The internet and postcolonial politics of representation: pacific traversals
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CHAPTER THREE - THE PRACTICE THEORY OF MICHEL DE CERTEAU

Introduction

[T]he world is undergoing considerable change. There is a clear tendency in certain quarters to an intensifying feeling of fragmentation, that the world is no longer coherent, that we are all discovering our hybrid nature at the same time as, in other quarters, people who have lived in a state of fragmentation under the weight of social marginalisation are getting their acts together. Now this double process ... [is] ... of course more multiplex than simply double ... (Friedman 1998:37)

Le quotidien, c'est ce qui nous est donné chaque jour (ou nous vient en partage), ce qui nous presse chaque jour, et même nous opprime, car il y a une oppression du présent. Chaque matin, ce que nous reprenons en charge, au réveil, c'est le poids de la vie, la difficulté de vivre, ou de vivre dans telle et telle condition, avec telle fatigue, tel désir. Le quotidien, c'est ce qui nous tient intimement, de l'intérieur. (de Certeau in Giard & Mayol 1980:7, emphasis in the original)

Up until now, the work of Michel de Certeau has been operating as a back-beat to the discussion. It is now time to look more closely at how his treatise on the practice of everyday life can elucidate the interaction between the internet/www and postcolonial diasporas. This means beating a path from the heady heights of the abstract discussions of the last two chapters through to the dense vegetation of everyday uses, and users of ICTs. The aim here is to (re)incorporate the political ramifications of de Certeau's conceptualisation of everyday life - and its practices - into qualitative empirical research. I shall be arguing for a more radical political reading of de Certeau's work than has normally been attributed to him, if not directly (Roberts 1999) then through guilt by (assumed) association with 'postmodernism' (Harvey 1990).

There are a number of reasons why echoes of de Certeau can be found in many corners of the contemporary Social Sciences. First, he shares - and has contributed to - the terminology (everyday life, practice, discourse/text, users and producers, appropriation, representation) of post-structuralist/postmodern as well as critical frameworks. A second echo is a central tenet of his thought; namely the epistemological situation and ontological condition of the 'other' (see Ahearn 1995, Buchanan 2000) vis-à-vis a range of arguments for acknowledging the 'subaltern' in scholarly knowledge production (see Slater 1996, Ling 2000, Moore-Gilbert et al 1997, Mohanty 1996). These arguments span Social Science theories and research into disadvantaged and oppressed groups, sub-national 'ethnic' identity politics, political economic and sociocultural (dis) empowerment in the aftermath of decolonisation for non-western regions (Peterson & Runyan 1999: 172-173) and so on. Third, his theory and research addresses Foucault's reconceptualisation of power, the spatial theory of Lefebvre (see Roberts 1990, Niemann & Davies 2000) and the practice theory of Bourdieu (de Certeau 1980: 101 passim), all of whom have gained a firm foothold in critical corners of the Social Sciences. His pertinence for postcolonial critiques and politically engaged Cultural and Literary Studies (see Grossberg 1996, Wilson & Hereniko 1999. Moore-Gilbert et al 1997) will become clearer as this chapter proceeds. But beforehand let us historically situate this thinker.

Michel de Certeau (1925-1986), when (and if) mentioned explicitly, is often associated with the more widely-read Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu with whose work he nevertheless regularly and critically interacted (de Certeau 1980: 97 passim, 1986d: 171 passim) 2. Broadly speaking, his thought belongs to the generation of critical, and

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1 "Everyday life is that which is given (or comes in part) to us each day; it is that which crowds, even oppresses, us each day for there is an oppression of the here and now [oppression du présent]. Every morning, what we take on, as we awake, is the weight of life, the difficulty of living in such and such a situation, with whatever fatigue, whatever desire. Everyday life is that which intimately concerns us, from the inside." (my translation).

2 See three different introductions to de Certeau and their respective biographical emphases in Godzich
controversial, post-World War Two French intellectuals and writers that included Julia Kristeva, Marguerite Duras, Jacques Lacan, Jean Baudrillard, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, amongst others like Guy Debord and the Situationist International group of intellectuals who came of age during the May uprisings of 1968 (see Roberts 1990). But his political and social critiques also overlap with a number of other political and cultural theorists and historians who in this period were developing systematic critiques of structuralist Marxism (Williams 1977, Thompson 1977), academic knowledge production, cultural elitism (de Certeau 1980:33-34, 1986), western colonialism and its capitalist underpinnings (de Certeau 1986: 232). His writing, research, and teaching is wedged in the Cold-War period of the 1960's -- 1980's where (post)structuralist and (post)modernist scholars in IR/IPE, both nominally Marxist and non-Marxist, were also immersing themselves in deep critiques of (neo)realist or pluralist paradigms of world order and inter-state behaviour (and by implication, of human nature) and the respective applications of various causal models to these. At the same time, the normative underpinnings of positivist theories from both sides of the Cold War ideological divide were being confronted by political and social upheavals at home and abroad. Student and Trade Union protests, the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation movements intersected with decolonisation and political independence of former European colonies (Kauppi & Viotti 1993:532 passim). De Certeau's political activism and thought thereby intersects the transition in IR/IPE theory from the 'Second Debate' to the aforementioned 'Third Debate' and its social constructivist mood. In more recent theoretical developments of the latter, however, is de Certeau's contemporaries who have been given the most attention.

A Closer Look: Terms and their Appropriations

The hermeneutic schema being presented here has been inspired by de Certeau's L'invention du quotidien 1: Arts de faire (1980), published in English as 'The Practice of Everyday Life' (1984), and its empirical working through in the second volume by Luce (1986), Ahearn (1995) and Buchanan (2000).

3 Although arguably a quintessential French 'continental' thinker, a glance at any of de Certeau's references and the scope of his arguments shows an active engagement with German and Anglo-Saxon literature and theory, particularly that of linguistics and philosophy. He also integrates non-western philosophy and theoretical perspectives at regular intervals. Apart from his theological training with the Jesuit order and involvement in psychoanalysis, he also lived and worked in the USA and South America. So even though his work does not always make explicit reference to any number of 'counter-hegemonic' intellectual and political trends of the mid-twentieth century (see Ahearn 1995: 3, Godzich 1986: x-xi) the parallels and 'pluralities' (see de Certeau 1980: 10) are not difficult to discern.

4 For example; Lefebvre's La production d'espace was published in 1974, Bourdieu's Outline of A Theory of Practice in 1977, and Foucault's Madness and Civilization in 1961 and his The Order of Things in 1970. Liberation and/or 'revolutionary' theorists such as Gunder Frank, Fanon, Freire, and Marcuse were also published in this period.

5 This was between (Neo)Realist and Liberal Pluralist theories of the state and respective models of world order, change, and economic relations.

6 See Burchill & Linklater (1996), Linklater (1990), Der Derian (1995), Marchand & Runyan (2000), Peterson & Runyan (1999), Castells (1996), Hart & Prakash (1999), Palan (2000). As an aside it is noteworthy, however, that in the enormously commercially successful, empirically dense and interdisciplinary volumes of Manuel Castells on the interaction between ICTs, large-scale social change and new political economic (world) orders (see 1998: 360 passim), only Foucault is cited (1997). This is despite Castell's own positioning of himself as critical of the role his intellectual generation, "the political left of the industrial era" (Castells, 1998:378), played in the rule of dogmatic elites (1998: 379) and their 'meaning-production' and political action. Nevertheless, Castells echoes de Certeau's practice theory in his call for people to be allowed "to construct their practice on the basis of their experience, while using whatever information or analysis is available to them, from a variety of sources..." (ibid:379). I would contend, though, that it is not entirely clear whether Castells is identifying with the aforementioned elites or those who suffered under their dogmatism (see 1998: Finale).

7 Buchanan makes a valid point about the difference between translating 'invention' - invention - into 'practice' which "did not result in an added emphasis being placed on the creativity of everyday life as de Certeau is reported to have wanted. On the contrary... it has resulted in a hardening of 'practices' into quasi-objects" (Buchanan 2000: 8)

There are three main critical strands weaving through his work. The first strand is a conceptualisation of everyday life as an historically constructed site for non-elite (grassroots) political agency, albeit a troubled and delimited one given the political economic tensions, the sociocultural gender-power relations that 'enclose' it. These impositions are endured, resisted or ignored on a daily basis 'from below' in the workplace, on the street, in the home. Everyday life is thereby made, invented, from the bottom-up by ostensibly powerless non-elites whose movements, words, and habits together make up the practices of lived lives. I shall return to the specifics shortly. This notion of the everyday posits 'ordinary' inter/subjectivity as the 'stuff' of politics and the technocratic disciplining of western societies - de Certeau follows Foucault here (1980:14) - as the 'stuff' of strategic power and control. The politics - power struggles -are to be found in the tensions that lie in the 'spaces' between practices of everyday life and strategic 'representations' thereof. For the two are not one and the same, as Stuart Hall points out as well (see the Introduction and Chapter One).

The second critical strand is related to the social and representative role of these disciplinary representational moves, and the privileged - elite - groups that personify and instigate these. Administrators, technocrats, all manner of experts are all implicated in the institutions, regimes, programmes that have been 'cordon off' (de Certeau 1980:14) western (colonialist) societies, and their peripheralised (former) colonies, for centuries. This is an historical and meta-critical point, drawing on Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1961), about the constitution of the sociocultural, political and economic institutions of the western 'Modernist Project'. These are as oppressive and imperialistic as they are 'progressive' in their technical and instrumental rationality.

The third strand is de Certeau's positioning of process - practice - as central to the above. This is not the behaviouralist, Pavlov Dog notion of inter/subjective learning that has found its way in to IR/IPE through Wendtian 'constructivism' (Wendt 1995, Locher & Prügl 2001) however. Rather, it is a psychodynamic understanding of how people relate to each other (Godzich 1986). It acknowledges reciprocity (see Ling 2001a), how practice engenders invention (see Certeau 1980:12), how habits and attitudes (see Giard & Mayol 1980:14 passim) emerge. These can, in turn, be resisted or overturned by covert and overt counter-practices. This is a historicico-methodological politics for it acknowledges how 'structures' become calcified, through practices that are institutionalised and endowed with status, wealth and emotional gratification, on the one hand, and how they can be resisted or overturned on the other. *Doing* is

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8 A closer look at the first volume will be taken below for it contains the key concepts of de Certeau's particular version of 'practice theory'. The second volume by Giard and Mayol is in two interconnecting parts (Giard & Mayol 1980:14); an 'urban sociology of a neighbourhood' and a 'socio-ethnographic analysis of everyday life' (1980:13). The first presents the living spaces and movements of a working class family vis-à-vis their Lyon neighbourhood of the Croix-Rousse (1980:13). Pierre Mayol originates from the R Family and neighbourhood. The second part deals with the interaction between the sociocultural history of food and its preparation and that particularly 'feminine' sphere in French homes - the kitchen, by way of interviews with friends and relatives of Luce Giard and Marie Ferrier. In both cases, the researcher is at once participant and observer on several levels (see Trask 1998 for a postcolonial formulation of this challenge to the notion of the neutral researcher). Another important collection for English readers is *Heterologies* (1986) in which the range of his work can be seen as well as shorter summaries (in the form of essays) of his thought and research interests (see also Buchanan 2000, Ahearn 1995).

9 Both Ahearn (1995) and Godzich (1986) take somewhat different tacks on de Certeau although their analyses are not incompatible to my own. A more recent survey of de Certeau by Buchanan (2000) emphasises his religiosity and role in theorising the 1968 Paris student uprisings. He also places de Certeau's thought next to that of Frederic Jameson, a critic of 'Postmodernism' par excellence (see McGovern 2000).

10 "the everyday evidences a discernable form and conceals a knowable logic" (Buchanan 2000:90). This is "situational" (2000:88) and so not "a laboratory experiment, therefore our means of analysing it should not turn into one" (ibid).

11 De Certeau was trained in Lacanian Psychoanalysis, wrote on Freud specifically (de Certeau 1986:17 passim) and incorporated psychoanalytical theories of subjectivity into his treatise on everyday life (1980:37 passim). For a feminist take on these influences, see Mitchell (1977) and Butler (1990).
the focus, rather than the Done. The upshot for research is towards longitude, substance and interpretative interactivity and away from parsimony, taxonomy and ahistorical categorisation (de Certeau 1980:20). If the professional applies [her]self to the task of listening to what [she] can see or read, [she]

discovers before [her] interlocutors, who, even if they are not specialists, are themselves subject - producers of histories, and partners in a shared discourse. From the subject-object relationship, we pass to a plurality of authors and contracting parties. (De Certeau 1986:217)

Everyday life vis-à-vis its 'representations' (see below) is not only where dominant gender-power relations are seen to be exerted, and so felt, but also where they are resisted. In other words this sense of the everyday is inherently political, albeit not in the way political establishments would convey this.

The concerns of this "scandalous" thinker (Godzich 1986:x). are relevant for studying everyday life online for postcolonial diasporas under the contemporary conditions of a neoliberal 'new world order'. First, because within and despite this order:

* Le quotidien s'invente avec mille manières de braconner (de Certeau 1980:10, emphasis in original)

Second, because those who purport to understand and convey the fatality, the inevitability of such an 'order' overlook how the

présence et la circulation d'une représentation ... n'indiquent nullement ce qu'elle est pour ses utilisateurs. Il faut encore analyser sa manipulation par les pratiquants qui n'en sont pas les fabricateurs (de Certeau 1980: 12)

Third, everyday life entails political agency in that its

...manières de faire' constituent les milles pratiques par lesquelles des utilisateurs se réapproprient l'espace organisé par les techniques de la production socioculturelle. (de Certeau 1980: 14).

These selections illustrate de Certeau's 'immanent critique' of Cartesian dichotomies, and a conscious form of scholarly 'braconnage' and situated self-awareness of the eurocentric contours of his exegesis. But rather than being the very non-political 'proof of the pudding'

12 "Everyday life invents itself by poaching in countless ways on the property of others" (De Certeau 1984:xii)
13 Here he is referring to several things – TV images, media 'truths', systems of production, cultural and educational programmes that are designed and delivered as superior 'products' that are to be consumed as given.
14 "The presence and circulation of a representation (taught by preachers, educators, and popularizers as the key to socioeconomic advancement) tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyse its manipulation by users who are not its makers." (De Certeau 1984:xiii)
15 "These 'ways of operating' constitute the innumerable practice by means of which users reappropriate the space organised by the techniques of sociocultural production ... " (De Certeau 1984: xv). I would also add 'political and economic production' although this is not necessarily precluded in de Certeau's work – far from it.
16 In this way, de Certeau openly admits to the way any critique finds itself struggling with the very dichotomies it is attempting to problematise. In short, language since Hegel (see Godzich 1986) delimits the critique itself. Basically, one ends up resorting to antonyms like structure versus agency/strong versus weak/inside versus outside. In de Certeau this is immediately recognised. For example: consumers have to move about in a sort of economic 'quadrillage' (framework/enclosure), "l'espace technocratiquement bâti, écrit et fonctionalisé" (1980:17 & 19) [a technocratically constructed, written and functionalised space " (1984: xviii)]. In spite of (ever) narrowing margins for manoeuvre, it is possible to trace how the "tactiques de la consommation, ingéniosités du faible pour tirer parti du fort, débouchent donc sur une politisation des pratiques quotidiennes" (1980:18-19) ["tactics of consumption, the ingenious ways in
criticised by Roberts (1999) de Certeau's deference to other sociocultural practices and knowledge traditions provide an opening for other sorts of everyday life; 'non-western' and/or online included. These clearly differ from the densely populated, physically proximate and urban scenarios of continental European everyday life and popular culture analysed by de Certeau (1980), Giard and Mayol (1980) whose gender-power relations are permeated with class relations as opposed to rank and status (see Kolko et al 2000, Ortner 1996: 59 passim). But non-European practices of everyday life are not precluded and de Certeau's critique of western colonialist knowledge production still holds (see Fabian 1983). These three strands still need to be untangled a bit more.

The Everyday

Le quotidien s'invente avec mille manières de braconner (op cit)

For de Certeau, everyday life is a complex

prolifération des histoires et opérations hétérogènes qui composent les patchworks du quotidien (1980:20) 17

In short, it is ‘constructed-in-process’ by those who live it and inhabit its spaces. By extrapolation so is (the exercise of) political agency. For de Certeau, these patchworks are the domain of a ‘popular culture’ that has become marginalised and virtually silenced (see 1980:17-18) by the powers that be. The multifarious sociocultural expressions and ‘manières de faire’ (see Ahearn 1995:132 passim, de Certeau 1980: 175 passim) comprising this everyday has become substituted by top-down régimes of representation. In Political Science parlance nowadays this notion of (relatively) non-institutionalised activity is encapsulated in the term ‘grassroots’.

But there is another side to everyday life so construed; those who inhabit – practice – it. Implicitly, the practitioners of this politicised notion of the everyday 18 who are ordinary people do not work on the same level of technocratic organisation as sociocultural and political economic élites do. This is mainly because they do not have direct access or control of the ‘techniques of sociocultural production’ let alone the means of capitalist production (see Cox 1987). This is what de Certeau is referring to in the qualitative political space between consumers as producers - fabricateurs (de Certeau 1980:12 passim) - of the everyday on the one hand, and those who occupy and control large-scale productive activities on the other.

La 'fabrication' à déceler est une production, une poétique, - mais cachée, parce qu'elle se dissémine dans les régions définies et occupées par les systèmes de la 'production' (télévisée, urbanistique, commerciale etc) et parce que l'extension de plus en plus totalitaire de ces systèmes ne laisse plus aux 'consommateurs' une place où marquer ce qu'ils font de produits. (1980:11). 19

Everyday life thereby creates spaces for resisting, reworking and subverting elitist, repressive hierarchies and institutions that preordain value systems, politics and spatial geographies (1980: 41 passim, 1986e: 199 passim). In this sense, de Certeau's concept of the

which the weak make use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices* (1984: xvii)). Having said that, de Certeau acknowledges that such formulations remain somewhat too "dichotomous" (1980:19).

17 "proliferation of stories and heterogeneous operations that make up the patchworks of everyday life."

18 Politicised because the stresses and strains of gender-power relations are inherent in de Certeau's conception. In other words, the everyday is not a segment of the 'domestic' or 'consumer' market even as political economic interests would have it be so. Even more so in the commercial internet/www scenario.

19 "the 'making' in question is a production, a poïësis ...... but a hidden one, because it is scattered over areas defined and occupied by systems of 'production' (television, urban development, commerce etc), and because the steadily increasing expansion of these systems no longer leaves 'consumers' any place in which they can indicate what they make or do with the products of these systems* (1984:xii).
everyday/everyday life and the experiences, spaces, inter/subjective interactions (such as cooking, buying bread, household living arrangements, uses of local shops and amenities) that comprise it entails actions and behaviours that 'poach' from - and so subvert - the established order of gender-power relations, whatever and wherever these may be (see Roberts 1999:27).

**Representation and its Politics: Tactical and Strategic Operations**

La présence et la circulation d’une représentation ... n’indiquent nullement ce qu’elle est pour ses utilisateurs. Il faut encore analyser sa manipulation par les pratiquants qui n’en sont pas les fabricateurs (1980: 12)

In any established 'order of things' (Foucault 1873, de Certeau 1986: 171 passim), the difference between those who have power, who can exert it overtly and covertly (re-present it as normality) and those who do not, is encapsulated in two different sorts of everyday operations, strategic and tactical 21. These are played out, articulated, received (1980: 88-89) both separately and in an uneasy tension. This is de Certeau's application of the notion of dialectic (1980:19); a heterogeneous and ongoing struggle between decision-makers and their 'audience'. Strategy for de Certeau is

le calcul de rapports de force qui devient possible à partir du moment où un sujet de vouloir et de pouvoir (un propriétaire, une entreprise, une cité, une institution scientifique) est isolable d’un 'environnement'. Elle postule un lieu susceptible d’être circonscrit comme un propre et donc de servir de base à une gestion de ses relations avec une extériorité distincte (des concurrents, des adversaires, une clientèle, des ‘cibles ou ‘objets’ de recherche). La rationalité politique, économique ou scientifique s’est construite sur ce modèle stratégique.(1980:20-21).

In contrast to these technologies of ownership and control, the practices comprising everyday life are 'polysemic', spontaneous; namely 'tactical' 23. For de Certeau a tactic is

un calcul qui ne peut pas compter sur un propre, ni donc sur une frontière qui distingue l’autre comme une totalité visible. La tactique n’a pour lieu que celui de l’autre. Elle s’y insinue, fragmentairement, sans le saisir en son entier, sans pouvoir le tenir à distance. Elle ne dispose pas de base où capitaliser ses avantages, préparer ses expansions et assurer une indépendance par rapport aux circonstances.. (1980:21).

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20 "The presence and circulation of a representation (taught by preachers, educators, and popualizers as the key to socioeconomic advancement) tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyse its manipulation by users who are not its makers" (1984:xiii).


22 "... the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an 'environment'. A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (propre) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, 'clientele, 'targets', of 'objects' of research). Political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model." (de Certeau 1984:xix).

23 Buchanan rightly notes the problems of taking de Certeau's use of the terms too literally. Tactics presuppose a 'strategy' and in this framework, the 'counter-strategy' of non-elites is not made explicit. This is a criticism made by Roberts (1999) on where de Certeau's approach leaves organised resistance. I would argue that the point de Certeau is making here is to show the qualitative and political difference between regimes/institutions of planning-for-planning's sake (strategic representations so to speak) and organic creativity (everyday tactics). As de Certeau himself notes (1980:19), dichotomous thinking is pervasive and difficult to avoid altogether.

24 "... a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localisation), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. It has at its disposal no base where it can capitalise on its advantages, prepare its expansions, and secure independence with respect to circumstances." (1984:xix)
The upshot of this is that political agency can be, and is exercised spontaneously by agents who are aware, more or less, of the larger forces pressing in (Buchanan 2000:89, Thompson 1963). Agency, moves to change and/or resist are not a priori the prerogative of baked-in political establishments and their professional representatives. Creativity cannot be confined to the streetjacket of top-down strategic programmes. The 'tactical operations' of grassroots everyday life are vibrant and diverse. They are socially and historically constituted by the grassroots 'masses' (who are indeed privileged by de Certeau in his conception of the political) who are not just passive victims of structural (strategic) forces. For example, de Certeau points to the pomp and ceremony of liberal democratic elections — and the varying degrees of cynicism with which they are greeted by the 'polity'25, the administrative apparatus of former colonial states and their accompanying 'machineries de la représentation' (1980:253 and see Hall 1996a) 26.

The political nature of struggles around representation take place in the push and pull between these everyday ('tactical') practices, be they spoken or written recitations or texts, physical displacement or experiences, and hegemonic ('strategic') ones (Buchanan 2000:89). The latter are encapsulated in his use of the term représentation (1980:12, 253), which de Certeau designates to the powers-that-be 27. This notion of representation entails processes of sociocultural - and epistemic - distancing and exclusion carried out by making human subjects objects (see 1980: 249 passim, Ahearn 1995:131). It is the freezing of a temporal substitution, an out-of-time position for truth. The western medical, educational, and political establishments and their effects operate in this way and succeed on psychological, corporeal and cognitive levels. Echoing Foucault’s insight into the microscopic power dynamics of western forms of discipline and punishment, de Certeau asks:

Où est la limite de la machinerie par laquelle une société se représente par des vivants et en fait ses représentations? Où s’arrête l’appareil disciplinaire qui déplace et corrige, rajoute ou enlève dans ces corps, malléables sous l’instrument de tant de lois? (1980:254) 28

Strategic operations articulate, record and impose various layers of sociocultural and political economic control 29 whilst tactical ones subvert these in asserting their own version of events whether or not they have permission to do so. Both sorts of operation are spatial in that they designate at once symbolic and material delimitations and physical movements. Online - in cyberspace - both sorts of spatial practice can be traced. In the case of this book the 'strategic operations' are of the Global-Speak of TNCs and vested political interests that would allow open cyberspace(s) to be enclosed (May 2000) by commercial enterprises and the neoliberal economic orthodoxy that underpins current Research & Development trajectories for the internet/www (Chapter Nine). Tactical operations, on the other hand, are 'virtual communities', both fantasy-based, serious, politically organised 30. The texts, websites, interactions and vitality

25 All too well illustrated by the furore surrounding the 2000 Presidential elections in the USA, the way in which vested interests sought to control proceedings and the disenchanted voters responded.

26 A point all too well evident in the (neo)colonial regimes of Great Britain, Germany and France in the South Pacific Islands (March 1999, Wassmann et al 1998, Chapter Six).

27 To further flesh out how representation is treated here vis-à-vis de Certeau's one-way take on it, Simonds puts the actual process quite well when noting that there is an "uneasy alliance between the subject of representation and the subject in representation" (1999:134). She is talking about the distinction between representation by substitution (the former) and representation by figuration (the latter).

"Figuration and substitution are inextricably linked, but they are distinct operations. Substitutions can appear natural through the process of figuration... whereas figurations (or tropes) highlight the choice being made in asserting one particular relationship over another" (Simonds 1999:136). The 'of' and the 'in' are embedded in different political theories of democracy; consultative, representative and participatory (Scott-Smith 2000, Kasambala 2000).

28 *Is there a limit to the machinery by which a society represents itself in living beings and makes them its representations? Where does the disciplinary apparatus end that displaces and corrects, adds or removes things from these bodies, malleable under the instrumentatation of so many laws?" (1984:147).


30 These include problematic communities and practices on the internet/www (Rupert 2000). These also exist on the ground but when online, grab a lot of media attention.
of respective practices are constitutive of these different sorts of operations.

This relates back to de Certeau's position on (the politics of) knowledge production. Everyday practices and the forms of counter-hegemonic empowerment that exist there, get buried for want of research interest, or lack of relative eloquence vis-à-vis institutionalised genres precisely because they are amorphous, fleeting, and so very difficult to pin down (see 1980:21) 31. For interpretative and/or analytical hierarchies in scholarly traditions, various assumptions about veracity are contained in the traces left behind by either kind of 'practice', their interaction with each other and those who enact them 32. For those who are the 'mandarins' of knowledge production (academics to put it bluntly) these traces are self-reproducing. This is why access and control of written records, official versions of historical events, the impact of town planning decisions on the way cities are lived in quite visceral terms 33, new(er) kinds of knowledge such as software, the representative power of the cultural industries are so strategic. Nevertheless, and this is the point about political agency per se and that of subaltern groups in particular, even as the incumbent knowledge-makers disseminate the received version of events (de Certeau 1980:280, Thompson 1995, Teaiwa 1999) other sorts of (in)subordinate knowledge practices like 'savoir-faire' (Giard & Mayol 1980:149-154, Wendt 1999), popular historical narratives and 'folk' wisdom persist 34.

(Spatial) Practices

...ces manières de faire' constituent les milles pratiques par lesquelles des utilisateurs se réapproprient l'espace organisé par les techniques de la production socioculturelle. (op cit) 35.

The operations comprising everyday life comprise both textual practices and/or spatial ones. The former practices are contained in reading/writing and the interaction between the producer/reader. As I have said, these include the broad sweep of physical and cognitive displacements through, for example, cityscapes. These also occur in 'cyberscapes'. Taking 'text' to be both a literal and a figurative term for all manner of discourse (see Bal 1999), written/read/oral texts are also spatial practices in that they impact upon those who move through and 'speak' them, create and delimit spaces by doing so (Kolko 1995). A spoken word is also a form of (non-corporeal in one sense) spatialisation. The politics of representation relate to the credibility and staying power of the 'received version' at any one time (1980:255, see Friedman 1998) 36. It bears noting that de Certeau is not positing text as a formal object in its own right. That is; content - meaning - is a priori accessible in terms of its semiotic structure (Hawkes 1997). Hence he disagrees with what he sees as ultimately inward-leading abstraction of text from its sociocultural and political economic contexts 37. For de Certeau, critical approaches question both the text's power of composing and distributing places, its ability to be a narrative of space, and the necessity for it to define its relation to what it treats, in other words, to construct a place of its own. The first aspect concerns the space of the other; the second the place of the text. (1986: 67-68).

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31 This observation does not preclude, in de Certeau's own research at least, an attempt to 'capture' these instances and honour them for the record.
32 Ortner also makes the link between constructivist approaches, de Certeau's work, Marxist historians' work on working-class consciousness to all those areas of Social Science that purport to be "looking at and listening to real people doing real things in a given historical moment, past or present, and trying to figure out how what they are doing or have done will or will not reconfigure the world they live in." (1996:2). These present certain tricky and methodological issues as well of course (see Chapter Four).
33 Likewise for the physical infrastructure and access points of present and future internet/www architectures and software.
34 An example is official archives pitted against oral histories and 'folklore'.
35 See above for the English translation.
36 In an internet/www scenario, these spatial texts have another dimension, one that is delimited by electronic properties and the way movements are traced, cached and retrievable - or not.
37 See his critique of Foucault (de Certeau 1986d).
Or more succinctly, and echoing both Lefebvre and Bourdieu; “tout récit est un récit de voyage - une pratique de l'espace” [any account is an account of a journey - a spatial practice] (1980:206). Pacific Island textual practices - recitations - whether they be oral, bodily engraved, sung, and/or written (see Friedman 1998, Wendt 1999) articulate this insight as a matter of course. The diasporic generations conversing and debating online bring their own flavour to these communicative conventions, the representative spaces, traversals they delineate. In so doing, they also challenge ‘traditions’ and ‘conventions’ imposed on them by elders, families offline and no less by those who would try this in an online scenario.

In this framework, the ‘where’ and ‘what’ of everyday life and the ‘how’ (the practices comprising or ‘inventing’ it) are effectively inseparable even as they are analytically distinct, socioculturally and historically situated. This has implications for how anyone comes to ‘know’ the practice of others' everyday lives, for how they are to be (re)presented, in part or in toto. Clifford sums all this up very well when he notes that for de Certeau, ‘space’ is never ontologically given. It is discursively mapped and corporeally practised ... it is not a space until it is practised by peoples’ active occupation, their movements through and around it. In this perspective there is nothing given about a ‘field’. It must be worked, turned into a discrete social space, by embodied practices of interactive travel. (Clifford 1997:54).

The same goes for cyberspace, its particular technical delimitations - 'quadrillage' - included. Looking at the above from a feminist perspective of knowledge (re)production (see Chapter Four), the operations of gender-power relations are evident through which ‘versions’, which spatial practices become official, get discarded, and/or which ones are carried on regardless, such as reading, conversing, living, cooking (de Certeau 1980:23, Giard & Mayol 1980:149 passim). Each carries its own characteristics and inner tensions and neither is self-evident in research terms.

As an academic practitioner and a defender of the intrinsic value of grassroots sociocultural expression and ways-of-life in understanding and thereby impacting upon any social ‘order’, de Certeau includes in his notion of practices-as-spatial written or read forms of ‘orality’ as well as of corporeal movements, traversals, displacements. These are reincorporated into the contested terrain of the everyday. In this sense, the presence and power of sociocultural artefacts, customs and rituals, traces of displacement and their historical, political economic context are very real traces of inter/subjectivity. These traces, traversals and the spaces they (re)draw constitute and articulate any lived places/worlds - be they local, international, global or combinations thereof. Such practices are not reducible to measurable behaviours that have had to be disembowelled from their specific content in (other) cultural, political economic orders or (life) histories (see Huysse n 1990: 259 passim, de Certeau 1986: 171 passim). What is said, how it is said, and who says/does it to whom, articulates multiplex gender-power relations of how meanings are exchanged, circulated and then relived; how these are “practised by people’s active occupation...” (Clifford 1997:54) and contain the potential for challenging these. How this conceptualisation can work vis-à-vis online discussions that occur not only in ‘cyberspace’ but also in a non-proximate neighbourhood that is bordered by diasporic, postcolonial everydayness will be further substantiated in Part Three. Suffice it to say that what needs to be remembered is that through ICTs and more particularly, the internet/www, new(er) articulations of the everyday are being super-imposed on established tactical and/or strategic operations that in turn imply new(er) (spatial) practices and (politics of) representation.

This brings us back to the critical edge of de Certeau’s thought vis-à-vis knowledge (re)production and its own ‘machineries of representation’ as contained, for example, in the Black Boxes opened in Chapter Two. If ordinary users/practitioners are more than passive consumers, world-wide web surfers being led by the nose to portals, or tracked by ‘smart’ software (these strategic forces notwithstanding) then the objective and dispassionate role of the
'knowledge expert' needs to be put firmly into perspective
if indigenous people and the totality of their worlds are to be regarded as equal. [This]
requires new learning as well as unlearning and ... also encourages a healthy reduction
of ego size. (Hereniko & Schwarz 1999: 61).

In other words, the 'object' of research are living breathing beings with something to
say that necessarily (re)constructs the 'unit of analysis' or 'research object' and concomitant
taxonomy (see Niemann & Davies 2000). The eventual product - cultural artefact, academic text
-necessarily becomes a "shared discourse" (de Certeau 1986:217) in that it too is constitutive
of how a world, or any part of it, is ultimately represented. And there lies the rub for how
scholars, as subject-producers of their own (privileged) everyday practices and gender-power
relations (1986: 204), perceive and represent the task in hand. From a feminist point of view,
this is fraught with specific considerations, as I will show in the next chapter. But the general
critique of this sort of cultural and intellectual arrogance being made by de Certeau is a cogent
one.

To recapitulate briefly. Michel de Certeau is positing a much less foreclosed set of
gender-power relationships between the powerful strategic operations of elites and their
institutionalised positions of power and privilege (Peterson & Runyan 1999: 45) and resistance
and struggles of less powerful, self-conscious groups. This entails a repositioning of popular
cultural practices and non-elite inter/subjectivities in the 'big picture' of how power is exercised,
constituted and reinforced 39. His thought includes a healthy dose of the critical premise of
theoretical and empirical (self)reflexivity (Leonard 1990); a practice that is constantly under
pressure from political economic and technocratic stratagems.

Our sciences were born with that 'modern' historical act that depoliticised research by
establishing 'disinterested' and 'neutral' fields of study supported by scientific
institutions...... Having become actual seats of logistic power, scientific institutions have
fitted themselves into the system they serve to rationalise, a system that links them to
each other, fixes the direction of their research, and assures their integration into
existing socioeconomic framework. (de Certeau 1986 e:215)

This bears remembering when entering into generically 'non-western' practices of everyday life,
their respective tactical and strategic operations, and representations (see Douglas 1998: 67,
Teaiwa 1999).

This has been a highly selective presentation of de Certeau's key theoretical tenets,
which still need to be linked to postcolonial diasporas and the development of the internet/www
in the twenty years since de Certeau died. The upshot is that his conceptualisation of everyday
(spatial) practices needs re-appropriating and updating 40. Nowadays there are 'online' practices
-'texts' and traversals - being produced and disseminated on the internet/www, which
constitute another constellation of tactical and strategic operations. Here, there are historical
shifts in 'world order' vis-à-vis changing techno-social-political geographies of ICTs to be
examined at close hand. These intersect with 'other' practices of everyday life online, and
elsewhere, which do not conform to eurocentric geostrategic understandings and experiences of
inter/subjectivity.

39 In this respect, de Certeau's "most important demystifying weapon was doubtless the ... notion of
tactics, which .... is neither anti-theoretical not anti-intellectual in design or intention......the tactical is
what people are reduced to when they are deprived of power." (Buchanan 2000:13 & 14).
40 Buchanan (2000: 4-8) notes, quite rightly, about the perils of fetishism in updating and 'over-editing'
can do to making a body of work 'accessible' to its 'market audience'.
A word of caution is needed here though. Because of his eclecticism and his own multi-disciplinary career path, let alone the way the very notion of the everyday has become appropriated by Market Research (see Roberts 1999, Buchanan 2000:2, 97, McHaffie 1997), de Certeau’s work does not conform easily to any disciplinary boundaries (Ahearne 1995:2-4, Godzich 1986: vii-viii, Buchanan 2000: 1 passim) 41. It does not slot neatly into broad counter-movements such as ‘post-structuralism’ (Hawkes 1997) or, in my view, the highly contestable category of the ‘postmodernism’ 42. Nonetheless, this latter echo and its critics from the Marxian tradition do need to be briefly addressed.

This chapter echoes and supports the general aim of John Roberts’ excavation of the original political import of the notion of the everyday in Marxian writings and activism in early 20th century Europe. It does not concur with his final conclusions, however. In this article, published in Radical Philosophy (1999), Roberts revisits the political historiography of the ‘everyday’ in order to restore an expanded understanding of the term [albeit]. Not to diminish the post-war theorization of the everyday in France, but to problematise its history and incorporation into contemporary cultural studies” (Roberts 1999:16).

What I take issue with is his verdict on how de Certeau’s contribution is "paradigmatic" of the "postmodern incorporation" (Roberts 1999:28) of everyday life into a politically disengaged and thereby "philosophically diminished cultural studies" (Roberts 1999:29). There is no reason to assume that de Certeau’s contribution to understanding the "everyday as a site of complex and differentiated social agency and subjectivity" necessarily separates political action from any "structural engagement with the problems of material distribution and economic justice" (Roberts 1999:28). That this has happened, that the ‘everyday’ is now synonymous with the culture of consumerism in today’s global ‘capitalist spectacle’ (Roberts 1999: 24 passim) 43, is all the more reason, to my mind, for revisiting the political and critical concerns of de Certeau’s work as a whole. Given the increasing commercialisation of the internet/www this revisiting is even more timely. I shall examine the postcolonial and feminist dimensions to all of this shortly.

Having said that, de Certeau’s terms of reference, vocabulary, literary style (Buchanan 2000:33 passim) and highly critical stance to arrogant or culturally universalistic academic traditions and research practices could lend themselves up to a point to being part of the ‘postmodern’ critique of ‘Rational Man’ and ‘His’ ‘Instrumental Reason’ (see Nicholson 1990, Benhabib & Cornell 1986). Precisely because he is preoccupied with the practical and epistemological dimensions of meaning (re)production, as written and read texts, oral recitations, official archives and policy, his work has been lumped into this amorphous category (see Huysssen 1990: 276, note 39) and its more pejorative renditions. The same applies for how all manner of post-positivist strands and categories, critical traditions from the mid-20th century, have been transposed into IR/TEP of late. My argument is that this sort of categorisation in the case of de Certeau is inaccurate and unjust, constricts complex and ongoing debates within the Social Sciences to endless either / or dichotomies if not conflates these and then tarnishes his work and the critical Marxist discourses to which it speaks with the same brush.

To reiterate earlier points made about circulations of meanings. For de Certeau,

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41 As one introduction to his collected essays points out; the reach of de Certeau’s activities is bound to be seen as excessive, and his attitude as extravagant, unless it can be construed as one of the reminders that the disciplines do not really constitute wholly autonomous domains but are part of a larger whole. …. His [work] is a challenge to the present organisation of knowledge, a challenge that is attentive to the dimension of crisis throughout this area. (Godzich 1986:x).

42 See Andreas Huyssen’s study (1990: 258 passim) of these bodies of thought and their permutations when appropriated by other intellectual traditions, the American in particular (Jacoby 1977, 1987). See Harvey (1990) for another view of how this body of continental thought, aesthetics, and politics pertains to structural Marxism’s collision with ‘postmodernism’.

43 David Harvey (1990) takes this critical stance even further. See Buchanan (2000:13-15).
meanings are deeply political, and so powerful. They also have material repercussions because they do not exist separately from the respective economies (of scale) of their transmission, circulation and uses. Hence meanings, and their making, play a far from insignificant role in the imposition and reproduction of any (world) political economic or sociocultural 'orders' (de Certeau 1986c: 119). Some of these dynamics have already been elucidated in the previous chapters. At the same time, resistance by those who are seen as passive victims of an existing order (de Certeau 1980:12), appropriate and re-work these impositions in an array of 'other' spoken, written and physical practices (see Roberts 1999:27 passim).

De Certeau belongs and contributes to a tradition of thought and research that "takes seriously the problem of combining the 'political-economic' and the 'cultural' without reducing one to the other" (Jackson 1993:224). Hence never far away is a deep circumspection towards top-down or self-righteous programmes of sociocultural or political intervention, theoretical models or research programmes and the epistemic communities of experts that underpin these (Ross 1995, Harding 2001). This is why he is always dealing with (meta)theoretical issues and their practical - empirical research - implications simultaneously; and often in the same breath. This 'double / multiplex' (Friedman 1998:37) approach is intentional, central to what I see as his counter politics (of representation). In this reading, to talk of and locate the subtleties of any politics (of representation) - as experienced by the non-elite in particular - does not in itself lead to a "dissolution of collective politics into cultural politics" (Roberts 1990:27). Quite the opposite. Neither is it necessarily an 'inevitable' resignation to the gender-power relations of a 'class [or any other] society' (Roberts 1999:27) nor simply a "politics of feints, dodges and lucid subversion" (ibid). As we shall see, for those of the Pacific Island diasporic communities communicating with each other openly and non-commercially on the internet/www (about democracy, racism, sexuality), show just how imbued with politics everyday life can be. In these (cyber)spaces, they can articulate 'resistance and creativity' precisely because there they are able (still) to "rewrite' the oppressive details of their surfaces" (Roberts paraphrasing de Certeau 1999:27) in their specific "enactment[s] of fantasy and autobiographical storytelling, [cyber]walking and day-dreaming..." (Roberts 1999:27).

In any case, to return to the disciplinary tracking of de Certeau's work and relevance for 'deep' or 'thick descriptive' research into ICTs a moment longer (Alsatian 1995:358-359). For critical/postcolonial anthropology (di Leonardo 1991, Stacey 1997), de Certeau's thought is implicit in their uptake of 'practice theory' (see Ortner 1996, Clifford 1997:53-54). The 'everyday' is a central signifier of the ethnographic / anthropological project as such. His

44 This is by no means a 'new' discovery on de Certeau's or any post-positivists' part. As Albert Wendt notes in his discussion of the contemporary implications and symbolic dimensions - of Samoan and other Pacific Island tattooing practices; "....meanings change as the relationships and the contexts change. (We knew a little about semiotics before Saussure came along!)..." (1999:402)


46 See the final chapter of The Practice of Everyday Life for one rendition of this subversive urge. Like Castells (1998) de Certeau recognises a tension between his own position and those of his object/subjects of study, albeit in another way:

_Laissons donc cette rationalité fonctionnaliste à la prolifération de son bien-dire, euphémie partout rémanente dans le discours de l'administration et du pouvoir, et revenons plutôt à la rumeur des pratiques quotidiennes. Elles ne forment pas poches dans la société économique. Rien à voir avec ces marginalités qu'intègre bientôt l'organisation technique pour en faire de signifiants et des objets d'échange...Bien loin d'être une révolte locale, donc classable, c'est une subversion commune et silencieuse, quasi mouvonnire - la nôtre.(1980:334-335)._

[Leaving this functionalist rationality to the proliferation of its elegant euphemisms (euphemisms that persist everywhere in the discourse of administrations and power, let us then return to the murmuring of everyday practices. They do not form pockets in economic society. They have nothing in common with these marginalities that technical organisation quickly integrates in order to turn them into signifiers and objects of exchange...Far from being a local, and thus classifiable, revolt, it is a common and silent, almost a sheep-like subversion - our own. (de Certeau 1984: 200)]

47 And tracking – namely following echoes and traces of complex interlocking literatures and academic 'practices' - this will remain. As Clifford points out in relation to postcolonial anthropological enterprises (see Chapter Four); "Thinking historically is a process of locating oneself [and others] in space and time...." (1997:11) and so is any kind of literature or intellectual survey such as this.
bottom-up approach to inter/subjectivity is also at home in critical studies of social and cultural change (see di Leonardo 1991, Kolko et al 2000, Wilson 1999:2-4). He is also more sympathetic to those approaches focusing on 'discourse' or 'text' (see Douglas 1998:67 & 69) and especially when these would problematise the power relations between work and observations made in the 'field' and knowledge production (Clifford 1997: 52 passim, Stacey 1997). For Media Studies 48, his notion of users as active, non-passive appropriators and hence (re)designers of cultural and technological artefacts (1980: 11-13, 75 passim) and the impact of ongoing, regular daily life and habits (see Giard & Mayol 1980) on domestic consumption patterns (see Jackson 1993:223), is echoed in Reception Analysis 50 and work on the domestication of technologies (see Haddon & Silverstone 1996, Ridell 1999, Curran & Gurevitch 1991). For the Philosophy of History and methodological debates surrounding archival research in itself, de Certeau himself professed an allegiance to the Historian's craft (Ahearne 1995:9)51. Seeing as IR/IPE began its academic career as an offshoot of historical and literary scholarship and its early arguments were deeply marked by various positions taken towards the early twentieth century's two world wars, his work on historiography is cogent albeit somewhat too specific for this particular study. Suffice it to say, with the internet/www still being experienced and instigated as a largely written medium (internet telephoning and video notwithstanding) and the artefacts - online archives - being produced belonging to the category of written and read texts, the theoretical and empirical connection is evident. De Certeau's point is that all archives are read, interpreted and thereby rewritten in the process whence the gender-power relations of academic knowledge production (Godzich 1986). The interactive, open-endedness of online textual practices underscores this point and subverts established relationships between the researched and the researcher, the knowing subject and the objectified distancediated 'other' (Fabian 1983, de Certeau 1986:199 passim).

These latter points intersect with, what I call, feminist sensibilities in that de Certeau's concerns also speak to Feminism as an emancipatory political movement for excluded groups (of women) and set of theoretical takes on behalf of women as an oppressed class and/or group. His ideas also speak to critiques of eurocentric attitudes towards an exoticised 'other' 52. On that note, however, Ortner rightly points out that the commonalities between de Certeau and much feminist theory and research in any of the Social Sciences (and here I would include feminist IR/IPE) have not come to fruition or been always as clearly drawn as they could have been 53.

This may be more a question of historical accident than conscious disciplinary design (or 'strategy' as de Certeau calls it) as 'Practice Theory' and feminist theories seem to have ended up on either side of a "fairly deep divide" (Ortner 1996:3) between disciplines and generations. It bears saying that the schisms run through, as much as they run between either category 54.

48 Douglas defines this heuristic term well: "A 'text' is any medium for representation; written or spoken words, memories, gestures, dress, objects, buildings, landscapes, and visual media like paintings, sculptures, photographs and films. [Her] texts are mainly written" (1998:87). As regards the latter admission, one can say the same for IR/IPE. But as this is not meant to be a full account of textual theory as such, this term is taken in a generic sense for its heuristic value rather than a key theoretical marker. I would contend that this correlates with de Certeau's approach as well (see below).

49 And there lies the rub for Roberts (1999:26).

50 Simply put, the study of how audiences respond to media productions and their content - news and soap operas for instance (van Zoonen 1994). The basic point is that the latter are received, and interpreted differently according to sociocultural context, gender, class, and ethnicity.

51 See also see L'écriture de l'histoire (1978) which is summarised well in his essay "History: Science and Fiction" (1986e).


53 Nancy Fraser's (1997) carefully nuanced critique of the very same generation of thinkers to which de Certeau simply underscores the critical nature of de Certeau's refusal to assume neither an a priori hierarchy - in either direction - between strict textual conceptualisations of 'discourse' and 'practice' - as voluntarist actions nor to confute, and so de-politicise either or both.

54 Postcolonial sensibilities would then remind us, when searching for adequate 'explanatory' models, about the pitfalls of "resort[ing] ... to a critical apparatus of authors, canons, and genres that is largely derived from a modern Western discourse of 'the literary', 'the textual', and the 'great author' ... {even though a} ... complete break with 'Western' literary theories and forms is often more polemical than
To sum up this rough sketch. In line with the broad battle lines being drawn between various (post)structuralist and/or social constructivist approaches and their non/post-Marxist critics in IR/IRPE (see Carver 1998), Lefebvre and Bourdieu have been largely incorporated by the heirs of the former camp (see Harvey 1990) whilst Derrida and Foucault have been developed by various streams of the latter (see Devetak 1996, Carver 1998). Of course such things are never that simple. Be that as it may, these intradisciplinary moves in an area wracked by the 'postmodern' condition may go some way in explaining why de Certeau's work has been somewhat overlooked in these meta-theoretical wrangles. Another reason is that it not only distances itself from propagating any one universal Truth (see Godzich 1986) but also one version of politics; his is a subversive theory of political agency (Buchanan 2000:91). De Certeau's refusal to present a people-less model of sociocultural, political economic relations occurring in an anarchic 'vacuum' (see Wendt 1999:402, Wilson 1999:2) makes de Certeau a comrade of many postcolonial, third world and feminist IR/IRPE theorists. For as Wlad Godzich points out in his foreword to Heterologies, an English language collection of Michel de Certeau's essays:

de Certeau has clear, practical aims. There is thus something very atheoretical about his endeavour, not because of any opposition to theory as such, but because the old construction of the opposition of theory and practice is part of the speculative edifice that de Certeau no longer finds hospitable, or perhaps more accurately, affordable. It exacts too high a price [for those it professes to be helping] for the amenities that it provides. But this atheoretical stance does not make for an absence of theory in what he writes... It simply makes for a different positioning of the theoretical.. (Godzich 1986:viii)

This repositioning of the theoretical and by implication the subject-object/subject-subject relationship (de Certeau 1986: 217) that is at stake speaks into and from postcolonial sensibilities and critiques of western academe (de Certeau 1986:225-233, Wilson 1999, Moore-Gilbert et al 1997, Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1998, Fabian 1983). It also opens up avenues for engaging with postcolonial (non-western) diasporic practices of everyday life, on and off the internet/www. As I have argued in the last chapter, these avenues are too often blocked by eurocentric ontological and epistemological preoccupations, on the one hand, and manic swings between technophobia and technophilia on the other.

It is now time to move onto what all this means for the practice of everyday life online and in a postcolonial and diasporic context. What I am referring to are the presence on the internet/www of groups whose initial terms of reference, self/groups identity formation, relationship to multiple sociocultural conventions and political economies are anchored in both western and non-western societies. These are the postcolonial diasporas of the South Pacific Islands, those of Tonga and Samoa for the most part and whose “oppression du présent” is being worked through in the west - online, and in between.

materially or culturally realised in the act." (Wilson 1999:4 & 13, note 11). This difficult balancing act is embedded in Postcolonial Feminists' critiques of western liberal premises of the Women's Liberation Movements of the 1960's - 1970's (Nicholson 1997, Peterson & Runyan 1999: 172-177). Its everyday permutations are also more than adequately articulated by participants in the online discussions presented further on.

55 And de Certeau's own words, including a footnoted cross-reference to Lefebvre's notion of the everyday (see Roberts 1999):

'Ces 'manières de faire' constituent les milles pratiques par lesquelles des utilisateurs réapproprient l'espace organisé par les techniques de la production socioculturelle...... Ces procédures et ruses de consommateurs composent, à la limite, le réseau d'une antidiscipline qui est le sujet de ce livre (1980:14)

[These 'ways of operating' constitute the innumerable practice by means of which users reappropriate the space organised by the techniques of sociocultural production .... Pushed to their ideal limits, these procedures and ruses of consumers compose the network of an antidiscipline which is the subject of this book (de Certeau 1984:xiv-xv)]
Postcolonial (Cyber) Spatial Practices

[C]ontemporary articulations of 'diaspora' .... [are] ways of sustaining connections with more than one place while practising non-absolutist forms of citizenship.....The diasporic and hybrid identities produced ... can be both restrictive and liberating. They stitch together languages, traditions, and places in coercive and creative ways, articulating embattled homelands, powers of memory, styles of transgression, in ambiguous relation to national and transnational structures. It is difficult to evaluate, even to perceive, the range of emerging practices. (Clifford 1997: 9&10)

As I have argued, ICTs do more than just 'impact upon' the relationship between practices of everyday life and their broader political economic context. Rather, as socially and historically co-constructed technologies, in the words of Sandra Harding (1998: 3-4), ICTs delimit such practices and their contexts. But this does not preclude them from being impacted upon and so recalibrated in turn (see Haraway 1990). Following de Certeau, what is being struggled over in any period of technological and/or social change (Harding 1998b), is control of the new nooks and crannies of the space between incumbent political economic and sociocultural practices and emergent ones. The practices at stake are both 'tactical acts' and/or 'hegemonic strategies' (Wilson 1999:2) which have gender, ethnic and class contours to them. Vested political economic interests, identifications and inter/subjectivities are being (re)articulated both in the materiality of new(er) ICTs and their symbolic representative elements. Both aspects, are implicated as the internet/www grows and deepens as a physical infrastructure, constellation of cultural (re)productions, and its multifarious (cyber)spatial practices - productions, content and audiences - continue to flourish, disappear or re-emerge in online and offline everyday lives.

Before examining the specific content and make-up of these (cyber) spatial practices, the interlocutors and some of the key themes of the online archives that have been produced in abundance over the years, there is one more conceptual node to investigate. This is the multifarious 'invocations' (Clifford 1997:244) and experiences that constitute the 'postcolonial'. That of 'diaspora' has been dealt with for now. Taking a closer look at the notion of post-colonial/postcolonial indicates where de Certeau's conceptualisation of everyday life has certain limits vis-à-vis the nature of online interactions on the one hand and 'non-western' practices of everyday life on the other. Whether or not ICTs are represented in the western media and in Development forums like the UNDP, OECD as the latest harbinger of economic well-being, modernisation and social (dis)empowerment per se, multilocality (Clifford 1997:246) and multivocality are not unique in themselves and certainly not new for non-western communicative cultures (see Clifford 1997:246 passim). 'Postcolonial' is a term that indicates far more than a particular historical period. It also denotes an intellectual, political and methodological move towards a politics of representation that critically engages with western dominant representations of history, politics, culture, identity.

Postcolonial Diasporas

[P]ostcolonialism remains an elusive and contested term. It designates at one and the same time a chronological movement, a political movement, and an intellectual activity, and it is this multiple status that makes exact definition difficult.
(Moore-Gilbert, Stanton & Maley 1997:1)

First, to talk of the postcolonial (or post-colonial) simply put, is to denote the aforementioned historical period of decolonisation. The South Pacific Islands of (Western)

56 Having said that, one danger of a constructivist approach is that of replacing the problem, of an overly linear or hierarchical teleological model of change, with the other one, an unproblematic 'interdependency' that belies the underlying power asymmetries that depend upon this sort of interaction to continue.

57 Here I am using the aforementioned three-way division favoured in Media Studies, the various disciplinary offshoots and disputes notwithstanding (see Curran & Gurevitch 1991, van Zoonen 1994)

58 On the issue of spelling, see Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (1998:187). For more on ways of reading this
Samoa and Tonga belong to this category in the sense that they both ceased to be New Zealand and British Protectorates respectively in the 1960's. How far political independence has gone hand in hand with economic well-being or ability to affect change at the regional level of intergovernmental cooperation, dominated as these are by Australasian, US and Japanese strategic and economic interests (Fry 1997) is very much a moot point. Disputes over aspects of this history spill over into the online discussions. Other spill-overs include the role of missionaries, and since them the Christian churches; early European settlements and colonial administrations in the islands, and since them political and economic relations with dominant neighbours; key historical figures or events in local life and customs, and since them how the latter have 'evolved' or been 'endangered' as a result. In short, how political and economic institutions, customs, rituals and belief systems, and the legacy of colonial anthropology on these in themselves and how the South Pacific has been - or should be - represented is grist for the mill of some intense and ongoing online debates. What existed 'before contact' (Helu 1999) and what has happened since, which versions of events count and whose interpretations are at stake, the effects and ramifications are all open to question and contested accordingly. As will be shown, these issues still affect everyday (diasporic) lives and thereby permeate the online discussion threads. They are indicative of varying relationships between 'strategic operations' and 'tactical' responses to the 'oppression of the present'. They also articulate these and in so doing expose them 'to the world' online. As participants show and insist upon, it does matter which and whose meanings rule, where practices become 'lodged', accepted or protested, how they impinge upon accepted and acceptable notions of political representation, 'traditional' and/or 'modern' practices, sociocultural mores.

Secondly then, to speak of the postcolonial is to do more than delineate simple 'before' and 'after' chronologies.

The 'post' in postcolonialism does not indicate the belief that colonialism is dead and buried, a matter of the past with no bearing on the present. Quite to the contrary, it is a form of periodization which aggressively signals the centrality of colonialism to the entire historical period after it... The colonial encounter was also decisive in the making of the modern world. (Seth 1999:215)  

It has also come to designate an important constellation of theorising and research that anchors the social and historical construction of contemporary realities in the history of colonialism and its aftermath (Ashcroft et al 1998:186). This implicates both coloniser and colonised. This intellectual enterprise is also a political one in so much as postcolonialism foregrounds the connection between knowledge and power, and also between knowledge and forms of human community, of ways of being in the world. What is at issue here, it is important to emphasise, is much more than the 'cultural imperialism' and arrogance which were part and parcel of the colonial enterprise.... What postcolonialism seeks to problematise and call into question, however, are the knowledges that accompanied and characterised colonialism and its aftermath. Postcolonialism also draws attention to the fact that ..... ways of constructing and construing the world are always connected to ways of being-in-the-world. (Seth 1999:218)  

For postcolonial critiques of "the controlling power of representation in colonised term see Ashcroft et al (1998: 186-192) and Seth (1999:215-218) for good and concise overviews around the distinctions. See Ling (2001a) and Harding (1998a:15-18) for how a postcolonial framework or 'standpoint' relate to IR/IP and Feminist ones. I have opted for the non-hyphenated term from now on for the purposes of elegance and also to include the 'postcolonial turn' in epistemological debates. The hyphen is used when the historical period is mainly being referred to.  

59 See Harding (1998a, 1998b) for a fuller historiographical and philosophical survey.  
60 Harding (1998a, 2001) offers a more 'materialist' account of this connection between Enlightenment philosophical assumptions and science practices, its 'interventionism' (2001) and the colonial encounter - the results of which "always bear the fingerprints of historic eras on which they emerged and that continue to find them valuable" (1998a: 6 [of copy]). See Ling (2001) for a substantiation of this insight from the point of view of Asian encounters with the West.
societies" (Ashcroft et al 1998:1876) these connections are 'read' into - imprinted upon - everyday practices and experiences of ethnicity and/or race, which have been represented in hegemonic accounts of the 'exotic other', experiences and structures of discrimination and oppression as the 'subaltern other', labelling of colonised, non-western societies as uncivilised, undeveloped, and so on. The historical period of colonialism (now officially 'over') overlaps in this respect with the ongoing "political, linguistic and cultural experience of societies that were former European colonies" (Ashcroft et al 1998:186).

At the heart of this large and disparate body of work is a strong critique of western knowledge (re)production, the ongoing existence of a centre-periphery divide between west and 'the rest' notwithstanding. For example, how knowledge (re)production is complicit with the colonialist political and scientific project (see Ling 2000b, Harding 1998b, di Leonardo 1991), forms of institutionalised racism and/or cultural 'bleaching' in the name of integration (Hall 1996b), white middle-class blinkers in feminist theory towards women of colour (Narayan 1997, Collins 1997) and so on. All in all these critiques entail a rethinking of what constitutes inter/subjectivity, an insistence that there is not a unified, single, neutral 'knower' standing outside the world as a 'modest witness' (Haraway 1997). In this way the postcolonial turn in the Social Sciences, or more precisely Literary Theory and the Humanities (Ashcroft et al 1998:186-187), intersects with the social constructivist mood in IR/IPE. In postcolonial approaches, another set of sociocultural practices, modes and relations of production, gender-power relations, are implicitly important and significant for post-colonial societies and their interwoven histories that are not a priori relevant to European (repressed and/or expressed) experiences and representations of the body (white, male, Christian), philosophies of the mind-spirit (the Enlightenment, before and after), or the political economic public or private spheres (the Westphalian state system, industrialisation, secularisation and capitalist economies). In blunter formulation by being subjected to the latter's scholarly practices, non-western peoples still have to resist being (re)colonised from within (Trask 1999, Smith 1998).

Aside from "disciplinary and interpretative contestation" (Ashcroft et al 1998:186) about the term let alone its spelling, in the South Pacific context it is the material, cultural and symbolic consequences of 'contact' that affect island populations and their diasporas. How these are to be judged - good, bad, un/avoidable - and how these are lived and experienced lies at the heart of the online discussions, as they do in the lives and (diasporic) communities they articulate. In other words, to talk of the postcolonial is to do more than invoke an 'afterwards'. To deal with it entails more than yearning for halcyon days of the past, to dispute it - internally or with one's interlocutors - is to be confronted with how the very 'oppression of the present' is also the realisation of a past-as-memories. Whose memories dominate is, again, a concrete product with political and economic underpinnings in what Wilson calls this "mixed-up era of technoeuphoric globalisation and heightened localisation and reindigenisation" (1999:2). In this respect then I shall be following Albert Wendt's cue when he stipulates that the

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\text{post in postcolonial does not just mean after; it also means around, through, out of, alongside, and against... } \text{(quoted in Wilson 1999:3, emphasis in the original).}
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Postulating a clean epistemological or ontological break in either direction, therefore, is not an answer. As Albert Wendt astutely notes (when arguing that 'pre-colonial' forms of tattoo (tatau) - in Samoa at least) the prefix can elide the complexity of

..defiant texts or scripts of nationalism and identity. Much of the indigenous was never colonised, tamed or erased. And much that we now consider indigenous and post-colonial are colonial constructs (e.g. the church) (1999:403)

Much of the more intense online discussions revolve around this insight. Given this inherent fluidity in actual practices and representations of the suffixes 'pre' and 'post', and the various permutations available in the notion of diaspora (Clifford 1997: 9-10), using these two terms - postcolonial diaspora - as a collocation is not meant to posit them as synonymous. The former (with either spelling) implies the latter as historically situated lives with both material implications and symbolic meaning-making vis-à-vis "being Tongan", "being a Samoan woman today" as Chapters Five and Seven will show. The term diaspora denotes the spread, the
spatiality of these lived lives and the political economic structure of their contemporary context even though to speak of diasporas or diasporic experience does not necessarily imply only postcolonial ones.

ICTs are not external to the fracture lines - seams - running through definitions and differences in the 'postcolonial' at both the abstract and historical levels (see Hereniko & Wilson 1999). For one, the challenge or threat of ICTs for the fate of the Westphalian nation-state (Graham 1999, Everard 2000), for redefining the geographies of 'imaginary communities' or even the physically confined 'rational man' is the product (representation à la Certeau) of the West and its own colonial(ist) history. In this scenario, talking of either 'diaspora' or 'postcolonial' raise, as Clifford notes, "problems of defining a travelling term, in changing global conditions" (1997:244). De Certeau's work and his critical stance, whilst speaking to Western European history and critiquing its knowledge industries and capitalist underpinnings, does not preclude a meeting, albeit with some re-definitions and delineations, between his conception of the practice of everyday life, (cyber)spatial practices of everyday life, and those belonging to non-western societies before, during, and after 'contact' with the West.

This meeting of both the social constructivist mood, Feminist and Postcolonial critiques of Western androcentric knowledge production (Harding 1998a) can have a direct impact on internet research methods; not only on how to find and gather data/empirical substantiation on - or through - the internet/www but also how to interpret and then (re)present them. This will be outlined in the next chapter. But, first, some comments on the limits of de Certeau's practice theory bear mentioning.

From Proximate Quartier to Cyberspace

One thing the internet/www does to de Certeau's notion of the neighbourhood and its surrounding cityscape is to refract and 'de-hierarchise' the physically proximate spatial practices of (urban) neighbourhoods that delimit the everyday practices in his formulation. It also affects how one perceives and locates the user-practitioners of these disembodied (cyber)spatial practices. Here, online forms of anonymity and nicknames come into play. The texts that are eventually produced as discussion content and threads also have a different materiality and longevity to the 'discursive economies' of reading and writing critiqued by de Certeau. They are more tenuous, one could argue, given their 'fluidity' and short shelf-life online (see Chapter Four). For (dispersed) non-western peoples living in the west and/or post-colonial nations, the practice of everyday life has different spatial dimensions to those studied by de Certeau (1980) or Giard & Mayol (1980) in any case. But at the same time they are also comparable in that many groups of Pacific Islands diasporas are clustered together in urban centres in the West, and when not, their internet access mostly occurs in urban centres in the Pacific Islands (Apia, Honolulu, Suva, Nuku'alofa).

Together and separately, postcolonial theoretical stances and online communicative practices are challenging not only how the neighbourhood itself is construed and experienced but also established norms and practices of anthropological ‘fieldwork’ (Clifford 1997:79). This has an impact on what constitutes 'empirical' evidence in the Social Science research. The internet/www is at the outer limits of all these debates. In the first instance, the increasing, albeit uneven, ubiquity of ICTs at all levels of certain societies is affecting the very constitution - and social institutions - of 'everyday life' and the tactical and strategic operations entailed.

Basically, the internet/www provides a qualitatively different kind of quartier in which other sorts of spatial practices and experiences of the everyday are being acted out, articulated, and contested. Moreover different sorts of physicality, embodiment and what constitutes face-to-face interaction are being experimented with and then taken for granted. At the same time established and such new(er) practices are being refracted and configured as the internet/www becomes a place and space for everyday life. When all this is instigated by, or involves postcolonial societies and their diasporas, the impact of ICTs on research parameters, or fieldwork per se and the subject-object relationship between the researched and the researcher intersect directly with critical frameworks.

To be more specific. On the internet/www these movements can be discerned not only

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61 This is in terms of where the field is to be found, or how it is to be ‘visited’ (see Clifford 1997:80)
in the immediate on-screen content, symbols and conversations, but also in the complete or partial texts left behind in caches, indicated in deletion or 'server down' notices, online statistical records like 'total hits', electronic tags like 'cookies', the server logs, email 'mailboxes', the ubiquitous hyperlink itself with its lateral comings and goings (see Appendix Two and Four), the appearance and disappearance of avatars in Live Chat scenarios, and so on. These all combine in the uses, consumption, appropriations that comprise daily practices of inter/subjectivity online. But we must not overlook the fact that just as one finds intersections and meeting points between established literatures, theoretical models and research practices, ICTs are also implicated in the advent of some tangibly different (spatial) practices and sorts of interactions. Western perceptions of space and time at least are being reconfigured. So are assumptions about what constitutes (dis)embodiment, the rules and norms of written communication. From a postcolonial point of view - as theory and historical period - this has general application as well as quite specific sociocultural ones. For first and second generations of Pacific Islanders growing up in the USA, Australia, New Zealand, or elsewhere, these shifts and the tensions - both liberating and frustrating - they bring to personal, family, social and cultural networks are at the heart of the online discussions analysed here. In this way, they are tracing a 'tactical' (re)appropriation of highways and byways of the internet/www for their own communicative, social and political needs. They underscore the importance of de Certeau's goal to retrieve the agency of the 'everyday life' of ordinary people from dominant elite representations of what 'culture', 'politics', economic well-being and 'development' entail. For these elites are very quick to demote the former to the realm of the 'banal' and the 'irrelevant' (Giard & Mayol 1980: 7-9).

Before moving into the methodological specifics of investigating the interplay between postcolonial diasporas, practices of everyday life and their (re)articulations online, let us review the main themes thus far.

Conclusion

[Discourses are] a part of language, a mode of language use ..[that] constitute forms of social interaction and practice. As such, they are not irrational, but they are subject to the pulls and pressures of the situations in which they are used as well as to the weights of their own tradition. (Godzich, 1986:xx)

First of all, for social constructivist and postcolonial conceptualisations of inter/subjectivity, social change, and/or world order etc, de Certeau's emphasis on grassroots political agency and its concomitant 'popular culture' privileges 'speaking up', as opposed to 'speaking down' (Harding 2001, Chen 1996). Methodologically speaking this means locating and studying agency, and those who exercise it, in 'operation' (Ahearne 1995: 15 passim) in both their immediate and broader political economic and historical contexts. The gender-power relations of 'strategic representations' and 'everyday tactical manoeuvres' crisscross these contexts. Such dynamics are not always clear or easily acknowledged by their respective practitioners (de Certeau 1980: 227, 362, note 28, Peterson & Runyan 1999:46). But sometimes they are, though, as Part Three will show. Even non-elite, disenfranchised or marginalised practitioners leave visible, audible and eloquent traces behind them of what they do, where, and how they deal with all manner of limitations on behaviour, personal expression and material circumstance.

From the point of view of researching the internet/www, it follows that what actually gets produced in online discussions, is integral to understanding the (cyber)spatial practices and infrastructures that these trace. As I shall argue in the next chapter when applying a critical feminist and ethnographic approach to collecting, collating, analysing and interpreting online discussions such as these, time needs to be taken to follow these movements and moments. This approach also insists that the researcher be aware of her/his own relatively privileged - and

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62 By now it should be clear that a social constructivist approach is not necessarily a 'relativist' one (Kolko et al 2000). It does not deny materiality and structural power in accounts of change, gender-power relations, communications or whatever (Hennessy 1993). Rather, it is to recognise and investigate the co-constructed nature of social, political economic and imaginary worlds (see Harding 1998b, Murphy & de Ferro 1995). I have opted to stay with the more familiar term - constructivist (constructionist can also be used though) - for the sake of argument.
powerful - position (Stacey 1997), whatever the degree of participation engaged upon. It also means spending time with practitioners, being confronted with the pitfalls of interacting as both participant and observer (Douglas 1998:67); learning to be self-reflexive in practice rather than in theory. This methodological approach responds to de Certeau's critique of elitist western knowledge production and culture industries and his call for due attention to be paid to non-elite everyday practices, political economic concerns, and cultural production. It also responds to his call that such detailed investigations, from the ground up, not be de-linked from broader gender-power relations.

A second thematic point is related to de Certeau's working through of "space as a practised place" (1980:227). This allows the above practicalities to be coupled with how non-western practitioners are using and appropriating the internet/www on their own terms. De Certeau's contribution to how spatiality and practice combine to make 'spatial practices' is his focus on "people's active occupation, their movements through and around [any space]" (Clifford 1997: 54). In internet/www textual scenarios, hyperlinked forms of reading and writing are key operations in these occupations. These occupations have to contend with, on the one hand, ICT's as 'technologies of domination' (Haraway 1990, Hamelink 1995). I shall return to this in Chapter Nine. On the other hand, these practitioners empower themselves through these counter-appropriations.

A third point relates to applications and appropriations of any given theoretical-methodological approach in new(er) areas such as the internet/www. The hermeneutic schema being put forward here also 'poaches' concepts from de Certeau as well as departs from the continental urban quartier which he observed. The 'content analysis' of online discussions that follows is illustrative rather than exhaustive, leans on interpretation rather than some sort of ultimate proof. In celebrating rather then denying inter/subjective contextuality, it incorporates feminist and ethnographic methods to focus on online textual production. A full ethnographic and sociological study of these online and diasporic communities would entail a research project of quite a different scale. The sort of internet-based interactions focused on here, are not directly comparable to those occurring in urban suburbs, or attributable to any single (national) culture, however defined. The online interactions of these South Pacific peoples have no trouble mimicking their societies' own well-established knowledge on how to navigate across vast distances. At the same time, their online conviviality and community building refers to various degrees of physical - and familial - proximity (for emailing and online chatting can be enjoyed by people sitting next to each other, or around one computer screen, or between family members).

Another distinction between the practices of everyday life of a French working class family, as carried out by Giard & Mayol (1980) and the Pacific Island diasporas is that the latter are living as a "minority of a minority" (Aiono 1999: interview) in the USA, Australia or New Zealand. Hence, issues of race/ethnicity predominate whilst the diverse 'cultural practices' (Ashcroft et al 1998:62) being discussed come from several directions, all at once (see Chapter Seven). The everyday life that de Certeau was talking about is deeply embedded in modern European culture and history. The spatial dimensions to his practice theory are steeped in the experience and architectures of physical proximity, of urban continental neighbourhoods from the (post)industrial heartland from which the colonialist enterprise was launched (Wallerstein 1974). Nonetheless, his reinsertion of the political to everyday practices coupled with an astute awareness of eurocentric self-centredness (Niemann & Davies 2000) lend themselves well to the ontological and epistemological challenges being wrought by postcolonial practices of everyday life online. The politically difficult part begins, however, when these involve not necessarily 'western' cultural contexts and references (Godzich 1986: xvii passim) given the distance taken by postcolonial critiques of eurocentric theoretical and research models, to which this one could be seen to belong. However, de Certeau's collection of essays in Heterologies (1986) can go far in correcting this potential objection for here he shows a clear sense of where colonialism and its academic progeny have had a role to play in suppression and disenfranchisement (1986f:232). This study is cognisant of the problematic and complex politics of indigenous sovereignty and independence movements in the South Pacific, as are the KB and KR.

63 This is something that Giard & Mayol make explicit as well (1980: 14) whilst Miller & Slater (2000) are at pains to confirm the completeness of their internet ethnography of Trinidadians online.
participants (see Chapter Six).

To sum up. The interplay between the everyday practices of postcolonial diasporas and new(er) ICTs requires the study of meaning-making practices from the bottom-up. Online discussions and conversations provide a means to do this. The thing to remember is that political economic and sociocultural spaces-institutions-systems are lived in, moved through and against and thereby impacted upon by (groups of) people in multifarious sorts of interactions, organisations, and struggles. Further to this, the aforementioned 'postcolonial turn' refers to both historical period, and a normative stand vis-à-vis the histories, knowledges, and world-views of the non-western, subaltern 'other' that is absented from mainstream/eurocentric accounts. The point is that these 'others' have always been 'there', in the centre of their own worlds, their own inter/subjectivities, political economic and sociocultural institutions, and struggles.64

The discussions reconstructed in Part Three show these different historical, sociocultural and inter/personal dynamics in operation. They underscore how these dynamics crosscut each other on and off the internet/www. In short, they (re)articulate the 'tricky' and 'messy' dialectics of the practice of everyday life and the 'machineries' of representation that delimit it. For postcolonial diasporas this dialectics has its own particular 'oppression of the present'. And the past for that matter.

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64 This is not to assume that these preclude oppressive political regimes, untroubled social relations, or (in)equitable gender-power relations.
The poster above advertises an attraction at Frankfurt Zoo in Germany in 1901. It appears that in an attempt to raise interest in the, then, new German colony, a group of 8 men, 17 women and 1 child 'toured' Germany. Billed as 'Warrior Mataafa and Malietoa's Samoan Village', they were on display in Frankfurt for 19 days. (Samoan Sensation, 1999)

This image was posted on the Samoa Sensation website (19/04/99). http://www.samoa.co.uk, with this caption, was posted on the KR as part of a search for more information. It harks back to the days when Samoa was a German colony. In the aftermath of World War One, the country was divided up between Great Britain (Western Samoa) and the USA (American Samoa). The former is now independent, the latter not. The former is in the UN list of Least Developed Countries and the latter not, by virtue of US aid. Great Britain (and New Zealand who later 'acquired' the territory) took advantage of the colonial administrative infrastructure put in place by the Germans. Historical studies have been wont to make comparisons between the relative 'benign-ness' of these colonial regimes and downplay some of the bloodier rebellions against colonial rule, and their repression, in the early 20th century. These events and their aftermath are not lost on KR / KB participants, and nor was the racist eroticism/exoticism of this image and the 'show' to which it belonged. As many Samoans have German names, these cultural and historical references are double-edged. For the record; the Samoa Sensation website (based in London) is one of the many spin-offs from the Kava Bowl idea. Using similar software and style of discussion forums, it provides general information on Western Samoa and various links to other sites. Its founders, Tim Sansom and Lucy Tuafaiava, are (have been) regulars on the KR and the KB. My thanks to Tim Sansom for providing me with this image.