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Nokoko is an open-access journal promoting dialogue, discourse and debate on Pan-Africanism, Africa, and Africana. *Nokoko* brings forward the foundational work of Professor Daniel Osabu-Kle and his colleagues when they started the Journal of Pan-African Wisdom in 2005. 'Nokoko' is a Ga word that means something that is new, novel, surprising and interesting. The journal offers a venue for scholarship to challenge enduring simplified views of Africa and the African diaspora, by providing other perspectives and insights that may be surprising, interesting, and refreshing.

Combining spaces for academic and community reflection, *Nokoko* creates an opportunity for discussion of research that reflects on the complicated nature of pan-African issues. It provides a forum for the publication of work from a cross disciplinary perspective that reflects scholarly endeavour, policy discussions, practitioners' reflections, and social activists' thinking concerning the continent and beyond. Hosted by the Institute of African Studies at Carleton University (in Ottawa, Canada), *Nokoko* provides a space for emerging and established scholars to publish their work on Africa and the African diaspora.

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Contributors

Heather Donkers a new law student at Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto, Canada. She recently completed an honours degree at Queen's University in Global Development Studies and Sociology, with a certificate in Sexual and Gender Diversity. Heather wrote her article for Nokoko as a result of her time spent interning in Johannesburg during her undergraduate degree, and based it on a growing interest in how sexual violence is perceived by criminal justice systems. At Osgoode, she is an Associate Editor at the Osgoode Hall Law Journal, a volunteer at Pro Bono Students Canada, and is assisting on a research project that aims to expose best practices for the treatment of domestic violence in the Canadian court system. Heather hopes to return one day to South Africa, and aims to pursue a career in international criminal law with a focus on violence against women, war crimes, and genocide.

Brittany M. Hopkin was born in Western Australia, and received a Bachelor of Arts in English Literature (Honours) from Mount Royal University in Calgary, Canada. Her research interests include post-colonial criticism, human rights and decolonization, and the connections between neocolonialism and political violence. In particular, Brittany is interested in the sociology of violence and its intersection with race and gender. During her undergraduate career, Brittany received several scholarships in recognition of her writing, including the Edith Park Scholarship for English Literature, and was nominated to be a member of the Golden Key International Honours Society. Brittany has presented papers at a variety of academic conferences, and plans to continue to participate in such discussions by pursuing a Master's Degree in English Literature. Currently, Brittany lives and teaches English in South Korea.

Claudia Howald is a social anthropologist with a MA in social sciences from the University of Neuchâtel (Switzerland). In her Master thesis she worked on internal displacement, social movements and humanitarian interventions in the Colombian Pacific region. Since 2012 she lives with her family in Quibdó (Colombia), where she has worked as researcher and lecturer at the Fundación Universitaria Claretiana, in close collaboration with Church and social organizations, on research issues around Black communities, mining, natural resources and armed conflict. She's actually member of ASINCH (*Asociación para las investigaciones culturales del Chocó*) with whom she's worked on sexuality, gender, race and youth in urban Black contexts in Chocó.

Sophia Jesow is a Masters Candidate in Public Policy at Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy. Sophia graduated from York University in 2015 and holds a double major in International Development Studies and African Studies. Her research interests in-

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Wangui Kimari is a final year PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology at York University. Her project historicizes urban planning in Nairobi from the vantage point of 'slum' residents and this work draws attention to the connections between formal urban spatial management and police violence in the city.

Suvi Lensu is a social scientist and an activist who has been interested in citizenship rights for as long as she can remember. She holds an MA in Latin American Studies from Stockholm University and a BA in African Studies from SOAS (School of African Studies and Oriental Studies) at London University. Suvi has worked in several research projects and for human rights organization in Latin America and in her native country Finland. As a researcher, Suvi has focused on the subjects of globalization, post-colonial identity, gender, migration, and politics of borders. Personally, she is particularly interested in the intersection between the questions of gender equality, political decision-making and daily lives of people around the world. Enthusiastic about film, Suvi believes the ways in which identities are written and performed offer an endlessly inspiring field for exploring social change.

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Daniel Tubb is an economic and environmental anthropologist. He joined the University of New Brunswick in 2016. From 2014 to 2016, He was a Visiting Fellow at the Program in Agrarian Studies at Yale University. He earned a PhD in anthropology from Carleton University in 2014, where he conducted doctoral research on gold mining and the political economy of natural resource extraction with Afro-descendant communities in northwest Colombia.

The cover photo is by Claudia Howald of Salvador and Seferino in Quibdó, Chocó, Colombia, 2011.

Editorial Notes

Notes on the diaspora, and other things

Wangui Kimari and Daniel Tubb

One of the pleasures of editing *Nokoko* is the breadth of submissions. One of the challenges is editing a special issue amidst such plenty, while remaining committed to publishing all cogent contributions. This issue brings together three articles for a special issue on the theme of the African diaspora conceived broadly: cutting edge work which addresses the Somali community in Toronto, the metaphysics of migration found in transnational African cinema, and the displacement of black communities in the Pacific northwest of Colombia. Bookending these are four articles, which demonstrate our breadth: a reading of oral poetry as text and a thick description of a festival as theatre, both from Nigeria; a critique of closed caption television and policing in Johannesburg; and, from a promising new scholar, a review of the colonial legacies which lead to the genocidal violence in Rwanda.

How do shifting relationships of gender and work shape the lived experiences of people who have left Africa? How do Somali

market women in Toronto benefit from their social networks? Sophia Jesow addresses these questions with her article "African Canadian" (pp. 83–91) about social networks, which, she argues, help reduce the socio-economic and linguistic barriers that Somali women in the Greater Toronto area face. Jesow, herself a speaker of Somali and a researcher of immigration, settlement, transnational networks, and health care, conducted over 200 hours of participant observation in *Suuqa Ceelgaab*, a Somali shopping centre located in Rexdale, Toronto, where Somali women occupy all of the 100 rental units. To this, Jesow adds both formal and informal interviews with over 50 women in both individual and group settings and an analysis of the secondary literature. Jesow shows how Somali women in Toronto face challenges in accessing the labor market, overcoming language barriers, and having their qualifications recognized. At the *Suuqa Ceelgaab*, the community of Somali women benefit from what Jesow describes as an 'ethnic economy.' These female social networks within the Somali immigrant community allow women to address their social, economic, and linguistic challenges, to confront feelings of loneliness and alienation, and to face gendered and racialized challenges from living in the diaspora in Toronto. Jesow contributes a nuanced analysis of a suburban mall to a growing literature on black social economies in the Americas.

The experience of the diaspora is, of course, neither recent nor just a story of immigration to North American cities. What do other experiences of migration and displacement say about lives in motion? What do reflections on Afro-descendant social movements in rural and urban contexts in other parts of the Americas illuminate? What can life histories of migration tell about the lives of people forced to move? Claudia Howald, a researcher and lecturer based at FUCLA University in Quibdó, the capital of the northwest Colombian province of the Chocó, addresses these issues in her brilliant French language article "*Paysans, afrocolombiens, déplacés*" (Peasants, Afro-Colombians, and the Displaced, pp. 135–170). She writes in a

nuanced way about Afro-Colombian peasant leaders displaced from rural to urban contexts in the Chocó, where the population is 90% Afro-Colombian and descended from former slave communities. Howald turns to Afro-Colombian leaders to explore how displaced rural Afro-descendent peasants arrived in the city after being forced from their land by armed conflict; many settled in the 'neighbourhood of the displaced' in Quibdó, which they call Villa España. Howald describes the role of local and international networks in responding to violence on the Lower Atrato in the 1980s and 1990s. The history Howald describes address the creation of an ethnic consciousness and political, cultural, and social-contestations using ethnography and life histories, or what she calls *trajectoire de vie*. The contribution weaves together a life history of an urban community whose population was displaced by rural war and violence in the 1990s, and formed ethnic associations after the 1991 Constitution to defend a territory wrapped up in imaginaries of ethnicity and environment. Howald brings a new perspective to ethnic communities and leadership in the Colombian Pacific, and shows how an urban community became a rallying cry for political organizing to fight for local concerns, recognition, and land claims all intertwined with particular people's lives. The article contributes to the growing literature on Afro-descendant social movements in rural and urban contexts in Latin America.

What does diaspora itself mean? How is the term deployed? How can a focus on diaspora create connections and uncover relationships, even as it renders other phenomena less important? How might film provide insight into the diasporic, migratory, and displaced identity? What does home mean? Suvi Lensu, a social scientist and an activist who works on globalization, post-colonial identity, gender, migrations, and borders, opens this issue with her phenomenal article "Filming Home, Plurality of Identity, Belonging and Homing in Transnational African Cinema" (pp. 1–34). In this article, Lensu offers a subtle discussion of transnational African cinema

using a case study of three films. Lensu meditates on the meanings of home and belonging in an increasingly transnational and multicultural world: How is home transformed and what does rootedness mean for an increasingly mobile and deterritorialized people? The article deftly tackles this meaty theme and the metaphysics of diaspora through an analysis of three 'transnational African films' which explore what home means inside and outside of that most conjured yet non-existent country—Africa. The first, *Restless Wandering* by Nouri Bouzid (2009), is one of ten short films in the *L'Afrique Vue Par* collection. *Restless Wandering* takes place in the old ruins of Tunisia; the film focuses on the interactions between a group of children and a West African *griot*—a keeper of oral cultural tradition and heritage. A security guard breaks up an exchange between the children and the *griot*, in what Lensu reads as a pan-African encounter between various colonial histories from the north and south. Tunisia becomes an appropriate setting both as home of the filmmaker Bouzid and as a transit route for illegal migrants to Europe. Lensu reads the film as a Pan-Africanist meditation set in a transit point, a way-station place of becoming diaspora, crossing borders, and going elsewhere. *That's My Face / É a Minha Cara* (USA, 2001) by African-American filmmaker Thomas Allen Harris crosses the ocean to address African spirituality and identity from New York to Tanzania to Brazil, where he takes on diasporic spirituality through *Candomblé*— a religious practice with which Harris identifies strongly. *The Place in Between / Notre Étrangère* (Burkina Faso, 2009) by Sarah Bouyain is set in Bobo-Dioulasso, the second largest city of Burkina Faso, and Paris. Bouyain explores leavings and families and what Lensu reads as a transnational space, the diasporic space in which all people from multicultural backgrounds and otherwise live. Lensu's brilliant exegesis of three films becomes a meditation on African transnational cinema, the genre that Lensu locates beyond the trope of 'Africa' usually found in film, the Africa of the colonial gaze which historic and contemporary cinema continues to reproduce. The article pro-

vocatively explores the meaning of home, intertwined and interwoven with identity in mutually constituting ways: Home becomes a production, a process, a feeling, a psychological state of mind, a place most alive in the imagination. Lensu deftly interprets these films against the literature on nomadism, and sets the stage for a vision of lives in motion, too often forgotten in the histories of sedentary people, which ignore shifting identities, movements, and relationships between insiders and outsiders.

In conceiving this special issue, we were interested in themes of identity, of new and unexpected connections between the diaspora outside of Africa and social movement organizing, urban and rural identities, and so on. We wanted to explore how identity becomes a rallying cry for political organizing to fight for local political concerns, recognition, and land claims. How social networks forged through shared diasporic experience create forms of social solidarity. And, how the imagination of home and away leads to shifting understanding of diaspora itself. While this special issue has not been an exhaustive contribution to understanding diasporic lives, it is clear that these three articles do contribute rich perspectives.

The remainder of the articles turn to other themes. Emmanuel Avwarosuọghẹnẹ Mede, who teaches language courses at Delta State University in Nigeria and researches English and the Urhobo language in the Niger Delta region, provides a linguistic analysis of three Urhobo poems in "A Discourse Analysis of Three Selected Urhobo Oral Poems" (pp. 65–81). The 'Ile-eha' is a genre of oral poetry often performed informally in village playgrounds in the evenings as a form of recreation. This reading undertakes an analysis of three poems, and shows how they possess qualities amenable to rich textual representation. In the piece, Mede makes a compelling case for the literary value of the poetry itself, even as many aspects of the oral performances are untranslatable to English, because they convey nuanced sensations of color, smell, and texture in ways unique to Urhobo poetry.

Peter Emuejevoke Omoko, who teaches English at Delta State College of Physical Education in Mosogar, Nigeria and who studies translation and folklore, offers another analysis from Urhoboland through a study of a dramatic performance in his rich description of "The Dramatic and Poetic Contents of the Idju Festival of the Agbarha-Ame People of Warri" (pp. 93-122). Omoko describes the bi-annual festival with its intense ritualistic activities, a war duel, and a war dance. Omoko argues that the festival is an important cultural dramatic practice, understandable within its own worldview and aesthetics. The festival is a cultural event and an art performance with human and spiritual components, whose drama and poetry emerge to create an identity. Omoko argues that the festival performance contributes to an emerging heritage in Nigeria and Urhoboland amenable to analysis as a dramatic performance.

Brittany M. Hopkin, who researches post-colonial criticism, human rights, decolonization, and violence, race, and gender, addresses genocidal violence in Rwanda. Despite the fact that her article "Black against black, blood against blood" (pp. 34–64) addresses the oft-written subject of the Rwandan genocide, Hopkin undertakes a brilliant review essay which makes a compelling case that the 1994 genocidal violence in Rwanda can be traced to deep colonial histories of Belgian colonization. Hopkin details how the Belgians created tensions between Tutsi and the Hutus; the former being who the colonial 'masters' created as the ideal ruler, and the latter the ruled. Hopkin argues this fueled later to a post-colonial violence, the ferocity of which culminated in the genocide. The incompetence of the United Nations and the imperial countries makes the colonial ideology clear, and fanned the tensions between Hutu and Tutsi, leading to the genocide. Hopkin makes a provocative argument, her prose is lucid, and she leaves us to ponder how disturbing legacies of colonialism lead to violence.

Heather Donkers, a law student at Osgoode Hall in Toronto, offers "Is Surveillance the Solution?" (pp. 123–134),. Her brief contri-

bution traces the installation of closed circuit television surveillance in the late 1990s and early 2000s by the police department of Johannesburg. Donkers follows the violence in Johannesburg back to apartheid South Africa, and includes in this broad category of violence high crime rates, disparities in wealth and poverty, attacks on migrants, and segregation. She looks at how Johannesburg became the crime capital of South Africa and the hyper-surveillance, through CCTV cameras, that became the 'solution' taken up by the metropolitan police department. Donkers argues that this project might have generally improved the functioning of the police, but for the fact that it had poor and unarticulated goals. On the one hand, she finds little evidence to show that CCTV reduced crime, and argues, on the other hand, that they made certain kinds of crime invisible. Essentially, this technological solution solved crimes that impacted predominantly white, urban, upper classes, while it made invisible crimes against others, especially sexual crimes against black women. She concludes by advocating for other crime reduction projects, as part of larger response to crime, violence, and fear in Johannesburg.

Nokoko 5 brings together these seven articles that demonstrate both the breadth and the depth of our concerns: The fields *Nokoko* serves are indeed vibrant.

Filming Home, Plurality of Identity, Belonging and Homing in Transnational African Cinema

A Case Study of the Films *Restless Wandering, The Place in Between,* and *That's My Face*

Suvi Lensu

> *Are you lost?*
>
> *Me, lost? I never get lost. When you don't remember where you're going, remember where you come from. And you will never get lost.*
>
> *A griot in Restless Wandering*

Introduction

To feel at *home*, to feel one *belongs*, is essential for identity construction. For long the prevailing premise has been that because people develop emotional ties to a place and to community, nomadic lifestyle engenders a sense of homelessness (Cuba and Hummon 1993: 547-8). Although the first claim is unquestionably true, the latter belief is being challenged by our ever more transnational and multicultural world, where the concepts of home and belonging are going

through significant transformations. For many, 'home' has lost its meaning as being something rooted in one particular place or community. As people are increasingly more mobile and de-territorialised, home becomes imagined and invented through diasporas, and their memories, and through new, digital forms of community. The subfield of intercultural cinema in particular has tackled the issue of belonging in transnational space. It has explored questions such as what does it mean to have a plural meaning for home, and for belonging that can move in-between various cultures and borders? Consequently, intercultural filmmakers have discovered new affective methods and techniques to depict the quest for identities and homes. The objective of this article is to study these discoveries by analyzing three African transnational films *Restless Wandering* (2009), *The Place in Between* (2010), and *That's My Face* (2001).

Thomas Allen Harris, here holding an 8mm camera, used old and new 8mm footage to make the film That's my Face (E Minha Cara). Photo Courtesy of Chimpanzee Productions.

Central to my analysis is what it means to be at home. As stated above, home and identity are closely linked concepts. They form and shape one another. Just as our identities go through transformations in different stages of life, our identities can also be reconstructed and recreated during the course of migration and moving. Stuart Hall usefully defines identity as a "'production', which is never complete [and] always in process" (1996: 210). Hall's description allows us to see identity as something ever fluid and dynamic. Due to its adaptable and plural characteristics it can be attached to multiple places and layers at the same time. This article translates Hall's notion of identity-as-process to the idea of home, discussing home as a production in a process. In this article home is understood as an abstract concept, a feeling of belonging to a place or places. Home can be imagined and/or it can be a psychological state of mind. When referring to a place or a territory where a person has created a deep attachment I use the word *homeland.* Naturally, these concepts can overlap and are sometimes inseparable.

Throughout my research I found the quest for finding home particularly significant for filmmakers from the African diaspora. They have increasingly explored what Africa has meant to those outside the continent and how to return to Africa metaphorically (Hall 1996: 218). For many pan-Africanism has been an important facet to be included in their work. To define the ideology and the movement of pan-Africanism I borrow the definition by Lemmelle and Kelley (1994: 4) who discuss pan-Africanism as the contact between Africa and its diaspora. The running theme in pan-Africanism has been the historical links between countries resisting slavery, colonialism and imperialism (Ibid). Similarly, the contact between the continent and the diaspora has been one of the central themes in African transnational cinema. In this paper no boundary is created between continent-based African filmmakers over African diaspora filmmakers. I see all three filmmakers reviving memories and heritage of African cultures that invoke a feeling of home and a sense of belonging. The films call attention to the process of how to re-create African and/or diaspora identities and belonging in transnational space.

Although Africa is the connecting theme between the three works discussed here, these films not only discuss home inside and outside of Africa but also one's place in between many cultures. Without focusing on specific ethnicities, African nationalities or diasporas, the aim is to study the filming of home in African 'intercultural cinema,' which is defined by Laura Marks as a form of moving picture art representing experiences of living between two or more cultures or living as a minority. Because intercultural cinema cannot be confined to a single culture, and it moves between and within cultures, it is a valuable genre in the exploration of the concept of home in an increasingly transnational world (Marks 2000: 1, 6). As Hamid Naficy accurately observes, transnational filmmakers create "sites for intertextual, cross-cultural, and transnational struggles over meanings and identities" (Naficy quoted in Marks 2000: 7). Both Naficy's and Marks' theories help us to analyze transnational cinema and its representations of home.

I start the article by mapping out the literature on transnationalism and identity construction, and intercultural cinema. The literature selected specifically discusses belonging and feeling at home. In particular, I draw on the works of Liisa Malkki, Gaim Kibreab, Avtar Brah, Laura Marks and Hamid Naficy. This discussion will be followed by a close analysis of how the three case study films 'film home.' Finally, before the conclusion, the section 'Home as a Journey' will explore some of the joint findings of the films.

The first film analyzed is a short film titled *Restless Wandering* (2009) by Tunisian filmmaker Nouri Bouzid. It explores issues of modernity, nation-statehood, and border control in contemporary African societies. Further, the film explores how sedentarist metaphysics is a challenge for some people with more traditional notions of belonging and feeling at home in Africa. In this film, the confrontation between tradition and modernity is represented through two characters: a West African griot and a Tunisian security officer. The second film analyzed is *That's My Face* (2001) by African-American filmmaker Thomas Allen Harris. In this biographical documentary Harris goes for a one man's journey to discover his African spirituality in Brazil. The final film analyzed is *The Place in*

Between (2010) by a French director of Burkinabé heritage, Sarah Bouyain. *The Place in Between* is a fictional film, though it also has some autobiographical features, portraying a young woman's return to Burkina Faso from France in search of her biological mother.

All three films can be considered to belong to the genre of intercultural cinema and therefore they share a common foundation from which we can explore the concept of home. However, the differences in their styles and narration are also very useful to draw comparisons. In relation to Bouzid's and Bouyain's work the cinematic style in Harris' documentary is much more alternative and experimental. Additionally, since there are fewer female than male filmmakers working today (in Africa and the West), Bouyain's *The Place in Between* is a useful example to account for the female perspective, which in diaspora cinema has often been marginalized (Foster 1997:1). Finally, it is important to note that the conceptual approach of each artist is distinct. Whereas Bouzid's griot longs for continental Pan-African reconstruction, Sarah Bouyain's film studies postcolonial exile identity. Harris, on the other hand, is in search of African diasporic belonging. Indeed, the artists are situated in different historical, geographical and conceptual positions, yet their quest for what is home is a consequence of globalization. Instead of focusing on each of their conceptual positioning as such, my aim is to understand how home in African transnational cinema can be perceived and explored in various ways.

Literature Review: Identity and Home in Transnational Space

Increased global cultural interaction has brought people closer and made them more aware of each other than ever before; the increasing movement of people has become a defining character of global politics, economics, and culture. The world is more condensed due to the accelerated movement of information and capital. While different populations are more inter-linked, they have also become increasingly de-attached from their countries origin and their original homes (Malkki 1992: 25). De-territorialization, a weakening of ties

between culture and place, has been described as the central force of the modern world (Appadurai 1990: 11). Edward Said (1979: 18) also describes this period of globalization as the "generalized condition of homelessness." Further, Daniel Warner characterizes the contemporary world as being a place where "we are all refugees" or "tourists" (Warner quoted in Kibreab 1999: 385).

Although exile and territorial displacement are not new or exclusively post-modern phenomena they have more analytical visibility today due to a higher degree of research on the topic (Malkki 1992:24). In her research, anthropologist Liisa Malkki suggests that people's deep attachment to a place is significant in identity construction. However, drawing from nomadic metaphysics, one's territory does not necessarily define identity itself. Malkki further observes that in this time of 'generalized condition of homelessness,' it is more visible than ever before how identities are more fluid rather than fixed. During the process of de-territorialization, identities continue to be re-constructed and re-created throughout a person's lifetime. Consistent with Hall's notion of identity discussed above, Malkki sees identity as "always mobile and processual, partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, a status, a label, a weapon, a shield, [and] a fund of memories" (Malkki 1992:37). The emphasis in her work is on plurality of identity, which may be attached to multiple places while living in them, remembering and imagining them.

While Malkki has emphasized the de-territorialization that is seen to be underway in the global world, Gaim Kibreab (1999) has argued that the era of globalization has in fact reinforced re-territorialization of identity, home and homeland. Accordingly, Kibreab believes that, increasingly, people are leaning towards their own cultural, racial, historical and spatial belonging (Kibreab1999: 385). He draws from sedentarist metaphysics, which conceives that one's culture and identity derive from a specific place and from a sense of belonging to somewhere. Moreover, sedentarists believe

that territory provides the basis of morality. Sedentarist thinking has led to a belief that people who are uprooted from their own culture and sense of belonging can suffer from immorality and a lack of identity (Malkki 1992: 31-2). Therefore, the exclusion and alienation of 'the other'[1], is greater than ever. As the displaced 'others' can be received with hostility, the desire to return to one's 'natural place', or physical home, has become increasingly important (Kibreab 1999:408).

Acknowledging Kibreab's notion of the desire to return home, especially in circumstances when one has been violently de-territorialised, it is also important to outline that desire is not always material, but rather imagined. Avtar Brah (1996: 181) argues that in an era which is so strongly defined and driven by the movements of people, the "'[diaspora space]' is 'inhabited' not only by those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous." By indigenous Brah means those who do not live in exile or posses a multicultural back-ground. Yet they are deeply affected by transnationalism through multicultural people close to them and through the blending of var-ious cultures. In her discourse about belonging Brah takes into ac-count a 'homing' desire but distinguishes it from the desire to return to a homeland, which may not be as compelling, as we all already live in a diaspora space. Home can simultaneously be a mythical place of desires and imagination while also being the lived experi-ence of locality (Brah 1996:192). Thus, "[t]he *concept* of diaspora places the discourse of 'home' and 'dispersion' in creative tension, *inscribing a homing desire while simultaneously critiquing the discourses of fixed origins*" (Brah 1996:193; italics in original). Brah believes that because of diaspora and the diasporic space in which we live, the concept of home can be perceived in new and more creative

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1   'The other' can be seen as someone who differs from the majority population, for example on the basis of ethnicity, religion or nationality. For a more detailed discussion see Julia Kristeva's Powers of Horror (Kristeva & Roudiez, 1982) and Edward Said's Orientalism (1988).

ways. Understanding that every human has a strong desire to belong and to feel at home, this feeling does not need to derive from a person's natural place or place of origin. This 'homing' desire (rather than the desire to return to a homeland) is central to transnationalism and multiculturalism and to the films discussed here.

Since the beginning of the 1990s academia has seen a growing interest in the issues of identity and transnationalism. This research has increasingly focused on subfields of post-colonialism, multiculturalism and diaspora studies. Similarly, mainstream-media has also given an increasingly larger space for narratives of transnationalism (Shohat and Stam 2003:1). The engagement of the media with transnational identities can be very prominent in the process of fulfilling the homing desire. For people who live outside of their homelands, who belong to more than one culture, or who may be disconnected from their families, imagination begins to play a vital role in social life.

Arjun Appadurai (1990) has suggested that the image, the imagined and the imaginary are the components for the new global order. For people living geographically distanced from the places and people they feel attachment to, the imagination has become a new social practice. Media creates imagined lives for those living outside of their physical homelands. Moreover, subjects of home, homelessness, identity formation and transnationalism have become ever more popular in artistic expressions. As Appadurai (1990: 11) writes: "[D]eterritorialization creates new markets for film companies, art impresarios and travel agencies who thrive on the need of a de-territorialized population for contact with its homeland." Media engages people, places and imagined communities with distant places significantly impacting on national and transnational identity and communal belonging (Shohat and Stam 2003:1-2). In other words, the media has become a catalyzer for multicultural affiliations and transnational identifications, and a significant way of accessing 'home'.

Cinema as a Catalyzer for Transnationalism

In intercultural and transnational cinema, filmmakers draw from various cultures, memories and attachments. For transnational filmmakers questions of home, identity, nation and belonging are often central to their work (Naficy 2001: 6-9). The importance of their work lies in the way they challenge cultural separateness. Since their films are multicultural and hybrid, giving voice to multicultural scenes and settings, they can move between the dominant cultural relations and make racist and colonial settings visible (Marks 2000: xii). Hamid Naficy (2001) has further emphasized that films made by filmmakers with multicultural backgrounds often share similarities in the cinematic style and narratives. If we simply categorize transnational films under, for example, genres of national[2], Third Cinema[3], ethnic cinema[4] or identity cinema[5] we misread films that reflect transnationalism and multiculturalism (Naficy 2001: 19). As a result, Naficy proposes a more appropriate term, 'accented cinema.' However, it is important to keep in mind that these filmmakers do not only work on the borders, but also "inhabit the interstitial spaces of not only the host society but also the main film industry" (Naficy, 1999: 133).

Naficy discusses three overlapping types of films which all have characteristics of what he calls accented cinema: exilic, diasporic and

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2   National cinema can mean a government funded film-industry or a cinema specifically concentrated on representing a country or a nation. It often concentrates on informing the viewer much about the nation, people, and national issues occurring. The term "national cinema" is a subject of debate in the field of film studies, disagreements deriving from questions such as how to define "a nation". Some of the famous examples of national cinema are Russian and Iranian cinemas. For further interest see Vitali and Willemen (2006).

3   Third Cinema started in Latin America in the late 1960s as a political cinematic movement strongly resisting colonialism and neo-colonialism, and artistically challenging hegemonic Hollywood cinematic style and its representation. See Solanans and Getino (1969).

4   Ethnic cinema emerges from the conflict between descent relations, emphasising the bloodline and ethnicity of the filmmaker. See Naficy (2001: 15).

5   Identity cinema often focuses in the country in which the filmmaker resides, and in that context discusses spilt identities or minority identities within majority identifications. See (Naficy 2001: 15-16).

ethnic films. John Durham Peters (1999: 18-20) distinguishes the differences between the categories. To Peters, exile is a painful banishment from home and is often experienced in solitariness rather than in community. Exile invokes home and homeland via longing and fantasizing. Diaspora is often a collective experience in which people are tied via a network to their compatriots. Home is more comfortably imagined and return is not seen as necessary or even desired. Whereas, ethnic films are most concerned with a specific group and they are associated with identity cinema. As Naficy (2001:15) explains:

> [E]xilic cinema is dominated by its focus on there and then in the homeland, diasporic cinema by its vertical relationship to the homeland and by its lateral relationship to the diaspora communities and experiences, and postcolonial ethnic and identity cinema by its exigencies of life here and now in the country in which the filmmaker resides.

Thus, diasporic cinema becomes the crossing point in the filmmaking of these three different types. The emphasis of accented films is on their heterogeneity. They can overlap with each other and establish different relationship to places. Some highlight their relation to their host while others to their home country.

Despite the different approaches Naficy argues there is a frequent theme in accented films, which is a return narrative. The filmmakers are often situated at borders. These can be physical or metaphorical marked by, for instance, race, class, gender, or membership or a citizenship (Naficy 2001:31). They articulate the place in between which the transnational filmmakers occupy. Naficy (2001:33) highlights that the return, crossing the border or seeking or escaping home can be as much psychological and metaphorical as physical. Further, the films tend to have an autobiographical signature, where the filmmakers draw deeply from their own memories and experiences. As in Third Cinema, the films are often politically engaged. But unlike Third Cinema, they do not focus so much on national allegories, but reveal the racist, colonial and hegemonic

power relations between cultures through more personal and private storytelling (Ibid).

Although Laura Marks does not clearly categorize intercultural films as a genre, as Naficy does with 'accented cinema', they both attempt to theorize how the imagination is a key component used in intercultural cinema. The imagination discussed here is constructed by memories and experiences. Because we feel, remember and sense most strongly with our bodies, the conclusion of both authors is that imagination in film is sensed strongest via cinematic elements and narratives, which excite an embodied experience in the viewer. The human body is experienced externally through mediums such as mirrors, photography, films and the gaze of others, and internally by our own vision and proprioception (Naficy 2001:28). Considering the body itself as a home, "it provides our original and initial opening upon the access to the world" (Sobchack 1999: 47). In exilic experiences the body can be traumatized by, for instance, the hostility and racism of the new living environment, or it can be alienated because of a deviant dress, style or skin color (Naficy 2001:28). Moreover, the exile can become a "somatic experience, in which the subject's own body, or image, is appropriated by an external agency" (Wagstaff and Everett quoted in Dovey 2009b: 60). Therefore, Naficy proposes that through bodily experiences memories and associations of home can be evoked. They can be sensed by a touch, a smell or perhaps a mother tongue heard spoken in a street. Accented filmmakers tend to use tactile optics which evoke senses such as touch and smell and other sense memories, thereby memorializing and "recollecting the images, sounds, smells, people, places, and times they left behind" (Naficy 2001:29).

Instead of talking about 'tactile optics' like Naficy, Marks proposes that many intercultural films are 'visually haptic'. Her argument is that filmmakers, when positioned in between cultures, tend to look for new methods of visual expression. Whereas Western art has prioritized the sense of sight to express knowledge and experi-

ence, intercultural filmmakers in search or longing for home and memories draw on and evoke 'embodied' experiences in their film. Marks describes this as follows:

> Haptic visuality is distinguished from optical visuality, which sees things from enough distance to perceive them as distinctive forms in deep space: in other words, how we usually conceive a vision. […] Haptic looking tends to move over the surface of its object rather than plunge into illusionistic depth, not to distinguish form so much as to discern texture. It is more inclined to move than to focus, more inclined to graze than to gaze. (Marks 2000: 162)

In other words, she argues that senses such as touch and smell are primary senses. Through touching, for instance, the whole body engages with the sensation. This is because a touch is experienced on the surface of the body; the sense is inseparable from us. On the other hand, sight or sound can be distanced from the viewer or listener. In films where haptic visuality is present, we are more engaged with the picture, which can evoke more intense feelings and memories. Marks (2000:163) continues:

> [H]aptic perception privileges the material presence of the image.
> …[I]mages that are so 'thin' and unclichéd that the viewer must bring his or her resources of memory and imagination to complete them. The haptic image forces the viewer to contemplate the image itself instead of being pulled into the narrative.

Marks offers several examples of techniques which can provoke haptic visuality in relation to a film, such as: close-to-the-body camera positions, characters in actions of smelling, touching, or tasting, changes in focus and under- and over-exposed film. These observations by Marks and Nacify's, together with Brah's notion of 'homing desires', will be utilized when analyzing the films Restless Wandering, *That's My Face and The Place in Between.*

Representation of Africa and Exilic People

It is important to briefly state why the films discussed here have been selected. While both Africans and exilic peoples (immigrants, refugees, diasporic peoples), as subjects, have often been marginalized and victimized, the films here are narratives where the protagonists and filmmakers are locating their own destiny and place.

In his essay "How to Write about Africa", Kenyan-born Binyavanga Wainana (2005) writes about how *Africa* (as though it were *a country*) has been represented in media and literature only as a continent suffering from endless wars, illnesses and disasters. Africans are victimized and alienated in the eyes of the reader. They are voiceless and homogeneous people without an active role in their own destiny. In his article Wainana (2006) satirically comments how Africans have been stereotyped:

> [The typical] African characters may include naked warriors [and a] loyal servant, [who] always behaves like a seven-year-old and needs a firm hand… [and the characters should] always include *The* Starving African, who wanders the refugee camp nearly naked, and waits for the benevolence of the West.

In the early days of motion pictures, Africa was not only homogenized and victimized, but its cinematic representation was also racist. For filmmakers in the early 20th century, Africa offered a new, exotic and bizarre setting for films. As Peter Davis (1996:3) writes: "[T]he pictures of the native people [were] scarcely distinguishable from those of the animal trophies. Africa was a hunting-ground for the white man and when Hollywood seized on Africa, this was the Africa it offered." Over a century later, Hollywood still stamps stereotypes of Africans (Davis 1996: 4). By looking at most of the blockbuster films made in or about Africa such as *Hotel Rwanda* (2004), *Lord of Wars* (2005), *The Last King of Scotland* (2006), or *Machine Gun Preacher* (2011) the observations by Wainana about stereotypical Africa remain true. Africa is a war-torn place, and Africans them-

selves appear to be helpless victims. The continent is still a white man's playground, where 'he' can make a change in the lives of Africans.

But it is not only the Africans who have been marginalized. Amongst the other colonized populations and nations, diasporas and exilic people have also often been represented as victims and 'the Other'. In the second half of the 20th century, an enormous number of people and nations have been displaced due to a failures of socialism, communism, nationalism, religious and ethnic wars, and the fragmentation of nation-states (Naficy 2001: 10). These peoples are the products of postcolonial displacement and postmodern scattering. Simultaneously, in the process of globalization, many have moved voluntarily. Without making a distinction between voluntarily and involuntarily de-territorialised peoples and people coming from multicultural backgrounds, these groups are represented in cinema in new ways. Instead of seeing the displaced peoples as mere victims and marginalized groups, they are increasingly represented as active agents connecting links between the borders of nations (Ibid).

Through the agency of exilic people we can explore ideas of home in a very intimate way, through individuals who live in between places and cultures, who journey inside themselves, to discover where they belong. It is important to note that all the filmmakers and the protagonists in the films have a choice. Being in exile or being alienated is not necessarily due to a hostile environment. Malian-Mauritanian filmmaker Abderrahmane Sissako, who has lived most of his life abroad, says:

> I'm not a whole entity as such. I'm a multiple. And this multiplicity is fragility. This fragility becomes nearly a lightness. So I surf over things, perhaps with more ease. By that I mean that I'm not someone who is saddened by exile. I'm not a victim. It's a choice. (Sissako in Whitfiel 2002)

As Lindiwe Dovey (2009 b: 56) discusses in her article 'Subjects of exile: Alienation in Francophone West African cinema', exile is not

always painful and negative, but rather it can be reinvented as a positive and strengthening experience. Julia Kristeva (quoted in Dovey, 2009b: 56) also writes that "Being alienated from myself, as painful as that may be, provides me with that exquisite distance within which perverse pleasure begins, as well as the possibility of my imagining and thinking, the impetus of my culture." The protagonists in the films discussed here are not victims of alienation or represented as 'the other'. They are active pursuers in the search for home and belonging.

Homing in Transnational African Films

Restless Wandering in L'Afrique Vue Par, 2009, by Nouri Bouzid
L'Afrique Vue Par[6] is a collection of ten short films by some of the most prominent African filmmakers such as Flora Gomes, Gaston Kaboré, Mama Keïta and Abderrahmane Sissako. The films portray contemporary Africa in different parts of the continent and diaspora. The short film *Restless Wandering,* by the famous Tunisian filmmaker Nouri Bouzid,[7] is a story set in the old ruins in Tunisia. An encounter between a West African griot[8] and a group of Tunisian children is interrupted when a Tunisian security official suspects the man of having illegally immigrated to the country and drives him away.

The film is a remarkable representation of pan-Africanism. It is an encounter, and a meeting point of the north and the south. In the center of the discussion is what separates North Africa from Sub-Saharan Africa. The film articulates how Africans have been, and still

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6   Translation: Africa seen by

7   Nouri Bouzid is arguably one of the most renowned filmmakers in Maghrebian cinema. Born in 1945 in Tunisia and trained in Belgium, Bouzid then returned to his home country and worked for several film productions. He was later imprisoned for five years for radical left wing activism (Armes 2006: 91).

8   Griot is a French word for a prestigious keeper of oral cultural traditions and heritage in West Africa, specifically referring to Mande culture (Panzacchi, 1994, Belcher, 1999).

are, affected by rules and ideologies introduced and imposed by co-
lonialism. To highlight the changes occurring in African societies,
Bouzid portrays the dichotomy of old and new; inclusion and exclu-
sion is represented through the two characters – the griot and the
security official. The griot character symbolizes African traditions
and customs and the continent's rich cultural heritage. His role is
played by the famous Sotigui Kouyaté[9]; a real Malian-Burkinabé gri-
ot, who during his life was hailed as one of the most significant con-
tributors to West African cultural heritage (Guttman, 2001). Alt-
hough griots belong to a particular West African cultural tradition,
the griot's ethnic and regional background is never highlighted in
the film. In the cast he is referred to as *L'Africain*. Thus, I read him to
represent the rich African cultural heritage in general as well as the
unity of Africa.

First, the spectator sees the griot silently resting in the ruins,
representing what could be interpreted as sleeping, forgotten tradi-
tions. The children play near him and as soon as they spot him they
wake the griot up. This suggests that it is the curiosity of the children
and the new generations that could revive the ancient traditions
back to life. When the griot teaches proverbs to the children, he de-
scribes Africa as a big tree. The many branches of the tree symbolize
all the countries in Africa. Applying the metaphor of a tree into sed-
entarist metaphysics, a tree has represented fixed roots and belong-
ing, particularly in Western history (Malkki 1992:28). However, here
the roots are a symbol of a mutual substrate. The roots provide the
history and foundation of Africa, but from that point all the coun-
tries and nations grow in different directions. The symbolism here
can be linked to the ideology of pan-Africanism, which draws the

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9   Sotigui Kouyaté (1936-2010) was an internationally acclaimed actor and a
     founder of a theater company in Burkina Faso. The Kouyaté family is part of
     prestigious clans of griots. Also Sotigui's son Dani Kouyaté is a griot and an im-
     portant filmmaker (Guttman 2001). His film Keïta! l'Héritage du griot, is a fun-
     damental work in African cinema, in which Sotigui plays the key character, Jeli-
     ba, the griot (Armes 2006: 168).

historical links between African countries and the diaspora, thus uniting Africa (Lemmelle and Kelley 1994).

The location of the film is particularly important. The story is set in Tunisia, which is not only the country of origin of the filmmaker, but it is also an important transit point for illegal immigration from Africa to Europe. In consequence, Tunisia has in past years passed more restrictive laws to limit such traffic. It has pursued a bilateral agreement with Italy to send illegal immigrants arriving in Italy back to Tunisia, positioning immigrants in very vulnerable situations (Baldwin-Edwards 2006:12-3). Through the character of the government official, the film critiques these laws and agreements.

The ruins represent Africa as a place. The ancient walls and buildings have been destroyed by colonialism. It seems everyone has forgotten the place except the griot. In the turning point of the film, a car drives into the ruins. The vehicle is a symbol of modern and materialistic values, which intrude into the space. An aggressive security official steps outside of the car, frightening the children away. The security official's only interest in the griot is whether he has legally immigrated to Tunisia, has valid identification, possesses money or is a terrorist. For him, these factors define one's purpose, identity and belonging. But the griot does not need official papers to define his identity. Being a griot is a continuation of ancient traditions. His profession and identity are defined through his belonging to the community and its acceptance and appreciation to Africa at large. A griot enjoys a unique position where he is enabled and expected to speak up and critique society, and therefore partaking in its development (Smith 2010: 28-9).

The clash of pan-Africanism and nation-statehood becomes highlighted when the griot states: "I'm not an illegal immigrant. I'm at home here […] A griot feels home everywhere he goes." The security official is resentful of the griot's idea of them being brothers and belonging to the same living space. The official is a product and a guardian of nationalism, border control and modernity, whereas the

griot knows no borders in Africa. What is implied clearly is that the concepts of nation-statehood and nationalism imported from the West to Africa divided the united struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Cultures are being disturbed when imposing homogeneous national identities (Sethi 2011:46). The borders, nationalism and increased control of citizens are a threat for the unity and the traditional African lifestyle that the griot represents. The film suggests that the artificial exclusion and a weakening of old customs in modern society are slowly alienating Africans in their own continent.

There are no alternative experimentations in the cinematic style in the film. However, Bouzid utilizes some filming techniques to empower the narration. When the griot steps outside of the cave the camera creates distance by zooming out. The griot walks at a slow pace in the front of the screen and the children are unfocused and blurred in the background. The diegetic sounds constantly grow. We hear the walking stick hitting the soil and the rocks. Simultaneously as the sound of the wind grows, the movement of it becomes more vivid on the screen. This kind of footage creates a feeling of a revival of ancient Africa.

Throughout the film the narrative construction is simple and rather slow paced. However, despite the slowness, and simplistic structure much is said and implied in the film. Moreover, these features highlight the meaningful content and message of the film. Oliver Barlet explains that the slowness of the footage in African cinema is typical, as it allows the spectator to engage with the film. Senegalese director Ababacar Samb Makharam once said that in oral storytelling the slowness of narration is crucial. Because the oral tradition is so deeply rooted in African cultures throughout the continent many African filmmakers have aspired to sustain the tradition in new digital forms of narrations (Barlet &Turner 1996: 171, 191).

Drawing from the oral tradition, proverbs play a significant role in the film. The griot explains to the children "We have one mouth

and two ears, haven't we? It means that we have to speak once and listen twice." It can be interpreted that we, as spectators, also need to listen twice. The usage of sounds supports the proverb. Every scratch of the sand on the ground and the sound of the soft wind are clear. Outside the cave, the picture is almost silent, therefore all the sounds created by movements of the people and movements in nature catch our attention. As Barlet points out: "African cinema tells us, then, that we gain not only from looking at Africa, but also from listening to it" (Ibid: 192). This is the message of Bouzid as well, conveyed through the narrative, mise-en-scène, and slow shots and finally the soundtrack: we should listen to Africa.

The film ends with a scene where the griot is taken away by the security official. He leaves with him voluntarily but seems to realize the official's dubious motives. The camera zooms out high above the ruins. The children return to the middle of them and a close-up-shot shows one of the girl's faces. She and the viewer are left with confusion. How will the future generations preserve the memories of their African heritage?

Restless Wandering is not only an encounter between the griot, the children and the Tunisian security officer. It is also an encounter of Africans who are across borders, which are still, to this day, strikingly controlled by outsiders. It is an encounter of modernity and historical cultural heritage, and finally, it is an encounter of pan-Africanism and the artificial division of people. The griot feels at home everywhere. That is the essential content of the film. His identity constitutes from the past as much as it does from the present time. His belonging and right for being in a place is defined by the people, and not by immigration laws. Therefore, the film proposes an important question: does the obsession of sedentarist metaphysics of inclusion, exclusion and control over people's memberships alienate those with more nomadic or plural identity and belonging?

That's my face/ É a Minha Cara, 2001, by Thomas Allen Harris

Thomas Allen Harris is an African-American filmmaker, raised in both the Bronx of New York and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. In his career, Harris has filmed subjects of identity, sexuality and race. Although Harris's work can be considered as American rather than African, in his film *That's My Face* Harris creates a bridge between the two cinemas. *That's my Face* is an experimental documentary about race, but in relation to his earlier films, it is much more personal, autobiographical and explicitly discusses identity construction in relation to Africa. The film is shot following three different generations, from the 1960s to the early 2000s, with all footage being silent (Harris added voice-over narration in the editing stage). The film explores African spirituality and identity, first discussing what it was like for Harris to grow up in New York in a black community and later on in Tanzania. Harris expresses that he felt equally at home in both places. However, he could never identify himself with Christianity and was entreated – or 'haunted', as he puts it – by African spirits. The documentary thus follows his journey to Brazil where Orishas, Yoruba gods, are worshipped and where the Yoruba religion is merged within Catholic traditions.

The opening shot of the film shows people in the streets in Brazil. In a voice-over, Harris explains how he has had a double vision ever since he was a child. His left eye sees everything normally but the right eye is incapable of focusing, as if it only sees the essence and the aura of the object. This duality becomes the theme of the film: his growing up in two different countries; his feeling both American and African; his trying to follow his grandmother's teachings of Christianity but having dreams about the African spirits. Therefore, he finds the Orishas in Brazil consoling. Their duality, which evolves from two religions, is an aspect that Harris identifies with strongly.

The film is executed in a way that leaves space for other interpretations, since, as Harris states "[it is made to have] enough holes

in the narrative that you could add your own narrative to it" ("That's my face: An interview with thomas allen harris," n.d.). 'Leaving holes' can be interpreted via what Marks calls haptic visuality. Harris uses a lot of his own family home-video material and photographs. This footage is very grainy, and the camera is rarely still and focused. The footage from Brazil is shot with Super 8 film, which Harris believes brings nostalgia into pictures (ibid). Moreover, the film is almost always either over- or under-exposed with light. The framing of people's faces brings them very close to the screen and they hardly ever stay still: they dance, move and often stare straight at the viewer. Sometimes pictures are superimposed, creating duality and blurring views. The techniques which Harris uses can, as Marks has noted in her study of the techniques of intercultural filmmakers, "discourage the viewer from distinguishing objects and encourage a relationship to the screen as a whole" (Marks 2000:172). This is because the images prevent an easy connection to the narrative and therefore, the viewer is forced to complete the images, filling them with his or her own memories (Marks 2000: 163, 177).

In a process of completing the images the imagination becomes essential. Appadurai (1990) has expressed how the image, the imagined, and imaginary are central components in connecting people in contemporary world. They interlink the moving groups such as diasporas and the people who cannot afford to move, but who can move through the imagination created by the media. In *That's My Face*, it is not only the blurred, unfocused footage that creates the space for the viewer's imagination, but also the mismatching of the picture and sound. In addition to the visual, the soundtrack of the documentary highlights and encourages imagining. Harris' own voice is very mystical and soft. Sometimes there are several voices on top of one another. Sometimes Portuguese is mixed with English; sometimes it is translated into English, with the spectator still hearing the original Portuguese voice. The filmmaker explains that he wanted to create a 'dreamscape' ("That's my face: An interview with thomas allen har-

ris," n.d.). This is for the viewer to complete the picture with their imagination and to create their own dreamscape.

The reflections on plurality in the identities of the Orishas become essential for Harris's sense of belonging. Orishas in Yoruba religion are deities, which play the role as intermediates between the gods and men. During the cross-Atlantic slave trade the religion merged with Catholicism. The Orishas and the saints in Catholic religion were seen to reflect each other and both deities occupied same roles as spiritual intermediates between god and men. Further, the whole religion of Yoruba is stated to have developed into a transnational and pan-ethnic religion (Cohen 2002:17). The double roles and crossover of cultures and traditions are identifiable for Harris. His aim is to find his spiritual home. Although his journey is physical, finding it requires inherent imagining. He goes to Brazil and participates in religious festivals and celebrations to become closer to the Orishas. However, in the end, finding his spiritual home is more a psychological state of mind that he effectively creates through the film. *That's My Face* (in Portuguese *É a Minha Cara*) is explained as 'my thing'. It can be anything that one feels he or she can identify with, something, which represents him or her. Many characters in the film are in search of their *É a Minha Cara*. One says she came to Brazil from the United States to feel how it is like to be part of the majority. She wanted to feel home, not physically, but rather spiritually. In the black community in New York, where Harris grew up some people chose to ignore their African cultural heritage. For Harris this was not appealing. He states it was like putting up a mask. In Brazil the history of Africa is constantly present and celebrated. Harris' homing desire may not be completed but he finds the idea of a plural identity soothing; there he finds a space to belong.

The place in Between/ Notre Étrangère, 2010, by Sarah Bouyain
The Place in Between is the first feature film by the French-Burkinabe filmmaker Sarah Bouyain. The story is set in both Paris and in a se-

cond largest city of Burkina Faso, Bobo-Dioulasso. Amy, the protag-
onist in the film, is a mixed-race young woman; her mother is Burk-
inabé and her father who has passed away is French. Since Amy was
eight years old, she has been living in France with her father and his
new wife. In her early days of adulthood, Amy wants to reconnect
with her biological mother and therefore travels to Burkina Faso in
search of her. To her disappointment, her mother Mariam has left
the village a long time ago and Amy stays with her aunt Acita and
her maid Kadiatou trying to learn about her past. What the viewer
knows, but Amy does not, is that Mariam has migrated to Paris,
where she works as a cleaner and teaches Dioula language to a
French woman, Esther, who works in the building where Mariam
cleans. Esther is about to adopt a child from Burkina, but only re-
veals this to Mariam in at the end of the film.

Through foregrounding the encounters of the five women,
Bouyain highlights the kind of transnational space, which Brah
(1996:181) calls a *diaspora space*, in which we all live. According to
Brah and Bouyain, it is not only people with a multicultural back-
ground[10], but rather everyone who are affected by inter-cultural rela-
tions, differences and their challenges. In the film, only Amy's char-
acter belongs to two cultures. Yet the sense of a search for belonging
and feeling at home is not a feeling reserved only for her. Both Mari-
am and Amy feel lost between the two countries and do not know
where they belong. Esther, Kadiatou and Acita, although more
grounded, are affected deeply by the uprooting of people like Amy
and Mariam who they are close to.

For all the characters in the film, language plays an essential
role; it both separates and unites the women. Acita and Amy have no
mutual language to communicate with each other, but the young
maid is able to translate their conversations. Mariam lives an isolat-

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10   Multicultural as a person who comes from more than one country and/ or cul-
     tural background.

ed exile life in France, and refuses to establish connections with the African diaspora community. However, the language lessons she gives in her mother tongue to Esther provide glimpses of happy moments in her life. During the lessons, she feels useful.

As Naficy (2001: 28) points out, the mother tongue in a strange environment can evoke strong feelings and memories of home. These moments are a way for Mariam to feel at home. Esther learns a foreign language to prepare a foundation for her family relationship. Thus, language is a tool to connect and disconnect. In the Burkina Faso scenes, the viewer (if not a Dioula speaker) is always positioned within Amy's perspective. For her, conversations with her aunt are never subtitled. When the two argue, their feelings can be sensed and Amy's words understood, but only Dioula speakers would know how Acita responds. In this scene the viewer is forced to complete the image and understanding through reading Acita's expressions and listening closely to her voice. Here Bouyain utilizes the technique which Naficy call tactile optics. Thus the viewer interprets the feelings of characters with a deeper engagement and is not distanced from the conversation through subtitles. However, the scenes of Mariam teaching Dioula to Esther, and the dialogues between Acita and the locals of Bobo are translated. The conscious choice of the filmmaker to exclude the viewer with Amy is to emphasize how hard it can be to communicate (Amarger, 2010).

Language is one of the key components of our identity. Without Amy being able to communicate with her aunt she is forced to face her alienation from her family and culture and find alternative means of communication, which she does by employing universally recognized indications of different emotions. In order for Amy to express herself she uses physical contact, without the use of verbal formulation. In a scene where Amy and Acita converse in their own languages, they express themselves through smiling, laughing and touching each other. But it is not only language that makes Amy and Mariam feel estranged from Burkina Faso and France respectively.

The separation of the mother and the daughter creates estrangement. Whereas Amy tries to find her mother but fails, Mariam isolates herself, perhaps punishing herself, perhaps blaming herself for the separation they both experience. Also, a distant culture and non-integration are central to the women's feeling of homelessness. Mariam's roommate, for example, has made an effort to integrate into French society. She has made friends, decorated her room, and enjoys her life in Paris. Mariam has made a choice to stay detached from her surroundings. We see her wandering the streets in the suburbs on her own, and when a priest from the community church approaches her she retreats more into herself. Mariam's exile portrays the loneliness that is experienced as not due to a hostile environment but because she determinedly positions herself in a no-man's land. Her experience is complementary to that of John Durham Peters', who sees exile as a painful banishment (see chapter *Cinema as a Catalyzer for Transnationalism*).

When Amy returns to Burkina, she is not prepared to feel disconnected. After the first disappointments she complains about everything from flies and hot weather to miscommunication with her aunt over the phone to her brother in France. She has an African dress tailored but is not comfortable wearing it. Her blunt, white hotel room in Bobo becomes her place of escape. When she is discontent with her aunt, she returns to the hotel. After Amy's African dress falls off her in public because she does not know how to tie it properly, she returns to the room, and aggressively throws the dress away. She is considered a European tourist. The locals call her white, the taxi-driver charges her extra and her aunt decorates a room for Amy to feel at home. Acita says: "White people always hang things on their walls." As Bouyain notes, this is a legacy of colonialism: "[Amy's] family history could just as well have been lived by a French family living in France" (Bouyain quoted in Amarger 2010).

Amy's feeling of homelessness in Burkina Faso is further emphasized in the shot of her feet. Naficy remarks that close-up footage

of a body is often a way to show alienation in accented films. Further, Dovey (2009 b: 61) discusses how there have been "a surprising number of close-up shots of feet in francophone West-African film".[11] According to Said exiles are often thought to be cut off from their roots, their land and their past (Dovey 2009b: 60). Feet are the part of the body, which connects a person to the ground. Therefore, symbolically one is uprooted from her or his feet. In *The Place in Between*, only Amy's feet are shot closely. After she goes to see her aunt for the first time she returns to the hotel. After her showering, the camera focuses on her wet toes, restlessly rubbing against the floor. In another scene in Acita's house, Amy stands in the terrace looking at the rain. Again, the camera shoots her feet closely, while she plays with the water with her feet. To connect with her past she needs to attach her bare feet to the soil, and ground herself again to Burkina Faso.

According to Naficy (2001: 289) the visual style used in intercultural cinema is often incomplete and rough, as can be seen as the defining characteristic in *That's My Face*. However, in *The Place in Between* the camera is very still as it follows Amy and her journey. The still, sometimes completely stagnant camera is frequently used in the works of West African filmmakers such as Abderrahmane Sissako, Ousmane Sembene and Mahamat Saleh Haroun. Bouyain explains the fixity of the frame is to highlight Amy's anxiety and movement, her search for home (Amarger 2010). The everyday life in Bobo is calm and relaxed. Therefore, the anxious behavior of Amy, her nervousness and uncomfortable state of being, are emphasized. Further, the extra-diegetic signature music of the film gives a further sense of Amy's anxiety, following the events from Paris to

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11 In her article (Subjects of exile: Alienation in Francophone African cinema) Dovey discusses closely the images of feet in films by Ousamane Sembene (La Noire de…, 1966; Niaye ,1964; Xala, 1974), Samb Makharam (Et La Neige N'Etait Plus,1965), Djibril Diop Mambety (Hyenas, 1992) and by Abderrahmane Sissako (Waiting for Happiness, 2002).

Bobo and the other way around. Even though the locations are distant and different they are connected, not only through the soundtrack and anxiety of the characters but also through the style of editing. After the footage of Acita and Kadiatou washing clothes and pouring water the camera follows Esther pouring water for Mariam. When Amy and Acita are shot sleeping, the music and camera moves to film Amy's French mother lying down on her couch, focused on a picture of Amy as a child. Later in the film Esther receives a mango fruit as a gift from Mariam. Soon Amy is picking fruits from a tree in Bobo and leaves one beside her resting aunt. This parallel editing style reaffirms the intense dialogue between the women as well as showing the character's loneliness and lack of belonging in different parts of the world.

Home as a Journey

Restless Wandering, That's My Face and *The Place in Between* all share a common feature of highlighting the issue of return and reconnection to home and the homeland. In the first film, modern enforcement of nation-state boundaries alienates the griot, representing the traditions of Africa, from his homeland and livelihood. The latter two films discuss the issue of what it means to belong to different cultures and the complexity of reconnecting to one's origins in these cases. Naficy writes how the trope of the journey is a dominant element in accented cinema. The journeys of de-territorialization and re-territorialization take different forms but just as importantly, they are not only physical and geographical but also cultural, metaphorical and psychological (Naficy 2001: 222).

In *That's My Face*, Harris detaches himself from his physical home even before beginning his journey to Brazil. The first half of the film is a preparation for his journey. As Sissako (quoted in Armes 2006:198) says: "We make true exile within ourselves even before we depart. It's a sort of interior exile." This interior exile trans-

lates into a 'no man's land.' One does not belong to the place of de-
parture, nor to the destination. Similarly, Mariam in *The Place in
Between* resents herself into interior exile. Amy feels internally alien-
ated as well, as she finds it hard to re-connect to her past, whereas
for the griot in Bouzid's film, the alienation is forced through an
outsider. Naficy (2001: 6) writes that:

> Journeys are not just physical and territorial but also deeply psychological.
> Among the most important are journeys of identity, in the course of which
> old identities are sometimes shed and new ones refashioned. In the best of
> the accented films, identity is not a fixed essence but a process of becom-
> ing, even a performance of identity.

Throughout the three films there is a binding theme, that identity
and belonging, the sense of being at home, is a psychological state
of mind. The homing desire is in one's imagination. Although, the
protagonists are actively seeking their place in between cultures, they
have no need to fix their feet on one specific place. Instead, they re-
construct and reattach to multiple places and identities. The films
effectively perform identity and belonging as a process. This concep-
tion of home and belonging being fluid and plural is essential for
those who have lived through experience of exile.

Conclusion

Since the end of the twentieth century there has been a profound
shift in the understanding of the spaces of cultures. The convention-
al premise has been that people and cultures are rooted in their nat-
ural places and territories and therefore, sense of belonging and feel-
ing at home are inseparable elements from peoples' homelands.
However, the process of globalization has accelerated the flows of
capital, transport and people. Thus the world and people have be-
come more inter-linked than ever before. Territorialized spaces and
borders are constantly compromised and challenged by de-
territorialised people, as they occupy multiple places and inter-link

them to one another, creating ambiguous borders. As a consequence, the concept of home has gone through a transformation, from being something rooted and fixed to fluid and 'processual.' As people are scattered from their homelands, communities or are chronically mobile, the images and imagination are essential part of social process, reconnecting the people and places. As the images and media create connectedness amongst the displaced and transnational people and places, the homing desire translates into an imaginative connectedness.

Transnationalism has not only triggered debates about belonging, nation and home in academia, but has also become more visible in media. The voices of transnational artists have been increasingly influential, especially in cinema. In an era where people are more nomadic than ever before, the diaspora space is inhabited by not only those who belong to several cultures, but also by everyone who is affected by globalization. Therefore, a work that articulates the basic human need and desire of homing and belonging is more valuable than ever before. By understanding home and belonging as only a physical attachment to a place, we dismiss the lived experiences and memories of those with multiple attachments. It is then the plural, nomadic and transnational views, which provide us with fresh perspectives on the concepts of home and belonging. As Deleuze and Guattari state:

> History is always written from a sedentary point of view and in the name of a unitary State apparatus, at least a possible one, even when the topic is nomads. What is lacking is a Nomadology, the opposite of a history (Deleuze and Guattari quoted in Malkki 1992:31).

I see intercultural cinema as a prominent medium to represent 'Nomadology': the missing side of the history written from the point of view of those who have often been marginalized and yet have contributed to and significantly shaped the contemporary world. In this article I have analyzed three films: Restless Wondering by Nouri Bouzid, That's My Face by Thomas Allen Harris and The Place in

Between by Sarah Bouyain; and demonstrated their success to portray home as a journey, a fluid and plural concept which can be reinvented and re-constructed in the process of de-territorialization. The artificial division of people is not only controlled by the physical borders, but also by the legacy of colonialism and sedentarist metaphysics. The characters in the films are in search of plural, more nomadic identities, through which they can establish attachments to multiple places, especially to Africa. Therefore, the films call attention to what the griot in Bouzids's Restless Wandering describes as the African tree. Africa and the African diaspora share mutual substrate, from where they grow in different directions. The imagination becomes a profound element to reinforce these connections, and keep alive the memories of African heritage.

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"Black against black, blood against blood"[1]

How International Complicity Incubated Genocidal Violence in Rwanda

Brittany M. Hopkin[2]

Colonialism acts as an incubator of genocidal violence due to factors such as severe human rights violations and political oppression marked by Western capitalism and neocolonialism. Traces of colonial ideologies are found in the approaches or discourses of organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund. The criticisms of acclaimed theorists such as Gérard Prunier and Frantz Fanon identify origins of genocidal violence within colonial discourse, and so the application of colonial ideologies in international organizations can be examined while aligning a specific focus on the hypocrisy of the West in its attitude towards global violence. To understand the international community's role in the Rwandan genocide, factors such as Rwanda's colonial and post-colonial history, the role of UN ambassadors and imperial countries such as France and their investment in Hutu extremism, and the complicity of

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[1] A quotation taken from the poem, "Blood of Rwanda" written by the poet: Ms. Freda Denis-Cooper: "Children hand in hand, Hutu and Tutsi scatter like cockroaches and killed just like that, as if they were. Separate as if unequal. Separate as if... Black against black, blood against blood. No help from within, no help without. U.N. rescue missions abandon millions left to die. Taking whites only, only leaving behind weapons of mass black destruction. Here are the weapons of mass destruction. The blood of her people is on our hands. The blood of Rwanda is yet on our hands." In particular, the quoted line illuminates the Western imperial perception of the identity politics in post-colonial Rwanda.

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international organizations should be examined. From the examination of these factors it becomes clear that Western capitalism, liberalism, and racism – the unyielding forces of colonialism – do indeed facilitate global violence and incubated the violence in the Rwandan genocide.
Keywords: KEYWORDS

Things that love night
Love not such nights as these. The wrathful skies
Gallow the very wanderers of the dark
And make them keep their caves. Since I was man,
Such sheets of fire, such bursts of horrid thunder,
Such groans of roaring wind and rain, I never
Remember to have heard. Man's nature cannot carry
Th' affliction nor the fear.
— William Shakespeare, King Lear

Introduction

Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal once said that genocide is the result of "too much power in too few hands" (Ayer and Chicoine, 1998, p. 62). Within a deadly one-hundred-day period in 1994, Rwanda experienced epidemic levels of political violence with a murder rate exceeding that of the Holocaust (Barnett, 2002, p. 1). Following the assassination of the Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana on April 6, 1994, a Hutu whose killer's identity is unknown and a matter of much controversy, the Rwandan extremist government ordered the Hutu majority to destroy the Tutsi minority (Barnett, 2002, p. 1). Human Rights Watch reports describe various ugly scenes: "the dead body of a little girl, otherwise intact, had been flattened by passing vehicles to the thinness of cardboard in front of the church steps; […] on a nearby hill, a small red sweater held together the ribcage of a decapitated child" (Human Rights Watch, 1999, para. 6). Skulls and bones, twisted bodies, and pieces of human flesh were scattered along the streets. Genocidal violence is intimately linked with colonial practices of economic control and cultural exploitation. In the

neocolonial context of the Rwandan genocide, the death of roughly eight hundred thousand Rwandans must be viewed as an awful failure of the international community to respond to a humanitarian crisis in a poor African country (Barnett, 2002, p.1). This inherent complicity reflects the West's selectiveness with its power: in their eyes, some countries are worth saving, while others are not. What is then left is a disturbing and depraved tragedy that forces one to consider the foundation of Western power and morality in a new light.

Colonialism's Legacy: The Myths and Truths of Rwandan Society

Nearly as tragic as the Rwandan genocide is the international community's reaction to it. The lack of political action towards the genocide by international powers reveals that the Rwandan genocide is not only about the capacity of human murder; it is also about the apathy of those nations which had the ethical responsibility and economic ability to prevent that violence, yet chose not to do so. To evaluate the weight of this matter adequately, the Rwandan genocide needs to be examined within colonial discourse. Andrew Wallis (2006) argues how Belgian colonisation had a "devastating effect" on the Rwandans: "…until 1880 [Rwanda] was ruled by a king (Mwami), with the help of a village hierarchy and ancestral tradition, [but] was split apart 100 years later by a 'modern' world in pursuit of geo-strategic, economic and political ambitions" (p. 9). It is precisely these "geo-strategic, economic, and political ambitions" that need to be explored in order to reflect on the imperial dynamics and colonial culture that precipitated the Rwandan genocide.[3]

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[3] It should be noted that other critics suggest that precolonial political formation in Rwanda was more complicated in nature. David Newbury (2009), for example, writes that precolonial Rwanda included a variety of local ecologies, physical stocks, and political units. He claims that the historical reality of Rwanda exceeds the view that race, culture, and power were all interconnected (p. 284).

During their colonial tenure, the Germans and Belgians ruled Rwanda indirectly through Tutsi monarchs and their chiefs. As Gérard Prunier (1995) argues, the presence of the German colonizers was "structurally essential since it inaugurated a colonial policy of indirect rule" (p. 25). The European colonizers exacerbated simmering ethnic tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi by redefining the distinctions between them according to the Hamitic hypothesis: a racial myth constructed by anthropologists that can be dated back to Judaic and Christian myths (Mamdani, 2001, p. 80). The hypothesis posited that the Hutus were racially inferior agriculturalists who had been dominated by the innately superior Tutsi Hamites, who "were actually Caucasians under black skin" (Mamdani, 2001, pp. 81 and 82). Applied to the Rwandans by the Belgians, the hypothesis stated that the Tutsi were ancient "elongated East Africans" who had migrated to Rwanda from southern Ethiopia (Mamdani, 2001, 47). Racist ideologies imported by colonialism had catastrophic effects on Rwanda; the placement of the Hutu and Tutsi on an inferior and superior axis, respectfully, exacerbated existing ethnic tensions and catalyzed the ensuing political disorder. In his book *When Victims Become Killers*, Mahmood Mamdani (2001) argues that the racial distinctions fabricated by the colonizers explain the motivation of those who engineered the genocide. He reminds us that, "whereas ethnicized Tutsi existed before colonialism, the racialized Hamites were creatures of colonialism" (p. 231). Similarly, Prunier (1995) argues:

If we combine these subjective feelings with objective political and administrative decisions of the colonial authorities favouring one group over the other, we can begin to see how [this manufactured] a very dangerous social bomb … (p. 9)

Since indirect rule required identifying indigenous authorities, the Belgian administration registered all of the population in the 1930s and issued identity cards that designated each individual's ethnicity (Twagilimana, 2016, p. 32). This and other policies effec-

tively eliminated the flexibility in Rwanda's ethnic structure, making it incredibly difficult for Hutu to become Tutsi just at a time when being Tutsi was particularly advantageous (Prunier, 1995, p. 26-27). A huge gap between the ethnic groups was produced as educational, economic, and employment opportunities were reserved for the Tutsis. (Prunier, 1995, p. 33).

    Emblematic of imperial racial theorizing, this distinction of civilization was marked by supposed physical differences, with the taller, allegedly more refined Tutsis destined to rule. Prunier (1995) describes the nineteenth-century Europeans as "racially-obsessed" (p.6), and contends that they built "a variety of hazardous hypotheses on their [...] 'indubitable' origins" (p.7). Resembling from the premises of Social Darwinism, and because of the view that the Tutsi and Hutu had separate origins, the Tutsi were viewed to resemble Europeans, as they became civilized under African conditions (Magnarella, 2000, p.10 and Mamdani, 2001, p. 47). The Tutsi, through this reconstruction, were posited as having a civilizing, Caucasian influence among the thick-lipped, indigenous Hutu. According to Matthias Bjørnlund (2004), the Hamitic Myth facilitated the dehumanization of the Hutu and thereby crystallised the "genocidal mentality" – the ideological and mental processes that facilitate genocidal impulses (pp. 143 and 156). Mamdani (2001) explains how the Hamitic hypothesis had uniquely racial connotations in Rwanda: "Only in Rwanda and Burundi did the Hamitic hypothesis become the basis of a series of institutional changes that fixed the Tutsi as a race in their relationship to the colonial state" (p. 35). Buried under the weight of colonial initiative, the Hutu and Tutsi were continually subject to civil hostility. As Gérard Prunier (1995) reminds us, "although Rwanda was definitely not a land of peace and bucolic harmony before the arrival of the Europeans, there is no trace in its precolonial history of systematic violence between Tutsi and Hutu as such" (p. 39). Therefore, it is through the reconstructed reality defined by racial myths by the European colonizers that caused for the

Rwandans what Prunier (1995) compares to an unpredictable time-bomb (p. 39). Consequently, the Belgians pursued to fix these racial categories and interpellate the Rwandans into their genocidal ideology and colonial disposition. As Adam Jones (2006) argues, the selection of the Tutsis as colonial favourites reflects how it is typically easier for colonizers to secure the loyalty of a minority, which is manipulated to believe that its survival depends on bonds with the imperial authority (p. 349). Sixty subsequent years of such ruinous constructions inflated the power dynamics between the Hutu and Tutsi entirely: the Tutsi became increasingly entitled to power, while the Hutu suffered an aggressively sour inferiority complex. Given this colonial context of Rwanda, one can reasonably conclude that the Rwandan genocide was not just another cycle of ethnic violence or an uncontainable outbreak of insanity. The victims of the Rwandan genocide were battered because of the unequal distribution of economic and political power granted to them by the Belgian colonisers.

Anti-Colonial Violence in Rwanda

But why violence? It is clear that the situation in Rwanda was marked by unconceivable fear and ferocity. To an outside viewer, the violence involved in the Rwandan genocide can cause one to conclude that the genocide was a single-layered, domestic instance of Rwandans fighting for ethnic power and superiority. But this conclusion would be erroneous. General Romèo Dallaire—General in the Canadian Armed Forces serving under the UN during the genocide—has said: "My force was standing knee-deep in mutilated bodies, surrounded by guttural moans of dying people, looking into the eyes of children bleeding to death with their wounds burning in the sun and being invaded by maggots and flies" (as cited in Melvern, 2000, p. 197). In this way, the targeted Tutsis were left powerless and immobilized as a result of racist ideologies imported from colonialism

as imperial powers such as the UN failed to acknowledge the geno-
cide and intervene on moral grounds. The psychological conse-
quences of these ideologies are enduringly detrimental to one's well-
being. In Jean Hatzfeld's (2005) insightful book, *Into the Quick of
Life*, Francine, a young Tutsi woman who saw her family being
slashed to death, explains how the Rwandan genocide has con-
demned her to a life of guilt, regret, and fear:

When you have lived through a waking nightmare for real, you
can no longer sort your day thoughts from your night ones as before.
Ever since the genocide I have felt pursued day and night. In bed, I
turn away from the shadows; on the road, I look back at the figures
that follow me. I am afraid for my child each time my eyes meet
those of a stranger's … I feel a sort of shame to have to spend a life-
time feeling hunted, simply for what I am. (p. 25)

Individuals blocked from power, or those at risk of being
blocked, seek for themselves new forms of recognition to gain access
to power and self-restoration. Violence as a means of psychological
liberation for the colonised subject is supported by Fanon (1963),
who writes: "At the individual level, violence is a cleansing force. It
rids the colonised of their inferiority complex, of their passive and
despairing attitude. It emboldens them, and restores their self-
confidence" (p. 51). Following Fanon's logic, colonial ideologies
such as white supremacy and racism contribute to instances of vio-
lence as the colonized populations seek to restore their sense of con-
trol and dignity.

Colonial ideologies such as white supremacy and racism con-
tribute to instances of violence as the colonized populations seek to
restore their sense of control and dignity. The coupling of ethnicity
and violence, Barnett (2004) argues, is due largely to a colonization
process that introduced myths of a superior race coming from the
north to conquer an inferior native population, which in general
terms led to feelings of entitlement and superiority among the Tutsis
and a massive inferiority complex among the majority Hutu (51).

Accordingly, decolonization provided the Hutus with the first chance to pursue power and take revenge on the Tutsis. In what came to be known as the "Hutu Revolution," from 1959 to 1961, a series of violent events shook Rwanda and resulted in the reduction of Tutsi political power (Barnett, 2004, p. 53). The Revolution was responded to by the UN as they switched to favouring the Hutus' side once it became clear that a Hutu-dominated political party would win the 1961 election, and their decision to set 1962 as the year for Rwandan independence, which it achieved on July 1st that year (Barnett, 2004, p. 52). Through the escalation of the inflated Tutsi cultural ego and aggressively resentful inferiority complex of the Hutu, the Tutsi eventually developed a reputation as the evil "other" once they lost the election, despite being cast as the superior group originally (Gibson, 2003, p. 509). Consequently, the authoritarian and firmly regulated character of the political regime installed by the country's post-independence rulers, including the inferior status it assigned to Tutsis, fuelled a Tutsi-led rebel movement (Jones, 2006, p. 348). From the 1960s until 1994, the nativist ideology promoted by the Hutu ruling elite was that the Tutsi were foreign invaders and were marked as colonizers who could not be reasonably considered as citizens, meaning that the Hutu were the only legitimate inhabitants of Rwanda (Magnarella, 2000, p. 26). Nafeez Mosaddeq Ahmed (2011) validates this point when he writes, "Through this process of ideological radicalization, violence against an especially defined group becomes legitimated as a rational strategy to secure social stability" (p. 25). The Hutu population demanded majority rule and considered the trope of democracy to be a "convenient device" to justify their bid for power (Barnett, 2004, pp. 51-52). As a result, a Hutu-dominated government was not only legitimate but also "ontologically democratic" (Prunier, 1995, p. 80). This political ideology validated the persecution of the Tutsi and the autocratic rule of the Hutu elite. The assumption of power by the Hutu in postcolonial Rwanda saw sporadic massacres and persecu-

tions of Tutsi throughout the country. As Prunier (1995) argues, Belgian authorities reversed allegiances and now expressed "extreme partiality" for the Hutu, even letting their militants burn Tutsi houses (p. 49). Further, starting around the early 1960s, the colonial government began to replace most of the Tutsi chiefs with new Hutu ones, thereby "organizing the persecution of the Tutsi on the hills they now controlled" (Prunier, 1995, p. 51). As the Hutus controlled political power, the newly elected President Kayibanda was "more than willing to use ethnic terror and sow divisions to maintain his rule" (Barnett, 2004, p. 52). In this way, the racist ideologies imported by colonialism cultivated a Rwandan culture that had internalized such ruining perceptions towards mankind by viewing violence as the only fitting means of obtaining social and individual refuge.

Frantz Fanon's (1963) paradigm of violence views violence as a legitimate means of overthrowing ingrained inequalities embodied in the institutionalised domination of the oppressor. He argues, "For [the colonised man] […] colonization and decolonization are simply a question of relative strength. The exploited man sees that his liberation implies the use of all means, and that of force first and foremost" (p. 60). Accordingly, Fanon extols the virtues of violence as a means for colonial subjects to achieve political and psychological liberation. Following this paradigm, the Hutu-extremists that conducted the violence in the Rwandan genocide were thereby engaged in victim-on-victim violence in efforts to keep whatever power they felt they could retain. In the context of Fanon's theory of violence, the Rwandan victims of colonization directed their internalized rage at each other instead of their European oppressors in their attempts to retain their individual power. In the preface to Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, Jean-Paul Sartre (1963) explains that the issue of victim-on-victim violence is a result of the internalized rage of colonized victims. He argues:

This repressed rage, never managing to explode, goes round in circles and wreaks havoc on the oppressed themselves. In order to rid themselves of it they end up massacring each other, tribes battle one against the other since they cannot confront the real enemy— and you can count on colonial policy to fuel rivalries. (pp. lii-liii)

This displaced rage is exemplified in some written accounts of the killers. One killer in the Rwandan genocide, Pio, shares his dissociative experience with murder:

[I]t is as if I had let another individual take on my own living appearance, and the habits of my heart, without a single pang in my soul. This killer was indeed me, [….] but he is a stranger to me in his ferocity. I admit and recognize my obedience at that time, my victims, my fault, but I fail to recognize the wickedness of the one who raced through the marshes on my legs, carrying my machete. That wickedness seems to belong to another self with a heavy heart. (Hatzfeld, 2003, p. 48)

While the disassociation described in this passage does not excuse the fact that Pio was a murderer in the Rwandan genocide, it does reveal the psychological complexity that informs the victim-on-victim violence explained by Sartre that was experienced by some of the Hutu extremists as they inherited the tyrannical forces of colonialism. This psychological complexity is reflected in what Bjørnlund (2004) calls the "healing-killing paradox," which he says is connected to the ideological creation of a genocidal mentality (p. 146). The paradox explains how "killing becomes a prerequisite for healing", whereby destroying members of a group that is perceived as being responsible for a societal illness will save or cure the perpetrator group (Bjørnlund, 2004, p. 146). As Bjørnlund (2004) importantly notes, "this 'paradox' is […] part of a deliberate strategy initiated by the societal elite: […] threats and indoctrination are used on a collective level" (p. 164) In this way, the internalization of colonial ideologies rendered the violence of the Rwandan genocide as utterly political—*not* ethnic. Put simply, the Rwandan genocide was not just

a result of national conditions; it was a complex fabrication of colonial and neocolonial ideologies that were fostered predominantly by the countries in power.

Connections between Colonialism and Theories of Anti-Colonial Violence

Fanon's theories on violence can be compared with the writings of other social theorists in order to clarify the connections between colonialism and violence and the role of this connection in the Rwandan genocide. Chinese Marxist and theorist Mao Tse-tung provides an instrumental justification of violence as a legitimizing force in revolutionary struggles. Tse-tung's military writings are based on his own experiences of guerilla warfare against the Japanese when he successfully led the Chinese Communist Party to victory over the Chinese Nationalists and Japanese in the 1940s. Tse-Tung (2013) has famously proclaimed that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" (p. 12). Regarding his position in the war, Tse-Tung (2013) has said: "We desire peace. However, if imperialism insists on fighting a war, we will have no alternative but to take the firm resolution to fight to the finish before going ahead with our construction" (p. 66). Otto von Bismarck, the man credited with the unification of Germany in the 19th century is recorded as saying that, "[t]he great questions of the day will not be settled by means of speeches and the resolutions of majorities […] – but by blood and iron" (as cited in Taylor, 2005, p. 112). Therefore, just as Fanon discusses the need for various guerilla operations in Africa such as the FLN in Algeria, Tse-tung views violence as an essential component in any revolutionary struggle. He believes that "war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun" (p. 63). For Tse-tung (2013), non-violent resolutions are not an option for revolutionary struggles since they would deprive a revolutionary movement of its principal means of legiti-

macy (p. 94). For Herman Marcuse, violence is creative if it comes from below, from the "oppressed" (as cited in Burton, 1977, p. 15). As he argues, violence functions as a necessity to break political disorder, which was necessary for psychological freedom. From the perspective of the colonized victim, psychological problems must be met by political action (as cited in Burton, 1977, p. 15). Hannah Arendt (1970) elaborates on this point as she argues that the notion of violence and creativity figuring in the "rebellious state of mind" can be traced back to Marxian and Nietzschean moral-political philosophies (p. 74). She writes: "To see the productivity of society in the image of life's 'creativity' is at least as old as Marx, [and] to believe in violence as a life-promoting force is at least as old as Nietzsche" (p. 74). Accordingly, then, when Fanon (1963) speaks of the "creative frenzy" present in the mobilized violent actions of the colonised, he refers to how violence gives power a new dynamism and attempts to challenge the complications enforced by colonialism (p. 52).

Following Rwandan independence, postcolonial state violence became a fundamental feature of Rwanda's politics. Importantly, as Barnett (2004) points out, "Although popular images of 'tribal' and 'ethnic' politics in Africa suggest a never-ending cycle of violence and warfare, the Hutus and Tutsis managed to exist relatively free of mass violence—until colonialism" (p. 51). During colonialism, the Hutus were verbally and materially belittled and oppressed, which produced a "reality" of Tutsi superiority and Hutu inferiority (Barnett, 2004, p. 51). After Rwandan independence, however, the Tutsi were treated by Present Kayibanda and President Habyarimana as colonizers; the mythologies that had legitimated and privileged Tutsi rule inverted "like a photographic negative" (Barnett, RPF2004, p. 53). As stated in a 1961 UN Trusteeship Council report: "The developments of these last 18 months have brought about the racial dictatorship of one party. […] An oppressive system has been replaced by another one. […] It is quite possible that some day we will wit-

ness violent reactions against Tutsi" (as cited in Melvern, 2000, p. 17). In this way, violence from an oppressed and racialized minority is orchestrated by the tyrannical ideologies and politics enforced by colonialism, which demanded for an "ethnically pure Rwanda" (Barnett, 2004, p. 54). In the build-up to the genocide, when the British, U.S. and Ugandans supported the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which was largely comprised of children of Rwandan Tutsis who fled the violence perpetuated by Hutu militias in the late 1950s to neighbouring countries such as Uganda, had invaded Rwanda in 1990 and an uneasy truce was declared, Hutu nationalists and militants revived these narratives. Anti-Tutsi resentment was fuelled during the war between the RPF and Rwandan government as the RPF offensive exacerbated ethnic divisions and set the stage for further radicalization of politics (Melvern, 2000, p. 34).

The Inheritance of Colonial Ideologies

Some scholars argue that there were other contributing factors to the simmering unrest. In his analysis of the Rwandan genocide, Paul J. Magnarella (2000) says that the roles of the UN Secretariat and Security Council "had little impact on the conditions endemic to Rwanda that were primarily responsible for the periodic massacres and great tragedy of 1994" (p. 27). In his analysis, the increasing occurrence of malnutrition, hunger, and periodic famine incubated the Rwandan genocide as the Hutu extremists chose to respond to these conditions by eliminating the Tutsi portion of the population (2000, p. 27). He argues that in addition to relieving the fear of the alleged evil Tutsi, eradication of the Tutsi population also secured physical benefits such as land, cattle, and loot (2000, p. 26). However, while Rwanda's economy was engendered by macro-political forces and economic shortages, Rwanda's scarcity of land and large population did not function as the primary impetus for the genocide. As Prunier (1995) writes, "Ideas and myths can kill, and their manipulation by

elite leaders for their own material benefit does not change the fact that in order to operate they first have to be implanted in the souls of men" (p. 40). The ideologies that underpinned the Rwandan genocide were crafted by the Belgian colonisers— and colonialism in Africa aligned with European racial ideologies. Characterized by Western epistemology, the politics that engender genocide and the Orientalist concept of "Othering" (McLeod, 2010, p. 49) continue to be practised by current Western powers that rationalize violence as a means to attain economic and political supremacy. It becomes clear that within this historical framework and the neocolonial context of the Rwandan genocide that many Hutus were oppressed by colonial ideologies, and practices of discrimination in the colonial period up to the 1950s, when the Belgians tried to reverse its previous support to Tutsi elites which in turn led to violence. The perspectives of many Rwandans reflected the conditions described by Fanon: as the Hutu's innate freedom was threatened by the racially "superior" Tutsi, violent eradication of the racial oppressor was the only viable resolution. According to Fanon (1963), anticolonial violence is the formation of a national, collective self; however, its instrumental application is to *reinforce* a national identity, not subvert it: "The mobilization of the masses […] introduces into each man's consciousness the ideas of a common cause, of a national destiny …" (pp. 92-93). Imperialism destroyed nationalism and rather encouraged nativism in Rwanda; the reinforcement of racial distinctions by the Belgian colonizers eliminated any potential for a positive "national destiny." The brutal perversion of Fanon's anti-colonial paradigm can then be attributed to the internalization of the racial rhetoric fabricated by the Belgians; it was instrumental to the genocidal practices in Rwanda.

The Catholic Church

It should be noted that in addition to its colonial dimensions, the Rwandan genocide was influenced by a number of Christian aspects (Bjørnlund et al., 2004, p. 159). As Bjørnlund (2004) explains, in the Rwandan genocide, both the killers and victims were Christian, despite the fact that most genocides involve members of one religious group attempting to eliminate the other (p. 159). As Christophe Kougniazondé argues, "…religious influence […] constituted the supernatural rampart without which the colonial brutality against, and de-humanization of the Rwandese people could not have reached its goal without any major social explosions against the colonial regime" (as cited in Bjørnlund et al., 2004, p. 169). Much like the international community, the Catholic Church failed to respond to the racism, oppression, and massacres of the genocide, which, as Bjørnlund (2004) argues, renders them as "legitimating these crimes, abandoning the victims, and even acting as an accomplice in the genocide" (p. 177).

As an institution of power with a supposedly "moral agenda" (Bjørnlund, 2004, p. 176), the Catholic Church contributed to the creation of a genocidal mentality through the ways in which it aimed to make Rwanda a Christian country. Prunier (1995) argues that the Catholic Church also structured the educational system to favour the Tutsis. He writes that "since the Tutsi were the '*natural-born chiefs*' they had to be given priority in education so that the church could enhance its control over the future elite of the country" (p. 33, author's italics). As Ian Linden (1977) argues in his study of church-state relations in colonial Rwanda, the missionaries of the Catholic Church cultivated a consciousness that raised ethnic tensions between Hutu and Tutsi sharply as the missionaries were enchanted by the Tutsi-rulers (p. 91). Further, Bjørnlund (2004) argues that, "In its struggle to Christianize Rwanda, [the Catholic Church] allied itself firstly with the colonial powers, and, through the creation and institutionalization of the racist and oppressive Hamitic

Myth, with the Tutsis" (177). Thus, the Catholic Church was part of the government that helped create and institutionalize the Hamitic Myth that was utilized by the Hutu extremists in the genocide's execution (Bjørnlund, 2004, p. 176). In this way, through their implicit endorsement of the Hamitic hypothesis and relationship with colonial powers, the Catholic Church is complicit in setting up the divisions on which the genocide was premised.

The Complicity of the UN and Some Members of the Security Council

The Rwandan genocide reveals the true forces that undergird neocolonialism: capitalism, imperialism, and racism. Neocolonialism is when a power indirectly exercises its control over other regions or people through economic and political policies, also described as "a new form of colonialism" (Basu, 2012, p. 105). In the Rwandan genocide, neocolonialism achieved through neoliberalism what colonialism achieved through physical force and discourse. Notably, Western neocolonial ideas are not only adopted by Western European States but are also found amongst the UN Security Council's five permanent members (France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the People's Republic of China). The composition of the Security Council, however, requires attention; if the Council is to properly fulfill its objective of upholding international peace and security, it must remain attentive to all regions of the world rather than those of its own choice. In the case of the Rwandan genocide, the UN's complicity is demonstrated through their decided ignorance of the genocide. As Colin Keating, the UN ambassador for New Zealand with a non-permanent seat on the Council, has said: "We only dimly perceived the steady deterioration in the Rwandan … situation. […] The deeper and more dangerous problem of a monumental threat to human life was ignored" (as cited in Melvern, 2000, p. 130). On October 5, 1993, the Security

Council passed Resolution 872, mandating the creation of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). The United States only wanted a "symbolic presence" in Rwanda and demanded that any operation should not exceed the cost of $10 million per month (Melvern, 2000, p. 93). When the mission for Rwanda was devised, the United States argued for a reduction in the role of peacekeepers in order to minimize costs, and, with the support of Russia and the UK, substantially diluted the peacekeeping provisions of the Arusha Accords—a comprehensive agreement that promised political, military, and constitutional reform in Rwanda (Melvern, 2000, pp. 60 and 93).

Evidently, international powers could have safely prevented the Rwandan genocide before the genocide's objectives were fulfilled (Barnett, 2004, p. 1). The problem, as Carol Off (2000) points out, is that the word "genocide" carries legal obligations (p. 72). To formally recognize what was actually happening meant that all countries who had signed the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948 were obligated by international law to act upon it; however, no country was interested in assuming that responsibility. Thus, one can argue that the UN operates predominantly on self-interest as it denied its legal obligation to intervene in Rwanda and this is another angle to what can be called its complicity. Upon the early outbreak of the genocide, there were twenty-five hundred United Nations peacekeepers in Rwanda, and soon after the killing began, the UN's force commander, Canadian General Roméo Dallaire, appealed for a well-resourced body of troops to cease the massacre (Barnett, 2004, p. 2). However, on April 21, the UN backed Resolution 912 to reduce Dallaire's UNAMIR force by 90 per cent to a mere 270 peacekeepers, weakened the UNAMIR so much that it would be nearly unmanageable for it to give humanitarian support to victims or assist those who required UN protection (Wallis, 2006, p. 104)

The complicity of the UN demonstrates how predatory capital-ism and ethnocentrism are given more privilege than international compassion. Klaus J. Dodds (2005) describes the "absence of an ef-fective United Nations" as "lamentable" (p. 176). Linda Melvern (2004) argues how the UN was obligated to fulfil its peacekeeping role in the Rwandan genocide. She states: "As permanent members of the UN Security Council, the UK and the US could have taken action in accordance with the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and the Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, a legally binding treaty" (p. 272). Samantha Power (2002) extends this notion of in-ternational complicity when she argues that, "When they ignored genocide around the world, U.S. officials certainly did not intend to give the perpetrators the go-ahead. But since at least some killers thought they were doing the world a favor by 'cleansing' the 'unde-sirables,' they likely interpreted silence as consent or even support" (p. 507). Thus, Magnarella's argument that the genocide was precipi-tated largely by land scarcity and poverty overlooks the dominant ideology of the "cleansing" of the "undesirables"– an ideology in-herited from European colonialism that incubated the Rwandan genocide far more substantially than its pre-existing economic and political climate.

Following the Cold War, states filled into the UN to recite the rights that they believed bound them as a single global community: human rights, liberalism, peaceful settlement of disputes, freedom, progress, development—rights that frequently populate General As-sembly addresses and UN documents (Barnett 2004, 25). However, despite these transcendental values, Western epistemology is typical-ly characterized by imperialistic motives. The UN's shameful com-plicity with the violence in Rwanda is reflected in the statements of leaders of member states such as President Francois Mitterrand, who reportedly confided to a colleague that, "'in countries like [Rwanda], genocide is not very important'" (Barnett, 2004, p. 171). But the UN is more than an accumulation of individual opinions; it is also the

official division of the world's humane values, or, as Barnett (2004) puts it, "[The UN is] an expression of the international community" (p. 175). Yet, when the UN's action towards the Rwanda genocide is examined, the humanitarian values by which they claim to abide seem remarkably absent.

When General Romèo Dallaire travelled to New York in 1993, he discovered that there was no paperwork available in the Secretariat about the political and military situation in Rwanda, even though UN officials had attended the negotiations (Melvern, 2000, pp. 95-96). Some critics argue that it was not the responsibility of the UN to intervene in the Rwandan genocide. Some UN officials defended that even if they could not stop the murders in Rwanda, at least the culprits should not believe that they would be free of punishment. Objectively, that is a credible standpoint, but one that is difficult to genuinely accept given the complicity of leading authority figures belonging to the institution that was supposedly trying to prevent Rwanda's dreadful fate. Notably, the UN has defended its accused indifference to the Rwandan genocide by concluding that, "If the UN was effective only under conditions of stability, then it is not obligated to become embroiled in humanitarian nightmares. […] Acting responsibly […] included a duty to safeguard the organization's health. It was Rwanda's misfortune to be the site of the first explicit applications of these rules" (Barnett, 2004, p. 176). However, the organization's health is dependent on its expression of global concern for crimes against humanity, as the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has said: "Our job is to intervene; to prevent conflict where we can, to put a stop to it when it has broken out, or – when neither of those things is possible – at least to contain it and prevent it from spreading" (Barnett, 2004, p. 170). Philip Spencer (2013) acknowledges the inherent hypocrisy in thinking that neoliberal institutions such as the UN are a support system that rescues genocide victims, since Western imperialism was essentially responsible for producing the inevitability of the genocide (p. 612). The

connection between the UN's complicity and Western imperialism asserted by Spencer is articulated through the way in which imperialism sets up the structure for violence. Indeed, the Hutus were driven to commit such physical acts of violence in the Rwandan genocide as a result of deeply entrenched humiliation that was fostered by colonialism. The logic of violence triggered by imperialist occupation inevitably continues to occur as previously oppressed groups turn upon those who were either their colonial oppressors or, in the case of the Rwandan genocide, were deemed wrongly by the colonizers to be their superiors. Surely, the logic of imperialism greatly informed the UN's attitudes towards intervention in Rwanda. The racist ideologies embraced by imperialism certainly dictated the Council's decisions towards intervening in the genocide as they deliberately demonstrated ignorance towards its development.

Ironically, Prime Minister Balladur defended France's stance towards backing Resolution 912—an agreement that involved the reduction in the size of an already insufficiently equipped UN peacekeeping force— on the grounds that his country could not take an initiative to send troops to Rwanda as this would seem to come across as a "colonial operation" (Wallis, 2006, p. 104). However, France's role in the genocide has been perceived as scandalous. As Melvern (2000) writes:

Research undertaken by the arms division of Human Rights Watch established that on five occasions in May and June 1994 weapons were delivered to the Rwandan government army through neighbouring Goma, and that these arms came from the French government or French companies operating under government licence. (p. 206)

In his book *Silent Accomplice: The Untold Story of France's Role in the Rwandan Genocide*, Andrew Wallis (2006) reveals how France was secretly providing military, financial and diplomatic support to the genocidaires throughout the genocide, as France was fearful that they would lose a client government with which it could perform

profitable business, and to also prevent the threat of having it re-placed by Anglo-Saxons (p. 12). France's pathological anxiety that French Africa, which often they included countries that had been colonized or administered by the Belgians, is under constant threat from Anglo-Saxon influence is what Wallis (2006) describes as "an area of policy that continues to unite socialist and Gaullist political groups and seems to override all other political, military, and strate-gic viewpoints and, in the case of Rwanda, human rights and morali-ty as well" (p. 12). In his outraged critique of France's involvement in the genocide, Wallis (2006) argues that the genocide was a me-thodically planned event: "Like all genocides, this one had been me-ticulously planned and organized up to two years in advance. It was not the work of 'savages' or 'typical African intertribal warfare' […]. It was a genocide that intelligent, professional, university educated people had masterminded" (p. 5). While French politicians de-scribed the violence as the work of gangsters, Wallis (2006) argues that French politicians and the military were collaborating with the Rwandan killers on a daily basis and that, in fact, the murders were a calculated occurrence (p. 55). In addition, new evidence highlights the complicity of French troops in training the Hutu-extremists to kill (Wallis, 2006, pp. 55-56). Prunier (1995) has compared France's role to that of a person giving a bottle of brandy to an alcoholic, as Mitterrand and his military advisers were determined to get the best outcome for France by supporting a regime that had murdered a mil-lion of its people (p. 352).

President Clinton, on the other hand, attempted nearly every diplomatic manoeuvre to prevent the United States from being in-volved in a country in which, with or without genocide, the United States was not interested (Wallis, 2006, p. 210). Or, as Samantha Power (2002) puts it: "American leaders did not act because they did not want to" (p. 508). Of course, at the outbreak of the genocide, little attention was given to Rwanda and the safety of its citizens by the Western media. As Gil Courtemanche (2004) writes in his novel

a Sunday at the pool in Kigali, Western media continued to propagate the colonial narrative that the Rwandan genocide was purely the result of uncontrolled "tribal" rivalries. He writes:

[I]n its major international bulletin, CNN spent twenty seconds on the recurrence of ethnic problems in Rwanda, giving assurances, however, that foreign nationals were safe. Even the perspicacious BBC said little more. Radio-France Internationale talked about recurrent confrontations and ancestral tribalisms, wondering if Africans would ever be able to rid themselves of their ancient demons that kept provoking the most dreadful atrocities. (pp. 226-227)

Following this point, it must be noted that the United States did not even want to use the word "genocide" to characterize what was happening in Rwanda. Certainly, the vocabulary adopted by the UN in its approach towards the genocide exemplifies its selective attitude towards intervening in crimes against humanity. As Barnett notes, "the grammar for intervention was certainly available," yet the UN decidedly avoided the use of the word "genocide" and instead used the term "ethnic cleansing" to describe the events in Rwanda (2004, p. 120). On Friday, April 29, 1994, twenty-three days after the genocide had broken out, the Security Council eventually addressed the possibility of genocide in Rwanda. The president of the Security Council at the time, Colin Keating, invoked the 1948 Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide by proposing a presidential statement to recognize that genocide was happening (Melvern, 2000, p. 202). The United States' reluctance to specifically use the word 'genocide' surrounding the Rwandan crisis indicates, according to Melvern (2004), that they were markedly aware that the disaster in Rwanda required a form of obligation to act towards its prevention (p. 272). Karel Kovanda, the Czech ambassador to the UN at the time, had previously confronted the Council with the word genocide, and claimed to be shocked that 80 per cent of the Council's time had been spent deliberating withdrawing the peacekeepers in Rwanda, after which diplomats from the UK

and United States told him that "on no account was he to use such inflammatory language outside the Council. It was not helpful" (Melvern, 2000, p. 202). After the UN Security Council Presidential Statement draft was submitted, it became subject to vigorous objections (Melvern, 2000, p. 203). British ambassador David Hannay supposedly did not want the word 'genocide' to be used because the Council would be a 'laughing stock'; of course, to classify the crisis as a genocide and not act on it would be perceived as ludicrous (Melvern, 2000, p. 203). After being drafted by the British, which Melvern (2000) condemns for their "mind-numbing ambiguity," another statement was finally released, which, unsurprisingly, did not use the word genocide (p. 203).

Of course, the obvious refusal to use the word genocide reflects the UN's utter awareness of a genocide actually occurring. For the UN to deliberately manipulate their statements as to avoid any immediate controversy, contradicts what the UN defines as 'genocide.' Regardless of the strategy chosen, the UN Convention defines genocide as an act "committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group" (Jones, 2006, p. 13). Notably, "complicity in genocide" is listed under the punishable acts in Article III (Jones, 2006, p. 13). While the UN defends its lack of intervention through claiming it was satisfying the health of the organization at large, the UN's complicity facilitated political violence in Rwanda through systemic racism and its favour of Western domination over poor countries. Arguably, given the UN's failure to act, the indifference UN leaders showed towards the peacekeeping operation in Rwanda, including when the violence began, was a sign of racism.

Certainly, the international community demonstrated their complicity in the genocide through actions and decisions made outside of Rwanda. While in Kigali, General Roméo Dallaire (2004) witnessed upsetting examples of Western 'assistance':

I passed by an assembly point where French soldiers were loading expatriates into vehicles […] and as I wended my way through the crowd, I saw how aggressively the French were pushing black Rwandans seeking asylum out of the way. A sense of shame came over me. The whites, who had made their money in Rwanda and who had hired so many Rwandans to be their servants and labourers, were now abandoning them. Self-interest and self-preservation ruled. (p. 286)

Here, Dallaire's account of the cruel treatment of innocent citizens speaks directly towards the French's complicity and failure to act in humanitarian crises involving Africans. This failure to act is informed by the racist logic that dominates Western imperialism. In this manner, the Rwandan genocide is illustrative of how Africans are placed on a sub-human status—they are, according to the imperial eyes of the West, unworthy of being saved compared to their white 'superiors.'

"Economic Terrorists": The IMF and World Bank

As "economic terrorists from the perspective of developing nations" (Allen et al., 2011, p. 23), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) contributed to the Rwandan genocide on various levels. These organizations function on a predatory kind of capitalism connected to neocolonialism, which "implies a form of contemporary, economic imperialism wherein powerful nations behave like colonial powers […] [which] is likened to colonialism in a post-colonial world" (Basu, 2012, p. 105). As Fanon (1963) argues, "[c]olonialism and imperialism have not settled their debt to us once they have withdrawn their flag and their police from countries. For centuries the capitalists have behaved like real war criminals in the underdeveloped world" (p. 57). Neoliberal policies imposed by multilateral organizations facilitated genocidal violence in Rwanda through exacerbating existing gaps in power. Joseph Stiglitz (2003)

writes: "The IMF's structural adjustment policies – the policies de-signed to help a country adjust to crises as well as to more persistent imbalances – led to hunger and riots in many countries; […] often the benefits went disproportionately to the better off, with those at the bottom facing even greater poverty" (p. xiv).

In 1988, the World Bank travelled to Rwanda to evaluate the country's public expenditure plan (Chossudovsky, 1999, p. 115). Supposedly having the intentions of assisting Rwanda's potential of achieving economic growth, the World Bank concluded that Rwan-da's economy would be reinvigorated by increasing levels of con-sumption through the upsurge of coffee exports if they depended on neoliberalist policies such as trade liberalisation, currency devalua-tion, and the privatization of state enterprises (Chossudovsky, 1999, p. 115). Unsurprisingly, after implementing these policies, Rwanda's economy plummeted. The implementation of neoliberal measures resulted in the disarray of the state administrative apparatus with state enterprises being pushed into bankruptcy and the collapse of public services (Chossudovsky, 1999, p. 116). Furthermore, health and education crumbled under the impact of the IMF-imposed ne-oliberal practices, with the frequency of child malnutrition increas-ing by 21 percent in the year immediately after the espousal of the IMF programme (Chossudovsky, 1999, p. 116). In this way, despite their supposedly noble intentions, the IMF and World Bank exacer-bated Rwanda's economic hardship by promoting its hard core in-terpretation of neoliberal ideology. The imposition of comprehen-sive macro-economic reforms by World Bank and IMF exacerbated the already bubbling ethnic tensions. If the World Bank had not en-forced policies that inevitably would weaken an already developing nation, the Rwandan population would have been less likely to sink into poverty, leading to its so-called "economic genocide" (Chossu-dovsky, 1999, p. 103). Therefore, while not entirely responsible, both the economic and political collapse of Rwanda caused by the imposition of the IMF and World Bank precipitated the genocide.

These are just a couple of the many examples of the genocidal consequences of imperialism.

Conclusion

A survivor who hid throughout the genocide once said, "When I came out, there were no birds. There was sunshine and the stench of death" (Law, 2013, p. 80). The stench of rotting bodies, the unusual absence of sound, and cadavers clogging the church halls not only assaulted the Rwandans' senses, but also their quality of life. The scenes of the Rwandan genocide are scenes written from the darkest pages in human history. Africa, it seems, is the continent subject to the Western world's paradoxical exploitation and neglect at the same time. Why do some conflicts matter, and others do not? As Canadian General Roméo Dallaire (2004) says, "We have fallen back on the yardstick of national self-interest to measure which portions of the planet we allow ourselves to be concerned about" (p. 517). Perhaps if the genocide started today, and Rwanda had an oil reserve the size of Iraq's or Libya's, the Rwandan genocide would be an entirely different tale. As Bonaventure Niyibizi, a Tutsi survivor of the Rwandan genocide has said, "You cannot count on the international community unless you're rich, and we are not. […] We don't have oil, so it doesn't matter that we have blood, or that we are human beings" (as cited in Gourevitch, 1998, p. 315).

It is said that the Rwandan genocide is an instance of how the world falls into a cycle of violence (Thompson, 2007, p. 225). But I do not believe this to be true. Sixteen-year-old Rwandan Brenda Indekwe conveys this notion perfectly in her poem entitled "Silence": a blank page with tiny writing at the bottom reading: "Whenever we keep silent about our history, experiences, and thoughts, we leave a blank page for anyone to write anything they wish" (Youth Literacy Organization, 2014, p. 26). This is the world we live in: the world that believes, or lets its people believe, that it truly had done its best.

Few knew or cared about the dreadful details of the Rwandan genocide while it was happening, and the UN leaders' complicity and indifference speaks towards how the UN Security Council functions on racist and neoliberal ideologies. But as global citizens, it is our duty to educate others about the genocidal consequences of imperialism to inspire future world leaders to prevent such a wretched tragedy from ever happening again. The crimes of the international community need to be condemned. Their crimes were so calculated, so deliberate, and so deceiving. But the international community appears to be decidedly complacent with its moral ambiguity in response to modern genocides. While, indeed, the Hutu extremists conducted the physical acts of slaughter, the real culprits are those who displaced compassion and humanitarianism for their own personal and institutional interests. Or, as Fanon (1963) articulates, imperial powers that claim to be "strong on principles but abstain from issuing marching orders" (p. 21).

   People do not kill for no reason. In 1994 and today, the UN and international community has maintained an image of promoting and fostering international peace and justice. It projects the notion that it will uphold humanitarian principles and value the protection of citizens; however, Rwanda was a different story.

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A Discourse Analysis of Three Selected Urhobo Oral Poems

Emmanuel Avwarosuọghẹnẹ Mede[1]

This paper explores the discourse features of three selected Urhobo oral poems in English translation. The three texts – 'Usio! Usio!', 'Saibolo' and 'Yayogho' – are analyzed with the objective of identifying the discourse features shared by them and which may be assumed to typify the sub-genre to which the selected texts belong. Identified discourse features include *full* (lexical/syntactic) *repetition*, *partial* (i.e. structural) *repetition*, and *elision*. In addition to lexico-syntactic repetition, the three selected texts are characterized by simple language. These two features – lexico-syntactic reiteration and simple language – are dictated by the oral nature of the genre as well as the need to enhance recitability.

Keywords: oral poetry, discourse features, text.

This paper attempts to identify the discourse features of three selected Urhobo oral poems. Urhobo is a Nigerian South-Western-Edoid

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African tone language spoken in the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria. Urhobo oral poetry includes *ile-ekan* ('satirical songs'), *ile-ejiri* ('songs of praise'), and *ile-eha* ('play-songs'). The three selected poems –'Usio! Usio!', 'Saibolo' and 'Yayogho' – belong to this last sub-genre, *ile-eha*.

Abbreviations

C= *c*omplementizer	Spec= *spec*ifier
CP= *c*omplementizer *p*hrase	T= *t*ense
INF= *inf*initive	TP= *t*ense *p*hrase
N= *n*oun/nominal	V= *v*erb
NEG=*neg*ation	VOC= *voc*ative
P= *p*reposition	VP= *v*erb *p*hrase
SL= *s*ource *l*anguage (Urhobo, in this case)	

'Ile-eha' are oral forms which are performed traditionally and informally in village playgrounds, usually in the evenings, as a form of recreation. Due to the pervasive influence of the Western media – in particular, television and the cinema – this cultural performance has almost atrophied. The long-term objective of this study is to record the *texts* of (some of) these oral poems in order to preserve them; the immediate objective is to demonstrate that though primarily spoken/sung, these *oral* poems are *texts* – cohesive and coherent units of language – comparable to their conventionally *written* counterparts.

   In this paper, we shall define a *text* as an instance of language use,

> … a **cohesive** and **coherent** stretch of language which has a certain function in the context of situation. [In other words] a text is a semantic unit taking part in a social exchange of meanings and may be regarded as a product in the sense that it is an entity that has a certain organization and [which] can be recorded … [as] a continuous process of semantic choices dependent on previous choices and conditioning subsequent ones (Halliday 1989:47; my emphasis).

Cohesive relations are those which make the text *hang together*, while relations of **coherence** are those which render the text meaningful to the reader/hearer. In analyzing the three selected texts, we shall collapse cohesion and coherence into *co-reference* – that is, forms which 'make reference to something else for their interpretation' (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:31) either **within** the text (*endophora*) or **outside** the text (*exophora*). We subsume coherence (*cf*. Brown and Yule, 1983:223–271) under exophora, and set up a taxonomy of the following endophoric relations adapted from Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Brown and Yule (1983): *anaphora* and *cataphora*, the former being sub-divided into (i) full repetition; (ii) partial repetition; (iii) lexical replacement; (iv) pronominal form; (v) substituted form, and (vi) elided form.

The way a text communicates is a function of a number of variables such as the background situation (*context*), the relationship between the participants in the speech event (*tenor*), the topic or *field of discourse*, the *mode* of discourse (spoken or written) and the *channel* (e.g. face to face, telephone). Each of these variables, as Finch (2000:190) remarked, 'may divide into yet more variables; context, for instance, can mean social, cultural, or linguistic'.

The focus of our investigation, oral poetry, is subsumed under *oral literature* – a term which denotes utterances (spoken, sung or recited) that exhibit an appreciable degree of creative imagination and figurative or non-literal language. The major generic classifications of oral literature are oral narratives (e.g. folktales), short formulaic forms, and oral poetry. On the literary value/status of oral literature, we share with Finnegan (2012: 17) the view that the written medium 'is unessential to either the composition or the preservation of literature. The two arts are wholly distinct'.

The paper is structured as follows: In 1.1, we examine the *background* situation of the texts; in 1.2.1, we focus on the *content* of the first text 'Usio! Usio!' and in 1.2.2, its *discourse features*. In 1.3.1 and 1.3.2, we examine (respectively) the *content* and *discourse features* of

the second text 'Saibolo', and in 1.4.1 and 1.4.2, the *content* and *discourse features* of 'Yayogho'. 1.5 summarizes the observed discourse features common to the three texts.

Two preliminary observations are necessary. The first of them is that the three texts are performed as songs in the Source Language/SL, Urhobo. The process of translation inevitably entails the loss (of most of) the performance features. As Finnegan noted,

> [T]he printed words alone represent only a shadow of the full actualization of the poem as an aesthetic experience for the poet and audience. For, quite apart from the separate question of the overtones and symbolic associations of words and phrases, the actual enactment of the poem also involves the emotional situation… and… the musical setting of the poem (Finnegan 2012: 5–6).

The second observation is that, since the texts in the SL are oral rather than written, the lineation in the English translation is informed solely by observed performance features in the SL, particularly the *call-response* structure of the SL oral texts. As should be expected, certain items in the SL texts are untranslatable. An instance is ideophones – words which convey ideas in sounds and add emotional colour or vividness to the description. While ideophones are sometimes onomatopoeic, they also convey aspects of meaning which in English may not be associated with sound at all; e.g. manner, colour, smell, texture, and so on. Essentially, they are adverbial in function but seem more like interjections in form.

We shall commence the analysis by presenting the three texts in English translation. (The SL texts are presented in the appendix.)

Text I: 'Usio! Usio!'

[1]   Starlight! Starlight!
       Count them! Count them!
       Starlight! Starlight!
       Count them! Count them!

[5]   Girls of these days –
        They are hasty,
        They are flippant;
        Àlèlè struck me *koi!*

        When I walk on *Aka* road,
[10]   I walk so freely;
        On my own Urhobo path,
        Thistles impede my walk–*Ọghrẹkẹ!*

Text II: 'Saibolo'

[1]   The whole world went shopping. – *Saibolo!*
        The whole world went shopping. – *Saibolo!*
        I, myself, *Ukun* – *Saibolo!*
        Resolved to go, too. – *Saibolo!*
[5]   *Ọba* saw me; – *Saibolo!*
        He burst into laughter. – *Saibolo!*
        'Ọba, swell up.' – *Saibolo!*
        Ọba has swollen up! – *Saibolo!*
        'Ọba, deflate.' – *Saibolo!*
[10]   Ọba has deflated! – *Saibolo!*

Text III: 'Yayogho'

[1]   *Ko-ko-ko-ko!* Who's hewing wood over there?
        It's me, Yayogho.
        Ko-ko-ko-ko! Who's hewing wood over there?
        It's me, Yayogho.
[5]   What do you need wood for?
        Wood for me to carve a mortar.
        What do you need mortar for?
        Mortar for me to pound yam.

What do you need pounded-yam for?
[10] *Pounded-yam for me to feed children.*
What do you need children for?
Children for me to live a good life.
What do you need life for?
Life for me not to die.

Background

Text I 'Usio! Usio!' is a *moonlight song* performed by children in the SL culture. The age of the participants (their being children rather than adults) is reflected in the thematic concern: admiration of the stars ('usio' = star), light taunt over perceived social vices of girls, and the (perceived) poor state of Urhobo roads. The second text 'Saibolo' is a *folktale*; in keeping with the tradition of folktales, we have such features as investing animal characters with human attributes; for instance, *Ukun* – the endophoric narrator – is, ordinarily, a shrimp. Text III 'Yayogho' is a *worksong* performed by adults; the nature or age of the participants is reflected in the dominant theme of the text, namely, the attainment of immortality.

Text I: 'Usio! Usio!'

Content and Form

Text I is structured into three stanzas, each of which comprises four lines and addresses a specific theme. The thread which interweaves the three stanzas is the presence of Speaker 2. In the first stanza, s/he shares the excitement of the first Speaker over the starry sky and suggests that they count the stars; in the second stanza, Speaker 2 taunts his/her young female contemporaries over their impetuosity and flippancy, and in the third stanza s/he presents an

unflattering assessment of Urhobo roads. Speaker 2 is possibly male; the linguistic clue is the association of this speaker with the lexical item *àlèlè* in Line 8: *Àlèlè* is a bright-coloured feather which adorns the cap of Urhobo men during festive occasions. In the third stanza, we perceive this young male speaker as an objective critic. That he is proud of his origins is evident from his affectionate use of the genitive determiner *my* in the phrase '*my* own Urhobo path' (Line 11). In spite of his being endeared to his origins, he still notes objectively that, in comparison to *Aka* roads which are smooth, Urhobo pathways are choked with thorns; these thistles impede pedestrian traffic, an impediment suggested by the ideophone '*ọghrẹkẹ!*' (Line 12) which (in the SL) denotes the sudden arrest of pedestrian movement.

Discourse Features

The text commences with the repeated exophoric item 'starlight'. The occurrence of the exophora 'starlight' (Lines 1 and 3) at the beginning of the poem serves at least two functions: It establishes the temporal context of the performance (evening) and suggests the age of the performers (their being children rather than adults). The anaphor '*them*' (in Lines 2 and 4) refers to the endophoric 'starlight' in the preceding lines and thus contributes to the cohesion of the stanza. At the same time, it is also a *deictic* item because it 'points' at the exophoric 'starlight' in the sky.

Cohesion in Lines 5–7 is achieved via the use of *anaphora* as well as *structural repetition*. The antecedent of the anaphor '*they*' at the beginning of Lines 6 and 7 is the noun phrase/NP '*Girls of these days*' (Line 5). Lines 6 and 7 cohere because both lines share the same structure, represented as (1A/B) below:

(1)   (A) [$_{\text{Spec-TP}}$ They [$_{\text{T}}$ are [$_{\text{A}}$ hasty]]]   (LINE 6)

(B)   [$_{\text{Spec-TP}}$ They [$_{\text{T}}$ are [$_{\text{A}}$ flippant]]]   (LINE 7)

Syntactically, Lines 9–12 constitute one sentence (enjambment). Line 11 is a partial repetition of Line 9 because of the elision of the adverbial phrase '*when I walk*', as shown in (2A/B) below:

(2) (A) *When I walk* on Aka road (LINE 9)

(B) (*When I walk*) on my own Urhobo path (LINE 11)

Lines 10 and 12 are structurally linked with Lines 9 and 11 respectively, because 10 expresses the outcome of the activity in 9, just Line 12 states the outcome of the activity in Line 11. Semantically, Lines 10 and 12 cohere on account of the meaning opposition between them: 'I walk so freely' (Line 10) and 'Thistles impede my walk' (Line 12); the former may be glossed as *free movement*, and the latter as *impeded movement*.

We mentioned (in 1.0) that the primary objective of this paper is to demonstrate that though primarily spoken/sung, Urhobo *oral* poems are *texts* – cohesive and coherent units of language – comparable to their conventionally *written* counterparts. In this brief analysis of Text I, identified discourse (i.e. text-forming) features include *full repetition* (*cf*. Lines 1 and 3; 2 and 4); *partial* (i.e. structural) *repetition* (e.g. Lines 6 and 7); *elision* (*cf*. Lines 9 and 11), and *semantic contrast* or 'meaning opposition' (Lines 10 and 12).

Text II: 'Saibolo'

Content and Form

Text II is an oral narrative. This is evident from the *tense* of the verbs – 'went' (Lines 1 and 2); 'resolved' (Line 4); 'saw' (Line 5); 'burst' (Line 6) – all of which are in the (simple) past tense since they refer to events which occurred prior to the moment of speech. The narrator is *Ukun* (=ENGLISH 'shrimp'). In the text, *Ukun* is invested with

human attributes: He speaks (he *narrates* the encounter between himself and *Ọba*); possesses volition (he *resolves*, i.e. desires to go shopping); experiences emotion (he is evidently hurt by *Ọba's* scornful laughter), and so on. The endowment of non-human entities with human attributes is characteristic of the genre (folktales) to which this text belongs.

The lexical item *'saibolo'* at the end of each line is an untranslatable term; it is a performance feature – more specifically, the repeated verbal response of the participatory audience to the narrative. It should be noted that while the endophoric narrator is *Ukun*, there is an intermediate narrator, namely the exophoric human narrator who (empathetically) assumes the role of the endophoric narrator. It is this intermediate narrator who verbally interacts with the addressee-audience which regularly responds 'saibolo' at measured intervals.

In the text, the endophoric narrator, *Ukun*, resolves to go shopping because everyone else (Lines 1 and 2) has done so. On his way to market, *Ọba* (a term which in Urhobo folklores invariably refers to a powerful *Bini* monarch) sees *Ukun* and bursts into derisive laughter. Incensed by *Ọba's* scorn, *Ukun* orders him to swell up; the monarch swells up. Satisfied that he has taught *Ọba* a lesson in humility, *Ukun* restores the monarch to his pre-confrontation size. The moral implicit in the Ukun-Ọba confrontation is that no one should be scorned on account of their perceived social deficiencies because such scorn could incite an unpleasant reaction from the victim.

Discourse Features

Foregrounded Deviation in Tense and Mood

The tense in Lines 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 (as noted earlier) is the simple *past* tense. Also, the mood is *indicative*. In Lines 7 and 9, there is a sudden shift in mood from indicative to imperative, while in Lines 8 and 10, the tense shifts from the past simple tense to the *present perfect* tense. This shift in tense and mood is significant because it is foreground-

ed. One possible explanation for the shift is that because of the totally unexpected humiliation of the powerful monarch (*Ọba*) by the presumably socially insignificant *Ukun*, the endophoric narrator desires the audience to witness the encounter first-hand; the audience is (as it were) transported via empathetic imagination to the very moment of the encounter. Since the event is witnessed by the audience at the very moment of its occurrence, it is appropriately expressed in the present (perfect) tense.

Like the preceding text, this text commences with a full repetition '*The whole world went shopping*' (Lines 1 and 2). Cohesion in this text is achieved via a temporal or chronological ordering of the events which constitute the text: Persuaded that everyone else has gone shopping (Lines 1 and 2), *Ukun* resolves also to go to market (Lines 3 and 4); on the way, he encounters *Ọba* derides him, ostensibly on account of his diminutive size (Lines 5 and 6); incensed by *Ọba*'s derisive laughter, *Ukun* proceeds to teach *Ọba* a lesson in humility (Lines 7–10). Apart from the temporal, linear ordering of the events, anaphors also contribute to the cohesion of the text; in Line 6, for instance, the pronominal '*he*' at the beginning of the line refers back to its antecedent, '*Ọba*', in Line 5. Similarly, the repeated lexical item '*Ọba*' at the beginning of each of the last four lines of the text (Lines 7–10) enhances the cohesive structure of the lines.

Generally then, this text shares with the preceding one the discourse features of lexical, exact verbal (or full), and structural (or partial) repetition, as the instances (3)–(5) below show:

Lexical Repetition
3. 'Saibolo' (Lines 1–10)

Verbal Repetition
4. 'The whole world went shopping' (Lines 1 and 2)

Structural Repetition

5. [$_{VOC}$ Ọba [$_{VP}$ swell up/deflate]] (Lines 7 and 9)
6. [$_{Spec-TP}$ Ọba [$_T$ has [$_{VP}$ swollen up/deflated]]] (Lines 8 and 10)

Text III: 'Yayogho'

Content and Form

Text III comprises a set of speech acts between two participants: an unnamed addresser who requests a series of information (Lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13), and a self-identified addressee, *Yayogho* (Lines 2 and 4), who responds appropriately to the addresser's questions. The appropriateness of Yayogho's responses is contingent on the fact that they conform to the cooperative principle of conversation which entails making one's 'contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged' (Malmkjaer 1995:355).

The initial exchange by the unnamed addresser is triggered by the sound of the continuous impact of a cutting implement (perhaps an axe) on wood; the persistent sound, represented by the ideophone 'ko-ko-ko-ko' (Lines 1 and 3), prompts the addresser to inquire who is hewing wood; Yayogho gives the required information (Lines 2 and 4). Having ascertained the identity of the wood cutter, the inquisitive addresser asks what he needs the wood for; Yayogho's response that he needs the wood for a mortar (Line 6) prompts the addresser to ask Yayogho what he needs the mortar for (Line 8). Again, the addressee responds; the response, in turn, serves as input to the addresser's next question, and so on.

The inquisitiveness of the addresser suggests that s/he is very likely a child. The addressee, on the other hand, is evidently an adult: s/he engages in adult tasks such as hewing wood (Lines 2and 4), carving mortars (Line 6), and pounding yam (Line 8); in addi-

tion, s/he has children whose welfare engages his/her attention (Line 10), and so on. The gender of the addressee is difficult to determine; while tasks such as wood-hewing and mortar-carving are usually associated with males in the SL culture, others like yam-pounding and feeding children are domestic tasks normally associated with (adult) females. However (as we shall show later), the addressee's concern with the attainment of immortality (Line 14) is an SL cultural theme almost exclusively associated with adult males. The weight of evidence, therefore, tilts slightly in favour of identifying the addressee as an adult male participant.

Yayogho's activities are evidently goal-driven: He *needs* the **wood** for *carving* a **mortar** that he will use to *pound* yam; with the **pounded-yam,** he will *feed* his **children** so that he will *live* **a good life** which, in turn, is a prerequisite for the *attainment* of **immortality**. The goal-oriented nature of Yayogho's activities informs his choice of verbs. As shown in (7) below, all the verbs in Lines 6, 8, 10, and 12 are of the dynamic/transitive type.

(7)	VERB	OBJECT	LINE
	carve	mortar	6
	pound	yam	8
	feed	children	10
	live	a good life	12

To understand Yayogho's preoccupation with catering for the welfare of his children, recourse must be made to the SL culture in which this instance of language-use (Text III) is implicated. In the SL culture, immortality – that is, entrance into the world of the ancestors – is attained via the performance of the appropriate funeral rites by the deceased's children: A departed member of the family is welcomed into the fold of the ancestors if, and only if, his children accord him the appropriate burial rites. If a man fails to cater for his children, they may be too poor or (where they have the means) elect to exact

vengeance on their father by refusing to accord him a befitting burial when he dies. Such a neglected soul is banished from the circle of the departed elders and is thus condemned to a life of perpetual ostracism comparable to the Judeo-Christian concept of a cursed existence in the afterlife (*cf*. Matthew 25:41–46). Yayogho evidently does not want to face the chilling prospect of such a cursed existence, hence he takes pains to ensure that his children are well catered for.

Discourse Features

This text shares with the preceding two the discourse features of lexical repetition and full verbal repetition as well as structural or partial repetition, as shown in (8) – 913) below:

Lexical Repetition

8. 'Ko-ko-ko-ko' (Lines 1 and 3)
9. 'Yayogho' (Lines 2 and 4)

Verbal Repetition

10. 'Who's hewing wood over there' (Lines 1 and 3)

Structural Repetition

11. [$_{CP}$ What [$_C$ do [$_{Spec-TP}$ you [$_V$ need [$_N$ X [$_P$ for?]]]]]] (Lines 5, 7, 9, 11 and 13);

Where the nominal variable **X** = 'wood', 'mortar', 'pounded-yam', 'children' and 'life' (in Lines 5, 7, 9, 11 and 13), respectively.

12. [$_N$ X [$_P$ for [$_N$ me [$_{INF}$ to [$_{VP}$ Y]]]]] (Lines 6, 8, 10 and 12);

Where the VP variable **Y** = 'carve a mortar', 'make pounded-yam', 'feed (my) children' and 'live (a good) life' (in Lines 6, 8, 10, 12), respectively, and **X** is the same nominal variable as in (11) above.

There is, however, a slight variation on this pattern in Line 14, as shown in the structural representation (13) below.

13. [$_N$ Life [$_P$ for [$_N$ me [$_{NEG}$ not [$_{INF}$ to [$_{VP}$ die]]]]]]

Given the preceding pattern in (12), the structural variation in Line 14 – represented as (13) above – is foregrounded, and hence significant. Semantically speaking, Structures (12) and (13) are *resultative clauses* in the sense that they express the intended goals of the endophoric subject, Yayogho (e.g. He needs the wood to carve a mortar; he needs the mortar to pound yam, etc.). With the exception of Line 14, these goals are intermediate. By contrast, Line 14 expresses the ultimate objective, which is to attain immortality. This difference in the nature of the goals/objectives (i.e. intermediate versus ultimate) is paralleled in the slight but nonetheless significant structural difference between (12) and (13).

We also note that Yayogho's responses, as shown in (14) below, exhibit a structural pattern of reiteration which may be represented as (*a ... b*) (*b … c*) (**c**…d); that is, the lexical item which ends a line begins the subsequent line (anadiplosis).

(14) Wood for me to carve a **mortar**.   (Line 6)
      Mortar for me to **pound yam**.   (Line 8)
      Pounded-yam for me to feed (my) **children**. (Line 10)
      Children for me to live (a good) **life**.   (Line 12)
      Life for me not to die.   (Line 14)

Summary and Conclusion

In this paper, we have attempted to cite linguistic evidence for our interpretation of the texts. In some instances, recourse has been made to the cultural context to recover certain aspects of the language users' meaning. This measure is justified in view of the fact that in communication, certain aspects of meaning inherent in the context of communication (in this case, the SL culture of the language users) are 'understood' (between the participants) without being overtly stated.

At the beginning of the study, we mentioned that the objective is to identify discourse (i.e. lexico-syntactic) features which are shared by the three texts. While the texts vary in terms of structure and theme, they share two common features. One, the language is simple, an expected feature given that the texts are oral. Unlike written communication where the addressee can go back to a part of the text s/he does not fully understand, in oral communication, the opportunity for such regression to an earlier part of the text is hardly available, hence the need to keep the language simple for easy comprehension.

The second shared feature is lexico-syntactic reiteration. In the texts, the reiterated units (lexical and syntactic) enhance the recitability of the text, a prime requirement/feature of this type (genre) of the creative use of language. Recitability aside, the reiterated items and structures also serve a textual function: They contribute to the cohesion (the 'hanging together') of the text.

We noted at the beginning of this paper that oral literature is by no means inferior to written literature in literary value. That the texts analyzed here, even though shorn of associated performance features, could still yield identifiable discourse (i.e. text-forming) features testifies to the literary worth of Urhobo oral literature.

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Appendix

'Usio! Usio!'

1.	Usio! Usio!		1	Starlight! Starlight!
2.	*Kere, kere.*		2.	*Count them, count them.*
3.	Usio! Usio!		3.	Starlight! Starlight!
4.	*Kere, kere.*		4.	*Count them, count them.*
5.	Emetẹ ọke na,		5.	Girls of these days
6.	Ovwravwra a'e vwọ yan,		6.	They are impetuous,
7.	Ugborhi a'e vwọ yan;		7.	They are gossips;
8.	*Àlèlè* shevwe *kọi!*		8.	*Àlèlè* struck me *kọi!*
9.	Me da y'idjerhe r'Aka,		9.	When I walk on *Aka* road,
10.	Mi me yan vwo-vwo;		10.	I walk so freely;
11.	Mi de t'ọr' Urhobo mẹ,		11.	On my own Urhobo path,
12.	Odjigbẹ djẹvw' oyan–*Ọghrẹkẹ!*		12.	Thistles impede my walk–*Ọghrẹkẹ!*

'Saibolo!'

1. 'Kp'eje kp'eki. – *Saibolo!*	1. The whole world went shopping. – *Saibolo!*
2. 'Kp'eje kp'eki. – *Saibolo!*	2. The whole world went shopping. – *Saibolo!*

3. Omẹvwẹ r'Ukun – *Saibolo!*

3. I, myself, *Ukun – Saibolo!*

4. Menẹ me je ra. – *Saibolo!*

4. Resolved to go, too. – *Saibolo!*

5. Ọba mrẹ vwẹ; – *Saibolo!*

5. *Ọba* saw me; – *Saibolo!*

6. O frako r'ehwẹ. – *Saibolo!*

6. He burst into laughter. – *Saibolo!*

7. 'Ọba gba vwọ.' – *Saibolo!*

7. 'Ọba, swell up.' – *Saibolo!*

8. Ọba vwọ re! – *Saibolo!*

8. Ọba has swollen up! – *Saibolo!*

9. 'Ọba gba kpọ.' – *Saibolo!*

9. 'Ọba, deflate.' – *Saibolo!*

10. Ọba kpọ re! – *Saibolo!*

10. Ọba has deflated! – *Saibolo!*

'Yayogho'

1. *Ko-ko-ko-ko!* Amono sh'urhe vw'oboyi?   1. *Ko-ko-ko-ko!* Who's hewing wood over there?

2. *Mẹvwẹ, Yayogho.*   2. *It's me, Yayogho.*

3. *Ko-ko-ko-ko!* Amono sh'urhe vw'oboyi?   3. *Ko-ko-ko-ko!* Who's hewing wood over there?

4. *Mẹvwẹ, Yayogho.*   4. *It's me, Yayogho.*

7. Diemu wọ vw'**urhe** ru?   7. What do you need **wood** for?

8. ***Urhe** me wọ kar'**odo**.*   8. ***Wood** for me to carve a **mortar**.*

9. Diemu wọ vw'**odo** ru?   9. What do you need a **mortar** for?

10. ***Odo** mi vwo duvw'**egu**.*   10. ***Mortar** for me to pound yam*

11. Diemu wọ vw'**egu** ru?   11. What do you need **pounded-yam** for?

12. ***Egu** me vwọ gher'**emọ**.*   12. ***Pounded-yam** for me to feed (my) chil-*

dren.   dren.

13. Diemu wọ vw' **emọ** ru?   13. What do you need **children** for?

14. ***Emọ** mi vwo yer'**akpọ**.*   14. ***Children** for me to live (a good) **life***

15. Diemu wọ vw' **akpọ** ru?   15. What do you need **life** for?

16. ***Akpọ** mi vwo j'eghwo.*   16. ***Life** for me not to die.*

17. Kona, kona **edje**;

18. **Edje**, edj' **akaran**;

19. **Akaran**, akar' **uwẹ**;

20. **Uwẹ**, uwẹ n' **obo**;

21. **Obo**, obo r' **umẹ**;

22. **Umẹ**, umẹ rere.

23. Sabobo me rare, Sabobo,

24. Sabobo–*gbaun!*

African Canadian

Analysis of Social Networks, Exclusion and Economic Participation of Somali Immigrant Women in the GTA

Sophia Jesow

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) statistics indicates that women account for approximately 50 percent of the world's forcibly displaced persons (UNHCR 2013). Factors that precipitate the migration of women are predominately a result of political and social violence such as genocide and/or civil war (Moore & Shellman 599). In Canada, increased migration of Somali women is connected to the 1991 civil war in Somalia. Women attempting to escape Somalia's bloody political strife and begin anew in Canada were subjected to a wide range of social, economic, and cultural challenges as a result of their flight (Mohamed 52). Due to cultural shock, social isolation, and linguistic barriers, Somali women experience severe difficulties integrating into the Canadian labour market. As a result of this, they are forced to turn to their social networks to cope with barriers and to seek economic opportunities. This study will examine the dynamics of social networks and their capacity to reduce socio-economic and linguistic barriers, and increase the economic participation of Somali immigrant women in the Greater Toronto Area. It will do so by conducting primary and secondary research to examine the features of social support, ethnic

economies, and 'enterprising selves', which stem from social networks.

The civil war in Somalia resulted in a (large/staggering) influx of refugees arriving and settling in Canada (as well as in various other Western countries). Between 1988-1996, female Somali refugees (along with men and children) arriving to Canada exceeded 55,000. The most recent data on the Somali Canadian population reveals that there are approximately 70, 000 (Abdulle 1999). Of this number, a majority of Somali immigrants choose to live in the GTA. The Somali population residing in the GTA currently numbers 18, 440 (Mensah & Williams 2015). The strikingly large number of Somali immigrants in Canada makes it home to the largest Somali community outside Somalia (Abdulle 1999).

Despite the large presence of Somali-Canadians, minimal research has been conducted on them as a group, and especially on Somali-Canadian women. Scholars have predominantly focused on differences between immigrant and refugee communities, rather than on investigating the unique resettlement challenges faced by refugees in their host country (Mohamed 52). As a result of this lack of empirical data, there is a limited understanding of the challenges experienced by Somali women in Canada. In fact, Somali-Canadian women are often stereotyped as unemployed and uneducated, and face stigma and racial discrimination. Additional research on Somali immigrant women in Canada is imperative to better understand how women overcome initial socio-economic barriers, as a result of cultural, technological, and linguistic barriers.

The research design in this study employs both primary and secondary data collection methods. Primary research was essential because of the limited existing data on Somali immigrant women in the GTA. The location where the primary data was conducted was *Suuqa Ceelgaab*—a Somali shopping centre located in Rexdale in Toronto. *Suuga Ceelgaab* is an Indian owned complex which consists of roughly 100 retail units available for rent. Considering the large

number of Somalis residing in the Rexdale area, Somali women occupy all of the rental units available in *Suuqa Ceelgaab*. In this study, primary research consisted of participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Over the course of 4 months, 15 hours a week were spent in *Suuqa Ceelgaab* examining the products sold in the market and the experience of the women. The researcher's ability to speak and understand Somali eliminated possible language barriers and allowed the researcher to conduct informal interviews. Casual conversations through group discussions as well as individual conversations allowed the women to speak of their experiences and perceptions of life in the GTA. In total, fifty women were interviewed individually and each group discussion consisted of 15 informants. This method enabled the researcher to examine the perceptions of isolation, based on the presence of close family in Toronto, their perceptions of integration in their experiences with language learning, and perceptions of inclusion and exclusion in Canadian society.

Secondary sources provided a comparative analysis between Somali women and other immigrant women in the GTA. A number of journals on Canadian Chinese and South Asian immigrant women allowed for an examination of the development and impact of social networks and how they might foster economic activity. Secondary research also reveals the ways in which immigrants face challenges and barriers as a result of race and gender and how they overcome these to become catalysts for economic activity. For this study, the concepts of 'ethnic economies' and 'enterprising selves' were borrowed from Chinese and South Asian Canadian scholars to further illustrate and examine the economic activity of Somali Canadian women.

Study Findings

Results from primary and secondary research reveal that establishing a sense of belonging amongst Somali immigrant women

through social networks is an important means of overcoming socio-economic barriers. Social networks create social support and help alleviate experiences of loneliness and alienation Somali women may encounter upon arriving in the GTA (Lynam 327). Subsequent to fleeing the civil war in Somalia, most women arriving to Canada did not speak the two Canadian national languages, English and French. An inability to speak English and/or French hinders integration into Canadian society by limiting the capacity for women to navigate Canadian institutions and to find work (Lynam 328). Women at *Suuqa Ceelgaab* expressed that linguistic barriers are the predominant cause of feelings of isolation and exclusion. They expressed frustration due to the lack of available translators provided by the state, as well as existing discrimination when attempting to seek employment in the labour market. Numerous women illustrated that they were often turned down by potential employers and/or deemed unqualified, in spite of their training and experience. For instance, a qualified nurse expressed her frustration after being told her heavy accent would limit patient-nurse communication. "I came to Canada so that I could work for my children and provide them with a better and more promising life. It was hard for me to find out that despite my qualifications, finding work would be difficult," said Asha, owner of store number 22. Feelings of exclusion and perceptions of being unwelcome in the host country significantly discourage immigrant women from seeking employment in the Canadian labour market (Lynam 327).

Social networks bridge the gap between non-English or French speaking individuals and Canadian institutions by making information more accessible. Women are able to reach out to members of the community who speak the national languages and use them as translators. The most common technique to demonstrate this is through examining first and second-generation Somalis. For instance, participant observation reveal that Canadian-born Somali youth frequently became translators for non-English speaking Soma-

li parents, friends and family. In this instance, immigrants were able to access information (such as English training opportunities) and were able to communicate their needs more thoroughly, whenever they experienced difficulty doing so.

Additionally, social networks also increase the feeling of belonging by bringing together communities of Somali women living in the GTA and allowing them to hold on to their tradition. The Somali women all said they were part of a tight-knit Somali community in Toronto. A close-knit Somali community and experiences of solidarity increase the likelihood of cultural retention. It allowed women to assimilate into the new Canadian environment without forcing them to let go of their familiar customs and traditions, thus reducing the likelihood of feeling completely alienated (Lynam 327). Tight-knit Somali communities also empower women both personally and professionally. Feelings of belonging encourage women to find employment by making information more accessible (Lynam 327).

The ethnic economy, the concept of gaining capital through social networks, is a positive consequence of social networks as it generates greater economic participation amongst Somali immigrant women (Lucia &Wang 1). Women in the *Suuqa Ceelgaab* market expressed the sizeable impact and benefits of the ethnic economy, as well as its direct correlation to their employment opportunities. Similarly, in the Chinese community, the ethnic economy is forged on trust and communal connections. It provides informal forms of financial assistance to immigrants and has allowed for the establishment of various Somali businesses in the GTA (Lucia &Wang 1). A majority of the women studied at the *Suuqa Ceelgaab* market belonged to a rotating credit association organized and run by Somali Canadian women. Women are required to prepare agreed upon funds monthly. Each month a different participant of the group will receive all the raised funds. Ethnic economies function on a local scale and only include Somali women who live in the GTA. The lo-

cality of the ethnic economy increases its strength because it ensures that those who are members are pressured to meet payment due dates. This way, women using their social networks are able to both transfer and draw monetary funds to start up business without the need to access formal financial institutions.

In addition to providing monetary funds to start businesses, ethnic economies also reflect the strong desire for Somali immigrant women to become businesswomen and seek work despite the experience of gender and racial discrimination in Toronto.

> Entrepreneurship is now widely recognized as a way in which immigrants can adapt to some of the social and economic trends that affect them directly, including discrimination, lack of qualifications, industrial restructuring, unemployment, welfare retrenchment and labour market deregulation (Pe´coud 59).

Somali immigrant women are able to benefit from being part of their 'ethnic' group regardless of potent challenging barriers. Solidarity amongst the women permits the flow of ethnic resources such as, "values, knowledge, skills, information, attitudes, leadership, solidarity, an orientation to sojourning, and institutions" (Pe´coud 62). It also reduces costly transportation costs and permits the circulation of information and access to reliable business partners (Pe´coud 62).

As well as increasing feelings of belongingness and the formation of ethnic economies, social networks may also lead to the "Enterprising Selves" discourse. In the article *'Redefining "Enterprising Selves": Exploring The "Negotiation" Of South Asian Immigrant Women Working As Home-Based Enclave Entrepreneurs*, author Srabani Maitra (19) defines "Enterprising Selves" as such:

> An enterprising individual is constructed as an independent, self-regulated person who aspires to autonomy, desires, personal fulfillment‖, believes in individual responsibility and find[s] meaning in existence by shaping its life through acts of choice.

Maitra illustrates this concept of enterprising self in the figure of the South Asian immigrant woman, her experience and the ways in which she copes with and overcomes linguistic and discriminatory barriers. Similar to Somali women, South Asian immigrants are also limited by socio-economic obstacles that hinder integration into Canadian society. However, both groups differ in notable ways; for instance, for the most part, South Asian women hold degrees and professional experience upon arriving to Canada, while most Somali women do not (Maitra 4). Despite their educational and professional backgrounds, the gendered and racialized nature of the Canadian labour market limits equal access into the workplace (Maitra 4). As a result, South Asian women immigrants are predominantly forced to stay at home and fulfill domestic duties while they rely on their husbands as breadwinner (Maitra 4).

Despite such differences both South Asian and Somali immigrant groups experience difficulties accessing employment in the mainstream labour sector in the GTA. To combat this, both groups are forced to create socio-economic opportunities for themselves. This is done through the selling and buying of traditional clothing and artifacts (Maitra 4). The concept of "Enterprising Selves", portrays immigrant women as they truly are productive, responsible, independent and hardworking citizens not solely depend on state assistance (Maitra 1). Amongst Somali immigrant women, *Suuqa Ceelgaab* reflects the Enterprising Selves discourse. The market holds approximately 100 small shops where women sell traditional and cultural clothing and artifacts. When entering the mall, one can see an array of traditional wear long cultural dresses hung on the walls, as well as drums and popular perfumes on display.

Conclusion

During the primary data collection phase several questions were asked in informal conversations to evaluate immigrant wom-

en's perception of integration and the effectiveness of community organizations. The study's findings are similar to those mentioned in Hopkins article, *Somali Community Organizations in London and Toronto: Collaboration and Effectiveness.* Observations include that women feel marginalized and underrepresented in these organizations despite their mission to increase immigrant assimilation. Additionally, women highlighted that most Somali community organizations are limited in building a united and collective voice for Somali refugee women. They do not sufficiently focus on the unique challenges women face upon arriving to Canada, and fail to offer women support in crucial areas.

This study examined the impact of social networks in the Somali immigrant community in the GTA. Through primary and secondary data collection, social networks were revealed to be vital in alleviating the socio-economic and linguistic obstacles experienced by Somali immigrant women in Toronto. Social networks provide women with the social support needed to reduce the experience of loneliness and alienation. It is essential because it increases access to information, enables immigrants to communicate more effectively with Canadian institutions, and allows for cultural retention. In addition, ethnic economies are also essential in helping immigrant women to integrate into the Canadian labour market. Ethnic economies generate the funds and communal ties necessary to start a business amongst Somali women. Finally the concept of "enterprising selves" is a final way that illustrates the ways in which social networks help overcome barriers.

To further ensure that Somali women continue engaging in the economy, it is essential that further research be conducted to evaluate the impact of social networks. Further research will also reveal the impact of social networks and the ways in which they increase the economic participation of women by creating a sense of belonging, resulting in ethnic economies, and by encouraging women to become productive in Canadian society. Policy prescriptions should

attempt to eliminate the barriers that may continue to hinder eco-nomic participation. These include; the lack of available translators, as well as the failure to acknowledge the unique challenges women experience as a result of gender and racial differences.

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The Dramatic and Poetic Contents of the *Idju* Festival of the Agbarha-Ame People of Warri

Peter Emuejevoke Omoko[1]

Entertainment through various acts of performance is a central part of everyday life in Africa. At the village squares, under the moonlight nights, around the fire place, during intercommunity wrestling contests, at annual festivals and different religious observances, various cultural pieces such as dance, songs, tales, and ritual performances are re-enacted to initiate efforts at relating to their ancestors and events of time past. Festival is one sure means through which the people relate to their past and interact with the present as well as the future. During festivals, various dramatic and artistic feats are re-enacted to satisfy the aesthetic yearnings of spectators/audiences. The *Idju* festival of the Agbarha-Ame people of Warri in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria is one of such festivals that is celebrated with artistic grandeur and all the vestiges of real theatre. This paper examines the dramatic and poetic contents of the festival and contends that, like other festivals in Africa, the *Idju* festival possesses credible elements of drama and poetry such as dance, impersonation, procession, ritual, spectacles, costumes, spectators, dialogue, songs, mime, gesture, incantation, tempo and other paralinguistic techniques, all aimed

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at uplifting the excitement of the audience. The paper thus concludes that the Agbarha-Ame dramaturgy is made up of groups of traditional and performing arts in a cultural milieu that contains mimetic impersonation either of human actions or of spiritual essence.

Festivals have continuously played an important part in the life of Africans. Through the various rites, rituals and other dramatic and poetic performances, the people are able to connect with their history as well as engage in different forms of cultural artistry with which they distinguish themselves as a people. During festivals, various dramatic pieces are enacted as songs, mine, dance, impersonation occupy significant aspects of the festival.

The origin of drama is often traced to ancient rites and festivals. Arthur Koestler (quoted in Echeruo,2014: 170-171) adumbrates this point when he notes that the "dramatic art has its origins in ceremonial rites – dances, songs and mime – which enacts important past or derived future events: rain, a successful hunt, an abundant harvest. The gods, demons, ancestors and animals participating in the events were impersonated with the aid of masks, costumes, tattooing and makeup." J.P. Clark (2014:71) traces the origin of European drama to the Egyptian Osiris and the Greek Dionysius. He contends that Nigerian drama is likely to be found in the "religious and magical ceremonies and festivals of the Yoruba, the *egwugwu* and *mimo* masquerades of the Ibo, and the *owu* and *oru* water masquerades of the Ijaw." He states that,

> if drama means the "elegant imitation" of some actions significant to a people, if this means the physical representation or the evocation of one poetic image or a complex of such images, if the vital elements to such representation or evocation are speech, music, ritual, song as well as dance and mime, and if as the Japanese say of their Noh theatre, the aim is to "open the ear" of the mind of a spectator in a corporate audience and "open his eyes" to the beauty of form, then there is drama in plenty in Nigeria, much of this as distinctive as any in China, Japan and Europe (2014:69).

Clark goes ahead to describe Nigerian drama as falling into two broad groups: "traditional drama" and "modern drama". He further

sub-divides the traditional drama into two main groups. According to him, one of the sub-groups is "sacred because its subjects and aims are religious, while the other is secular drama, shading from the magical, through a number of sub-kinds to the straight play and entertainment piece". He notes that within the sacred species, there are again two types: "one grouping together what have been variously termed ancestral myth plays, and the other which are masquerades or plays by age groups and cults". Clark concludes that the "dramas of *Obatala* and *Oshagiyan* performed annually at Oshogbo and Ejigbo provides indisputable examples of the first sacred kind" (2014:71). As shall be seen later, the *Idju* festival of the Agbarha-Ame people of Warri, Delta State, falls into this category.

In his study of Nigerian theatre and drama. Yemi Ogunbiyi (2014:2) supports Clark's view that the "primitive root" of traditional theatre and drama in Nigeria and indeed Africa must be sought in the numerous religious rituals and festivals that exist in many Nigerian communities and elsewhere. According to him, drama in traditional Africa societies "arose out of fundamental human needs in the dawn of human civilization and has continued to express those needs ever since". The point being made here is that, humans in their earliest period have tried to re-enact events and situations which have shaped their struggles and successes overtime. Ogunbiyi traces this origin from human's quest to understudy nature as an adventure; in the area of food gathering to their battles over anticipated adversaries. In his view, the time humans acquired knowledge from their environment shaped their awareness about nature, their means remained limited to what was an implacably hostile environment. He however believes that human's desire to ensure the steady flow of food as a permanent victory over their numerous adversaries prompted them to understand that they could achieve theirdesires by dancing and acting them out in the form of rites. Ogunbiyi therefore quotes George Thompson who succinctly captures this idea thus:

> By a supreme effort of will, they endeavour to impose illusion on reality. In this they fail, but the effort is not wasted. Thereby the physical conflict between them and their environment is resolved. Equilibrium is restored and so, when they return to reality, they are actually fit to grapple with it than they were before. (2014:3)

Certainly, this is the origin of African drama. For as Ogunbiyi puts it, "…with greater awareness these rites (now rituals), were modified and altered, such that it became possible with time to isolate the myths which have developed around the rituals and to act them out as traditional drama of some sort".(2014:4). In other words, there is symmetry between African traditional drama, its environment and its agrarian culture. This is why Ruth Finnegan (2012:486) believes that African drama should not be measured with the features or traditions of European drama. This is because enactment which is one of the most important aspects of drama is well verbalized in traditional African drama. Furthermore, she argues that while actors who imitate persons and events are well established in traditional African dramatic forms, "other elements, appearing to a greater or lesser degree at different times or places: linguistic content; plot; the represented interaction of several characters; specialized scenery, etc.; often music; and – of particular importance in most African performances – dance". The insights in Finnegan's work are useful in our study of the dramatic content of the *Idju* festival of the Agbarha-Ame people of Warri.

One important question that is worth asking, however, is what constitutes drama in a cultural setting and drama itself. Does every rite or festival have dramatic elements or contents? What are the constituents of drama in the cultural setting? Ola Rotimi (2014) in his article, "The Drama in Africa Ritual Display", describes the elements that constitute drama in the cultural setting, and what does not. He believes that the standard acceptance of the term "drama" within a cultural setting, implies "an imitation of an action… of a person or persons in action", the ultimate object of which is to edify or to entertain. In other words, he sees imitation, suspense and con-

flict as the cornerstone of dramatic enactment. According to him, "what could be, and has frequently been mistaken for drama in most African traditional displays, appears when this latter type of non-imitative ceremonial effervesces with movement, rhythm, and spectacle, beyond the ordinary" (93) are not considered. Rotimi sees festivals such as the *Gelede* masquerade display and the *Eyo* festival of Lagos as not possessing the features of drama while those like the "*ala suwo*" initiation rite by the Nembe and "*Irie*" by the Okrika people of Nigeria as containing robust dramatic contents. In other words, imitation and role play are the measure ingredients of drama in a cultural setting. As would be shown in this essay, the content of the *Idju* festival is suffused with concrete elements of drama such as imitation, procession, dialogue, dance display, mime, music, songs, prop and costume, to mention a few.

It is important to note at this point that the materials for this essay are based on fieldwork carried out at separate times and over many years of interaction with participants in my capacity as one who is born and bred in Igbudu, one of the seven villages that made up the Agbarha-Ame kingdom of Warri. Additional information is sourced from personal interviews with role-players, community elders as well as those who are knowledgeable in the history and traditions of the people. However, I do not claim to be an authority in the custom and traditions of the people. Secondly, I shall in this essay engage with the mimetic aspects of the festival – the cutlass clashes, singing and dancing. This is my modest contribution to the rich cultural and artistic heritage as contained in the *Idju* festival of the Agbarha-Ame people of Warri.

The *Idju* festival songs are indigenous oral poetic pieces with signifiers of conflict composed specifically for the festival ceremonies and performed to celebrate the heroic exploits and qualities of individuals andgroups who have made their mark to uplift the stature of the community. They are also performed to arouse the spirit of the dancers/celebrants who dance to the songs and to the lyrical

drumming of the professional drummers. The dancers rely on the tempo of the drums and each drumbeat is punctuated by the exchanges between the lead singer and the group – all accentuated in dramatic fashion. This is what Romanus Egudu means when he avers that in African society, song is always "generally a purposeful affair, in the sense that it is not meant merely to satisfy some aesthetic cravings or to engender intellectual appeal"; instead, the purpose "ranges from ritual, through demonstration of accepted values, to simple moral or ethical education".(1978:36). It is in this regard that Finnegan (2012:486) notes that: "Rather than produce a verbal definition, it seems better to point to the various elements which tend to come together in what, in the wide sense we normally regard as drama. Most important is the idea of enactment, of representation through actors who imitate person and events."

One of the literary devices employed by the *Idju* dancers is mime in the dramatization of different roles during performances. They also utilize the resources of mock duel to the effect of what Finnegan calls "variation and exaggeration of speed" (384). Finnegan also draws attention to the role of the song in "marking the structure of the story in a clear and attractive way" and how it helps to add beauty of skillful accompaniment as well as provide audience involvement and participation. Efforts shall be made in this essay to interrogate these artistic indices. But for now I would provide a short background of the Agbarha-Ame people of Nigeria and the *Idju* festival.

A Brief History of the Agbarha-Ame People

It is true that festivals and ceremonies anywhere in the world represent the experiences of a people. To fully understand the dramatic and poetic contents as well as the functions of the *Idju* festival of the Agbarha-Ame people therefore, it is necessary to have an overview of the people's history and culture from which some of the dramatic

and poetic resources of the festival are derived. This is significant because the aesthetic pleasure that one may enjoy from the dramatic spectacles and the poetic satisfaction of the festival are informed by one's knowledge of the people and their folklore. As Tanure Ojaide (2009) puts it, "one should not use the aesthetic criteria of one culture to judge the works of other cultures" (5).

The Agbarha-Ame people are believed to be originally from Edo territory and stopped in Agbarha-Otor, from where they founded the present Agbarha described as Agbarha-Ame (Onigu Otite, 2011:309). The Agbarha-Ame kingdom is located in Warri Township in present day Warri South Local Government Council of Delta State, Nigeria and consists of seven settlements namely: Otovwodo-Agbarha, Igbudu, Edjeba, Ogunu, Oteghele, Ukpokiti, and Okurode-Urhobo. Their neighbours are Uvwie, Udu, Ogbe-Ijo, Okere-Urhobo and the Itsekiri. The name, Agbarha, Otite notes, is used both to cover all the seven towns as one unit and to refer to one of the towns i.e. Otovwodo-Agbarha (Otite, 2011, 309).

The Agbarha-Ame people founded and occupied the land they live in as "a virgin area in about the 13th century or earlier according to calculations and traditions which agree generally with those settlement time scales of Oghara consolidated polity prior to the passage of Iginua's party to Ode-Itsekiri in the 15th century" (Otite, 2011:311). Otite explains further that "Agbarha-Ame were the original inhabitants of the township of what is now Warri. The township of Warri used to be farmlands belonging to Agbarha-Ame people" (2011:311).

Socially, religion is an important element in the life of the people. It is evident in their songs and other practices which express the abundance of God's mercies in, sorrows, joys, and aspirations. The highest religious head among the people is the Ọsedjọ/Olowu-Edje. He is the chief priest of the Agbarha-Ame deity known as Owhurie on which the festival's activities revolve. This is why the festival which is a celebration of goodness of the Owhurie deity is popularly

known as "Agbassa Juju". The word "Agbassa" is a corruption of the kingdom's name Agbarha while juju is used to represent the deity. In other words, "Agbassa Juju" simply means "Agbarha Deity". It is not anybody that can become an Olowu-Edje as the position is strictly dictated by the Owhurie deity itself. This is why Otite explains that the "position is feared and uncontested not only because one has to be 'called' to serve by the deity, but also because of the taboo restrictions" (2011: 312). The main function of the Olowu-Edje, according to Otite, is to "offer sacrifice to propitiate on behalf of individuals or groups requiring such services, and also to function prominently during the bi-annual festival associated with the deity" (Otite, 2011: 312). However, in the course of the establishment of the various communities that made up the Agbarha-Ame kingdom, the people have had cause to engage hostile neighbours around them. Oral history is replete with stories of battles and how various warlords (*Igbus*, singular-*Ogbu*) and field marshals (*Ilotu*, singular-*Olotu*) have engaged hostile enemies, spirits of the wild and animals that threatened the peaceful existence of the people. Names of *Ilotu* such as Ememu, Avwunudu, Ogunu and Essi of Igbudu resonate in the minds of the people and they feature prominently in their folklore. It is these acts of valour displayed by their ancestors with the assistance of the Owhurie deity that is bi-annually re-enacted at the *Idju* festival.

Origin of the *Idju* Festival of the Agbarha-Ame People of Warri

The *Idju* festival is a bi-annual festival celebrated by the Agbarha-Ame people of Warri in worship of the Owhurie deity (the god of war). The festival is characterised by ancestral veneration (Esemọ and Iniemọ 'male and female' ancestors). The festival, also known as "Agbassa Juju," features ritual activities, symbolic war duel occasioned by war dance as well as intense festivity. It is one of the unify-

ing forces that bind the seven communities that make up the Agbarha-Ame kingdom.

The origin of the festival from oral accounts may be traced back to the early 15th century. Oral accounts show that the ancestors who founded the kingdom first settled at Ukpokiti and then Oteghele. They however left Oteghele to settle on the southern part of the Omia River. During their stay there, there were frequent deaths of the elders. The people saw the frequent deaths of their elders as the handiwork of an evil force or a curse by a deviant spirit who was out to wreak havoc on the town in order to reduce her population. Otite explains that the people therefore sought the assistance of a diviner who directed them to retrieve their shrine/deity left behind at Oteghele to their present settlement. The people swiftly went and retrieved and installed the god and called it the Owhurie deity (Otite, 2011: 311). The people therefore instituted the bi-annual *Idju* festival in worship of the Owhurie deity for ensuring the people's safety from frequent deaths and for protecting them against external forces. Hence, during the celebration, the people wear gallant and warlike costumes, with the men wielding cutlasses in a procession that is characterised by mock dance duels of clanking cutlasses and other battle instruments.

Participants in enthusiastic mood at the *Idju* festival (Photo by De Lords Studios, Warri)

The aim is to re-enact the heroic warfare encountered by their ancestors and the victories they achieved. According to Otite, this "societal identity and the demonstration of the military ability to hold and defend its own place, land, waters, e.t.c., are re-enacted periodically …in military festivals centred on the Owhurie war god" (2011: 313).

The festival which is celebrated on a day fixed by the Chief Priest with pomp and pageantry is preceded by six days of intense preparations. During this period, the preparations usually take place at night. The warriors from each of the settlements visit one another in groups and are escorted back by the host community. This is done to cement the cordial relationship that existed between them. Very early on the sixth day, warriors from the seven settlements would converge at Sedco, one of the hunting sites of the kingdom to carry some sacred ritual materials, which are wrapped in a mat, to Otovwodo in preparation for the final day of the festival.

As a war festival which marks the return of the war deity (Owhurie) from battle, the people on the day of the festival are dressed in martial costumes – red and white clothes sewn to repre-sent costumes of their ancient warriors. Some of the male role play-ers put on red or white skirt (*buluku*) and a sleeveless shirt while others leave the upper part of their body naked with their faces painted variously with kaolin and charcoal. Skulls of monkeys, birds, and feathers of wild birds, bells (both small and big), as well as different amulets are tied to various of their body and clothes. Red/white caps with feathers of birds pieced on them are also worn by participants, giving them an air of ancient traditional warriors – each bearing a cutlass or an axe, brooms or staff with scabbard worn around their shoulders. At intervals, one group would clank their cutlasses against those of others in a mock duel. The women dress in comical costumes, carrying brooms, palm fronds and sticks.

Participants in warring costumes at the *Idju* festival (Photo by De Lords Studios, Warri)

The activities of the final day start between 7am and 10am in the morning at each of the seven communities that made up the Agbar-ha-Ame kingdom. Each of the seven settlements, with the chief priests (*Esedjọ*) and Warriors, would process to Otovwodo (the tradi-tional headquarters of the kingdom) to give account of their stew-ardship to the god of war (the Owhurie deity). Each troupe arrives with an *Osa* (a palm fronds decorated burning basket with a boy of about four years old) guarded by heavily armed warriors.

Youths display the *Osa* from each Agbarha-Ame settlements. (Photo by De Lords Studios, Warri)

The procession from each community arrives one after the other and halts at the feet of the Owhurie shrine at Otovwodo. They and their entourage dance to the admiration of the spectators before entering the temple.

This is quickly followed by the arrival of the Igbus (warlords) led by the Aridjo who is the traditional medicine man whose duty is to see to the safety of the warriors at war times. The Aridjo is vested with the traditional authority to "survey the conditions of safety in the town three times before the Olotu (field marshal) may venture out during the festival" (Otite, 2011: 313). During this period, the traditional sacred drum is being prepared by the chief drummer who pours libation and utters some chants to fortify the drums. His ritual fortification of the drums, which are painted in red and white, is climaxed by another round of libation with a special palm wine brought from the Owhurie shrine. The chief drummer has an assistant who beats some smaller sets of drums. When satisfied with the fortification of the drum, the chief drummer beats it to spur the warriors who are already at the arena. The warriors dance from one end of the arena to another and then to the deity's altar directly facing the Owhuire temple, say some chants and then processed into the shrine, thus paving way for the arrival of the Olotu. The Olotu arrives the mini-theatre stage already prepared, accompanied by warriors who cover him with trees and palm fronds as the tempo of the sacred drum is increased. The scenario is such that the trees are seen to be moving as a forest that is being transferred. The Olotu's emergence heralds a mock heroic dance of clanking of cutlasses and gallantry to the admiration of the spectators. He is led directly to the Owhurie temple for further fortifications. The Olotu, according to Otite, was a "war leader in pre-colonial times and although his position may now be regarded as ceremonial by appearing during the bi-annual festival, this appearance is mandatory". He notes further that

"if the Olotu does not perform certain critical rituals, things might not go well with the people" (2011: 312). Hence the Owhurie festival is climaxed with the formal appearance of the Olotu.

At this stage, the arena is covered with enthusiastic participants who dance in a mock heroic duel of cutlass clanking. The tempo of the drum is heightened amidst clinking cutlasses. The *Igbus* (warlords) re-enter the arena, dance in a calculated steps in synchrony with the drumbeats and then move to the altar stage, a raised sacrificial platform in front of the temple, utter some chants and return to the inner chambers of the Owhurie temple. At this point, the arena is cleared to usher in the Olotu who emerges without the sacred head-gear. He is dressed in white *buluku* (skirt) with the upper part of his body, smeared with charcoal, naked. He holds two brooms in his hands and dances to salute the drummers to the admiration of the spectators. He moves from there to the sacrificial platform directly in front of the Owhurie shrine, utters appropriate chants and returns to face the spectators on the upper stage of the arena, dancing ostentatiously to the rhythm of the drum. He does this three times and then returns to the inner chambers of the Owhurie shrine. At this stage, elders and chiefs of the kingdom in jubilant mood dance around the open section of the arena to greet the spectators, creating a space for a free-for-all dance. This goes on for about thirty-five minutes and then the arena stage is called to order the second time to receive the Olotu, this time in full military regalia. He dons the Oletu head gear (a warrior cap decorated with feathers of sacred birds, each representing the numbers of enemies killed in battle), with the upper part of his body smeared with charcoal. He holds a cutlass on his right hand and the head of a goat on the left – drinking the fresh blood from the severed head of the goat at intervals, re-enacting an ancient battle scene where the blood from the severed head of an enemy warrior is drank by the Olotu. The Olotu looks fierce in his charcoal-smeared body, marching menacingly in calculated steps, following the rhythmic beats of the drums. He dances for

about 25 minutes and he is escorted back to the inner chambers of the shrine. At this point, the oldest man of the kingdom is escorted to the arena by elders and chiefs, all dancing to the rhythm of the drumbeats. This signaling the end of the sacred aspects of the festival. The merriment ceremonies thereafter continue till dawn.

Dramatic Content of the *Idju* Festival

As has been noted above, the *Idju* festival is celebrated with elaborate spectacles such as dance, mock heroic duel, mime, ritual, music, songs as well as other artistic renditions that commemorate some of the historical feats of the ancestors and significant events that typify the people's cultural milieu. On the first day preceding the festival, the Osedjọ (Chief priest) who wears a mixed red and white garment, painted with animal blood, enters the Owhurie sacred shrine with his back. He collects a kola-nut from a wooden bowl and offers prayers for the community and everyone present in the sacred room and thereafter announces the commencement of the festival. He continues the ritual by breaking parts of the kola-nut into smaller pieces, which he drops under the altar table and throws the remainder on the wooden bowl/ceramic plate. As he performs this ritual, he pauses at intervals and offers some prayers and chants to the gods. After this, he picks up a lobe of the kola-nut and chews as the bowl/ceramic plate is passed round the shrine for adherents to collect a piece. At this stage, the Ọsedjọ beats a drum in a dramatic manner as if to welcome the Owhurie deity to the affairs of the day. Here, the Ọsedjọ acts as the deity's advocate. During this interval, there is the blowing of the traditional whistle; a whistle made from the horn of an antelope while the drum continues in the background. This done, the supplicant then steps forward and presents his or her case before the Owhurie deity. After uttering some words, he greets the Ọsedjọ (chief priest) thus:

Supplicant:	Olowu-Edje	Olowu-Edje	
Ọsedjọ:	Kada	I am with you	2x
Supplicant:	Mi se Owhurie ọ	I worship Owhurie	
Ọsedjọ:	He!	Yes!	2x
Supplicant:	Kọyen ọgba re?	Am I on the right track?	
Ọsedjọ	He!	Yes!	
Supplicant:	Whu whu…!	Victory…!	
All:	Eghwe whu…!	All along…!	

Each ritual performance here is punctuated by dramatic pauses and mimicry. This ritual performance helps to foreground the dramatic impulses of the festival. This is why Soyinka (1988:203) avers that "drama draws on other art forms for its own survival and extension." Here, the Ọsedjọ acts as the link between the living and the ancestors.

As earlier observed, the Agbarha-Ame people have a keen sense of organized and stylized representation of actions. Various anthropological research tudiess have shown that there are without doubt theatrical contents in all societies's festivals, past and present, involving all three of the essential elements of theatre, namely; audience, impersonation and dialogue. It is in this regard that M.J.C. Echeruo (2014:169) argues that "festival is a celebration, and drama is a re-enactment of life". Like the earliest Greek drama which is centred on impersonation, dialogue and audience, the *Idju* festival possesses poignant contents of impersonation, spoken language/dialogue and flamboyant display of spectacle, dance as well as rituals. Although the ritual performance is less significant, one "need only contrast this with the various rites and festivals of the coastal and riverine peoples of West Africa, where both religious observances and economic practicalities of the same activity have taken on, over the centuries, a distinctly dramatic orderings (Soyinka, 1988:197).

One of the dramatic contents of the *Idju* festival is the audience. Audience or spectators constitute the major dramatic signifier of the *Idju* festival. Firstly, the arena is arranged in a manner where an up-

per stage is erected, facing the entrance of the shrine to the left and a temporary Owhurie altar directly facing the shrine to the right. This is done in order for the elders and other invited dignitaries who make up the audiences/spectators to have a clear view of the entire performances. Other spectators are made to stand or sit at various vantage points of the arena where they can also have an unobstructed view of the performances. This is done because the audiences/spectators are the ones for whom the performances are targeted to please. During the dance procession session where cutlasses are displayed (*agada-efa)* in a mock duel, spectators, comprising of visitors and family relations of individual performers, crowd the arena to watch and cheer them on while others play different roles such as clapping of hands, drumming and singing. This is so because the festival is not only celebrated for its aesthetic displays but also serves as a means of preserving the cultural heritage of the people. It is against this background that Echeruo contends that drama "in its very manifestations, including its ritual manifestations, is very specifically communal in character". He notes further that more "than any of the other arts, [drama] requires a group audience at all stages of enactment; quite often, in fact, it demands the participation of the audience in the action of song" (2014:168). During its celebration, the Agbarha-Ame people in other parts of Nigeria and in the Diaspora, make efforts to attend the ceremony, thereby making the *Idju* festival a platform for family and cultural re-union of the people.

Another aspect of ritual performance in the *Idju* festival is the slaughtering of animals. The purpose is to use the blood of the animals to cleanse the sins of the people. This is an expression of the relationship between the people and their gods that acts as their protector and provider. During the sacrificial process of the *Idju* festival, a tensed atmosphere significantly pervades the environment. Will the animal's head be severed in a single blow of the cutlass? The suspense is increased because, should it go otherwise, the entire processes have failed and it may portend disaster for the kingdom. But

when successful, there is celebration and dance displays. Thereafter, the severed goat head is handed over to the Olotu who drinks the fresh blood as a mark of heroism at the same time uttering appropriate chants:

Olotu: Mi sẹ Owhurie ọ

All: He!

Olotu: Mi sẹ Owhurie ọ

All: He!

Olotu: Kọyen ọgbare?

All: He!

Olotu: Kọyen ọgbare?

All: He!

Olotu: Whu whu!

All: Eghwewhu!

Olotu: I worship Owhurie

All: Yes!

Olotu: I worship Owhurie

All: Yes!

Olotu: Am I on the right track?

All: Yes!

Olotu: Am I corrct?

All: Yes!

Olotu: Whu whu!

All: Eghwewhu!

This accounts for why Echeruo (2014:169) believes that "drama flourishes best in a community which has satisfactorily transformed ritual into celebration and converted the mythic structure of action from the religious and priestly to the secular plane." As he notes further, in "Greek and similar societies, drama, as festival, reinforces common values, shared bonds and common taboos. It re-established links with the past and compels the living to participate in hilarity and comradeship of a communal happening" (2014:169). The ritual performances outlined above, though distinct from drama in its actual context as indeed Echeruo notes, gives us a sense of a religious ritual incorporating impersonation as well as spectacle which is the hallmark of the *Idju* festival.

Soyinka's comments in his chapter, "Theatre in African Traditional Cultures: Survival Patterns" in *Art, Dialogue and Outrage: Essays on Literature and Culture* is very instructive on the issues of the place of ritual in traditional drama. Although Soyinka believes that drama must be associated with the environment that gave birth to it, he contends that the history of theatrical professionalism in Nigeria

and elsewhere can be found in funeral rites and rituals. He cites the case of the funeral rites that was associated with the burial rituals of the Oyo king as constitutive of theatrical engagement in traditional culture. According to him, "what started out – probably – as a ritualistic ruse to effect the funeral obsequies of an Oyo king had, by the mid-century (19th), evolved into a theatrical form in substance and practice" (1988:191). In other words, drama and ritual possess certain performance features, though distinct, that add to the spectacle and aesthetic grandeur of traditional theatre. Soyinka's assessment of the theatrical nuances that characterised the dramatic aesthetics of the plays of Hubert Ogunde, Kola Ogunmola, and Duro Ladipo shows that rituals played significant roles in their development. According to him, "rituals appeared with greater frequency and masquerades became a frequent feature – often, it must be added, as gratuitous insertions" (1988:202).

Another important dramatic content of the *Idju* festival is the mock cutlass dance duel. This is the most significant aspect of the festival. As has been noted earlier, each participant is armed with a cutlass and dressed in a flowing skirt (*buluku*) impersonating their ancestors in ancient times whose military garments are traditional skirts (*buluku*) accompanied by amulets and talisman of varying metaphysical potent. With their faces fiercely and variously smeared with charcoal and kaolin, each participant marches menacingly towards another, clinks his cutlass against each other in a mock heroic duel–impersonating a war situation where the community warlords engage enemies from neighbouring communities. During an interval, a participant bursts out of the crowd to boast of his might, daring any fatherless enemy to come and engage him in a battle of death:

Irhawo… komu…!
Eravwen o jẹ ọse e vwo oo oo… komu…!
Imeri oo oo … komu…!
e.t.c.!

After the chant, he marches menacingly to engage the others in the cutlass-clanking dance. This is the stage where the youths test their manhood in terms of endurance and resilience. This is the parallel that Charles Nnolim (2010:139) draws when he avers with regard to the Igbo masquerade mock duel during a festival that: "although wrestling played a large part in the traditional endeavours of Igbo youths, it was, in fact, minor to masquerading". As he puts it further, "although the quality of Igbo manhood was tested in the wrestling arena, it was more so in the masquerade cult."

Sometimes things get rowdy as opposing participants clash resulting in physical combat with others coming in to restore decorum. The participants clank their cutlasses against those of others with great strengths, imitating actions of serious warfare that sometimes an unprepared participant is hurt and led out of the arena. These imitations of actions of warfare are the indices of what constitutes the peoples' cultural dramaturgy. This is where Aristotle's reference to drama as a "mimetic process", that is, an imitation of an action becomes relevant. Ola Rotimi (2014:93) explains that the standard acceptance of the term drama within a cultural setting, at any rate, implies "an action… or of a person or persons in action, the ultimate object of which is to edify or to entertain." The *agada-efa* (cutlass clanking) battle by the participants represents the actions, conflicts and landmark victories the people have achieved since the creation of the Owhurie deity and this is very significant to the people. To use the words of Rotimi, "without necessarily probing into the historical or mythological source of this act, one recognizes points of conflict, mock conflict, true, but in essence, conflict" (2014:80). "Mimetic action," in the context of the *Idju* festival is the organized presentation of festival procession, mock heroic dance and cutlass-clanking displays, which are very significant to the people. In other words, activities that reveal in their style of presentation, in their purpose, and value, evidence of imitation, enlightenment and or entertainment, could be said to be dramatic. This is

perhaps synonymous to the point made by E. Goffman (1976:93) in his article, "Performance," when he says: "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers has some influence on the observers." .

The Agbarha-Ame dramaturgy can thus be described as a combination of traditional and performing arts in a cultural milieu which contains mimetic impersonation either of human actions or of spiritual essence. In other words, it comprises of traditional dramatic content such as dance displays, music, as well as secular performances. This stems from the fact that the festival integrates all the features of what constitute typical African religion and secular theatre. It is an understanding of this essence of what we might call "African theatre" that probably inspired M. Bauhan (1976:72) to declare which that:

The most important point to make is that African theatre has developed without major restrictions placed upon it by physical limitations, or time barriers, such as traditionally proscribe form and length of much European and American theatre. .

Thus, the *Idju* festival continues bi-annually without end, embellished with styles and grandeur each time it is performed. The performance cannot be said to be definite in style as each performance is unique with its own aesthetics, colours, music, dance, costumes, spectacles and audience.

Poetic Contents of the *Idju* Festival

The poetic content of the *Idju* festival constitutes the core element of the dramatic aesthetics of the festival. As earlier stated, the song and music with religious themes and ideas are essential qualities which not only instigate an enthralling performance by the participants, but thrill the audience/spectators who get fascinated by the calculated and punctuated movement of the Ọsedjọ who articulates

his incantations and chants to the rhythmic flow of the songs. The poetry in traditional African festivals is codified in songs, chants and incantations. All these along with processional hymns constitute the prime artistic grandeur that comes alive during the *Idju* festival celebration. It is occasioned by dance-drama, music and drumming. As Kofi Awoonor (1974:17) puts it, "In the mood and the cadences of the drums, and in the structure of songs, we come face to face with the form and content of original poetry." And in the words of Clark (2014:80-81), ".....music, dance, and poetry have been the constants of true Nigerian drama from the earliest birth-marriage-and-death-cycle ceremonies and rituals to our own trials by error of today." .

In the *Idju* festival, there are plenty of songs, chants, incantations and recitals like other African traditional festivals that are deeply religious. It celebrates dramatic and poetic aesthetics. These are perceived through the people's consensual notions of aesthetic grandeur, which can be verbalized and expressed with dance steps, music, hand clapping, gestures as well as facial expressions. In fact, songs play an important role in the entire festival period. The songs are composed to praise the heroic deeds of the people's ancestors and all those who have fought wars to defend the people's territorial integrity. For instance, at the first appearance of the Olotu (Field marshal) from the shrine, the song below may be intoned:

Olotu jẹ ọmọ uwovwin	Olotu sends a child an errand
Ko ono vwe unu gbe ta o	Whoever gossips about it
Hwere kufia o	Is killed piecemeal
Ko ono je uwe!	For he is foolish!

The Olotu is the highest ranking and most respected military institution of the people. In ancient times, he may have gone to war and defeated warriors from other kingdoms whose heads are believed to be used as cups! He may have also killed a wild animal like lion or leopard with bare hands or knife. A warrior of this stature must be feared and respected. His orders must be obeyed and carried

out to the letters. Hence the personage of the Olotu is celebrated as the defender and field marshal of the people. Therefore, if he sends a child on an errand nobody dares gossip about it.

Some of the songs are meant to spur the young ones to heroism while others draw their attention to the fact that they are from a stock of fearless warriors. Moreover, as each community approaches Otovwodo, the traditional headquarters of the kingdom, they sing songs composed in praise of heroic feats done by warlords or field marshals from their clans. For instance, the people of Igbudu community may approach the arena with the song:

He! Tobona tobona o	Behold! From all angles
He! Tobona tobona	Marvellous! From all directions
Essi mue agada vwe Ugbenu	Essi wields his cutlass at Ugbenu
Ugbenu rue oko shue	Ugbenu warriors ran into their boats
Essi rue otafe	Essi is in town
Iwhoo!	Behold! Death!

This song expresses the colossus stature of Chief Sam Warri Essi, a one-time field marshal of the Agbarha-Ame kingdom whose reign brought peace to the land. This song is performed with the accompaniment of drums and the blowing of whistle-horns (Ogbon) with participants wielding cutlasses and other dangerous weapons in a calculated and sychronised warring footsteps. Whenever it is performed, the peoples' spirits are charged and they dance in enthusiastic moods.

Others may approach the arena with songs that show collectivity and solidarity:

Orua igbe yo	This is a war song
Igbe ko re orua	It is a communal war song
Orua igbe re ofovwin o	This is a communal war song
Igbe ko re orua	It is a communal war song

This song for instance, is performed to herald the spirit of solidarity that once pervaded the entire kingdom. In time past, whenever a

settlement was at war, the entire kingdom was at war. Hence whenever this war song is intoned, the people engage in mock heroic duel of cutlass-clanking and fierce dance movements.

Many of the *Idju* songs are laced with vivid/battle images, all aimed at re-enacting significant events in the peoples' history. There is also the use of repetition which helps in emphasizing the importance of the festival. For instance, another group entering the arena with her *Osa* (a raffia-decorated burning basket with a boy of about four years old) guarded by heavily armed warriors, would intone thus:

Uvo keke	In broad day light
Uvo gbala	Behold! A broad day light
Mi muẹ orọvwọn rode	I carried a sacred object
Uvo gbala	Behold! A broad day light

These songs are part of the dramatic scenes of the *Idju* festival. The events are usually spectacles to behold when considered against the exchanges between the youths who wield their cutlasses in warring fashion and the Ọsedjọ (chief priest) of the Owhurie deity who displays in alluring fashion traditional chants and incantations of the people. The aesthetic dexterity is informed by the Ọsedjọ's dramatic movement to the admiration of all. It is against the above rubric that Bakery Troary (1972:26) concludes that African festivals are endowed with "great and elaborate spectacles such as dance, music, songs, recitals, and masquerades, all happening in one ceremony with a high degree of balance, unity, dance and rhythm." It should be noted here that all the songs rendered during the festival are war songs (*ile-ofovwin*).

Another spectacular song-dance-drama that constitutes the poetic content of the *Idju* festival is that performed by the *Igbus* (warlords). This song which is punctuated by a drum language is a re-enactment of events in time past. It involves many verbal, non-

verbal and paralinguistic gestures. The song is composed to celebrate the strengths and powers of the warriors who are always battle ready.

The song opens with vigorous drumming thus:

Olekuku wa djẹ	Pidgins should disperse
Ede rẹ ohọnre te re	The day of battle is here
(repeated several times.)	

By the dramatic use of body language, voice, pause, tempo, gesture, and other paralinguistic techniques, the song is energized into a warm and living experience. An experience through which the audience/spectators spontaneously identify and by which they exhibit various degrees of participation through encouraging applause and ululating grunts.

Another aspect of the poetic content of *Idju* festival is the use of chants and incantations during visual offerings by the Ọsedjọ (Chief Priest). Chant is a stylized form of speech or music which has many features of song. The *Idju* festival begins with a consultation by the various family head with the chief priest. During the ritual ceremony, the chief priest invites the ancestors to witness the activities of the day and pray for a successful festival. Here, the entire process is suffused with visual chants and stylized incantation to exercise the power of the ancestors and the Owhorie deity. The Ọsedjọ starts his divination in the following manner:

Ọsedjọ: Mi se Owhurie ọ	Owhurie I greet you
Mi se Owhurie ọ	Owhurie I salute you
Ẹdẹ na te nu re ọ	The day has come
Ẹdẹ e ve phiyọ ta nu re	The agreed date has come
Jẹ avwanre riẹn e be eka phia	Tell us how it will look like
Ebe wo ve ọ ọyen avwanre ruẹ na	We are working as you directed
Ọ rẹ ufuoma	It is for good
O ke yovwin	It will be good
Ohwo ọ ta re o yovwẹen	Whoever says otherwise

E jo ghwrẹ urhie	Let him drown in the river
Ebe a riẹn ru ọyen a ruẹ	We are performing our tradition
Ra vwe ọke emọ	As it was in the olden days
Iruaru rẹ e kpako fuoma	Tradition is for our good
Ọ rọ ta re nẹ oma fu avwanre	Whoever says we will live
E jẹ oma fuo	Let him live also
Ohwo ọ ta re o yovwẹẹn	Whoever says otherwise
E jo ghwrẹ evun aghwa the forest	Let the deviant get missing in
Kọyen ọgba re?	Hope it is correct?

All: He!   Yes!

Ọsedjọ: Kọyen ọgba re?   Hope it is correct?

All: He!   Yes!

Ọsedjọ: Whu whu…!   Victory…!

All: Eghwe whu…!   All along…!

As soon as this is chanted, the elders nod their heads in agree-ment to the prayers, after which kola-nuts and drinks are served round to every one present. After this solemn performance in the village square, the group takes a procession to the shrine of Owhurie deity. As the procession gains momentum, religious songs are chant-ed accompanied by vigorous hand clapping, while at the same time, a youth with a specialised skill blows the traditional whistle made from the horn of an antelope – punctuating at interval with the rhythmic beats of the drum. It is against this backdrop that Beverly J. Stoeltje (1992:261) asserts that African festivals "occur at cylindrical regulated intervals, are public in nature, participatory in ethos, com-plex in structure, and multiple in voice, scene, and purpose." If this is so, J.N. Amankulor (2014:156) argues, that the onus that rests upon the shoulder of the African, is for him/her to "return to the

roots of culture and back to the realm of tradition, ritual and reli-
gion". Because in this sphere, "there are great potentials in African
music, drama, art and religion."

The *Idju* festival thus provides the avenue for the people to
make supplications to "Ọghẹnẹ" (supreme God) for preserving their
lives and granting them peace and prosperity in the land. It also
serves as a platform for the people to rejuvenate and reaffirm their
loyalty to the ancestor and protect their common values. The sheer
display of ostentatious dance steps, dramatic movements, grunts,
with appropriate chants and incantations by the priest as well as the
vigorous hand clapping ushering in and closing the pageantry dis-
play of the *Idju* festival are intrinsic aspects of the artistic and aes-
thetic underpinnings embedded in the content of the festival.

The *Idju* festival, therefore, brings together diverse elements of
entertainment and communication, including cutlass-clanking dis-
plays, dance, song, music, mine, among others. It presents a series of
events that reinforce common values, shared bonds and common
taboos among the Agbarha-Ame people.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the *Idju* festival, like any other
traditional festival in Africa, is an important cultural practice that
compares with the elements and contents of modern theatre. The
Agbarha-Ame dramaturgy, like any form of cultural expression, is
based on the people's world view and aesthetics. This is because the-
atre derives its nature and credibility from the society in which it is
performed. In other words, the entire events associated with the fes-
tival constitute colourful dramatic enactments that artistically pre-
sent as well as project certain aspects of the people's cultural herit-
age. This essay has also established that virtually every aspect of the
Idju festival has audiences who watch performances elaborate pro-
cession, music, hands clapping as well as display of mock heroic

duel of cutlass-clanking to enact heroic feats of years past. These rites are often repeated just as it is done in modern dramatic situation. These acts of dance impersonation, chants and incantations are nothing but conscious art of worship without which there can be no performance for pleasure. Richard Shechuer (1977:23) captures the entire essence of performance in traditional setting as the "whole constellation of events that take place in both performers and audience from the time the first spectator enters the field of performance where theatre takes place to the time the last spectator leaves." Hence, I described the Agbarha-Ame dramaturgy as a combination of traditional and performing arts in a cultural milieu which contains mimetic impersonation either of human actions or of spiritual essence.

This essay thus contributes to the existing knowledge of Urhobo traditional festivals. The festival's drama and poetry project the people's worldview and identity; they assess moral character and the aspiration of the group against the universal standard of Urhobo traditional ethics. The study promotes knowledge and appreciation of Urhobo traditional drama and poetry beyond the confines of Urhoboland, thereby contributing to emerging heritage of traditional drama and poetry in Nigeria. Furthermore, the explication of the various dramatic and poetic contents of the *Idju* festival provide fresh ideas and insights that can generate further research into other forms of Urhobo cultural festivals and other traditions of cultural displays in Nigeria.

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Is Surveillance the Solution?

Evaluating CCTV as a Strategy for Addressing Crime in Post-Apartheid Johannesburg, South Africa

Heather Donkers

While business-booming Johannesburg has flourished since the fall of apartheid in 1994, the lasting effects of segregation, amongst other factors, have helped to maintain high levels of crime in the city. The Johannesburg Metropolitan Police admit that crime in general is a significant municipal issue, although recent and reliable statistics are generally unavailable to the public (City of Johannesburg 2015c). In response to this 'crime issue,' the Police Department introduced the Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance Project (CCTV) throughout the late 1990s and 2000s. The project has featured the ongoing implementation of surveillance cameras on street corners in Johannesburg's Central Business District, but the police do not specify which kinds of crimes it seeks to address in particular (City of Johannesburg, 2015). This article posits that while the CCTV project allows the Police Department to generally improve its policing functions, it is less successful in preventing crime due to the lack of specificity in its goals. Moreover, I argue that the project has rendered certain crimes invisible, especially sexual violence, by focusing on crimes that occur most often in public streets. The city has been dubbed the 'rape capital of Africa,' but it has received paucity of pol-

icy efforts and measures to combat the issue (Palmary, Rauch, and Simpson 2003:101). thus contend that the CCTV project is focused on crimes perpetuated mainly against white, middle-upper class bodies, while rape crime that disproportionately target women, and in most cases black women, are largely ignored.

Historical Background

The sociopolitical landscape of post-apartheid Johannesburg can be described as being in constant flux. An understanding of crime in Johannesburg thereby begins with a history of how it became an uneven space. Murray (2008:1) characterizes the city's fluctuation with the following:

> The fluid, chaotic quality of city life in Johannesburg after apartheid is reflected in the unresolved tension between the overall plan of urban space and its specific details, between the durability of the built environment and the transitory use of urban locations, and between the deliberate regulation of spatial practices and the uncontrolled anarchy of chance encounters in public places.

Some scholars suggest that racialized segregation and the spatial unevenness of the metropolitan landscape in Johannesburg originally occurred as a result of it being the site of the world's largest gold rush (Murray 2011, Katsaura 2015). The city was built upon an appetite for gold, which meant, which meant that little attention was given to where and how its citizens would live. While the gold mining industry made a major contribution to the country's national budget and provided enough foreign exchange for essential imports, Johannesburg did not have access to a river or mountain, and thus the city struggled to invent an enduring image for itself that would break with its chaotic historical origins (Thompson 2001, Murray 2008). At the same time, the white population of the country consolidated control over the state, strengthening its grip on the black population and ultimately eliminating the legal power of the British

government to intervene in South African affairs (Thompson 2001). The mining industries maintained a split between well-paid white employees and poorly paid black employees, just as they do between those in power and those on the margins (Thompson 2001). These issues of segregation were exacerbated with the official introduction of apartheid in 1948. Apartheid principles essentially ensured that segregation was exercised in all aspects of life in the city, but what was arguably more insidious was the internalization of these racist principles in citizens. Johannesburg still bears the effects of apartheid spatial order and segregation despite the fact that racially codified restrictions no longer legally apply (Thompson 2001). To this end, while Johannesburg attempts to rebuild its reputation following the end of apartheid, it has struggled to reconcile its unbecoming past with its future. These chaotic characteristics of the 'new Johannesburg' have had an effect on the staggeringly high rates of crime in the city.

Other legacies in Johannesburg have also contributed to the city's high crime rates. First, like all apartheid cities, black people's access to public spaces in Johannesburg was heavily regulated (Shaw and Shearing 1998, Palmary et al. 2003). These realities overlapped with dramatic disparities between areas of wealth and poverty, as well as divergences in the quality of services offered in black townships and white suburbs (Palmary et al. 2003). These marginalized areas of urban life have arguably continued past apartheid, and much of these experiences have resulted in violent struggles over rights to socioeconomic equality (Palmary et al. 2003). For example, there has been a strong trend of violent attacks on migrants by black South Africans, in which the attacks are considered justified because the migrants are perceived to be responsible for taking South Africans' jobs (Bearak and Dugger 2008, Paulay et al. 2003). In this way, it is argued that a "language of legitimacy" continues to regulate access to urban spaces and that systems of hierarchy from the apartheid era remain intact, even today (Paulay et al. 2003: 102). Violent

conflicts, including assault and murder, occur within and between marginalized communities just as they do between those in power. Further, a breakdown of "social capital" has led to increased levels of crime and also negatively impacted the city's ability to fight it. The breakdown of social capital, in this sense, refers not only to poverty and unemployment deriving from social exclusion, but also the social valuation of a "culture of violence" where violence is a normative mechanism for the assertion of power (Palmary et al. 2003). The culture of violence also propagates discrimination and exclusion deriving from various forms of oppression, and encourages a degradation of urban environments and social bonds (Palmary et al. 2003). In these ways, Johannesburg has lacked the major mechanisms that could help to protect a society against crime.

Considering the urban landscape of Johannesburg during apartheid and the aforementioned implications of racial segregation, it is clear that the relationships between citizens and their geographical boundaries could have played a large role in the maintenance of high crime rates in the city. This legacy of structural violence in Johannesburg was arguably even further complicated by South Africa's transition to democracy. During the years of apartheid, a plethora of petty offenses were criminalized through racially discriminatory laws, which ultimately enforced a rhetoric in which blackness became associated with criminality and criminal behaviour (Bremner 2004, Shaw 2002, Shaw and Shearing 1998, Tshwete 2000). During the 1980s, when the apartheid state faced its biggest challenges and oppositions, crime in black townships increased significantly through politically inspired violence and state repression, likely as a response to the racial discrimination (Bremner 2004, Cawthra 2003, Shaw and Shearing 1998). Increasing levels of crime peaked in the 1990s, the year in which political transition began, and then even more so over the next four years (Bremner 2004, Shaw 2002). The slow pace of change that then occurred in the post-apartheid period – characterized by the maintenance of stagnant political relation-

ships between ordinary South Africans and the new democratic state – meant that "few expectations of urban renewal, housing development, schooling improvement, job creation, or service delivery" were realized (Palmary et al. 2003: 104). These frustrated expectations of change further increased the existing level of social conflict in South African cities (Palmary et al. 2003, Shaw 2002, Cawthra 2003). In these ways, the transition to democracy fuelled the existing infrastructure of violence found in Johannesburg.

Role of CCTV Intervention

Having considered the socio-historical context of general crime in Johannesburg, resulting in its reputation as the "crime capital" of South Africa (Palmary, Rauch, and Simpson 2003: 101), it is obvious why the Metropolitan Police Department would attempt to implement a strategy that would curb these high crime rates and change the City's increasingly negative reputation. The installation of CCTV became this solution, and while it had previously been used in privatized spaces, the project's induction into Johannesburg's public sphere in the late 1990s was a new phenomenon (Minnaar 2007). The Police Department website offers the following explanation on the project (2015):

A CCTV Surveillance Project operates in key areas where street crime is prevalent. Cameras are hidden in buildings overlooking strategic spots on the pavements of the CBD. […] When an incident occurs the appropriate officials - emergency services or crime prevention - are dispatched to the location. […] In an initial pilot project, 15 crime surveillance cameras were set up in the area surrounding the Carlton Centre. Even in such a limited pilot project, the cameras had a significant impact and, according to Riaan Parker of Business Against Crime, the company that designed and operates the system, crime in the area fell by 40 percent.

Apart from the project's goals and results, there are several items in this explanation worth considering within a broader context. First, it is imperative to question where the cameras are 'strategically placed,' and thereby whom they aim to protect. Shaw and Shearing (2003) emphasize the importance of the fact that during apartheid, South African police forces acted to maintain spatial boundaries, ensuring that black access to white spaces was restricted as much as possible. With respect to crime control, this established a "risk-based form of policing, not unlike zero tolerance policing, that operated to reduce the opportunities for crime in white areas by keeping would-be black offenders away from white victims" (Shaw and Shearing 2003: 3, Benit-Gbaffou 2008). In the same vein, police had little interest under apartheid in responding to crimes within black areas, except when black challenges to the apartheid state became more numerous in the 1980s (Shaw and Shearing 2003). Insofar as this racialized logic of policing has left a legacy that extends into the present day, it is likely that the presence of CCTV in Johannesburg's CBD is placed 'strategically' where these racially codified narratives are reinforced, with a focus on protecting white citizens and tourists from characteristically 'black offenders.' In addition to the issue of whom CCTV aims to protect, there is also the question of whether the project contributes to a decrease in crime or whether it simply improves response times. There is little literature available on these topics beyond that of the City's statement, as seen above, in which it is explained that even in a pilot project the city saw a 40 percent decrease in crime (City of Johannesburg 2015c). While CCTV indeed helps to streamline policing processes, it is difficult to ascertain whether crime is likely to fall simply as a result of citizens knowing that they are being watched. I would suggest that CCTV would likely have to be implemented alongside other crime prevention tactics in order to see a sustainable decrease.

Invisibility of Sexual Violence

Another troubling aspect of CCTV is the fact that it has been implemented as a prevention and response tactic, without the support of other programs to combat crime. This move prioritizes certain crimes while others are pushed to the periphery. Sexual violence is one of these crimes that has been rendered invisible in Johannesburg, and yet it is of utmost importance because of the country's increasing reputation for a lack of safety. For instance, while South African crime levels have been consistently amongst the highest in the world, particular types of reported crime have increased exponentially since 1994, including rape (Cawthra 2003). In 1995, Human Rights Watch asserted that there were 35 rapes in South Africa for every one reported to the police, although there continues to be disagreement about the exact magnitude of the problem (Jewkes and Abrahams 2002). Compounding to this lack of reliable statistics is the fact that many women will only report to the police those incidents that fall within popular understandings of rape, such as rape at the hands of a stranger and rape that occurs by a man on a woman, and are often afraid that they will not be taken seriously (Jewkes and Abrahams 2002, Palmary et al. 2003). What may be the most common forms of sexual coercion, such as those occurring within marriages, relationships, or families, are those which go most unreported in South Africa to the police due to this fear and lack of knowledge (Jewkes and Abrahams 2002). Moreover, only approximately 25% of assaults happen on open ground (Palmary et al. 2003, Swart et al. 2000). That much of the sexual violence in Johannesburg happens where it is not immediately visible to police, contributes to why the state has not conceived sexual violence as a priority in regards to crime prevention. I would also argue that certain bodies, such as white middle-class citizens and tourists, are actually deemed more valuable, thus affecting which crimes are prioritized in the city. This is despite the fact that those white tourists could also be at risk for sexual violence. Thus, no matter the fact that this par-

ticular form of violence is increasing in Johannesburg, the police have thus far used CCTV to seemingly address only those crimes that occur most often to white citizens.

Sexual violence in Johannesburg is also a historical issue, much like the other crimes that were addressed at the beginning of this paper. However, sexual violence has not been written about in the same detail. Only recently have scholars begun to research the effects of sexual violence, and they too are limited by unreliable statistics. Among the studies that have been published are those by Peter Delius and Clive Glaser (2002), Rachel Jewkes and Naeema Abrahams (2002), and Deborah Posel (2005). Despite a lack of breadth in the literature, it can be ascertained from their findings that sexual violence is pervasive enough to warrant stronger crime prevention in this area in Johannesburg. While recognizing that sexual violence takes many forms, it is important to note how difficult it can be for women particularly to navigate daily life with the threat of sexual violence. Thus, I would suggest that sexual violence should be of importance to the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police and that CCTV would be insufficient to address it. The analysis and efforts must begin at the core of gender relations in Johannesburg, and expand to include the daily-lived realities of people living in the city.

Given the discussion in this paper, it seems that what inspires the existing literature on sexual violence is an increasing awareness of its prevalence in South Africa. However, the responsibility to discuss these issues has far too often fallen on individuals rather than the state. The recent Johannesburg City Safety Strategy Report (2015b) suggested that "priority crimes" are those that have the most significant impact on "business confidence and investment decision-making, and the tourism market," such as theft and corruption. The disconnect between the priorities given by the state and the reality of sexual violence in the city suggests that those bodies at higher risk of sexual violence are deemed less valuable by the government, especially in relation to crime prevention programs,

whereas those who are mainly involved in business and the tourism market – mostly men – are deemed more valuable. The few safety strategies in Johannesburg that allude to the environment of sexual violence suggest that women avoid certain public spaces at certain times, thereby implying that women are safest in their homes, when the opposite is often the case (Vetten and Dladla 2000). This rhetoric also focuses solely on women, ignoring male victims of sexual violence in the process, as well as transgendered individuals and those in homosexual relationships. As previously mentioned, it is possible that the invisibility of sexual violence is precisely *why* it has yet to become a priority. However, I do not believe that the state cannot recognize the increasing importance of this issue. In fact, they are complicit in the maintenance of sexual violence by emphasizing that women should not be in specific public spaces. These tropes simply reinforce that the responsibility for the assault is their own. Transcending these narratives may be the first step in enabling sexual violence to be viewed as a priority crime. It may be that police intervention is not the best way for dealing with sexual violence, but a change in the narrative is relevant to the issue and can be articulated at multiple levels, including by the police.

Conclusion

Johannesburg's unbecoming past will continue to affect its future so long as the city's history is not taken into consideration when addressing its issue of crime. There is a large gap in the ability of the CCTV Surveillance Project in Johannesburg to address the city's crime, as its high rates of sexual assault are not easily visible, and crime is compounded by the prevailing racial order. The historical context in which Johannesburg's crime rates have flourished is foundational to a metropolitan identity that is characterized by a reputation of danger and fear, and is crucial in understanding the reasons why the CCTV Surveillance Project may not realize its full potential

as a strategy for combating and preventing crime. On the one hand, the project is valuable insofar as it helps to streamline policing processes for a city that has historically struggled in this area. On the other hand, it is critical to evaluate the ways in which CCTV is used to create a "climate of fear" in which certain bodies are targeted in ways that are reminiscent of colonial and apartheid-based narratives (Burger Allen 2002, Dursuweit 2002, Katsaura 2015). Moreover, the specific goals of the project should be made clear as well as its limitations. Ultimately, CCTV needs to be implemented alongside other crime prevention and response tactics that address particular crimes like sexual violence. This has also been a suggestion of the city's recent Safety Strategy Report (2015). A larger understanding and restructuring of the roots of the 'climate of violence' from which pervasive fear originates and flourishes in Johannesburg should thereby accompany the CCTV Surveillance Project, in order for it to adequately address the core issues that it seeks to work on.

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Paysans, afrocolombiens, déplacés

Leaders entre communautés rurales et urbaines au Chocó, Colombie

Claudia Howald[1]

Le Chocó, dans le Pacifique colombien, est connu comme sauvage, primitive et associé à la biodiversité et aux questions ethniques. Depuis les années 1990, la région, dont la plupart des terres ont été reconnues légalement comme la propriété collective des populations indigènes et afrocolombiennes, a vécu une intensification drastique du conflit armé, causant le déplacement forcé et massif des habitants vers Quibdó, la capitale du département, et les principales villes colombiennes. L'article ébauche les ruptures et les continuités dans le domaine des processus associatifs au-delà du déplacement forcé, à travers les trajectoires de vie de trois leaders : Eusebio, Armando et Harold; paysans afrocolombiens, déplacés du Bajo Atrato à la ville de Quibdó dans le quartier Villa España construit comme « communauté » dans un contexte urbain. Ce texte porte donc sur l'émergence d'un processus associatif des *desplazados* dans Villa España et sa relation avec les mouvements sociaux paysans du Bajo Atrato et des revendications des droits ethniques afrocolombiens entre le milieu urbain et le milieu rural. L'article explore les continuités et les connexions existantes au-delà du conflit et du déplacement forcé. Le texte problématise les représentations autour des afrocolombiens et invite à approfondir ethnographiquement et historiquement l'usage des concepts tels que « communauté » ou « territoire », associés aux groupes ethniques.

Keywords: communauté, déplacement forcé, paysans, afrocolombiens, leadership.

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[1] Anthropologue, chercheuse résidente à Quibdó, Chocó.

À la fin de 1997, Eusebio, un leader afrocolombien déplacé à Quibdó, capitale du département du Chocó dans le Pacifique colombien, depuis la région du Bas Atrato, participe à l'organisation de l'occupation du *Coliseo* de la ville, action qui marque le processus des déplacés et qui durera plusieurs années. L'occupation constitue un élément qui permet de construire et de penser une communauté de *desplazados* à Quibdó, en se basant sur une expérience partagée. Il s'agit d'une action contre l´indifférence des institutions, lesquelles, depuis l'approbation de la loi 387 de 1997 sur le déplacement forcé, ont l'obligation de répondre à la situation humanitaire des *desplazados* à Quibdó. L'occupation du stade marque un tournant dans le mouvement des déplacés à Quibdó, arrivés à la ville depuis les régions rurales du département à cause des affrontements entre les différents groupes armés qui y font présence avec plus et plus d'intensité à partir des années 1990.

Le quartier de Villa España naît, en tant que site de maisons provisoires, à partir des mobilisations et d'un processus associatif des déplacés forcés. Situé au nord de la ville, il constitue un des 30 quartiers de la *zona norte*, qui est toujours associée à des commentaires telles que : « marginalisée », « dangereuse », « infiltrée par la FARC », « là, où on n'y va pas après une certaine heure », etc. Au cours des années, grâce aux nombreux projets d'acteurs humanitaires, afin d'améliorer ses conditions, Villa España se transforme en un quartier de Quibdó, quartier où la plupart des 90 petites maisons sont construites en bois. Certaines maisons se trouvent dans un mauvais état : le bois est désormais pourri et plein de trous, les lames de zinc toutes percées. Toutes les maisons sont construites en fil, collées les unes aux autres et séparées par d'étroites ruelles. D'une part, ce schéma paraît très urbain et d'autre part, il évoque un campement. Les étroites rues, nommées selon les lieux d'origine de ses habitants (Riosucio, Bojayá, Urabá, etc.), rappellent un village rural du Chocó, pleines d'enfants qui courent, quelques hommes jouant

aux *dominó*, des femmes occupées dans le ménage ou assises, bavardant avec leurs voisins et des animaux domestiques qui traînent.

Les pratiques des habitants et leurs leaders qui s'approprient et transforment ce lieu, prennent de l'importance dans le processus de configuration du quartier. Il s'agit d'un lieu célèbre en ce qui concerne le déplacement forcé à Quibdó, scène pour de nombreuses interventions humanitaires, et où ses habitants et leurs leaders parlent d'une « communauté ». Il est fréquent d'entendre les habitants de Villa España avec des expressions telles que « la communauté de *desplazados* », « être de la communauté », « la communauté de Villa España », « c'est pour la communauté ». Villa España peut se concevoir comme un cas de reterritorialisation urbaine, processus à penser en relation avec les origines rurales, des habitants : les personnes déplacées sont portées à reveiller les mémoires et les pratiques qui font référence aux expériences et aux connaissances construites en milieu rural d'origine, afin de les actualiser et les accommoder aux nouveaux contextes (García Sánchez, 2013).

Cet article porte donc sur l'émergence d'un processus associatif des *desplazados* à Quibdó et sa relation avec les premiers mouvements sociaux paysans au Chocó qui se transforment, progressivement, en revendications des droits ethniques afrocolombiens, entre le milieu urbain et le milieu rural et souligne quelles sont les continuités et les connexions qui existent, au-delà du conflit et du déplacement forcé. Ruptures, continuités et connexions acquièrent de la visibilité non seulement à travers les histoires de leaders déplacés à Quibdó, mais prennent aussi forme dans un lieu spécifique de Quibdó, Villa España, construite comme « communauté » dans un contexte urbain.

L'existence d'une série de processus associatifs au niveau départemental (Chocó) et régional (Pacifique colombien) ainsi que la progressive émergence des réseaux d'associations au niveau national et international (Escobar, 2008), facilitent la mobilisation collective des *desplazados* à Quibdó, comme le montrent les trajectoires de vie

de Eusebio, Armando et Harold, leaders reconnus au sein des organisations paysannes du Bas Atrato des années 1980 et 1990 et qui mobilisent les déplacés à Quibdó depuis leur arrivée en 1996. Le choix des trajectoires de vie traitées ne se base pas sur un critère de représentativité ; il ne constitue donc pas des typologies. Les parcours individuels choisis sont particulièrement significatifs quant à la continuité de leadership entre les processus associatifs dans les zones rurales et la mobilisation collective des *desplazados* à Quibdó. Enfin, mon but n'est pas de présenter des récits de vie complets, mais de mettre en évidence des aspects clés concernant le leadership que j'ai retrouvé dans ces parcours individuels.

Contexte

Dans la Constitution de 1991, la Colombie se reconnaît pour la première fois comme un pays multiethnique et multiculturel. Au cours des dernières années, l'ethnicité est particulièrement mise en avant. Les revendications politiques, sociales et territoriales des organisations civiles se basent de plus en plus sur des critères ethniques. Ce développement s'explique, entre autres par une progressive création, à partir des années 1990, d'instruments légaux nationaux et internationaux mis à la disposition des différents groupes ethniques. Particulièrement, avec les droits fonciers, la dimension ethnique devient cruciale : en Colombie une identité ethnique spécifique est presque la seule façon d'obtenir une attribution de titres des terres qui sont reconnues comme collectives. Dans le multiculturalisme colombien, « one has to positively identify as 'different', as ethnically distinct. This is a multiculturalism in which the 'multicultural' are those who are ethnically different from the national norm » (Wade 2009, p. 175).

Dans ce contexte, les questions ethniques semblent être étroitement liées à la territorialité. Comme le remarque Christian Gros, dans le cas des groupes ethniques, le territoire est « pensé et revendi-

qué comme inséparable de la culture et base de sa reproduction et il se présente comme l'espace où devrait pouvoir s'exercer une éventuelle autonomie » (Gros, 2004, p. 4). Dans le cas des populations afrocolombiennes, le lien ethnicité – territorialité se matérialise à travers la *Ley 70 de 1993*. Cette loi marque un tournant pour les citoyens se reconnaissant comme afrocolombiens : elle définit pour la première fois la population noire comme constituant un groupe ethnique. La loi 70 leur reconnaît des droits spécifiques. Elle stipule l'attribution de titres collectifs de propriété aux « communautés rurales noires » représentées par un *Consejo comunitario* (Conseil communautaire) et installées principalement dans la région du Pacifique colombien sur des terres *baldías*, c'est-à-dire de l'Etat. Les critères de la collectivité et de la territorialité sont donc centraux dans le texte juridique et influencent ainsi l'imaginaire des afrocolombiens. Agier et Hoffmann révèlent qu'en Colombie « il existe une association ancienne entre la population noire et la côte Pacifique », les deux étant restées aux marges de la société et de l'Etat colombiens (Agier et Hoffmann, 1999, p. 21).

Le Chocó, département situé dans la région du Pacifique colombien, ayant une majorité de population afrocolombienne, est une région historiquement considérée, dans l'imaginaire national, comme « primitive », « pauvre », « sauvage » et donc « dangereux » et « sous-développé » (Restrepo, 2013a, p. 174-178). Depuis les années 1990, dans cette nouvelle « conscience ethnique » ou « ethnoboom » (Arocha et Maya, 2008, p. 414), les caractéristiques ethniques du Chocó sont énumérées dans tous les ouvrages sur la région et sont évoquées dans toutes les revendications politiques, culturelles ou sociales dans le département. Au point que certains auteurs soutiennent que : « l'ethnique-culturel oriente les processus d'appropriation territoriale et constitue l'axe conducteur de toutes les analyses ou les projections réalisées pour la région » (Flórez Lopez et Millán Echevarría, 2007, p. 39, traduction de l'auteure). L' « ethnique » s'est donc établi comme une clé de lecture obligatoire du Chocó, alors

qu'auparavant les mouvements sociaux dans les régions rurales soulignaient une identité paysanne et non pas ethnique (Agudelo, 2004; Restrepo, 2011, 2013b).[2]

L'État colombien, dans la poursuite de ses objectifs de « développement » et « modernisation » pour le Pacifique, a formulé plusieurs « plans de développements régionaux » qui visent principalement à attirer les investisseurs et les entreprises internationaux (Flórez López et Millán Echeverría, 2007). Le département est dans une position géographiquement stratégique et possède des ressources naturelles très importantes du point de vue économique : bois, or et autres métaux, aussi, les terres pour l'installation des plantations agro-industrielles telles que des monocultures de palme africaine, etc. Les mouvements sociaux, les organisations paysannes, noires et indigènes de la région, par contre, ont formulé leurs propres « plans d'ethno développement » ou « plans de vie » et ont obtenu les titres collectifs de leurs terres, défendant ainsi leurs territoires.

La situation ébauchée explique la lutte pour le contrôle de la région entre les parties intéressées. À cause de son accès au Pacifique, à partir des années 1990, le Chocó devient également très important pour les groupes armés illégaux, non seulement pour son utilisation en tant que couloir pour le trafic d'armes et de drogues illicites, mais aussi en tant que zone de refuge en cas de repli (Rolland, 2007).

La région connaît l'émergence de la violence liée au conflit armé colombien à partir des années 1990,[3] plus précisément en 1996,[4]

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[2]   Restrepo (2013a) analyse comment la clé de lecture ethnique du Pacifique colombien se combine avec la progressive association de la biodiversité comme caractéristique principale de la région. Dans ce tournant à la biodiversité, celle-ci constitue le seul principe d'intelligibilité du Pacifique.

[3]   Dès la moitié des années 1970 le Chocó était une zone d'arrière-garde et de repos pour les guérillas. Ces groupes commenceront leur travail politique dans la région seulement une décennie plus tard, néanmoins sans générer des confrontations armées.

[4]   L'événement le plus cité en relation au début de la violence est l'incursion paramilitaire à Riosucio, importante municipalité du Bas Atrato, en décembre 1996. Cette pénétration s'inscrit dans des dynamiques du conflit plus amples, com-

avec la pénétration paramilitaire. A partir de ce moment, le conflit se caractérise localement par une logique de contrôle du territoire et des ressources naturelles. Cette logique est sous-tendue par les multiples intérêts des groupes armés et elle est étroitement liée au phénomène du déplacement forcé qui commence avec la pénétration paramilitaire. L'intensification de la violence dans le département se caractérise par des affrontements ouverts entre les groupes armés, des assassinats sélectifs, des massacres, des disparitions forcées, des menaces à la population civile et des ordres de désoccupation de villages entiers. Cela cause les premiers déplacements forcés (massifs, pour la plupart) dans le Chocó ; les gens cherchent refuge dans les villages voisins et, entre autres, dans la capitale du département, la ville de Quibdó.[5]

Quibdó est ainsi caractérisé par la significative proportion de personnes déplacées qui y vivent. Selon le plan de développement municipal (2016-2019), en citant les chiffres de l'Unité pour l'Attention et Réparation Intégrale aux Victimes (*Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas*) de novembre de 2015, 70% de la population de la ville est victime du conflit armé, ce qui fait plus de quatre-vingt-sept milles personnes, dont 85% sont des déplacées forcées. L'État colombien n'ayant pas encore mis en place un appareil juridique à l'attention humanitaire aux déplacés internes[6], ceux-ci se retrouvent avec la seule aide de la famille[7], les amis et

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mencées dans le nord du Urabá (1993), ensuite passées dans la région des plantations de bananes (1994-1995) et au sud du Urabá (1996), pour se terminer dans la région du fleuve Atrato (dès la fin de 1996). Le développement du conflit armé continue vers le sud du fleuve Atrato, jusqu'à s'étendre à l'ensemble du département. Aujourd'hui, il n'existe pratiquement aucun territoire dans la région qui ne soit pas occupé par les groupes armés.

[5]   Les dynamiques du déplacement forcé varient selon les régions du département et l'époque. Par exemple, entre 1996 et 2000 beaucoup des personnes déplacées du Bas Atrato sont parties vers Turbo, Mutatá, Pavarandó, Cartagena.

[6]   La loi 387 qui spécifie les droits des déplacés internes du pays et détermine la responsabilité de l'Etat colombien de les prendre en charge n'est créée qu'en 1997.

[7]   Dans le Pacifique colombien la famille, entendue comme élargie, constitue un élément clé pour entendre les dynamiques sociales quotidiennes, au point

l'Église. En ville, les personnes déplacées, poussées par leurs leaders, s'organisent, revendiquent leur droit à un minimum d'assistance humanitaire et se réunissent afin de rendre visible leur situation. Une longue histoire de mobilisation collective (la *lucha* ou la *resistencia*), entre occupations, marches et protestations, commence. Ce processus associatif des déplacés forcés s'intègre en 2011 au mouvement des victimes du Chocó, répondant à la *Ley 1448 de 2011*, *Ley de víctimas y restitución de tierras*. C'est à travers ce processus que naît Villa España, un quartier reconnu en tant que site et communauté des *desplazados* á Quibdó.

Loin de dichotomiser l'urbain et le rural au Chocó, je souligne l'existence d'une relation, voire d'une continuité entre l'urbain et le rural. Ces concepts requièrent d'être remis en question et repensés depuis le contexte local (Camacho et Restrepo, 1999). Beaucoup de familles vivant dans les villages au bord de l'Atrato ont historiquement gardé un point de référence en ville, à savoir Quibdó : des parents, une maison, une référence qui leur assurent l'accès à l'éducation des enfants ou qui leur facilitent les démarches commerciales, administratives, etc.

> Il existe une longue tradition de ce qu'on a appelé relation campagne–ville ou campagne–agglomération et beaucoup de gens avant le déplacement cherchaient d'une manière ou d'une autre à avoir une petite maison à Quibdó pour pouvoir envoyer leurs enfants à étudier. C'est plus facile, c'est-à-dire avoir un point de référence à Quibdó pour les gens des fleuves c'est très important pour avoir une facilité de mouvement, pour se déplacer, etc.[8]

Les relations rural-urbain constituent une continuité dans l'histoire locale des populations au bord de l'Atrato, relations qui ont été touchées par le conflit armé, en amenant des ruptures, mais aussi des continuités.

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qu'elle est incluse dans le texte de la loi 70 de 1993 pour définir la « communauté noire » (Rossbach de Olmos, 2004, p. 383).

[8]   Jesús Alfonso Flórez, Quibdó, entretien mai 2011.

Leaders entre le rural et l'urbain : trajectoires de vie

> Eusebio a toujours aidé dans tous les lieux, Eusebio est un leader af-
> rodescendant de toutes les batailles ici dans le département du Chocó, il est
> allé à Washington pour se faire décorer [...]. Il en sait beaucoup sur Villa
> España. Si quelqu'un conserve toute la mémoire des desplazados dans le
> Chocó, c'est bien Eusebio.[9]

Traiter du leadership implique de prendre en considération l'insertion dans un contexte et dans des processus historiques plus amples. Depuis les années 1980, un fort mouvement associatif émerge dans les régions rurales du Chocó : associations paysannes et indigènes s'opposent à l'adjudication de vastes surfaces de terres et à l'exploitation des ressources naturelles de la part des entreprises nationales et internationales. Elles se mobilisent pour la défense de leur « territoire », un concept qui prendra forme et s'imposera en tant que moteur des revendications ethniques dans les années 1990.[10] Le contexte des réformes constitutionnelles et la formulation d'une nouvelle législation sur la titularisation des terres collectives au début des années 1990 sont des éléments ultérieurs à prendre en compte dans l'analyse de la formation d'un leadership au niveau local (Agier et Hoffmann, 1999; Pardo, 1998 ; Pardo et Alvarez, 2001 ; Wouters, 2001).

La mobilisation des *desplazados* dans le contexte de Quibdó est ainsi favorisée par l'existence préalable de processus associatifs ruraux régionaux et nationaux (Escobar, 2008). Un leader des déplacés à Quibdó avoue que les expériences et le savoir acquis grâce aux processus associatifs précédents ont apporté beaucoup pour les débuts de la mobilisation collective des *desplazados*:

> Voyez, ces éléments, ces composantes des organisations, ce sens
> d'organiser, d'être organisés, c'est ce qui a permis qu'aujourd'hui, d'arrivés

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[9] Ex-bénévole de la Croix-Rouge colombienne, Quibdó, entretien mai 2011.
[10] Le concept de territoire est central dans le discours des associations paysannes afrocolombiennes et indigènes du Pacifique colombien. Pour un historique du concept, voir Escobar (2008).

> ici depuis différents lieux, nous ayons déjà acquis un peu le profil pour diriger ce processus qui pour nous était nouveau.[11]

Un acteur social constant dans le mouvement associatif dans les zones rurales et dans la situation de déplacement forcé en ville est l'Église catholique. Le Diocèse de Quibdó accompagne ainsi les associations paysannes afrocolombiennes et indigènes à travers son équipe missionnaire, tandis qu'à Quibdó ses bureaux constituent le premier point de référence pour les *desplazados*. Le travail de « renforcement » des organisations paysannes mené par le Diocèse contribue à l'émergence d'un leadership paysan. Ces mêmes leaders, déplacés à Quibdó, constituent les bases d'« un nouveau leadership en condition de victimes » qui facilite un processus associatif de *desplazados*.[12] La description des trajectoires de vie de quelques leaders déplacés me permet donc de faire ressortir la relative continuité au sein du leadership ainsi que la centralité d'expériences préalables pour la mobilisation collective à Quibdó.

Eusebio : de leader paysan à leader déplacé afrocolombien

> Je viens de la municipalité de Riosucio, Chocó. J'ai été déplacé par les acteurs armés : guérilla, paramilitaires, armée, en 1996.[13]

Ainsi se présente Eusebio au début du premier entretien, un des leaders déplacés le plus souvent mentionné par mes interlocuteurs, un homme pas très grand, mais qui m'inspire tout de suite beaucoup de respect. Ces phrases courtes sont suivies par un long récit très détaillé portant sur le processus associatif paysan dans les régions rurales du Chocó, auquel il a participé avant le déplacement forcé. Mon interlocuteur raconte que l'*Organización Campesina del Bajo Atrato* OCABA

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[11]   Eusebio, Quibdó, entretien avril 2011.
[12]   Jesús Alfonso Flórez López, Quibdó, entretien mai 2011.
[13]   Eusebio, Quibdó, entretien avril 2011.

(Organisation paysanne du Bas Atrato), créée en 1982, émerge suite au projet de construction d'un canal interocéanique appelé « projet Atrato-Truandó ». Ne possédant pas les titres de propriété des terres, les habitants de cette région du Bas Atrato associent la mise en place du projet au risque d'être déplacés. Ils considèrent ainsi que « le peuple devait s'organiser » afin de s'opposer à la réalisation du canal :

> A cette époque il n'y avait pas d'organisations, justement OCABA naît à la lumière de la défense de tous ces territoires, du territoire et de ses richesses.[14]

Le programme de lutte de l'organisation est en premier lieu la préservation de l'environnement et la défense des terres contre l'exploitation des ressources naturelles de la part d'entreprises transnationales, à savoir contre les « exploitations d'enclave ». En outre, Eusebio cite la sauvegarde culturelle face à la « culturalisation », définie comme la perte des pratiques traditionnelles de production agricole. Le récit de mon interlocuteur caractérise les activités de l'organisation paysanne comme une lutte difficile : « nous devions lutter contre vents et marées » puisque au niveau local s'affrontaient les intérêts divergents des entreprises, des groupes armés qui s'alimentent des *vacunas*[15] payées par les entreprises, ainsi que du gouvernement national. Du point de vue des populations locales, les activités extractives (p. ex. le déboisement) impliquent une perte importante de biodiversité. Le discours sur la biodiversité est un élément central dans l'analyse des processus associatifs au Chocó. Pardo (1998) observe un phénomène de découverte de la biodiversité du Pacifique, au début promue par les scientifiques, mais ensuite réappropriée par les divers acteurs sociaux. Le discours sur la biodi-

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[14]   Eusebio, Quibdó, entretien avril 2011.
[15]   *Vacuna*, littéralement « vaccination », est une espèce de taxe que les groupes armés (guérilla et paramilitaires) imposent aux entreprises qui s'installent dans les régions sous leur influence. Le non payement des *vacunas* expose les entreprises à des représailles de la part du groupe armé en question, pour lequel cette somme constitue une importante source d'entrée.

versité est de plus en plus adopté par les organisations paysannes indigènes et afrocolombiennes, qui en font une arme contre les projets extractifs ou des infrastructures publiques (rues, centrales hydroélectriques, ports).

Il faut remarquer que le processus associatif dans la région du Bas Atrato remonte aux années 1970 avec la création des premières *juntas de acción comunal* (assemblées d'action communautaire), en réunissant les paysans avec le but d'améliorer leurs conditions de vie. Au début des années 1980, ces *juntas* se regroupaient dans des associations de *juntas de acción comunal* (Asocomunales) selon les régions. Néanmoins, au cours des premières années de 1980, les intérêts politiques électoraux avaient imprégné ces *juntas* et amenaient à l'émergence de l'OCABA en tant que nouvelle stratégie associative des paysans (Restrepo, 2011, p. 50-51). Dans les années 1980, dans les revendications politiques d'OCABA et d'autres organisations sociales du Chocó, le discours ethnique n'était pas présent, l'ethnicité ne signifiait pas encore « un outil de lutte et de revendication avec une importante centralité » (Wabgou, Arocha Rodríguez, Salgado Cassiani et Carabalí Ospina, 2012, p. 152, traduction de l'auteure). Egalement, le concept de territoire n'apparaît pas dans le discours de l'époque, mais il s'agissait plutôt de la défense des terres en tant que paysans. En fait, le « territoire » sera l'un des principaux éléments de l'ethnisation des « communautés noires » au cours des années 1990 (Restrepo, 2013b). La défense des terres s'articule de plus en plus dans un cadre ethnique, avec l'introduction d'une dimension relative à la culture spécifique des communautés afrocolombiennes. Les revendications des organisations paysannes ayant émergé au cours des années 1980 dans le Chocó réinterprètent de façon innovatrice les droits collectifs à partir du « territoire », de l'appartenance ethnique et de la préservation de l'environnement. D'ailleurs c'est principalement sur ces mots clés, territoire, culture et biodiversité, qu'une articulation d'associations émerge dans la région du Pacifique (Pardo, 1998; Restrepo, 2013b).

Les premières organisations paysannes donnent vie progressivement à un processus associatif plus ample dont résulte vers la moitié des années 1990 une multiplicité d'associations paysannes avec des revendications politiques basées sur une identité ethnique en tant que communautés noires, qui regroupent en règle générale les villages au long d'une même rivière. Si dans un premier temps, ce processus se développe au sein des villages, autour d'un leadership des adultes chefs de familles, ces derniers se qualifient de plus en plus grâce aux expériences vécues et aux formations données par les ONG et l'Église catholique. En effet, à partir de la moitié des années 1980, bailleurs de fonds et institutions du développement focalisent leur travail de plus en plus sur les « organisations endogènes » et sur la « société civile », ce qui résulte en un boom d'organisations paysannes (Jacob et Lavigne Delville, 1994, p. 11 ; Villa, 1998).

Le processus associatif issu de la région du Pacifique joue un rôle fondamental dans la réforme constitutionnelle de 1991 et la formulation de l'article transitoire 55, qui donnera lieu à la création de la loi 70 sur la titularisation des terres collectives des communautés noires. Eusebio, en tant que président d'OCABA participe à la construction de la loi 70. En effet, à travers le décret 1232 de 1992, une Commission Spéciale pour les communautés noires est créée, avec la responsabilité de travailler sur l'article transitoire 55 de la Constitution de 1991. Le décret établit également la création de commissions consultatives dans chaque département du Pacifique colombien, avec l'objet de faire des recommandations particulières à la Commission Spéciale pour l'accomplissement de ses fonctions en relation avec les spécificités des Communautés Noires dans chacun des départements mentionnés (*Decreto 1232 de 1992* cité dans CEPAC, 2003, traduction de l'auteure).

Avec 32 autres organisations sociales afrocolombiennes du Pacifique, Eusebio participe à la « consultative » ainsi qu'à des rencontres départementales. Le travail législatif engendre un ample réseau entre leaders, organisations afrocolombiennes de différentes

régions du pays et organisations nationales. En outre, l'expérience constitue un important apprentissage en termes de savoir-faire : elle a apporté un plus aux compétences organisationnelles, relationnelles ainsi que discursives des leaders (Bierschenk et al, 2000). La lutte pour la défense du territoire comporte également des risques pour les leaders paysans, liés en partie à la visibilité acquise par ces derniers dans l'arène politique nationale. Au début des années 1990, Eusebio reçoit des menaces de la part des guérillas:

> Ils menaçaient qu'on devait suspendre nos travaux sur la loi 70, [...] alors on m'a menacé plusieurs fois. Pendant un certain temps, je suis resté ici à Quibdó. Ensuite, après avoir négocié un accord avec eux, j'ai pu retourner là-bas.[16]

Suite à l'approbation de la loi 70 en 1993, l'OCABA continue le travail de défense du territoire, désormais avec des outils juridiques. Un processus d'assignation de titres de propriété collectifs aux communautés noires, entre autres, aussi aux *consejos comunitarios* dans la région du Bas Atrato, impulsés par l'OCABA, démarre dans différentes régions rurales du Chocó. Néanmoins, la titularisation n'est pas en ligne avec les intérêts des groupes armés illégaux. En fait, à la fin de l'année 1996,

> Cinq jours après avoir reçu le titre commença aussi le déplacement. Ils sont entrés, il y a eu l'incursion de la part des paramilitaires et de l'armée qui ont bombardé tous ces fleuves [...] dans la municipalité de Riosucio.[17]

Ces événements causent le déplacement massif des habitants de nombreux villages de la municipalité de Riosucio, principale ville dans la région du Bas Atrato. Eusebio se déplace avec sa famille à Quibdó pour y chercher refuge chez des parents. A Quibdó, avec d'autres leaders déplacés issus d'organisations paysannes, il participe à la mise en place d'un processus associatif des déplacés. Ces leaders paysans étant déjà un point de référence dans le contexte rural, le

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[16]   Eusebio, Quibdó, entretien avril 2011.
[17]   Eusebio, Quibdó, entretien avril 2011.

deviennent également pour les personnes déplacées à Quibdó. Eusebio devient ainsi le représentant des déplacés provenant de Riosucio, réunis dans la « communauté » de Riosucio. Avec les autres leaders déplacés, il organise des rencontres, des visites aux différentes institutions, ainsi que les premières actions de protestation. À la fin de 1997, Eusebio participe ainsi à l'occupation du *Coliseo*, un moment significatif dans le processus associatif des *desplazados* à Quibdó, motivé par le manque d'assistance des institutions responsables de répondre à la situation humanitaire des déplacés forcés depuis l'approbation de la loi 387 de 1997 sur le déplacement forcé.

Au sein du stade, les *desplazados* s'organisent d'après les communes (« communautés ») d'origine. Encore une fois, le leader qui représente la « communauté » de Riosucio est Eusebio. Il fait donc partie de la *junta directiva* (cadres directeurs) de l'organisation des *desplazados* au sein du stade.

Les conditions de vie de la population dans le Coliseo ne s'améliorent pas malgré l'insistance des leaders face aux institutions responsables. Les déplacés continuent donc à entreprendre des actions de protestations pour revendiquer leurs droits ; en octobre de 1998 un groupe planifie l'occupation d'une zone résidentielle (*urbanización*) inachevée et abandonnée depuis plusieurs années en marge de la ville, La Cascorva. L'initiative parvient à attirer l'attention sur la question de la réinstallation et de l'absence de logements pour *desplazados* à Quibdó. A partir de là, apparaît Villa España, comme un projet d'abris provisoires qui progressivement se transforme en quartier urbain.

Si, suite à l'occupation des maisons de Cascorva, Eusebio est défini par les *desplazados* comme « leader des gens de La Cascorva », il fait partie également du processus associatif de Villa España. Il participe à la construction du site et possède même un *albergue temporal* (maison provisoire) qu'il n'a jamais habitée.

> Même si, je n'y vivais pas, j'étais le vice-président de la *junta*, de
> l'*asentamiento* [établissement]. On formait des directions locales de quartier,

alors, comme celle qui était à Villa España il y en avait une autre à Cas-
corva.[18]

Eusebio est donc un des leaders principaux dans les différentes
phases du processus associatif des déplacés à Quibdó. Un extrait de
son récit de vie montre bien son importance au sein du leadership
local, régional et national :

> Eusebio entre dans le processus d'organisations à partir de 1996. J'étais un
> des membres du comité de négociation. Ensuite, j'entre dans la coordina-
> tion de la première organisation de *desplazados* qui était pour la réinstalla-
> tion à Quibdó. J'entre aussi dans celle qu'on appelle ADACHO [*Asociación*
> *de Desplazados Afrodescendientes del Chocó*], qui servait pour donner plus de
> corps [à l'organisation] [...], parce que si nous étions en train de lutter dans
> le cadre des droits des populations déplacées, nous devions parler pour cel-
> les qui retournaient et celles qui se réinstallaient, n'est-ce pas ? Alors, c'est à
> partir de là qu'on a crée ADACHO pour que ça soit comme ça. Alors, au
> sein d'ADACHO, j'ai été à la présidence pour cinq ans. Ensuite, je suis sorti
> de là [...]. Alors c'est dans cet ordre que nous commençons à visibiliser le
> [problème], alors, c'était comme en 1999, qu'apparaît l'association d'afros
> déplacés qui est l'AFRODES [*Asociación Nacional de Afrocolombianos Despla-*
> *zados*]. Mais AFRODES naît des mêmes personnes qui ont été déplacées
> jusqu'à Bogotá depuis du Chocó, certains depuis Tumaco, autres depuis
> Buenaventura, Cali.[19] Dans sa majorité, AFRODES est formée de ces gens :
> ceux de Buenaventura et du Chocó. La majorité des cadres directeurs
> étaient du Chocó [...]. Alors, dans cet ordre, commence à prendre force
> l'articulation du travail avec AFRODES. Et depuis le Chocó, nous faisions
> aussi partie de la création de la *Coordinación Nacional de Desplazados*, la
> CND. Nous faisions aussi partie de la création de la CND, et moi, j'ai par-
> ticipé à la création d'AFRODES, j'étais dans l'assemblée constitutive, la
> première assemblée qu'ils ont fait. C'était à moi d'y aller pour représenter
> les organisations du Chocó. Et alors, peu à peu, naît un travail qu'on faisait
> avec AFRODES qui fut aussi cofondatrice de la CND [...]. Et alors moi, j'ai
> été dans tous ces espaces. (Eusebio, entretien avril 2011).[20]

Si l'approche de travail de leadership des *desplazados* est en premier
lieu humanitaire, ce récit montre une progressive réémergence d'une

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[18] Eusebio, Quibdó, entretien juin 2011.
[19] Des villes de la région du Pacifique colombien, situées dans les départements de
      Nariño et Valle del Cauca.
[20] Eusebio, Quibdó, entretien avril 2011.

dimension ethnique au sein des organisations régionales et nationales des déplacés forcés.

Armando et Harold : de la rupture à la continuité

Armando et son fils Harold sont aussi souvent mentionnés par mes interlocuteurs comme des personnes de référence pour parler du processus associatif des déplacés, de l'expérience du *Coliseo* et de Villa España. Les deux sont originaires de la municipalité de Riosucio, région du Bas Atrato. Ils ont participé en qualité de leaders dans le processus associatif et ont vécu à Villa España. Depuis quelques années, Armando est retourné vivre à Riosucio, où il continue à s'engager dans les organisations paysannes. Bien qu'il ne soit plus présent physiquement à Villa España, les autres habitants du quartier le définissent encore comme étant leur leader.

Lors d'une mobilisation collective organisée à Quibdó par les différents groupes de la société civile (partis politiques, organisations de *desplazados*, associations d'étudiants, etc.) en occasion du 1er mai 2011, je rencontre Armando en ville. Il fait partie d'une délégation de représentants d'organisations paysannes et civiles de Riosucio, venue à Quibdó pour négocier avec le gouvernement des solutions autour de la question du dragage du fleuve Atrato afin d'éviter les inondations chroniques des villages riverains. L'organisation d'un entretien est difficile : il passe des réunions consultatives avec le gouvernement aux tables rondes de travail avec les cadres dirigeants du département. Comme Eusebio, Armando n'est pas actif seulement au niveau local, au contraire, il est présent dans plusieurs espaces aussi au niveau national. Enfin, je le croise à Villa España, où il loge chez sa fille. Malgré la confiance instaurée avec Eusebio et les autres habitants du quartier, Armando refuse de m'accorder un entretien. Je n'ai pas interprété ce refus comme un échec puisque « les refus de donner des entretiens sont *toujours instructifs* » (Beaud et Weber, 2003, p. 193) : ils constituent aussi des données. Armando

explique qu'il est déçu « des chercheurs et scientifiques qui débarquent, prennent toutes les information, les connaissances, et après ils partent, et rien »[21]. Son refus me révèle alors une fois de plus que le déplacement forcé est un objet d'étude à la mode en Colombie et que les *desplazados* ont déjà raconté d'innombrables fois leur histoire. Pourtant, la conversation informelle menée avec lui est enrichissante. Avant de se déplacer à Quibdó en 1996, Armando était le leader au sein d'un village dans la municipalité de Riosucio et aussi le président de l'association paysanne ACAMURI, *Asociación Campesina del Municipio de Riosucio* (Association paysanne de la municipalité de Riosucio). Cette dernière cessa presque d'exister lors des déplacements massifs des habitants de la région durant les années 1996 et 1997. En 2007, après avoir vécu à Villa España pendant quelques années, Armando retourne à Riosucio poussé principalement par l'absence d'emploi et l'impossibilité de se refaire une vie en ville. Cela signifie une rupture au sein de la famille, puisque ses filles et ses fils restent à Quibdó pour s'assurer l'accès à une meilleure éducation. Outre que travailler les terres dont il possède le titre de propriété, Armando est actuellement le représentant légal du conseil communautaire de son village ainsi que le président d'ACAMURI, qui est de nouveau active depuis quelques années. Il garde des relations étroites avec les organisations de *desplazados* à Quibdó, et en particulier avec les habitants de Villa España. Armando avoue que ses visites au quartier sont fréquentes et qu'il continue à donner des conseils aux habitants. La conversation me révèle alors une continuité entre l'espace rural et l'espace urbain. Les leaders paysans sont très dynamiques : ils vont et viennent entre les communautés rurales et les espaces urbains aussi bien au niveau local, départemental, régional que national. Les liens entre les habitants des zones rurales et les *desplazados* à Quibdó sont très étroits et sont maintenus d'une part, à travers les relations de parentèle, d'autre part, grâce aux denses rela-

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[21]   Notes de terrain, mai 2011.

tions interpersonnelles entre leaders (p. ex. entre Eusebio et Armando) et aux objectifs communs.

Dans le cas d'Armando et de son fils Harold, cette continuité devient encore plus évidente. Harold était aussi membre d'ACAMURI avant de se déplacer à Quibdó à cause du conflit armé, où il se forme en tant que leader des *desplazados*. Sur le terrain ethnographique, Harold était un leader reconnu parmi les habitants de Villa España et partait de temps en temps pour travailler quelques mois dans la récolte des légumes en Espagne. Cela contribue à augmenter son prestige en tant que leader du quartier. Bien qu'il ne soit plus membre de la *junta* de Villa España, Harold s'occupe généralement de la rédaction des lettres aux institutions ainsi que des visites institutionnelles internationales au quartier. En outre, Harold maintient des rapports avec ACAMURI :

> Je maintiens encore la communication, parfois ils m'appellent, 'il faut faire un tour ici à la papeterie' et moi, j'y vais et je le fais pour eux. Et avant, quand tu m'as appelé, j'attendais une commission qui venait du Bas Atrato pour un enterrement.[22]

Les trajectoires de vie d'Armando et Harold soulignent la forte connexion entre le milieu rural et le milieu urbain. Dans ce cas spécifique, elle se base principalement sur des liens familiaux, auxquels s'ajoutent et se combinent des relations en termes d'associations. En même temps, ces parcours individuels montrent que si le déplacement forcé signifie une rupture pour les processus associatifs dans les régions rurales, cette rupture n'est pas toujours totale. ACAMURI poursuit ses activités de défense du territoire au même titre qu'avant 1996 et son réseau social intègre désormais les leaders et les organisations de *desplazados* basés dans les espaces urbains.

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[22] Harold, Quibdó, entretien avril 2011.

Ruptures et continuités

Les parcours individuels, bien que dépourvus de représentativité par rapport au leadership des *desplazados*, font ressortir des éléments fondamentaux. La perspective historique intégrée à travers les trajectoires de vie me permet de situer les leaders et leur discours basés sur les idées de communauté, territoire et lutte, dans le contexte plus large d'un mouvement associatif paysan qui émerge à partir des années 1970 et 1980. Le processus associatif des *desplazados* à Quibdó se construit sur la base d'un leadership formé auparavant au sein des associations paysannes, de savoirs et de savoir-faire ainsi que de réseaux sociaux acquis par ces leaders paysans, et aussi sur la base de structures associatives établies. Les compétences acquises au sein des associations paysannes représentent un bagage fondamental pour l'émergence d'un processus associatif parmi les *desplazados*. En effet, les structures des organisations de *desplazados* à Quibdó (*junta*, comités, président, vice-président, secrétaire, etc.) reflètent les mêmes structures que les *juntas de acción comunal* et associations paysannes nées auparavant dans le milieu rural du Chocó. Cela témoigne d'une compétence de gestion organisationnelle acquise par les leaders des *desplazados* dans le contexte des associations paysannes. Le transfert de compétences, de savoirs et savoir-faire ainsi que de réseaux sociaux passe principalement à travers les figures clé des leaders.

La continuité au sein du leadership est un point central qui émerge grâce à la perspective historique adoptée. Dans ce sens, le déplacement forcé ne constitue pas une rupture totale. Le parcours individuel d'Armando montre que les contacts entre associations paysannes (régions rurales) et organisations de *desplazados* (milieu urbain) restent étroits et fréquents, en révélant une certaine continuité entre le rural et l'urbain, qui a toujours été caractéristique du département du Chocó, mais peu étudiée par les recherches anthropo-

logiques dans la région.[23]. La connexion entre urbain et rural, entre organisations paysannes et de *desplazados* est sous-tendue par les réseaux sociaux des leaders, dans lesquels les étroites relations familiales occupent une position centrale.

Eusebio est un leader reconnu, et même célèbre dans son monde social. Son récit montre que la célébrité n'est pas nouvelle, mais qu'elle trouve ses racines dans le mouvement associatif des années 1980 et 1990. En fait, la position d'Eusebio se construit au sein de l'organisation paysanne OCABA, en représentation de laquelle il participe à des rencontres et assemblées au niveau régional et national. Néanmoins, si avant, sa célébrité se basait sur la mobilisation d'une identité d'abord paysanne et progressivement accompagnée d'une dimension ethnique en tant qu'afrocolombien, à travers des discours qui associent ethnicité, défense du territoire et maintien de la biodiversité, à présent, un autre répertoire identitaire se superpose. Suite aux déplacements forcés, le travail de visibilisation ou de visibilité des leaders se base sur la mobilisation d'un répertoire identitaire (Fresia 2009) issu du statut juridique de déplacé interne (et victime). Le discours des leaders est de plus en plus orienté vers une dimension humanitaire en mobilisant des représentations de soi en tant que victimes.

Outre les éléments de continuité, les trajectoires de vie des leaders laissent transparaître de multiples ruptures générées par le déplacement forcé. Dans les mois suivants les déplacements, ces ruptures sont très évidentes, tant au niveau individuel qu'au niveau associatif. Le déplacement forcé est perçu par les *desplazados* comme une forte rupture dans leur vie. Le déplacement forcé, depuis, les zones rurales du Chocó vers les villes colombiennes signifie également une rupture pour le mouvement associatif des paysans afrocolombiens. Le déplacement ou la disparition des principaux leaders

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[23]   A cet égard, l'étude de García Sánchez (2013) révèle les dynamiques autour du déracinement (*destierro*) et les processus de reterritorialisation au milieu urbain par des personnes déplacées.

paysans causent un fort impact sur les associations paysannes et leurs activités. Certains cas entrainent la presque cessation des activités ou la disparition pure et simple desdites activités. Cela constitue une importante perte de pouvoir et un frein significatif à leur travail politique dans un moment d'essor et de reconnaissance au sein des espaces politiques nationaux.

L'urgence domine les premiers mois dans la situation de déplacement : alimentation, logement et sécurité physique constituent les priorités, ne laissant pas d'espace pour une possible mobilisation collective. Les leaders déplacés sont portés dans un premier temps à adresser des questions humanitaires, au détriment de questions plus politiques. Au fil du temps, ils réorientent leurs discours en intégrant les questions humanitaires et les revendications politiques, comme le démontre le cas d'Eusebio qui participe actuellement à plusieurs espaces politiques au niveau national. Les leaders paysans déplacés ont été capables de maintenir voire reconstruire leurs réseaux sociaux en créant aujourd'hui une articulation entre les mobilisations collectives rurales et urbaines, qui est facilitée, entre autres, par la diffusion des téléphones portables et l'accès à Internet.

Villa España comme communauté en contexte urbain

> La communauté déplacée dispersée dans la ville de Quibdó a réussi à se réunir, obtenant des bénéfices dans la formation d'un quartier nommé Villa España ; grâce à cela ils sont aujourd'hui reconnus par les institutions privées, étatiques et les organisations nationales et internationales (Mesa Mena, Marin et Caicedo, 2001, p. 84-85, traduction de l'auteure).

Les expressions « la communauté de *desplazados* », « être de la communauté », « la communauté de Villa España », « c'est pour la communauté » sont fréquentes chez les habitants de Villa España. Le contexte de déplacement forcé suscite un sentiment d'appartenance à une même communauté, processus qui a été constaté aussi au sein des camps de réfugiés (Malkki, 1996 ; Turner, 2002). Les *desplazados*

arrivés à Quibdó entre 1996 et 1997 s'identifient fortement à l'idée de la lutte. L'occupation du *Coliseo* représente, à ce sujet, un événement marquant. Il constitue le principal élément fondateur d'une communauté de *desplazados* à Quibdó, qui se base sur un même vécu, à savoir le déplacement forcé, ainsi que l'expérience des mobilisations collectives. En effet, certains évènements dramatiques, notamment les déplacements forcés, peuvent susciter un sentiment de groupe et augmenter les degrés de *groupness* (Brubaker, 2004, p. 14). En plus d'avoir vécu une même expérience, la construction d'une communauté de déplacés s'appuie sur la représentation d'une lutte commune pour atteindre des objectifs en commun. Au fil des années, Villa España devient en quelque sorte le symbole de cette communauté de *desplazados*. C'est à Villa España que l'idée de communauté est la plus ancrée dans l'imaginaire des *desplazados*, « parce qu'ils ont un titre de propriété collectif, ils ont une histoire commune et l'espace est occupé par les gens qui appartiennent à cette histoire »[24]. La question foncière n'est pas à comprendre comme un titre collectif de communauté noire, comme prévu selon la loi 70. Villa España se construit sur une parcelle achetée au nom de la Croix-Rouge colombienne avec des fonds donnés par ses partenaires européens (Croix-Rouge espagnole[25] et ECHO[26]). Le titre de propriété était à la Croix-Rouge, étant donné qu'il s'agissait d'une solution provisoire pour une population spécifique qui vivait dans le stade et le quartier occupé de Cascorva. Le projet prévoyait qu'une fois que le gouvernement aurait construit des logements définitifs pour les *desplazados*, d'autres personnes déplacées seraient entrées vivre provisoi-

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[24] Membre du Diocèse, Quibdó, entretien mai 2011.
[25] Selon les principes organisationnels de la Fédération internationale des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge et du Croissant-Rouge, la Croix-Rouge colombienne constitue la *operating National Society* (ONS) (société nationale opérative) et la Croix-Rouge espagnole a le rôle de *participating National Society* (PNS) (société nationale participante) (IFRC 1997).
[26] *European Community Humanitarian Office* (ECHO) de l'Union Européenne, crée en 1992, est un des principaux bailleurs de fonds dans le domaine de l'aide humanitaire (ECHO 2011).

rement dans ces maisons, et ainsi de suite. Ainsi, contrairement aux quartiers voisins qui sont des *barrios de invasión* (quartiers d'invasion)[27], Villa España a été construite sur une parcelle achetée au nom de la Croix-Rouge colombienne. Quelques années plus tard, un processus de passage du titre foncier aura lieu. Selon la version institutionnelle de la Croix-Rouge, le titre général (ou global) fut divisé et chaque habitant reçut le titre de propriété de sa maison. Il devient évident que des transformations ont eu lieu, un passage d'un lieu provisoire à un quartier intégré à la ville de Quibdó, où les personnes sont les propriétaires des maisons qu'elles habitent. Par contre, les terrains d'usage collectif (maison communautaire, lavoir collectif, terrains à cultiver, etc.) seraient donc encore des propriétés de la Croix-Rouge. Pendant les dernières années, la discussion tourne autour du futur de ces espaces collectives. Les leaders ont exploré la possibilité de revendiquer un titre collectif en se déclarant communauté noire et fondant un *consejo comunitario*. Certains habitants plaidaient pour la division des terres entre tous les membres. Actuellement l'option la plus viable est le passage du titre de propriété au nom de la *junta de acción comunal*, vu que récemment la *junta* du quartier a été reconnue sous cette figure.

Les leaders jouent un rôle important en tant que entrepreneurs identitaires (Saint-Lary, 2009) dans la construction de la *comunidad* de Villa España, laquelle s'appuie sur une histoire commune et qui est produite et reproduite à travers ses structures organisationnelles (*junta*, comités, associations de jeunes, etc.), ses normes (*manual de convivencia*) ainsi que par différents aspects légaux (titres de propriété, terrains de propriété collective, etc.). A titre d'exemple, le *manual de convivencia* stipule les « normes de vie en commun » avec l'objectif de « construire un projet de vie communautaire, qui nous permet de conserver le tissu social, de le maintenir et de l'étendre, en tant que les personnes qui ont souffert des expériences similaires d'ingrat

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[27]   Il s'agit de sites occupés de façon illégale et désorganisée d'un point de vue d'aménagement du territoire et de planification urbaine.

souvenir »[28]. Comme le remarque Brubaker, les récits de nos interlocuteurs, en particulier ceux donnés par les entrepreneurs ethnopolitiques, ont un caractère performatif: « By *invoking* groups, they seek to *evoke* them, summon them, call them into being » (Brubaker, 2004, p. 10). Les entrepreneurs construisent une communauté à Villa España à travers un processus de réification, c'est-à-dire, ils traitent cette « communauté » comme allant de soi.

Néanmoins, la construction d'une communauté n'est pas qu'une initiative de quelques entrepreneurs identitaires parmi les habitants de Villa España, mais elle est produite et reproduite par les institutions humanitaires, les médias comme aussi par les chercheurs en sciences sociales. Elle se reproduit, par exemple, dans les films documentaires ou les articles que d'autres acteurs sociaux ont réalisé sur le quartier (Garbely, 2009; Mesa Mena, Marin et Caicedo, 2001; Mejía Botero, 2007). La connotation communautaire est particulièrement présente dans les discours ainsi que dans les projets pour les *desplazados*. Un jeune leader affirme qu'elle est le produit des interventions à Villa España des institutions humanitaires, qui « ont voulu qu'on travaille en communauté »[29].

Dans la réalité urbaine de Quibdó, les habitants de Villa España se réfèrent à eux-mêmes comme étant une communauté. Le terme *comunidad* est central dans leur discours, soit lors des réunions, soit au quotidien. La dimension émotive, liée aux sentiments d'appartenance des habitants, est clé pour comprendre la différence entre quartier et communauté :

> Il y a une différence entre le quartier et la communauté. Le quartier, nous pouvons parler du physique, mais vivre en communauté c'est sentir les mêmes nécessités, n'est-ce pas ? [...] Une communauté est quelque chose de plus proche, plus de sentiments, plus de rencontres avec des nécessiteux et

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[28] Notes de terrain, mai 2011.
[29] Jeune leader, Quibdó, entretien juin 2011.

des solutions plus communes, n'est-ce pas ? De communauté, de choses plus unies, oui ?[30]

Dans le discours des habitants, le terme « communauté » a une connotation positive et s'oppose à l'« individualisme », ce dernier désignant une logique du « chacun pour soi».

En ce qui concerne le contexte plus ample du Chocó, il faut souligner que la notion de communauté est courante dans les régions rurales pour désigner les villages paysans afrocolombiens ou indigènes. Dans le cas des populations afrocolombiennes et indigènes, l'usage du terme a été renforcé par les législations relatives aux titres de propriété collectifs. Dans le cas de la loi 70, la titularisation de territoires collectifs à des populations afrocolombiennes implique la formation d'un conseil communautaire au sein de la « communauté noire ». L'origine paysanne des habitants de Villa España ainsi que la participation des leaders déplacés dans les associations paysannes, et plus tard afrocolombiennes, depuis les années 1980, sont des facteurs à prendre en considération pour l'analyse des usages des termes *comunidad* et « communautaire ».

Ces représentations de solidarité communautaire sont nuancées par un membre du Diocèse de Quibdó qui connaît bien les dynamiques de travail dans les régions rurales du Chocó. Elle problématise la notion de communauté :

> Oui, le communautaire existe, mais le communautaire possède différents niveaux. [...] de quelque façon, il s'agit d'un mythe [...]. On doit savoir dans quel moment régit le système individuel et dans quel moment régit le système d'ensemble, d'accord ? Il faut comprendre qu'on peut partager certaines choses. C'est pour cela que certaines choses marchent tandis que d'autres doivent être au niveau individuel ou au niveau familial. Il existe du communautaire, mais il existe plutôt la famille élargie, et ça fonctionne.[31]

Pour mieux expliquer les niveaux du communautaire, elle utilise l'exemple du travail agricole dans les régions rurales du Chocó. Tra-

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[30]   Jeune leader, Quibdó, entretien juin 2011.
[31]   Membre du Diocèse, Quibdó, entretien juin 2011.

ditionnellement, les paysans travaillent selon un système de « mains échangées » (*manos cambiadas*). Ce système permet à un paysan de solliciter pour un jour la main d'œuvre des autres paysans, et qu'il récompensera, à son tour, avec son propre travail. Dans ce système, la propriété des ressources (p. ex. le champ) n'est pas collective, mais reste individuelle ou familiale. En outre, même si le travail est communautaire, le propriétaire du champ dirige le travail. Le « communautaire » existe donc plutôt au niveau des travaux spécifiques.

La « communauté » est dans une certaine mesure un mythe[32] qui est associé principalement au milieu rural du Chocó et qui est produit et reproduit par différents acteurs sociaux : associations paysannes, institutions étatiques (p. ex. à travers les législations), institutions humanitaires, médias, chercheurs en sciences sociales, etc. Dans ce sens, l'action collective est un construit social et non pas un phénomène naturel (Jacob et Lavigne Delville, 1994). La représentation du communautaire, associée aux paysans afrocolombiens du Chocó, devient caractéristique aussi des *desplazados*, en partie à cause des origines paysannes de ces derniers. À la construction de ce mythe participent largement les agences humanitaires et du développement. En effet, les agences humanitaires ont de plus en plus tendance à promouvoir le paradigme de la « participation » (Chauveau, 1994) et de l'approche « communautaire » afin de lutter contre un présumé « 'virus' de la dépendance » (Fresia, 2009, p. 51). Le discours des institutions humanitaires présente Villa España comme un modèle de « communauté » et de « participation », c'est-à-dire comme un projet cohérent avec les politiques des institutions humanitaires internationales qui placent l'approche participative comme une priorité dans leurs agendas (Fresia, 2009 ; Jacob et Lavigne Delville, 1994). Ceci se reflète dans les nombreux projets développés dans le quartier, dont la majorité visait à la création de micro-entreprises « communautaires », ainsi par exemple un lavoir col-

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[32]   cf. aussi au « mythe du communautaire » signalé par Jacob et Lavigne Delville (1994, p. 13) dans le contexte africain.

lectif et un four communautaire. La construction de Villa España comme communauté légitime, l'approche « participative » et les projets « communautaires », qui à leur tour reproduisent ces représentations. De façon pareille au cas analysé par Mosse en Inde, Villa España est représentée comme « a shining jewel » (Mosse, 2005, p. 168) d'une approche participative aux *desplazados*.

   Les leaders de Villa España se réapproprient stratégiquement du discours et des représentations du communautaire pour attirer les fonds et les projets des institutions humanitaires (Olivier de Sardan, 1995). Quant aux raisons pour lesquelles la plupart des projets mis en place à Villa España sont « communautaires » ou « collectifs », un leader répond :

> Parce que c'était la seule alternative qu'on avait, que nous offraient les ONG de coopération, [...] aux conditions que ça soit communautaire. Si les gens s'organisent, si nous nous organisons en tant que communauté, du moment que nous montons le projet en tant que communauté organisée, ils nous l'approuvent.[33]

Les leaders en tant qu'intermédiaires ont appris à connaître les logiques de travail des institutions humanitaires en matière d'interventions. Par conséquent, lors des visites de représentants institutionnels, ils essaient davantage de demander ou présenter des projets qui à leur avis répondent aux attentes de ceux-ci, à savoir des projets « communautaires » pour femmes, enfants ou personnes âgées. La représentation de Villa España en tant que *comunidad* a des effets concrets pour les habitants du quartier. La réappropriation du discours et du « mythe communautaire » a mené à la mise en place de nombreux projets « communautaires » au sein du quartier : maison communautaire, four communautaire, projet communautaire d'artisanat, lavoir collectif, etc. Sauf quelques exceptions, la plupart de ces projets ne sont actuellement pas utilisés de la façon « communautaire » prévue par ses créateurs (institutions humanitaires et

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[33]   Leader, Quibdó, entretien mai 2011.

bailleurs de fonds). Au contraire, les outils et structures de ces projets s'utilisent actuellement de façon individualisée, la plupart du temps, au niveau des familles. Par exemple les outils du four communautaire ont été réappropriés par une famille afin de démarrer une petite boulangerie familiale, ce qui réaffirme l'existence d'une logique d'abord autour de la famille.

Réflexions finales

Les trajectoires de vie des leaders mettent en avant différents éléments des dynamiques du leadership entre le rural et l'urbain à travers le déplacement forcé. La perspective historique révèle l'émergence d'un leadership au Chocó et la conformation d'associations paysannes au cours des années 1980 et 1990, comme une défense des territoires, considérés de l'État, contre l'exploitation des ressources naturelles de la part des entreprises privées. Ces associations ne s'(auto)nommaient pas encore comme ethnique ; l'histoire d'Eusebio montre la progressive lecture des associations et ses activités en clé ethnique, dont la Constitution Politique de 1991 et la loi 70 de 1993 fixent un point central avec la reconnaissance des « communautés noires » du Pacifique en qualité de groupe ethnique. Agudelo affirme qu'il s'agit d'organisations de paysans noirs qui revendiquaient la reconnaissance de la propriété du territoire qu'ils habitaient et à l'intérieur duquel ils développaient leurs activités productives. Celles-ci étaient aussi considérée et revendiquée comme écologiquement appropriées, en ligne avec leur tradition culturelle. De cette façon, dans leur discours, s'est produit un processus graduel d'articulation entre le droit foncier, l'autodéfinition comme groupe ethnique, les droits comme paysans et la préservation de la nature (Agudelo, 2004, p. 184-185).

Depuis la loi 70 les anciennes associations et organisations paysannes se transforment et se définissent elles-mêmes comme des organisations ethniques territoriales, mettant en avant l'élément

ethnique du travail intrinsèquement vinculé avec la notion du territoire. Presque simultanément la « défense du territoire ethnique » et ses ressources naturelles s'enrichissent par l'idée de la biodiversité, produisant et reproduisant des imaginaires environnementaux relatifs à l'ethnique (cf. Restrepo, 2013a).

Dans ce contexte, à partir de la moitié des années 1990, les régions rurales sont touchées par les dynamiques du conflit armé, en causant le déplacement forcé. Ceci constitue un mécanisme violent de contrôle des populations et des espaces, lequel coexiste presque paradoxalement avec la titularisation collective des territoires, transformant les formes associatives et les revendications des communautés du Pacifique colombien (García Sánchez, 2013, p. 80). D'ailleurs, la titularisation des territoires collectifs afrocolombiens assume une importance nouvelle dans le contexte du déplacement forcé, puisque elle s'oppose à la logique de contrôle des territoires et des ressources naturelles inhérente aux groupes armés légaux et illégaux (Wouters, 2001).

Le leadership se reconfigure en ville, comme le montrent les trajectoires de vie dans ce texte. Thématiquement, l'approche de travail est humanitaire, et, où se construit petit à petit un leadership des déplacés et des victimes, dans lequel l'ethnique et le territorial semblent initialement avoir disparu. Néanmoins, au cours des années, l'ethnique réémerge au sein des organisations des déplacés, impulsées par ses leaders, au niveau régional (par exemple à travers de ADACHO, *Asociación de Desplazados Afrodescendientes del Chocó*) et national (à travers principalement de AFRODES, *Asociación Nacional de Afrocolombianos Desplazados*), et une reterritorialisation a lieu dans le contexte urbain, d'abord dans le Coliseo, puis dans La Cascorva, mais surtout à Villa España, lieux des déplacés par excellence.

Le déplacement forcé débilite le leadership des associations paysannes, au point que celles-ci risquent la disparition. C'est le cas de ACAMURI, selon le récit d'Armando, qui disparait définitivement, ainsi que le cas de OCABA, définie comme l'« une des organisations

afrocolombiennes les plus touchées par le conflit armé » dû aux déplacements et aux assassinats de ses principaux leaders (Wabgou, Arocha Rodríguez, Salgado Cassiani et Carabalí Ospina, 2012, p. 150-151, traduction de l'auteure). Actuellement, il est intéressant d'observer les interconnexions entre le rural et l'urbain au niveau des organisations, visibles depuis l'expérience d'Armando et son fils Harold, lesquelles invitent à analyser les dynamiques associatives et territoriales au-delà de la dichotomie campagne-ville.

Ces continuités et connexions au sein du déplacement forcé se matérialisent aussi dans l'espace urbain, où le quartier Villa España se construit socialement comme une communauté, traçant ainsi une permanence des communautés noires des régions rurales du Chocó. Le terme « communauté » associé à Villa España est clé : au-delà de la continuité avec les communautés d'origine des déplacés habitant le quartier, il symbolise une histoire de lutte et de résistance communes et il véhicule des sentiments d'appartenance.

En Colombie, « communauté » (ainsi que « territoire ») cachent des enjeux politiques considérables en tant que mots de lutte des mouvements sociaux noirs, indigènes et paysans. Ce sont des termes qui rejettent le modèle de société et de développement dominant. La communauté, connotée positivement, s'oppose à l'individualisme caractéristique de la société dénommée dominante et poussée par l'État. Depuis la législation colombienne, la notion de communauté a été utilisée par l'État pour désigner les formes d'organisations sociales différentes qui ont progressivement été associées aux minorités ethniques. Les groupes ethniques en Colombie sont donc identifiés comme communautés ethniques. Une notion qui est particulièrement appliquée dans le cas des afrocolombiens, qui au contraire des indigènes, ne sont pas reconnus comme peuple, mais comme *comunidades negras.* Le terme « communautés noires » cache ainsi des enjeux juridiques et politiques cruciaux, donnant aux afrocolombiens l'accès à certains droits (fonciers, culturels, etc.) tout en leur niant d'autres, tels que le droit à l'autonomie politique et le droit à

l'autonomie territoriale. Dans ce contexte fortement politisé, l'étude ethnographique des usages et significations du concept « communauté » est cruciale.

D'ailleurs, la représentation du concept communauté est produite et reproduite par les leaders, les chercheurs et les institutions humanitaires. La construction de Villa España en tant que communauté a des effets performatifs concrets, apportant ainsi une multitude d'interventions dans le quartier en matière de projets et d'initiatives « collectifs » ou « communautaires ».

Dans le cas de Villa España, les leaders mobilisent, entre autres, leur appartenance ethnique aux populations afrocolombiennes du Chocó. En effet, au sein des sphères gouvernementales, non gouvernementales et de la population plus large, circule une représentation qui conçoit des groupes spécifiques de la population colombienne (afrocolombiens, indigènes, paysans, femmes) comme extrêmement vulnérables, c'est-à-dire victimes du conflit armé. Cette construction de la vulnérabilité a des implications au niveau de la mise en place des politiques et des projets humanitaires (Eraso, 2009). L'assistance aux déplacés internes en Colombie prétend s'orienter vers une approche différenciée, suivant des critères ethniques, générationnels et de genre. À travers leur identification en tant qu'afrocolombiens les habitants de Villa España deviennent des *sujetos especiales de protección* (sujets de protection spéciale) dans le contexte du déplacement forcé. Ils acquièrent ainsi des instruments juridiques additionnels d'origine jurisprudentielle (l'ordre de la Cour Constitutionnelle *Auto 005 de 2009*) pour faire valoir leurs droits.

Au fil des récits des leaders et des discours au sein de Villa España, je remarque alors l'usage de multiples repères « identitaires » selon le contexte: paysans, afrocolombiens, déplacés, victimes. Comme le remarque Fresia dans le cas des réfugiés mauritaniens au Sénégal, « loin d'être des personnes déracinées ou dépossédées, les réfugiés se présentent comme des feuilletés d'êtres successifs disposant d'un ensemble très vaste de repères identitaires » (Fresia, 2009,

p. 295). Le contexte de déplacement forcé suscite des répertoires identitaires nouveaux et complexes, mobilisés et combinés de façon distincte et nouvelle selon les contextes, entre le rural et l'urbain.

Ce texte n'arrive qu'à ébaucher les continuités au-delà de la dichotomie urbain-rural au Chocó. Il invite, alors, à approfondir ces connexions ethnographiquement, afin de comprendre les dynamiques territoriales actuelles des populations afrocolombiennes au Chocó. En outre, l'article révèle des enjeux politiques associés à des concepts clés, tels que « territoire » ou « communauté », puisqu'ils représentent des mots de lutte pour les mouvements sociaux indigènes, afrocolombiens et paysans du Chocó. Ces concepts vont au-delà du contexte rural et portent désormais sur des questions identitaires, plus précisément ethniques.

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