The subversion of the gaze: Shérázade and other women in the work of Leïla Sebbar

Of mixed Franco-Algerian parentage, Leïla Sebbar spans a variety of genres in her writing, including short stories, journalism, essays, children's writing and contributions to collaborative works, including collections of visual material. She also has a number of major novels to her credit. In its thematic content, Sebbar's work straddles the Mediterranean, focusing attention on the dynamics between the generations. She is not engaged in any mission of nostalgia for lost youth, however. Her writing is resolutely orientated towards the youth of today. This focus is evident not only in her characters, but also in the young audience that she targets. Her recent work, such as *Soldats*, is marked by a preoccupation with war and the images used to represent conflicts, wherever they may be.¹ In her earlier work, she concentrated on the problems of second-generation immigrant families – uprooted to France, often through violent conflict – as they explored new strategies to enable them to come to terms with their situation.

At the same time, Sebbar's œuvre has also been preoccupied with the link with the past. In some respects, her role could be compared with the traditional role of Maghrebian women as custodians of memory through the oral storytelling tradition. Her efforts to transmit knowledge of the Algerian War to the younger generation, particularly regarding the October 1961 killings of Algerians in Paris in *La Seine était rouge*, could be seen in this light.² Sometimes her characters become active participants in retelling the past themselves. However, as for Sebbar herself, it is often through writing that the record is kept. This is not a static relationship with the past, where storytelling serves to preserve the identity of the group; rather her work tackles the dynamics of interaction with the other. In this project, the visual relation is of paramount importance, expressing as it does the

fundamental relation which has operated between coloniser and colonised other. Yet she injects fundamentally new meanings into this relation through the dynamics of subversive interaction with the powers which, whether in the colonial period or in the present day, define her characters as others.

The gaze, or *le regard*, is thus one of Sebbar's most important themes, but also one which is given a highly complex, multifaceted treatment. This chapter will concentrate on the gaze and its subversion, as it affects some of her female characters. These characters cannot be isolated in any particular text, for it is a feature of much of Sebbar's work that it constitutes an integrated fictional universe in which the texts are interrelated, with numerous cross-references to characters and events. In many cases, the women have no particular names of their own, but reappear from one text to another as almost archetypal figures – the Mother, the Daughter, the Old Woman. As this intertextuality also applies to the visual references which concern us, I shall refer to texts from the whole corpus.

My starting point is the role which the gaze has played in the theorisation of the other, for which much is owed to the analyses of Jean-Paul Sartre, who not only developed this notion generally in respect of relations between the self and the other, but also specifically with regard to the relationship between coloniser and colonised other. Sartre developed the Hegelian master-slave dialectic to include the colonial relation in which the colonised is determined by the colonising gaze and transformed by absolute negation into the object of that gaze. However, the relationship to the gazed-upon other always implies the possibility, indeed the necessity, of the object returning the gaze to look upon the subject in his turn. Just as the master cannot exist without the slave's acknowledgement of him as master, so this acknowledgement in itself not only transforms the master into an object in a reversal of the gaze, but also contains the implicit recognition of the slave as subject. The possibility of the colonised other becoming the subject of the gaze and overturning the relation is implicitly contained within it, as the seed of its own destruction, as Sartre eloquently describes in 'Orphée Noir' and Fanon will develop further.³

This theorisation of the gaze provides useful insights into the role which it plays in Sebbar's work. However, the problematical status of the relation to the other in the gaze is compounded by the complication that the other is not simply the absolute negation or enemy, but can be also, and often at the same time, the object of desire. Furthermore, there are problematics deriving from the Maghrebian cultural context, which also come into play. These relate to the gaze as it specifically affects women

and popular beliefs attached to the evil eye and measures to avert it, for instance, the use of Fatima's hand and other types of amulet.⁴ It also relates to the role of the visual in Islam. In Sebbar's short piece 'Père et fils, mère et fils', father and son are killed because the son is an artist who has depicted human figures.⁵ Sebbar's treatment of the gaze is thus rich and complex. It is addressed not only in a direct, unmediated form – with her characters engaged in the act of looking – but also in a variety of mediated forms, in which it is focused on an *image*. In the latter case, a number of visual media forms appear as a recurrent feature in the texts, including painting, cinema, *objets d'art*, artefacts, advertising and pornography. However, it is the photograph that has pride of place in her visual universe.

Sebbar often uses the unmediated gaze to convey something about a particular moment in a personal relationship. These relations may be those of friendship as well as, at least potentially, sexual, but very often concern problematical relationships between different generations of the same family. In relationships which involve sexual desire, it is the power of the gaze which is highlighted; indeed, 'seeing' women can sum up the whole relation.⁶ The eyes become the most important feature and are frequently the only physical characteristic noted to describe the beauty, and power, of the woman concerned.⁷ Eye colour is especially significant. Shérazade's green eyes signal her out and also provide the basis for identification with one of Delacroix's *Femmes d'Alger*. Roland thinks of ways to save Lise 'with the blue eyes' from prison, because of her 'regard' (*J. H. cherche*, pp. 202–3). Blue eyes are sometimes associated with the French and, as such, can portend ill, as when they are seen as the eyes of the devil, particularly by a mother who warns her son against marriage to a blue-eyed woman (*Parle mon fils*, p. 42). Yet they may also be the object of desire. Indeed, this mother will later try to interest her son in marrying his cousin with eyes which are coloured blue like the sea (*Parle mon fils*, p. 79).

Chance encounters usually start with the gaze, often with the object unaware that he or she is being looked at. Whether the relationship develops or remains at the voyeuristic stage depends on successfully negotiating the stage of reciprocal eye contact, as when Eve first sees the boy known as 'Le Chinois' peering into her bookshop window (*Le Chinois*, p. 205), or when Jaffar has the following encounter:

Il sent le regard de la femme sur lui, elle a tourné la tête en s'éloignant de la vitre . . . Il la regarde, elle non. Pourtant, il est sûr qu'elle sourit, elle lui

sourit sans chercher son regard, à qui elle sourirait, personne ne l'a remarquée au bout de la banquette, pressée contre la vitre. Elle ne sourit plus. Elle a posé sa main contre son front comme pour dormir en cachant son visage. Jaffar renverse la tête contre le dossier haut et ferme les yeux. (7. *H. cherche*, pp. 163–4)

(He felt the woman's gaze upon him, she turned her head as she moved away from the window . . . He looked at her, but she did not look at him. Yet he was sure that she was smiling, she was smiling at him without trying to catch his eye, who might she be smiling at, no one was paying any attention to her at the end of the bench, face pressed against the glass. She stopped smiling. She had covered her forehead with her hand as if she was hiding her face to sleep. Jaffar threw his head back against the high back of his seat and closed his eyes.)

In other relations, the gaze may express a move towards knowledge or understanding. Indeed, seeing things with one's own eyes is stressed as the only reliable source of knowledge, although in fact other channels, including the traditional transmission of knowledge through the generations, can also have their role (*Parle mon fils*, p. 47). The mother explicitly links her knowledge with her seeing:

Je sais tout, je ne ferme jamais les yeux . . . je ne sors pas beaucoup, mais je vois tout, j'écoute tout, je sais sur la vie peut-être plus que toi et ceux qui sont allés très loin pour voir les autres. (*Parle mon fils*, pp. 72–3)

(I know everything, I never close my eyes . . . I don't go out much, but I see everything, I listen to everything, it may be I know more about life than you do, as well as those people who have travelled a long way to look at others.)

A passage from *Le Chinois vert d'Afrique* reinforces this. Lounès says that he *saw* a neighbour rinse her mouth out with disinfectant after she was told that she had unwittingly eaten pork; his whole credibility rests on whether he was an eyewitness, whether he had actually seen the label on the bottle, with his own eyes (*Le Chinois*, pp. 23–4).

The gaze may also be a vehicle for an implicit judgement of its object. Where this is a positive judgement, it can lead to pride on the part of the object. However, another reaction is to avert the eyes. This refusal to reciprocate the gaze can be explained, in Sartrean terms, through the notion of shame at being the object of the other's defining, judgmental gaze. Gazing at oneself in a real or imaginary mirror can also lead to self-knowledge and self-assessment. This typically happens when prisoners visit the barber's

shop (J. H. *cherche*, pp. 157–9), where viewing themselves in the mirror leads to confession, shame, tears or pride in their newly smart appearance. In Sebbar's situations, this is no abstract philosophical notion. The interaction of the gaze and the aversion of the eyes often arise in a situation of tension between different values and lifestyles, resulting from cultural conflict between different generations of a migrant family. Thus, while theoretically possible that the character will accept this judgement and the ensuing shame, the typical response is a refusal, though rarely articulated as a direct challenge; indeed the object of the gaze attempts evasion by not returning the gaze.

This turning away represents an unwillingness to become drawn into complicity with the subject of the gaze. It is a refusal to accept the perceptions and values of the subject of the gaze through a gesture of abdication rather than through confrontation, which would involve the positive assertion of freedom on the part of the character concerned, as in the chance encounter between 'le Chinois' and his mother (*Le Chinois*, pp. 103–4). Turning away from the gaze can also be a means of maintaining a secret, private life – cutting off the possibility of knowledge, as in another visual duel, where the mother tries to force her son to look at her. He resists, eyes firmly fixed on the floor, for he knows that with one look his mother will know everything about him (*Parle mon fils*, pp. 9–10). Later, he eats, still not looking at his mother, although he feels her black, khôl-framed eyes keenly piercing him with their gaze (*Parle mon fils*, p. 14).

The knowledge acquired through the gaze does not just apply to personal relationships; it extends to the wider world. When no one bothers about the killings of Arabs in the suburbs, the mother accuses her son of closing his eyes and seeing nothing (*Parle mon fils*, p. 17). Opening one's eyes, looking at the world, is the first step to knowledge and opportunity (*Parle mon fils*, p. 20). She complains that no photographs of the Marche des beurs have appeared in the media; they are invisible (*Parle mon fils*, p. 26).

The refusal to reciprocate the gaze is often carried to the next stage where it involves removing one's entire physical presence. Thus the mother stops herself from looking at her son, as this would provoke him to leave (*Parle mon fils*, p. 57). This is what the teenage runaways, like Shérázade herself do, even though this can lead to a more extreme deprivation of their liberty, through confinement in prison, or as a hostage.

It is important to note that the reciprocal gaze, as the articulation of relations of friendship, love or family ties, is rarely encountered in Sebbar's

work. One notable example is, however, contained in the first sentence of the second volume of the Shérazade trilogy, *Les Carnets de Shérazade*: 'Il la regarda et la trouva belle, jeune, intrépide. Elle le regarda et le trouva jeune, pas vraiment, beau pas vraiment. . .'.⁸ The encounter between Shérazade and the lorry driver, Gilles, starts with his gaze and obvious attraction to her. This is quickly deflated, however, by the judgement of her gaze. In fact the mutual looking-over is the prelude to what will turn out to be a real friendship and companionship during the journey through France.

Of even greater significance to Sebbar's work is the multiplicity of examples of the gaze mediated through images. By its very nature, the mediated gaze implies a one-way, unreciprocated process. Although the *voyeur* can also operate directly in this way – by observing the object of the gaze without being seen and without the object's knowledge – this type of *voyeurism* is inscribed as a characteristic feature of the way the viewer relates to the mediated visual image. The fundamental inequality and lack of reciprocity in the relation of the viewer to the object viewed can, of course, lead to an exploitative use of such imagery, though this is only one possibility. What is most interesting is the process whereby this relation is subverted and transcended, leading to a reappropriation of the image within a new set of meanings.

Images constitute a rich thematic seam running through all of Sebbar's books, where they feature in different ways. They may be official markers, for identification purposes, as with the hostages in *Le Fou de Shérazade*.⁹ Shérazade, herself, is first presented to us as a missing person – *Shérazade, 17 ans, brune, frisée, les yeux verts* (*Shérazade, 17 years old, brunette, curly hair, green eyes*).¹⁰ This is her description for the police files, her identity photograph. Yet, as I shall show, photographs are used for more complex reasons than simply fixing an official identity. They may serve as visual aids to fix memory and preserve history and tradition, for instance with family photographs (*J. H. cherche*, pp. 19, 67), or, in the case of war photo-journalism – a recurrent theme in Sebbar's work – they may fulfil a number of ideological and propaganda functions (*Le Fou*, pp. 128–32). They also figure as a stimulus to sexual desire: ranging from images used as aids for matchmaking and pen-pal correspondence with prisoners, to the outright pornographic (*J. H. cherche*, pp. 17–18). In addition to contributing to the construction of an imaginary universe, photographs play an important role in reinforcing or challenging the relations of power.

Sebbar's visual universe is filled with family photographs, whether as wedding pictures, family groups, school photographs or simple snapshots capturing a moment of family life. Unlike the simple identity photograph used for official purposes, these images have a particular role to play as vehicles for the preservation of the family's memory. They function not so much as reminders of particular events in the family's past, but as safeguards of the family's continuity across the generations. This can be achieved through the visual representation of previous generations. Alternatively, when parents give pride of place to their children's pictures on the sideboard, it affirms their confidence in their children as investments in the family's future. When there is a rupture between the generations, however, the photograph of the delinquent child acquires a special significance. The photograph of a young person who has run away from home assumes a new function: it acts at some level as a substitute for the missing child. Thus when Shérázade's mother sees a blown-up portrait of her daughter on the filmset from which she has absented herself, she responds by equating the picture with Shérázade herself and wants a small copy to keep with her. As far as she is concerned, the photograph is not just an image; it is her missing daughter (*Le Fou*, p. 31).

This is in marked contrast to the fathers' typical response. In *Parle mon fils*, the father of another runaway puts a sticker over his daughter's image to signify the severing of all relations with the actual person (p. 30). The mother does not accept that the rupture is definitive and removes the photograph, so as not to allow the blanking out of the daughter's image to become the permanent repudiation of the daughter's existence in reality. Despite their differing reactions, it is clear that, for both parents, the daughter's image is more than a mere picture: it represents a real continuity both with them and with the rest of the family.

On a more general social level, images created and disseminated by media of various types are also highly significant in Sebbar's work. On the one hand, she brings out the all-pervasiveness of media imagery in determining the way in which the world is interpreted. The influence of the media, particularly the cinema, is ever present, acting as a grid for the interpretation of the viewer's own experience. Shérázade, like her friend Julien, is forever imagining herself as a film character (*Le Fou*, p. 73, pp. 87–8). On the other hand, it can take the form of a critique of the ways in which the media, and particularly journalism, manipulate images – deliberately or otherwise – in order to present particular versions of reality to the public. Essentially, this is the critique which the Lebanese militiamen make of

foreign journalists who come to spy on them and present an erroneous view of them to the outside world (*Le Fou*, p. 19). The critique concentrates on the photograph itself, which is far from being a representation of reality seized in a flash of truth. Not only does the transparency of the lens not guarantee objectivity of representation; interpretation and manipulation of meaning intervene as well at all stages of the process of taking and viewing the photographed image. Algerian War photographs, which frequently reappear in the Shérázade trilogy, and in other texts, are a particular case in point. Sebbar uses them to show how the same images can be the object of very different interpretations. The photograph of the funeral procession which plays such an important role in *Le Chinois vert d'Afrique*, for instance, appears fleetingly in *Le Fou de Shérázade* (p. 17), where it merely reminds Shérázade of her uncle's funeral in Mascara. 'Le Chinois', however, with the benefit of different narratives, invests the picture with a wholly different significance.

Sometimes photographs are intentionally used for the purposes of deception, as is clearly the case when Shérázade's captors plan to use her photograph to convince the press that she is still alive once they have killed her (*Le Fou*, p. 71). The motives of the photographers themselves can seem almost gratuitously manipulative. One such photographer, Michel, delights in pasting the walls of Beirut with pictures of Shérázade with the sole purpose of giving rise to speculation as to who she might be – a hostage, or a terrorist who has been using a photographer to engage in an elaborate deception (*Le Fou*, pp. 158–9). When Julien sees the pictures, he can think of nothing better to do than to photograph the photographs (*Le Fou*, p. 142).

The imaging of Shérázade by others is a crucial element in the novels and it is here that Sebbar really comes into her own by isolating the particular images of the other with which her various characters are confronted and by exploring the way they deal with their own self-image in consequence. Shérázade is constantly coming up against image-makers who want to reproduce her image as the stereotypical other, the archetypal exotic woman. There are instances where photographers attempt to capture her as a Moorish dancer (*Shérázade*, p. 124), or where she is hired along with friends to be portrayed as jungle guerrillas in a pornographic film (pp. 152–6). In both cases, she counters by refusing the imaging process and the photographer's gaze. In the first instance, she simply breaks the photographer's camera, putting an end to his activity in the same way as she tears up the pictures which Julien had taken of her (pp. 158–9).

In the second encounter, her friends take control of the script, refusing to perform as directed and leaving with the fee, but no images for the pornographer. Later, she agrees to be filmed by Julien's friend, but runs away again, when she finds she cannot relate to the screen image he is creating of her (p. 219).

There is one further important category of the gaze to consider – that of the forbidden gaze. The notion of the forbidden is crucial to Sebbar's treatment of some of the war photographs mentioned earlier. The photograph of the Algerian funeral procession, for instance, is considered by 'le Chinois' to be off-limits to French eyes (*Le Chinois*, pp. 207–10). The forbidden nature of photography is especially applicable to photographs of women taken against their will or in voyeuristic situations.¹¹ Perhaps the most striking example of this is seen in the case of the women who were photographed for identity purposes by the French army photographer Marc Garanger during the Algerian War. Sebbar uses these pictures in her story 'La Photographie' as well as elsewhere.¹² The story concentrates on one of the women photographed unveiled against her will in a context in which the taking of such photographs was expressly forbidden. In some ways there are parallels here with Delacroix's painting, *Femmes d'Alger*. The painter was allowed to enter the forbidden space of the harem in the recently conquered Algiers of 1832, whereas the photographer in Sebbar's text is backed up by the full weight of the French army. In both instances, 'un regard interdit' (a forbidden gaze) results from the visit.¹³

The recurrent notion of the forbidden image or gaze in Sebbar's work is often linked with violence or war. For instance, when Shérázade is forced to burn her books, the ritualistic act is described as an execution which may be witnessed only by those who are authorised to watch – all other eyes being banished (*Le Fou*, p. 34). In 'La Photographie', the forcible unveiling of the women is treated as an act of violence perpetrated by the colonising power against the colonised. The transgression of a religious taboo is not at issue. Elsewhere, however, Sebbar has written critically of religious attitudes to the veiling of the female body: for instance, in her open letter to Taslima Nasreen she talks of the perceived need by clerics to control the 'scandal' of the female body by veiling what might offend the 'pure gaze guided by faith'.¹⁴ Here, the prohibition against photography relates to the political context of the Algerian War, rather than to a religious ban on the representation of the human figure; it is social and political in its significance. The family concerned has had family portraits taken before ('La

Photographie', p. 110), but these were for the family's eyes only. What is problematic is the intrusion of the gaze of the French male outsider and the threat of violence it carries. As such, this incident is paralleled by the efforts of Maghrebien women in the Paris suburbs to prevent the police from entering their homes when they are alone (*Le Chinois*, p. 138).

Refusing, or blocking the gaze is but a first step in the process of regaining control over one's self-image and setting the parameters of one's own conditions of existence. We have seen Shérázade deny the photographer his picture, by one means or another. The Algerian women of the identity photographs are powerless to refuse the picture-taking, but none the less manage to stare their defiance into the camera, thus reversing the gaze and thereby asserting that they are subjects in their own right. One of the women's daughters transforms the photograph into a commemorative icon and invests it with political meanings which allow her to come to terms with the incident. The woman's granddaughter, however, marks a further stage in self-determination: she tears the picture to pieces as a way of asserting that she will not be defined by this image in the future.

Shérázade develops further strategies for dealing with the gaze. She discovers that there is more to her identity than the images with which she has hitherto been presented, as she becomes entranced with the images of women in Orientalist paintings and tries to identify with their innermost thoughts (*Le Fou*, p. 27). Although, on the one hand, these paintings reflect a stereotypical image of the Oriental woman – object of the gaze and desires of the European man – Shérázade is able to go beyond the gaze of the painter, to reach the women themselves, and in so doing to restore their subjectivity to them. As Winifred Woodhull has pointed out, what is at stake is her control over the image-making process itself.¹⁵ In the end, Shérázade does achieve a measure of success. The film director is forced to concede that she is not merely a stereotypical figure: no replacement can be found for her when she goes missing – only she will do (*Le Fou*, p. 30). Her young neighbours from the housing estate share in this subversive process, transforming her portrait into a fully-fledged icon over which they mount guard, while the other pictures of naked odalisques are attacked (*Le Fou*, pp. 47–51). It is now the filmmaker's turn to see this as sacrilegious by claiming that the transformation of Shérázade into what amounts to a replica of the Virgin Mary is forbidden (*Le Fou*, pp. 51–2). For the women of the estate, however, it is the images of the naked women themselves which are forbidden. Their response is to bring out their veils (unused except in Algeria) to cover them up. To the film crew, who do not compre-

hend the way that the women are taking control over the images, the veils appear as shrouds (*Le Fou*, p. 52).

I have shown that Shérázade cannot identify with her own screen image, yet she has no such difficulty in identifying with Algerian women depicted in a book of photographs she comes across. The pictures move her to tears because she knows that these were women who all spoke the same language – the language of her mother (*Shérázade*, p. 220). Thus it is that photographs of the forbidden acquire a quite different significance for Shérázade. They provide the key to a new form of solidarity with other women and, in particular, open onto the eventual possibility of looking into the eyes of her own mother. Shérázade has been engaged in a quest to come to terms with the conflicts both within herself and in her relations with others. This does not mean a simple return to the past; it has involved a whole process of reappropriation of the imagery through which she and others like her have been defined as others. It has also involved the use of other strategies, which have helped her clear the ground for a new self-definition, in a personalised symbolic universe to which she can relate.

In addition to appropriating the gaze, Shérázade also has recourse to writing. Throughout her wanderings, she has filled countless notebooks with her jottings. The strategy of writing is one which Sebbar attributes to many other characters who are grappling with similar problems. In her narratives, she is not the only writer. The written word is a powerful means for her characters to challenge the interpretations and definitions of others, as well as a way to create their own imaginary selves, whether this be through telling stories, retelling history, or writing letters and poems. The subversion of the gaze is just one stage in the process of self-determination, but none the less a crucial part of Sebbar's complicated textual universe.

Notes

- 1 Leïla Sebbar, *Soldats* (Paris: Seuil, 1999).
- 2 Leïla Sebbar, *La Seine était rouge* (Paris: Thierry Magnier, 1999).
- 3 Jean-Paul Sartre, 'Orphée noir', preface to Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache* (Paris: PUF, 1948).
- 4 Leïla Sebbar, *Le Chinois vert d'Afrique* (Paris: Stock, 1984), pp. 38–45, 148–50, 160, 175.
- 5 Leïla Sebbar, 'Père et fils, mère et fils', in *2000 ans d'Algérie* (Paris: Séguier, 1998), pp. 159–62.
- 6 Leïla Sebbar, *Parle mon fils, parle à ta mère* (Paris: Stock, 1984), p. 72.
- 7 Leïla Sebbar, *J. H. cherche âme sœur* (Paris: Stock, 1987), pp. 34, 63.

- 8 Leïla Sebbar, *Les Carnets de Shérazade* (Paris: Stock, 1985), p. 7.
- 9 Leïla Sebbar, *Le Fou de Shérazade* (Paris: Stock, 1991), p. 71.
- 10 Leïla Sebbar, *Shérazade, 17 ans, brune, frisée, les yeux verts* (Paris: Stock, 1982).
- 11 Regrettably, space does not permit a discussion here of the particular significance of photographs taken of children.
- 12 Leïla Sebbar, 'La Photographie', in Daniel Zimmermann (ed.), *Trente ans après, nouvelles de la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Le Monde Editions/Nouvelles Nouvelles, 1992); the photographs were published with text by Leïla Sebbar, in Marc Garanger and Leïla Sebbar, *Femmes des Haut-Plateaux, Algérie 1960* (Paris: La Boîte à Documents, 1990). The story is discussed in Margaret A. Majumdar, 'A travers le miroir: le regard de l'Autre sur l'Autre', *Bulletin of Francophone Africa*, 3(5) (spring 1994), 12–27.
- 13 On the Delacroix painting, see Assia Djebar, 'Regard interdit, son coupé', in *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (Paris: Des Femmes, 1980), pp. 167–93.
- 14 Leïla Sebbar, *Chère Taslima Nasreen* (Paris: Stock, 'Reporters sans Frontières', 1994), pp. 46–7.
- 15 See Winifred Woodhull, 'Exile', in Françoise Lionnet and Ronnie Scharfman (eds) 'Post/colonial conditions: exiles, migrations and nomadisms', *Yale French Studies*, 82 (1993), 7–24 (20).