Introduction

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(Gramo, the bad half): 'If only I could halve every whole thing like this,' said my uncle, lying face down on the rocks, stroking the convulsive half of an octopus, 'so that everyone could escape from his obtuse and ignorant wholeness. I was whole and all things were natural and confused me, stupid as the air; I thought I was seeing all and it was only the outside rind. If you ever become half of yourself, and I hope you do for your own sake, my boy, you'll understand things beyond the common intelligence of brains that are whole. You'll have lost half of yourself and of the world, but the remaining half will be a thousand times deeper and more precious. And you too would find yourself wanting everything to be halved like yourself, because beauty and knowledge and justice only exist in what has been cut to shreds.'

(Buono, the good half): 'Oh, Pamela, that's the good thing about being halved. One understands the sorrow of every person and thing in the world at its own incompleteness. I was whole and did not understand, and moved about deaf and unfeeling amid the pain and sorrow all round us, in places where as a whole person one would least think to find it. It's not only me, Pamela, who am a split being, but you and everyone else too. Now I have a fellowship which I did not understand, did not know before, when whole, a fellowship with all the mutilated and incomplete things in the world. If you come with me, Pamela, you'll learn to suffer with everyone's ills, and tend your own by tending theirs.'

Italo Calvino, *Il Visconte dimezzato*, 1952
(*The Nonexistent Knight and The Cloven Viscount*, 1962)

Viscount Medardo of Terralba, speaking here to his nephew and to Pamela, his beloved, was split in half by a cannonball during a battle with the Turks. Half of him was saved and continued to exist; the other half vanished before reappearing as a leper. Each of the halves would nonetheless

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inherit opposite parts of the other by provoking paradoxical situations. Good and evil would shift from one part of the unfortunate to the other, rendering the 'good' half unable to do without the 'bad' one. At the same time, each half, freed from the other, won the ability to see the surprising and the unexpected. A 'magical realism' is created in the endless to-and-fro between the two parts, viewed through the surreal's biased lens. The same familiar markers of yore would be reset backwards, like those butterflies, probably seen nowhere else in the world, that would become the viscount's foe.

Danielle de Lame would love the character of Medardo. As a tireless embroiderer of the links of daily life, she has always used contradiction as a preferred filter for reading the human condition. As an 'in-disciplined' woman and scholar, she seems to consider it a duty to scrutinize the discomfort of life, the jagged situations, the silent gnawing of invisible humanities; this orchestra of furtive gestures, of worried glances, of gaps and silences, of revealing objects, of words used to express one thing in place of another, of near-imperceptible shifts that foreshadow major upheavals. The work of Danielle de Lame is a lacemaker's frame where meticulous descriptions follow each other with painstaking steadiness to reveal, at the end of labour, a drawn-out fresco of the outcasts of History, a History with unrelentingly uneven conclusions. For these reasons, at a time when the future of anthropology as a 'critical in-discipline' (Comaroff 2010) is once again called into question, this book offers an 'in-disciplined' approach to practices of social change, through the contributions of anthropologists, historians, and political scientists on issues of materiality, memory, corporality, and normation.

In these pages, Danielle will find photograms of life shared with friends and colleagues who, through this volume, wished to celebrate her work and sharpness of mind, offering a view of their own internal world and questioning. They have also offered a moment of their lives to Danielle, in tribute to the enriching exchanges shared with her. Sincere thanks to them for their noble efforts.

Materiality as norm, corporality as resistance.
Objectivation/Subjectivation trajectories in Time and Space

The adjective 'in-disciplined' and its less incisive noun form, in-disciplinarity, imply a repeated reflection on multi/interdisciplinarity in its broadest sense. [2] However, in order to recreate the 'wonderful world of Danielle',

I find it more relevant to emphasise how this adjective reflects the precarious condition of human interaction that is determined in the state of structural contradiction owing to the interwoven heterogeneous value spheres of daily life. A universe where 'everything changes in exchange' following 'a geography of tense and related spaces'; where splitting and fragmenting are an integral part of the workings of the *bas-monde*, and, in a way, represent its harmony in the apparent ambient disorder. Jean-François Bayart's contribution to this volume reflects this fragmented, contradictory, self-referential rhythm of human action remodelled in spatiotemporal layers where the globalized dimensions of history, the temporalities of social practices, the representation of the Self, and the social lives of objects can be found. By pursuing his thoughts on the *fabrica* of the Subject (Bayart 1996, 2004), in the wake of Foucault, Bayart delves into the modes by which individuals set themselves up as 'moral subjects', that is, in non-linear entities. According to the author, they can only be understood when they are considered as 'enonciative' subjects stemming from modes of production of the Self, rather than as 'essences'. In this framework, Bayart views the use of biography as a preferred tool for revealing the cracks of contradictions that implies the confrontation between norms and practices, rather than for reconstructing a truth. Consequently, by moving away from the assertive mark of the *agency studies* approach, which views agency as a methodological tool suited for unearthing the underground connections between individuals and things, the author takes the biographical tool as an indicator of contradictions that does not necessarily suggest a completed action rationale.

The Ivorian *jeunes patriotes* who hold forth in the street parliaments of Abidjan are an example of these subjectivation pathways. Armando Cutolo, in this volume, analyses the construction of regimes of truth through the oratorical arts used by these young activists in a synergy of gestures, tones, and interaction with the public. His method draws on the praxeological and sensorial approach to daily life (Warnier 2004) and the theorisation of the concepts of 'tool' and 'apparatus' proposed by Foucault and Agamben. As such, oratorical rhetoric would be 'the product of an apparatus that captures, orients, and models behaviour, with gestures and speech both leading simultaneously to dynamics of subjectivation and subjection'. Cutolo notes, with cause, that these oratorical expressions are far from being free initiatives. As 'regimes of truth', these political speeches can only be made in regulated spaces run by the leaders of local political federations and according to templates approved by them. Indeed, the hierarchical habitus implies the interiorisation of social and economic dependence relationships follow-

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2. Reference works on interdisciplinarity include: Thompson Klein 1990; Bates, Mudimbe & O'Barr 1993; Morin 1994; Marcus 2002; Loty 2005; Passeron 2005;

Strathern 2005; Cerwonka 2007; Dubrueil 2007; Olivier de Sardan 2008; Faubion & Marcus 2009; Frodeman, Thompson Klein & Mitcham 2012; Ambler 2011.

ing, according to Bourdieu, 'a *lex insita* inscribed upon the body by identical histories, which is the condition not only of the dialogue of practices but also the practices of dialogue' (Bourdieu 1979: 99)[3].

The case of the circuit of these young activists shows, as do other cases[4], that the exercise of violence, in this instance in the form of relationship power, does not imply two separate and opposing macro-systems as Paul Farmer views it (Farmer 2004) but is reproduced, according to similar compartmentalisation strategies, within and throughout all links in the chain by determining, at the level of each chain, the establishment of hierarchical relationships.

Despite the social control wielded by dominant players – federation leaders in this case – subaltern actors use the competition between orators to create, in their turn, micro-areas of power. The internalisation of hierarchical relations does not obstruct the flourishing of the individual careers of these 'younger brothers in power' who manage the restrictions of authority that lead, in Foucault's view,[5] to 'micrologies of power', from the margins of freedom, no matter how limited.

The extreme variety of these contributions notwithstanding, it seems nonetheless possible to note a fundamental confrontation that underlies these unexpected encounters: the one between the worlds of materiality and corporality. To introduce this theme, here is a brief overview of this confrontation in relation to the debate on cultural heritage, as I find that it represents an enlightening example of the political, aesthetic, and representational issues at stake. In recent years, *heritage studies* have seen a shift from a universalist material acceptation of cultural heritage to an intimate and corporeal one. The former reflected the post-war perspective which viewed 'heritage' in legal terms of property and collective memory (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). The latter makes note of the recent, more functionalist, turn taken by the theorization of heritage, oriented upon the interlocking relationships of inequality in the national and international management and representation of cultural heritage. This second perspective suggests the questioning of the principle of preservation that underlies the mate-

rial acceptation of heritage for the benefit of the principles of interaction and change (Loulansky 2006). It falls within the scope of criticism led by the Frankfurt school (Butler 2006) of universalism as a totalitarian tool as well as the 'bottom-up' reading of cultural heritage management through intellectual rights defence movements (Nicholas & Bannister 2004; Dikirr, Ostergard & Tubin 2006) and cultural development policies associated with decentralisation (Fay, Kone & Quiminal 2006).

A biopolitical approach to cultural heritage theorization conceives the dynamics of corporality through social memory, acts of production and subsistence strategies. Investigating the indigenous reception of material culture (Karp, Kratz, Szwaja and Ybarra-Frausto 2006) and the representation of cultural difference (Sherman ed. 2008) thus involves rethinking the intellectual and physical management of 'places' and 'environments' of memory through recourse to microhistory and dynamics of embodiment, especially analysed through the social memory of landscape (Harrison 2004; Fisher & Feinman 2005). The cases of District Six in Cape Town (Rassool & Prosalendis 2001) and of Soweto (Nieves 2009) are examples of the rapid development of 'landscapes of memory' through the filter of the social memory of suffering (de Jong & Rowlands 2007; Logan & Reeves 2009; dos Anjos 2009). This new tendency simmered at a panel discussion that Danielle de Lame and I put forth in the framework of the First AEGIS International Conference organized in 2005 by SOAS in London.[6] This panel proposed rethinking the concept of 'loss' applied by UNESCO to 'endangered' immaterial heritage. Discussion went so far as to consider that the concept does not apply to the intellectual potential invested in economic subsistence strategies determining a value discrimination between the conception of cultural products and the acts of production. The panel proposed a 'total' reading of cultural facts in relation to the dynamics of integration or rejection implemented by contemporary societies in the context of physical and economic subsistence capable of achieving perennation. 'Making sense of exile: versatility and the 'behavioural aesthetics' of Sudanese Acholi refugees in Uganda' by Tania Kaiser (SOAS) illustrated Sudanese refugee subsistence strategies and representation systems in a context of shock and change through the concept of 'behavioural aesthetics' by outlining an individualization of the concept of 'cultural heritage'. 'An understanding of such social processes – which stress continuity of causality and experience', writes Kaiser, 'is critical for any attempt to understand the specific ways in which displaced people (who are often characterized as passive and marginal in a range of ways) exert their agency by actively

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3. By '*habitus*', Pierre Bourdieu means the set of historical uses designating a system of dispositions that are lasting, acquired, and generative (Bourdieu 1979: 89).
4. Using the case of the relationships of dependence within the outflow channels for archaeological objects in Mali, I have attempted to show how the players in these circuits integrate symbolic dynamics of violence that are found within a relational matrix that could be defined as a hierarchical 'habitus' of power management. This leads to indirect social control through the reification of the channel's referents of management and control and the perception, by the dominated players, of a mandatory circuit of mediation and duress (Panella 2010).
5. Foucault 1994, IV (356): 720.

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6. Title of the panel : 'Dynamics of Social Change and Intangible Cultures – a Paradoxical Dialogue'. Convenor: Danielle de Lame.

managing their predicaments with explicit reference to the past, as well as to the future.'

Materiality contra corporality: the farmers-diggers in the Inland Niger Delta (Mali)

One of the issues in the theorization of corporality involves inequality relationships. In particular, a major confrontation is taking shape between the 'rhetorics of materiality' reiterated by the State (legislation, traces, *corpus delicti*) and the corporality of acts of production and embodiment issues of memory undertaken by 'liminal' or 'illegal' agents hovering outside the circuits of the national and international visibility of the State. To give but one example, in the case of the Malian state's fight against illegal digs on archaeological sites in the 1990s, objectivation attempts connoted ancient terracotta from the Inland Niger Delta and farmers-diggers ('looters') as objects steeped in the same 'illegality' scenario, reified as a 'looting phenomenon' (Panella 2012a). One of the levels of contradiction in the reification process for farmers-diggers is especially illuminating in relation to the dynamics of political appropriation described in this book. It concerns the lag between the space-time of 'looting' (location of digging sites, social organisation of teams, outflowing) and the delayed timing of media coverage of illegal digs (national and international media, international organisations, national and international legislation). The time separating the digs themselves from their coverage in media and the use of the 'ethnographic present' in press articles has led to the reification of dig-related social practices and the construction of a virtual-cum-real temporality owing to the reiteration of the same information in press and academic circles as well as the cultural elite's approval. The objects' pedigree is matched to a corresponding label of 'looter' forged from a stereotyped image in national and international networks (administration, media, literature, workshops). Moreover, since these diggers are often illiterate and embedded in hierarchically structured compartmentalised outflowing circuits, they have no access or impact on official policies on cultural heritage. In other words, they are excluded from all dynamics of representation that could have granted them an active role in the official position on heritage management.

The visibility of heritage as a tool for inequality can be seen in the synergy between national policy and international media. When farmers are presented with their faces hidden from view and their work tools in the foreground, with the caption 'looters caught red-handed' (Brent 1994), this only increased the label of illegality and clandestinity of digging. In the iconography of 1990 press photos, the image of the looter is, in general, that of the Dogon and Peul Rimaibe seasonal migrants from the Mopti region. But these two categories are, from numerous viewpoints, 'marginal' players. For one, as seasonal migrants, the Dogon are socially and economically marginalised because they lack family ties in the host region. In addition, even in the 1980s, the Rimaibe were viewed among the Peul as belonging to a low social category because of their historical status as emancipated slaves. At the representational level, therefore, the two categories were connoted as 'the poorest of the poor' from both a material and a symbolic point of view. Farmers are marginalised twice over: first, through their representation as voiceless agents in a simplistic view of poverty that does away with the complexity of individual and familial economic paths of rural trade networks for objects and the stratification of the circuits' social organisation; second, through their depiction as 'looters' of objects that have become part of national heritage via a passage through the pedigree of the international market (Panella 2004, 2012).

These attempts by the State to reify social practices as part of anti-looting measures to protect archaeological sites imply a collective and economic dimension to the concept of 'loss' tied to what it claims is a national cultural heritage, as well as the obvious market value of these objects. From the viewpoint of the farmers-diggers, however, these objects are filters of memory through which they redeploy the photograms of their lives. Most of the diggers from the early days (the 1960s-1980s) contacted during my research considered the partial or total interruption of their digging activity as a 'loss' of an essential part of their life, that in their search for objects, they had invested their youth, know-how and courage. As a result, their concepts of 'loss' and 'value', which draw upon the memory bound to objects, are above all tied to an intimate, affective and corporal dimension that is poles apart from the collective, official dimension promoted by the State.

Anthropologist Daniel Miller distinguishes multiple spheres of non-economic value and 'loss' in his ethnographical enquiry on anonymous family objects and individual memories of suffering (Miller 2008; Miller & Parrott 2009).[7] In particular, his reflection concerns links between objects, death, mourning and process of divestment in London. Raising an economy of relationships based on selective memories of daily life objects underlines a 'refurbishment of memory' (Marcoux in Miller 2009) and thus a resettlement of our own past.

On this matter I find it pertinent to underscore a split in the value schemes with regard to the object/body that is found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the case of Malian farmers-diggers as well as in the bodies of genocide victims in Rwanda, the latter representing, ultimately, all of History's violated bodies. The bodies of farmers labelled as 'looters' in the reified scenario of 'looting'

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7. For an analysis of the relationship between aesthetics and poverty, see Lunghi & Transforini 2010.

lies against the individual memories of the pain experienced by these same persons, all capable of tying each remembered object to the sometimes-tragic circumstances that are associated with their unearthing and outflow.

Contrary to the logic inherent in repeatedly publishing images of 'holes', something done especially by archaeologists and international institutions, the cartography of looted sites becomes a cartography of affection and experienced space. The comparison and contrast between this map of the heart, founded on a corporal dimension of the act of digging, and the 'map of evidence' based on a visual and material approach employed by archaeologists, leads to surprising results (Panella, Schmidt, Polet & Bedaux 2005). In the same way, the searing rows of skulls and piles of machetes that built the 'virtual' collective memory of the 'Rwandan genocide' throughout the world also carry the echo of the corporal and sensorial memories of mangled bodies still in the minds of those still left behind, of eyes that have seen the unseeable, ears that have heard the inaudible.

This volume presents several examples of scenarios of 'truth'. René Lemarchand offers an analysis of 'top-to-bottom' political representation with regard to the construction of collective memory in Rwanda and Burundi. He shows how the memory of genocidal waves that have marked the recent history of the two countries are characterised by either forgetting, in Burundi, or emphasis, in Rwanda, of the killings of 1972 and 1994, according to the selective approach of the ruling powers. At the same time, the author raises the ghosts of 'ethnic memory' in the transmission of genocide memory in Burundi, by pointing out the *crescendo* of macabre descriptions of massacres, fed and repeated by both the Hutu and the Tutsi. Lemarchand sees the creation of a shared collective Banyarwanda memory through a rethinking of interethnic relations as the only salvation that would lead to true regional reconciliation. One of the striking aspects in Lemarchand's contribution is that the handling of memory by the elites did not undergo a monumentalisation of the past, as was the case in, for instance, Mali in the early 1990s (Jansen 2001; Rowlands 2005; Panella 2012). The process of Malian national integration was characterised by a dilution of the temporalities of the present in favour of a landscape frozen in the Maninka ethical values of Sunjata Keita's epic, of which the debate – in Mali and Guinea – around the Kouroukan Fouga Charter was an example of neotraditionalist historiography (Simonis 2011)[8]. In Rwanda, mean-

while, the past was suppressed in favour of a regimented present for the purpose of optimising time and space through the rhythm of an omnipresent, even insistent, normation[9].

In the same vein, Filip Reyntjens analyses the effects of political control by analysing the power abuses in Rwanda that came alongside the 'Vision 2020' plan, through the institutionalisation of *gacaca* popular courts and agrarian reform, two moves strongly backed by international organisations and donors.[10] In both cases, Reyntjens denounces a discriminatory course of action perpetrated by urban Tutsi elite against, in particular, Hutu peasants. This discrimination is said by the author to come from a series of bans and obligations aimed on one hand at ensuring international visibility through the reinforcement of the bureaucratic apparatus and on the other hand at maintaining the *status quo* by redistributing arable land to the country's strongmen. Once again we find power exercised over the body, this time in the guise of discrimination against Rwandans that do not match the image of the 'good citizen' as imposed by the Kagame regime. The social differentiation engendered by the numerous dress codes mentioned in Reyntjens' article is an example. The modelling of these moral subjects does not, however, stem from submission to an external rule but rather from the instillation of a sense of belonging that prompts individuals to adhere to the rule and feel obliged to apply it (Bayart 2004). In the case of Rwanda, the discriminatory power of material culture arises in the management of public space, an ulterior domain where one can observe the transversality of the power of action of the objects. This normatisation of the body is but one of many vectors that transmit the general tendency of contemporary States to marry law and morality and, consequently, impose a de facto distinction between individuals who are capable of 'moral' self-government and those who are not (Zigon 2008).

'[…] Whereas secrecy, conformism and fears as well divining in its ancient and recent forms are in the dominant tones of the cultural register, the most commonplace sign of the dislocation of representations resides in the rearrangement of space to serve the central government, now connecting Rwanda with the outside world. Rwanda was sensationally proclaimed to be open and at one and the same time an educational reform barred the majority of people from effective access to the written word and more specifically to any communication in an internationally spoken language. Salvation came from the outside world, in the form of cooperation, trade and inter-

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8. 'Sunjata Keita et Sumaworo Kanté, fondateurs de l'empire du Mali' by Francis Simonis (Université de Provence Aix-en-Provence), *Actes des 10ᵉ Rencontres de La Dur@nce*. Site académique Aix-Marseille d'histoire-géographie.
http://www.ac-aix-marseille.fr/pedagogie/upload/docs/application/pdf/2011-08/div063_simonis.pdf. Consulted on 6 August 2012.

9. My sincere gratitude to René Lemarchand for sharing his thoughts on national integration in Rwanda and the ambiguity of political strategies in Mali (E-mails dated 2, 6 and 9 August 2012).
10. For an analysis of the political control that governed the *gacaca* in Rwanda, see Waldorf 2010.

national aid of various sorts. Rwanda's economy and its mental representations, previously functioning within a self-centred kingdom, were precipitated onto the outskirts of the world. Brokers still maintain their exclusive access to the new sources of wealth [...]' (de Lame 2005b: 93).

The target-bodies of this omnipresent regulatory course of action are there, to paraphrase the poet Giuseppe Ungaretti, 'like leaves on the trees in autumn'.[11] These actors are only 'visible' in the normative landscape shaped for them by the powers-that-be, the coherence of which implies erasing acts of production of rural daily life. The agents described in these contributions are bit players in a structurally non-egalitarian world marked by economic insecurity, absence of prospects, risk, accidentality, existential uncertainty. In Lemarchand's and Reyntjens' landscapes, temporality does not respond to the present. On the contrary, 'the exigencies of performance' (Thrift 2006) freeze temporality in a homogeneous and homogenizing package comparable to the one envisioned by Brian Axel, in using the concept of 'fantasy', with regard to the national integration processes in India (Axel 2002). Synergy between 'spatial scenes' and 'disjunctive temporality' generates a collective horizon of the Nation-State. In this frame, the concept of 'fantasy' allows the formation of identifying relationships that can transform individuals and bodies into representations of an abstract entity (Axel 2002: 250). While real, semiotic processes need a spatial location before they can happen; in language, such a location takes shape through physical metaphors (Handler 2003). In political discourse, these metaphors go through the objectifying approach of representation. The 'poorest of the poor' are an example, owing to their voicelessness, invisibility, and powerlessness to act. The contributions of Lemarchand and Reyntjens take note of the total absence of a link between the daily life and its *mise en scène*, and consequently, of an irreconcilable dichotomy between urban elite and backcountry. Another comparable process of the reification of daily life is the one described by Paul Basu in his analysis of memory and representation of the civil war in Sierra Leone (Basu 2007). By taking two loaded examples of the memory of suffering, the cotton tree and the mass grave, Basu analyses the discrepancy in the interpretation of the past by, on one hand, international organisations and, on the other hand, Mende populations. The former turn to a homogenous myth of reconciliation incarnated by the monumentalisation of the past (Herzfeld 2004); the latter to a mnemonic mechanism of synchronic heterogeneity facing towards daily life and the present. Similarly, the analysis of the Kintu origin myth in the

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11. *Soldiers*, translated by Stuart Flynn. 2004. *Modern Poetry in Translation* 18. London: King's College London. http://www.poetrymagazines.org.uk/magazine/record.asp?id=13028. Consulted 30 August 2012.

18th and 19th centuries made by Henri Médard in this volume also reflects how representation is spread out over time, while underscoring the importance of reconstructing a chronology from oral sources. By reconstructing the political history of the Great Lakes region (the Bunyoro-Baganda conflict), Médard shows how the historiography of this region was shaped by local and colonial political powers and religious (Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim) powers in place as well as by Ganda-Luo and Ganda-Gusii interethnic border relations.

The deep entanglement of politics and religion in the Great Lakes region permeates David Newbury's contribution. Newbury analyses the effects of political instability in Rwanda at the turn of the 20th century, using the vicissitudes of two Catholic missions as his starting point. The missions of the White Fathers in Zaza and Rwaza had contrasting experiences; one developed greater solidarity with the local population, while the other found itself enmeshed in the power structure of the royal court and the German overseers. Newbury provides a detailed analysis of the profound changes in the kingdom of Rwanda following the death of *mwami* Rwabugiri (1895), in terms of rural economy as well as succession of power, and the missions' relationships with the Catholic church. Several cogent examples from the ground illustrate how changes affecting rural populations and the powers-that-be in place had an obvious influence not just on mission activities, but also on their *raison d'être* and their official position with regard to political power: '[...] is political authority to be judged by its effect on the people or by its advancement of the power of the state ?[...]' (Newbury in this volume). This crucial question travels through the years to meet its reflection a century later in the analysis of contemporary Rwanda sketched here by Filip Reyntjens.

Danielle de Lame wrote that time is, ultimately, 'nothing more than the trajectory of our bodies and space nothing other than the collection of our journeys' (de Lame 2007: 10). This 'bottom-up' approach of spatiotemporal dimensions is mirrored in Newbury's article. It underlies the question of the researcher, also found, on different timescales, in the contributions of Lemarchand, Reyntjens, and Médard: '[...] under which conditions, we can ask ourselves, will it become acceptable to recognise historical realities, with such recognition being a necessary prelude to the appropriate analysis of recent and contemporary events, and thus to the ownership of these events by social agents? This requires a perception of the risks of mystification and manipulation, rather than their benefits, but risks and benefits do not affect different people in the same way [...]' (de Lame 2007: 37).

The landscapes of power sketched by Lemarchand and Reyntjens connect to a wider theorisation of the political creation of illegality. We have seen that the production of normation underlies a confrontation between

the materiality of the legislative and judicial apparatus and the corporality of its targets. The reification of these 'targets' is indispensable to its long-term survival and to the creation of a homogenous representation of illegality according to a rationale rejecting the contemporaneity between acts of production and individuals. By expanding the perspective of the materiality/corporeality confrontation to the construction of illegal subjects, we shall see that the material approach to the management of social practices entails a reified state-sponsored representation of illegal entities through the 'fetishism of law': the visual reiteration of the *corpus delicti*, facial composites, 'criminal landscapes', statistics and classifications. With this backdrop, Béatrice Hibou offers in this volume a detailed overview of the illegalisation policies in place at the level of the European Union (measures against counterfeiting, money laundering, illegal immigration, mafias). She shows how, far from filling a purely informative role, crime statistics are turning into a gradient of the efficiency of government policies as well as markers of risk perception (Comaroff & Comaroff 2006), and becoming a form of moral inventory for a given list of crime categories. The case of the handling of 'illegal immigration' to EU Member-States is a convincing example of the need for synergy in the approaches to the strategies employed by the State in building 'illegalities' and 'criminalities', and the resistance strategies and self-representations employed by illegal actors to short-circuit the State. With these premises, corporeality should include the state's manipulations of individual identities in creating 'criminal' categories, strategies employed by illegal actors for economic survival and resistance to social exclusion policies, the self-representations of marginalisation, and the flourishing of heroisation narratives by/on 'illegals'. I find some issues particularly knotty: the political creation of illegality as a tool of control, propaganda, and internalisation of norms; creation and perpetuation of fear, the *aggiornamento* of politics by exploiting the legal/illegal synergy between the State and shadow economies (Botte 2002); material and symbolic recycling as exemplified by the 'whitewashing' of looted objects and the exploitation of identities, the blurred distinction between ethics and legality, and between individual and collective ethics.

In this context, it would be difficult not to consider the ethnographic lacework of Danielle de Lame as acts of civic resistance against all forms of reification of daily life. Evoking the tragic consequences of a project to create a degree in sociology at the Université de Butare, she writes:

> '[…] As for me, shocked by the events as much as by their consequences, shocked by the disinformation that followed a prior ignorance, I sought refuge in the responsibility of publishing what part of this project could still be published, and to publish my own research. I finished this work without having to take sides, other than the promise I made to my farmer friends

in less bitter times to try and be their interpreter. I went through data that sometimes recounted, hour by hour, the daily life of a family whose members I presumed had all been murdered. During the last times I made contact with its inhabitants, the life of the hill was frozen in my mind. These contacts did not all take place at the same period. The latest encounters, in the camps, retrospectively shed light on the disappearance of the others. To me, this drove home the importance of honouring my commitments to the Rwandan peasants who welcomed me and of bearing witness to these lives. Understanding those lives is crucial to understanding the Rwanda of today and the options of its leaders. Simply put, to describe, to be a scribe. The time of crisis is not past […]' (de Lame 2004: 288-289).

Though different in tone, the 'West Side Storeys' of Nairobi are also part of this œuvre:

> '[…] An area of a rising middle class, also subdivided in sub-quarters of "ethnic" origin, Nairobi West stands out today because of its nocturnal life and the specificity of its attractions: churches, of whose two Catholic parishes are reputed for their choirs, an Indian recreation centre, two mosques, cabarets, a commercial area livened up by South C. Social life is low-key, apart from prayer groups or the sharing of beer and kebabs. Apart from these attractions showing a specialization of the area, some regular interactions exist with the neighbouring slum of Kibera, which supplies illegal alcohol (chang'aa) that men come to drink. There, the sellers coming from Kibera can exchange their profit for a "complete meal" (a chapatti and a cup of tea) for 10 shillings, far from the daily muddy wretchedness. Here, also, children and adolescents languish (asleep or intoxicated) on the two squares around which businesses and bars stretch. Without this misery, in the evening light, one could almost imagine oneself as being somewhere in a village of Provence […]' (de Lame 2006: 185).

The stress on household budgets, objects of reciprocity, relationships of inequality, and issues at stake in representations of identity all reflect a willingness to highlight 'dissonant' elements hiding behind the spuriously-positive facades erected by the State. The life story of Gilbert and Marie, the couple featured in *A Hill among a Thousand, Transformations and Ruptures in Rural Rwanda*, begins with a list of figures:

> '[…] During my three stays on the hill, Gilbert (born in 1963, married, father of one child and later of two) worked fields he did not own. The farm was comprised of ten plots (translated approximately into acres):
> 0.09 acres alterning beans+taro/sorghum.
> 0.075 acres alternating beans or sweet potatoes and sorghum;
> 0.075 acres of sweet potatoes, taro and manioc;
> 0.1 acres of sweet potatoes all year around;
> (these four plots are provided by his aunt, on whose land he lives; he works the latter two with his mother)
> 0.06 acres alternating beans+manioc/sorghum, rented for 500 Rwf;

0.03 acres of sweet potatoes all year round, free of charge;
0.055 acres of sweet potatoes all year round, free of charge;
0.053 acres of sweet potatoes all year round, free of charge;
0.15 acres of manioc and taro, rented for 560 Rwf. […]'
(de Lame 2005: 208).

Once more, a passage from *On Behalf of Ordinary People: Bridging the Gap between High Politics and Simple Tragedies* recalls the sense of this dedicated quest for uniqueness in the ordinary.

'[…] Generalizations simply give fuel to further stereotyping and hinder comprehension of the dynamics at play. Simplifications are easy and cheap, and they meld with ideologies that mask the motives of those resorting to them. Is it not, then, the task of historians and social scientist to broaden their field of study and delve more deeply into the diversity of motives of social actors? Individual should not be seen as one case contradicting another, but rather as multiple versions of history that all contribute to making sense of the past from different perspectives […]' (de Lame 2005b: 134).

These general positions can explain why, in the wake of Johannes Fabian and Ulf Hannerz, Danielle de Lame tackles the concept of 'structure', pointing out that cultural processes can be considered 'a developing code whose dynamics are, without a doubt, characterised by contradiction, opposition, and contrast' (Fabian 1978 in de Lame 2005a). However, while Fabian applies this theoretical framework to objects from popular culture, de Lame extends it to the experience of social life. Thus 'the ideologies underlying socio-political organisations or access to resources, the actual embodiment of these institutions, are just as cultural as a work of art or a popular creation, as cultural as a ceremony or ritual object' (de Lame 2005a: 15). Wim van Binsbergen's work is a likely influence. 'Danielle de Lame's seminal contributions to the understanding of ethnic conflict and genocide in the African context have been the product of a passionate interpretation of the topicalities of mass violence, against the solid background of a profound understanding of regional rural change, both social and economic, during the twentieth century CE – based on her intensive fieldwork in Rwanda, which gained her, under my supervision, a cum laude PhD in anthropology from the Free University, Amsterdam' (van Binsbergen in this volume). Van Binsbergen offers an overview of the formation of classes in the Nkoya, in Kaoma district, Zambia, over recent centuries, as well as the relationships of production emerging from social differentiation resulting from the arrangement of different modes of capitalist production in relation to household economics (hunting, gathering, fishing, farming, livestock). As such, in the Marxist vein, the author defines the formation of social classes as 'the historical development in which new modes of production present themselves, link up with pre-existing ones, gradually gain dominance over

the latter or surrender to the dominance of other modes of production'. His analysis reveals that, in Kaoma district, the number of class relationships exceeds the number of modes of production, and that expropriation of surplus takes place among several antagonistic classes. Rather than following the traditional Marxist model, therefore, and grouping the different branches of pre-capitalist activity under the umbrella term of 'modes of production', van Binsbergen seeks to conduct a detailed analysis of empirical data and, in doing so, bring out the issues at stake in class relations, using two main subjects, surplus and expropriation, as his starting points. The dynamics of authentication of things thus emerge in accelerated commodification contexts where the dividing line between objects and individuals is shifting (van Binsbergen 2005). In this light, trade presents itself as an instrument of 'governmentality' (Bayart 2004) of social relations and, in a wider perspective, relationships of inequality created within the trade networks of the market economy (Fold & Nylandsted Larsen 2008).

Objects as mirrors of the Self. Reciprocity, accumulation, and social differentiation

Van Binsbergen's contribution is an example of how revealing 'things' (objects and objectivised entities) can be about social practices, and how they condition the latter. The work of Marilyn Strathern (1990), Bruno Latour (1991) and Annette Wiener (1992), following the Maussian tack, paved the way for a syncretic reading of human action, oriented on a fusion between individuals and objects, as well as products resulting from hybridation and innovation. In the wake of Marc Granovetter's work (1973), Latour's concept of the 'actor-network' underlies an analytical approach based on the connection between heterogeneous 'acting' entities that lays bare all the constituents of the production process rather than focussing on separate categories. In the same vein as the work of Strathern, Latour and Wiener, work on the relationship between materiality and value (Gell 1998; Myers 2001, 2004; Buchli 2004; Kuechler & Miller 2005; Keane 2003, 2006, 2008; Miller 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009) has created a fertile theoretical model for studies on memory and memorialisation (Rowlands 1998, 2005, 2008).

In several contributions in this volume, objects also represent selection filters, social status regulators, and mirrors of popular culture. Jan Vansina, for instance, offers a portrait of the identity dynamics of the Baluba-Kasai. In the late 19th century, these former slaves from the eastern part of Congo acquired a new layer of identity by working for the trading post of Alfons Vermeulen, employed by the Dutch company NAHV. Vansina shows how these actors create their self-representation from shared activities and a framework of social differentiation, in this case one exercised by the

workers on Bushong villagers. The conflicts generated in the interaction between the two communities would finally lead to the destruction of the trading post's community and the creation of a new, stronger social reality because it stemmed from a local, indigenous context with a new generation of Bushong. 'What is truly fascinating is their capacity to construct a new variety of the societies and cultures from their original environments based on more or less diverse, partly imaginary memories. This new culture forged by these ethnic survivors would end up dominating the two Kasai provinces under the name Baluba-Kasai [...]'. It is interesting to note that these same 'real' and 'imagined' memories would determine the dynamics of differentiation analysed by Vansina and, finally, the creation of a Baluba-Kasai identity corpus. Moreover, like the young Ivorian activists, in contexts of restraint, these survivors would in turn apply forms of coercion through what Linda Green defined as 'microeconomies of difference' (Green 2004: 320) within which one manages the restrictions of authority from the margins, no matter how small, of freedom.

Practices of social differentiation also formed the core of Bogumil Jewsiewicki's contribution. His iconographic analysis of Congolese two-dimensional production (photographs, paintings, portraits) tackles the impact of European lifestyles on the Congo. New 'objects' of commodification and individualisation, in particular the 'salon' with its accoutrements – bar, television, paintings, European-style clothing, rumba – forge the social memory of Congolese daily life and its interaction with Europe, and that one sees in many other African contexts (Mustafa 2006, Ndjio 2008).[12] These 'objects' reflect the power struggles within the social arena and the processes of integration and exclusion within which the objects/power struggles are designed to exercise influence over individuals (Gell 1998). They stem from two registers: the memory of colonial violence, and access to modernity – viewed, in this case, as an indicator of social status. Once again, the question of representations of the Self is raised. Jewsiewicki offers a digression into negotiations on identity in the Congo via the staggered co-habitation between photograph and portrait. It mirrors changes in the points of reference for identity, which are also shaped by political control (with the introduction of identity cards), the spread of photography, the boom in advertising, and the economic crisis.

While Jewsiewicki identifies modernity through various dynamics of creolisation and extraversion, it can perhaps be noted that these processes are the effects of the non-egalitarian climax I described earlier. First, the

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12. For a general overview of cosmopolitan processes in Africa, see the special issue on this topic published by *Politique africaine* (100, 2006), which contains Hudita Nura Mustafa's article.

'évolués', then the 'ambianceurs' (MacGaffey & Bazenguissa Ganga 2000) are in fact steeped in contexts of marginalisation because they more they attempt to break free from a status of invisibility and dependence, the more they ghettoise their social position. In this case, time is not perceived in its eschatological valence as it is during political times, but according to temporalities that are close to an immediate goal. Social actors described in these articles can tell themselves that their own strategies and practices are attempts to 'gain access to modernity'. However, if we consider the concept of 'modernity' from an epistemological and anthropological perspective, its use in the singular would bring us to an 'ethnocentric', 'unitary', and 'standardised' acceptation of the term (Thomassen 2012), to the 'epistemological violence' suggested by the 'classification of differences', to use the well-known expression of Valentin Mudimbe (1988). Practices of extraversion and syncretism encompassed in this concept would thus imply an ontological difference between a world deemed sharply defined and homogeneous in terms of its definitions of value – in the case of this volume, the European world – and an African world viewed as fragmented and still incomplete in its confrontation with Europe.

Sabine Luning, for her part, offers a different perspective on how things have the power to act, through an analysis of the symbolism of gold in Maane (Mossi country, Burkina Faso). Following in the footsteps of Katja Werthmann and Filip de Boeck, among others, she describes the tight link between gold and land based on the symbolism of gold and what lies at stake in issues of land ownership. She also demonstrates how gold, as a source of accumulation, is viewed as a dangerous disruptive factor for social organisation, particularly with respect to the balance of hierarchy. As in similar West African contexts, farming is based on the distribution of tasks and the management of farm products by the head of the family. On the other hand, gold mining is not considered representative of the farmer's work ethic.[13] As a Bamana saying goes, 'The man who wields a pick does not work the *daba*'. In Mali, for instance, since 2001, in the town of Yelenkoro-Soloba (Sankarani valley), farmers have shifted en masse to mining, thus deserting and neglecting the land. This phenomenon took place following the reopening of the former Leba-Coura colonial mines and the start of

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13. Nonetheless, the Maninka gold miners from the Basidibé region (Wasolon, Mali) recognise the Mandeka (Maninka from Manden, particularly the Kangaba area) as the founders of the fundamental rules of the mine for assessing individual behaviour and Mandeka identity. Respect of the mine's ancient rules is considered a feature of belonging, and their neglect in the Wasolon is seen by Maninka miners as a factor of difference and 'degradation' of individual ethic serving as the foundation of social order.

mining prospections in the Sankaran. In 2004, in the village of Leba, only two farmers were harvesting rice, which was sold at twice the going rate to villagers who had spent the harvest months in the mines. The first consequence of this reconversion was the massive presence of full-time gold miners in the market at Siekorole to buy grain.[14] The implications are hardly minor. In Sankarani valley, buying food is seen as an anomaly, except in the case of maize, which is considered a cash crop for the lean season. Income from gold mining is thus considered inconstant, unreliable, treacherous. It upends age-based hierarchies, encourages individual enrichment, hampers the process of ensuring long-lasting wealth within the lineage, and leads to the destruction of households. The murmurs about the Siekorole villager who began adding sugar to drinking water after a large *trouvaille* in the Sindo gold mines have not yet died down. In other words, gold is a poisoned gift, one that bewitches but that also leads to the abyss. Despite this, the Mossi are changing in these new circuits where 'new things' (Luning 2010) accommodate the old and shape new landmarks of representation. The shift in meaning of the word *yoodo* (*baraka*, grace) is, in this sense, illuminating. This blessing once responded to the desire for a good harvest that would ensure the perpetuation of familial wealth in terms of food self-sufficiency. Today, in Mossi country and elsewhere, *voodo* (yields) refers to profits from gold.

Jan Jansen focusses his analysis on West African trade circuits for the 'gold of Siby' (Mande Mountains, Mali): mangoes. He shows how mangoes are not only of growing economic importance in the region of Siby, but also an investment aimed at perpetuating family wealth and socialisation and reciprocity. This is also a case where one sees a certain form of the concept of *baraka*, the desire for the social and economic well-being of the household. It is worth noting that in the symbolism associated with mango trees, *baraka* corresponds to its original meaning, as it derives from the Maninka work ethic since it is a product of the land. The symbolism of objects and of gestuality tied to the perpetuation of the family through the practice of *baraka* described in the contribution of Jan Jansen also characterises other gestural concerts specific to Maninka social practices such as, for example, the meal ritual in the Sankarani region. When the meal is ready, the spouse presents it to the family head, who replies '*I ni gwa!*' This expression, which can be considered a routine statement and translated as 'congratulations!' actually conceals the deeper sense of representation of lineage. The primary signification of this expression is 'you, the kitchen. ' It is significant that the word *gwa* defines both the kitchen, the reserve of women, and the lineage, the perpetuation of which is represented by the woman. In the past,

the family head used this same expression at the end of the meal to re-establish the ties between all the members of the *sò* (family group)[15] and the first link in the lineage through the meal. Once the meal was over, the eldest goes to his mother and says '*baraka*', which has now replaced the old '*I ni gwa*' that was also spoken at the meal's end. It is worth noting that the full Arabic expression, used in the highly Islamised regions of the Inner Niger Delta, is '*baraka allaye*' ('Thanks be to God'). In Wasolonka territory, this expression is only used by those (male and female alike) who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and are therefore '*hajji*'. Most people simply use the word *baraka* to refer not to God but rather to familial grace, embodied by the family head. Unlike the seating order used in family meetings, where younger brothers sit to the left of the eldest, the contrary is used during meals: the next-oldest brother sits to the right of the eldest, so that the *baraka* can be shared clockwise with members seated around the meal[16].

After the meal, the eldest takes his place again and his brothers, from the oldest to the youngest, come and say '*baraka*' to him. They are followed by the children and the spouses. From time to time the family head can congratulate the spouse who prepared the meal, or that the latter can ask, using

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15. In the Sankarani valley, the *sò* generally comprises the spouses and children of the family head and uterine brothers.

16. A short description of the meal ritual shows the importance of *baraka* in Wasolonka culture. The eldest also handles meal distribution. The second oldest brother, or the first son, of the family head is tasked by the family head to share the rice. Before pouring sauce on the rice, he awaits the family head's signal, then the latter's invitation to begin the meal ('help yourselves'). If the family head forgets to give the signal, his eldest son, or the younger brother, reminds him to do so by saying 'there is meat'. The second oldest brother is the first to try the meal so that the family head does not burn himself. This 'screening' gesture is viewed as a sign of maturity and responsibility on the part of the second brother or first son. It is not an obligation but a sign of recognition rooted in the esteem for the eldest. The amount of meat in the meal can vary. When it only serves to supplement the sauce, all of the meat is placed in the middle of the rice and only one piece is given to each diner. When there is plenty of meat available, it is served after the rice with sauce. In this case, everyone can have four or five pieces of meat. The eldest son, or the second oldest brother, separates the meat for the family head – who is also offered the meat broth (*naji*) – from the rest of the meat. In most cases, there is enough broth that the eldest can give part of it to his direct brother after helping himself. Offering the broth to the eldest is nonetheless not an obligation. The younger brother drinks some then offers it in turn to all the brothers up to the youngest (but not to his children). The family head can offer meat to his brother's eldest son, but the latter automatically offers it back to his father, who can decide to leave it with him. According to family ethics, the family head must always be the last to start a meal and first to end it. His younger brother, or eldest son, follows him, and the other younger brothers and children follow in turn. This allows the youngest children, who otherwise can only get hold of limited quantities of food, to eat to their heart's content.

the common Wasolonka phrase, 'were you able to eat the meal?' Normally, thanks are given to the family head's mother who is considered to have initiated the *baraka*.

It is easy to see that, in the same rationale presented in this brief illustration of the ties between objects and social practices, pieces of meat are on the same level as a necklace. The semantic value of objects in the economics of social relations is pursued, in other geographic and conceptual latitudes, in Jane Guyer's article. Guyer analyses a part of the Peabody Museum's Schwab collection (photos and objects, especially metal necklaces and armbands), from Basa country in Cameroon, focussing on the relationship between beauty and movement in Basa daily life. Using photos, Guyer describes ornaments that either restrict or ease daily gestures and others that protect them. In interpreting proverbs, she brings out the role that metal ornaments play as a marker of social status, by showing that self-realization processes contribute to the construction of social action. A comparative approach allows Guyer to expand her analysis and show some aspects of the representational system among the Fang. Exhibition of the body through nudity thus reflects a desire for transparency in relation to physical and ethical virtues such as ease of movement and courage.

'For Fang, the body's surfaces are a world of their own, to be beautified, strengthened, infused, projected, and displayed" revealing 'the lightness of life'. This principle of interaction between things and humans thus stresses the 'shaping of objects and performance – indeed in seeing object as performative' (Myers 2004: 208) revealing objects as entities of integration and exclusion.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude this introduction by raising the questions that pervade the work of Danielle de Lame, at the crossroads of anthropology, sociology, political science, and history. To what extent does the transversal approach of Space/Time presented in this volume constitute a methodological asset and an epistemological subject of analysis for the researcher seeking to understand practices of social change? In what way can an in-disciplined, and thus creative, approach bring forth a common thread linking the different branches of social sciences? These texts present a spatiotemporal regime, by which I mean 'regime' as described in François Hartog's *Régimes d'historicité*. I am well aware of my own oversimplification[17] when I borrow the words of Gérard Lenclud, 'a general modality subject to variation, according to which each historical present ties up and enhances the

temporal dimensions of past, future, and present'. A 'composite', 'unstable' Time 'that allows glimpses of gradations'. '[...] a sort of background logic, a shadow logic, as Michel Foucault would say, bringing together the dimensions of past, future, and present, and mutually structuring the forms they take. How, for instance, will a certain type of past tend to shape a certain type of future in representations [...]' (Lenclud 2006: 1070-71). This regime would involve, to paraphrase Marcel Detienne (Detienne 2000), comparing the incomparable. In Detienne's rationale, developed in the comparatist wake of Marc Bloch, this incomparability is brought forth by the confrontation between the jagged timing of ethnographic study and the drawn-out time covered by the historian's approach – in other words, the contraposition between experienced time and historical time[18]. Detienne's method thus offers an 'experimental and constructive' comparatism for the purpose of creating a common 'territory' for historians and anthropologists through coordinated research' (Valensi 2002).

Meanwhile, in connection with the contributions in this volume, the challenge I wish to put forth has to do with the possibility of drawing epistemological and/or methodological parallels when considering heterogeneous categories of actors in relation to Space, Time, and contexts of action. These actors adopt 'comparable' strategies and practices – acts of production – in response to situations of restriction or influence and/or social or political representational constructions. We have seen, for instance, the power of transversality, influence, and therefore representation of objects, which allow for a comparative reading of things as disparate as gold, mangoes, and necklaces (Luning, Jansen, Guyer); or even, in a similar logic, the 'political uses of the past' (Hartog & Revel 2001) through processes of reification that follow much the same rationale despite their separation in terms of time (Médard, Lemarchand).

Without running counter to Latour's fetishes (Latour 1991), we can envisage the confrontations drawn in the contributions to this volume as epiphanies of the modern condition. With regard to the countless acceptations of the concept of 'modernity' ('global modernities', 'resistance modernities' and 'the popular, the public, the fixed and the vernacular') (de Lame 2010), I share the position of Dipil Parameshwar Gaonkar who saw modernity, first and foremost, as an inescapable condition (Gaonkar cited in Thomassen 2012: 163). 'We live in this world. There is no other world, and hence no possibility of withdrawal. Our attempts to "take us out of modernity" are tragically part of the modern project [...]' (Thomassen 2012: 173). In sharing this view, one would admit that a relativistic view of African modernity

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17. For a synthesis of 'historical time', see Escudier 2009. A digression on this subject would obviously be beyond the scope of the modest aims of this introduction.

18. To give but one example, see the debate surrounding the meaning of fieldwork for historians work proposed by Keyes Adenaike and Vansina 1996.

or modernities would only increase the ghettoisation of social dynamics that are actually rooted in a desire for social and economic well-being. This impulse is common to several places in the world, despite their cultural specificities (Geshiere, Meyer & Pels 2008). Beyond the many nuances that can be attributed to the concept of modernity/modernities, and despite the choice to use the singular or the plural, there is an inescapable need to acknowledge a transverse state of constant awareness of the presence of economic and/or existential precariousness. This state is manifested in a variable framework of social differentiation and difference. The trajectories revealed in these contributions through the opening of windows overlooking daily life show how dynamics of social change imply fundamental states of contradiction, contraction, and redeployment inherent to the encounter between heterogeneous value systems and practices.

> *[…] But the earth is always in the middle, between the two, said Amina, and not in impenetrable chasms or ruinous heights. Be up and on the ready. Can you feel it? the earth is in balance.*
> *– Ruinous, eh? said Mathieu. All right, I will follow you on that path. Close your eyes and imagine the way. The depth of the earth is in its breadth, and its height is wending. No, no, do not open your eyes, keep imagining. Earth is a Chaos, Chaos has no top or bottom, and Chaos is beautiful […]*

Édouard Glissant, *Tout-monde*, 1993

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