it is as if the whole world had no intrinsic aim. The purposefulness of man's actions is questioned because the world has no means to validate them. The aim, still crucial for her, becomes useless to her friends – they are efficient, working without it. She says: "Now there is only a 'system'. Other options have evaporated. For most people there is only the System or what... There is nothing" (Coupland, 1998, 154). She sees her friends unable to ascribe any goal to their lives annihilating anything that would restore meaning to their existence. Diagnosing the condition of man, she says: "We lost. Machines won" (Coupland, 1998, 142).

Man that emerges from Postmodernity is overwhelmed and conforms to the premises of an epoch, which offers the path of least resistance. However, as Coupland stresses, man has no obligation to blindly follow the path delineated by post-modern times. No matter how disintegrated and spiritually handicapped he might be, he remains able to take initiative to rebuild himself into a spiritually whole person. As Coupland sees it, Postmodernity might have deprived man of the basic tools to discern the meaning in form of either formal religion or a consistent set of rules, but it has not erased from his psyche the need for such an experience. It has very often only lost its vitality and strength; nevertheless, it has remained within primordial human needs. The experience of the need itself reveals man's discontent with the present situation, which subsequently propels him to initiate the search.

"We are the first generation raised without God" (Coupland, 2002, 56) thus the first generation that has inherited no spiritual legacy to act upon in order to experience the spiritual. Such a vivid image of young adults emerges from the novel, *Generation X.* Its protagonists lead the kind of life that has been long devoid of any spiritual dimension and does not offer any tool to restore it. In spite of that, the three of them, Andy, Dag and Clair realize that the one-dimensional life they have had so far is not a necessity; they are aware there exists some other world that could fully embrace their notion of existence, but it is not to be found in the reality at hand: it ceased to exist there the moment Postmodernity rejected the spiritual. Now man has to seek it in the realm Postmodernity had little access to: human psyche, which is the source of undistorted meaning.

Thus, in their search for the transcendent, Andy, Dag and Clair enter the world of literal bareness and sterility of form and structure. Only such simplified settings activate the creative workings of their psyches. To enable this, they set off to the desert where in a situation of material deprivation, they attempt to hear the hushed voices of their selves.

As they commence their journey, they find themselves in a universe with no narrative that could embrace their entire experience. They realize their primary task is to recreate the grand narrative of their lives – the fundamental set of values rooted in spirituality. They perceive telling stories as the only alternative to the post-modern world: "Either I am told as a story or I cease to exist" (Coupland, 2004a, 10). They rely on stories to provide them with a new means

to survive in the unwelcoming universe; they create a safe time pocket against hostile and changeable settings. The new universe they create to set their stories in, Texlahoma, is initially a linguistic creation that gains spiritual significance and becomes a mythic respite from the post-modern world. Texlahoma gradually comes to signify the transcendent: it demonstrates man's ability to detach from materialism and the need for such detachment.

While telling his story, Andy realizes that in his search he needs to look within himself. "So I came down here, to breathe dust and to try to read the letter inside me" (Coupland, 2004a, 66). He still might lack adequate means to translate the writing into his own language. However, the significance of the letter does not exclusively consist in its encoded meaning, but in its very presence and man's awareness of it. For Andy, reading the letter is secondary to having it. The letter is evidence that transcendence exists somewhere and might become attainable one day. It binds man to the world of the established hierarchy of values and gives him a sense of belonging. "The inner" of the letter is juxtaposed to "the outer" – the material, the tangible, the worldly. Experiencing the inner allows man to transcend that sphere and discern the glimpses of the spiritual.

What all the Couplandian characters suffer from, is the lack of depth; post-modern reality has demythologized their lives, deprived them of a sense of wonder, and from the drive towards the spiritual (Baran, 2003, 236). The *Generation X* characters find it disturbing and worrying that their lives cannot embrace their personal past. They rightly associate the past with a spiritual depth. They move back to their childhood recollections and attempt to find there, the moments undistorted by progress that might still preserve remnants of transcendence.

They invent a concept of "takeaway", a memory that is genuine and worth remembering, it's "one moment for you [that] defines what it's like to be alive on this plane..." (Coupland, 2004a, 104). What they come up with are not sophisticated memories but rather simple moments of genuine feelings experienced in detachment from the material world. For Dag, it is a smell of gasoline, a symbol of the future, a mystery and unpredictability, a yearning for the unknown – all that he lacks in his life today. Andy longs for the smell of bacon standing for forgone family togetherness and unconditional kindness and warmth. For Clair it is a snowflake – a symbol of evanescence and natural perfection.

Although these are not yet the conscious attempts to find the spiritual, they reveal the characters' fatigue with the post-modern materialism and the need for simpler truths. These memories allow them to re-enact these moments once more and finally become the instances of intensified meaning, their individually owned epiphanies. They constitute their own private mythology, which help them to enter the spiritual dimension. From now on, they will signpost the path that leads outward the material towards the spiritual.

In the final stage of the search, Coupland expressively states that Post-modern man needs transcendence. Postmodernity, its barren spiritual landscapes, and the omnipotence of the human mind, have raised a generation of spiritual orphans. Human beings, however, harbour within themselves a transcendental capacity; they seek adherence to transcendence. Referring to the words of Aristotle, human beings are composed of Actuality, the perfection, totality, fullness of being, and of Potentiality, the imperfection, incompleteness, and failure. Potentiality continually draws towards divinity that is all Actuality (*Aristotelian View of God*, 2002). Our worldly human component will unchangeably seek its fulfillment in the divine sphere.

However, the destructive influence of Postmodernity still affects the intensity of transcendental fulfillment. It has weakened man's strength of adherence to sacrum. The significant: "God is nowhere/ God is now here/God is nowhere/God is now here" (Coupland, 2004b, 9) presents Coupland's attitude towards the presence of divinity. The boundary between acceptance and denial of God is particularly thin and circumstance-dependent. In the post-modern era man tends to hover over these two, clinging to the one which offers a better remedy for the time being; steadfast faith and firm adherence have withered.

The new Couplandian concept of transcendence corresponds to what Richardson identifies as "this worldly transcendence" (Coupland, 2004b, 6), the experience of transcendence within a credible and comprehensible reality. Richardson delineates the path this worldly transcendence follows: it is signposted by love, hope, and commitment to a cause (Coupland, 2004b, 8). These three constitute a postmodern experience of transcendence accessible to the Couplandian protagonist. They provide an antidote to the disturbing symptoms of the epoch – loneliness, egoism, finitude and banality. The pursuit of

any of them helps man to exceed the post-modern limitation and introduces him to a metaphysical plane.

Coupland diagnoses loneliness to be the most perturbing condition and construes it to be the opposite of transcendence. The concept of loneliness as an ailment is visible in the philosophy of Charles Taylor (Taylor, 2002, 34). It is the ultimate price for erecting and enclosing oneself in a private simulacrum. The novel *Eleanor Rigby* becomes a Couplandian study of loneliness as conditioned by Postmodernity. The intensity of loneliness experienced by Liz, the main character, overshadows her entire life. Being deprived of the proximity of another human being, she becomes increasingly disconnected from the fundamental and established norms and values. No longer can she determine the purpose of her life as she is subject to no centre of gravity. She ressembles an autonomous monad hovering in her own universe detached from transcendental reality.

However, for a post-modern transcendentalist, like Coupland, spirituality may be miraculously recovered the moment man assumes responsibility for another human being. Thus, when Liz's son comes to participate in her life, his presence makes her weigh down towards a centre of gravity. Liz gradually wakes up to a new life that is now anchored in Jeremy's life. Her loneliness starts to crumble when she ties herself to Jeremy and when she appreciates the value of time shared with her son. She is able to conquer loneliness and embrace values she has had no access to.

Such transcendental reality created from closeness to and love for another person as presented in *Eleanor Rigby* corresponds to Kierkegaard's concept of transcendence. He asserts that a human person encounters God through love and giving oneself away to another. The act of forfeiting one's ego occasions entering a new transcendental realm and allows to sooth the conflicting "I". Thus, in Eleanor Rigby, Liz finds transcendence and fulfillment in the love that she feels, and the responsibility that she takes for her son. Moreover, her notion of life's finality changes significantly thereafter. She drifts away from being "a write-off" (Coupland, 2005, 71) towards the existence that expands over the finitude and embraces the notion of God. She chooses God as she conceives Him to be the cord to eternity: "There is death and life – people are aware of them, but there is also life after death, which means that death is not the finality, that life goes on and thus has to be shaped the way it could last forever" (Coupland, 2005, 223).

Couplandian characters harbour a profound need for the transcendent. Such is the overall message in *Life after God.* In this novel, Coupland attempts to find the answer to the concept of the expelled God. Far is he from ignoring the Sartrian proclamation of God being dead. Here, he focuses exclusively on the man for whom God ceased to exist for a moment in time; he attempts to face the far-reaching reverberations of a godless reality and provides his contemporaries with a new vocabulary of divine presence in post-Sartrian reality.

To be able to deal with a godless existence, man needs to learn to perceive it as such. The watchful scrutiny of one's spiritual life already consolidates it. Scout, the protagonist and the narrator of *Life after God,* bluntly acknowledges his life has been long disconnected from a divine presence; his self-examination crudely reveals the post-modern truth:

> I began to wonder what exactly I had believed in […]. This is not an easy thing to do. Precisely articulating one's beliefs is difficult […]. I had been raised without religion by parents who had broken their own past […] at the end of history, or so they had wanted to believe. (Coupland, 2002, 144)

As there are no guiding principles imbued by parents in the process of upbringing, Scout has no point of spiritual gravity to fall back on. Nevertheless, the act of bracketing one's life against any background is, as Tarnowski suggests, already a metaphysical experience that allows man to view his life within a broader perspective. The perception of reality in its entirety and the experience of its finality or depth constitute an act of transcendence (Coupland, 2002, 50). This attempt to embrace life in its entirety, in the Couplandian vocabulary, points out towards a new reality. It also allows to detach oneself from the "here and now" reality. It is also an act of liberation from the post-modern life of randomness and purposelessness.

In *Life after God,* Coupland stresses the significance of nature in restoring the transcendent "I". The natural scenery presents an alternative to post-modern chaotic and overwhelming architecture. Its inherent harmony and constant revival of all its elements enable man to regenerate. Nature, as was defined by Emerson, is the "providence of God," the sphere of God's workings and presence (Coupland, 2002, 45). Thus, the closer the post-modern man will get to it, the greater the chance for an encounter with God. Scout realizes that

nature retains meaning, which he might implement in his life. As long as he defines himself as a particle in its entire mechanism, he is capable of entering the transcendent realm; the realization of partaking in nature's cycle revivifies man's transcendent capability. In Coupland's words: "as long as there is wilderness, I know there is a larger part of myself that I can always visit, vast tracts of territory lying dormant, craving exploration and providing sanctity" (Coupland, 2002, 279).

The natural landscape – the desert – is also the place where he learns to appreciate the presence of another human being. The encounter with a stranger who approaches him in a most humane manner haunts his memory, engraves deeply in it, and ultimately widens his world view to include the presence of another human person: "I now see the drifter's wind-burned face when I now consider my world – his face that reminds me that there is still something left to believe in after there is nothing left to believe in" (Coupland, 2002, 173).

The encounter with another human being sets man apart from ordinariness, and reveals the meaning he would not otherwise experience, is, as Karol Tarnowski postulates, the encounter of the transcendent (Tarnowski, 1995, 55). The meeting with a human being who harbours within himself the virtue of goodness enables one to enter a transcendent plane – the goodness that radiates from the stranger establishes a transcendent bond, which triggers the spiritual changes within another human being (Tarnowski, 1995, 57).

Thus, as Coupland stresses, it is the presence of another person that builds up a transcendent plane of communication. In *Life after God* it happens through the recollection of a face. Such a stance is shared by Emmanuel Levinas in his philosophy of the face. The face symbolizes "the other" – the other human being or even God – who calls us from another plane and tells us to ascend beyond our own ego, our self-confidence and self-complacency. While interacting, man questions his egoism and assumes responsibility for another person. The face, as Levinas argues, is always a call, an order to abandon one's own sphere, to transcend one's own simulacra, to open oneself onto either another person or God. The epiphany of the face regenerates the genuine relationship and draws towards a stability of divine principles.

The final message Coupland conveys in *Life after God*, is that the world the post-modern man inhabits is an articulation of divine prin-

ciples. Coupland embraces the notion of God in every particle of reality. He is imminent, that is, He is permanently capable of entering human life. It is not man who waits to be invited to a divine dance, but it is God who waits for that invitation to participate in our lives. Life in the name of God's principles proves to be the only alternative to life in Postmodernity, or to use Coupland's wording "the only alternative to extinction" (Coupland, 2002, 34). These values are the only constants for the ever-changing post-modern world and constitute the ultimate point of reference for those searching for moral and spiritual stability.

Through the spiritual search, Scout finally arrives at the ultimate revelation of God's presence. Finally he is able to articulate that his life is a part of the divine scheme:

> My secret is that I need God – that I am sick and can no longer make it alone. I need God to help me give, because I no longer seem to be capable of giving; to help me be kind, as I no longer seem capable of kindness; to help me love as I seem beyond being able to love. (Coupland, 2002, 289)

Scout clearly realizes to what extent Postmodernity has rendered him spiritually handicapped. He examines his condition and puts forward an apt diagnosis: life in deprivation of God is no longer possible. Without spiritual values man is unable to live a wholesome life and be a complete human person. As Coupland emphasizes, this is the secret and the truth the post-modern man has been denying: the Sartrian world belied God's protective and fulfilling presence, establishing man at the pinnacle of the universe and bestowing upon him absolute freedom. However, "[the] secret is that I need God […] and can no longer make it alone" (Coupland, 2002, 289). I, as the Couplandian character would assert, no longer enjoy that kind of freedom; no longer do I desire to grope in the dark. I have grown to realize I need God's protection and his guidance so that I do not feel lost. Or to use Scout's words: "[I need] these [God's] hands – the hands that care, the hands that mould; the hands that touch the lips, the lips that speak the words – the words that tell us we are whole" (Coupland, 2002, 290).

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