From Terrorists to Outlaws: Transnational and Peripheral Articulations in the Making of Nation and Empire

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ABSTRACT

This paper traces some of the peripheral and transnational articulations that form an essential part of our exile journey from the South. In our approach we emphasize the connections that link the North to the South and the complicity of the North in the construction of peripheral/marginal bodies.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article retrace les articulations périphériques et transnationales qui forment une partie essentielle de notre exil du Sud. Dans notre approche nous mettons l'accent sur les liens qui relient le Nord, au Sud et la complicité du Nord dans les constructions d'organismes périphériques et marginaux.

INTRODUCTION

We are two of the many Chileans who along with their families were forced into exile by a military regime that did not want us to form part of the Chilean nation. As political exiles who have had to struggle to claim space for ourselves within the Canadian nation and academy, we have become fascinated by what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1992) has called the "toxic effect" of imperialism and its "benevolent self-representation" as saviour of refugees. From the moment we set foot in this country, our entrance and our lives here have been represented as a process of rescue, as a process of saving. That is, our admittance into "safe" Northern spaces like Canada is constructed as a demonstration of goodwill and benevolence that underscores the moral and material superiority of the North. As political refugees and later as Third World immigrants, we become the "victims" on which Northern generosity gets played out.

The categorization, the naming and branding of our persons, of our Third World bodies, as "victims" is the result of imperial practices which produce peripheral bodies as expendable. Refugees and Third World exiles become the dispensable bodies of empire. At the same time, peripheral bodies are utilized, in the North and in the South, to uphold hegemonic and exclusionary nation-making discourses. As Third World bodies in need of saving or as refugee and/or immigrant bodies that have been rescued, we remain permanent outsiders within the Canadian nation even when we attain the legal right of citizenship. Exclusion from the national narrative in the North represents a continuation with Southern practices that also exclude us from the nation. In our case, the Chilean military regime constructed us as "terrorists" in order to place us outside of the authoritarian discourse of nation and to justify our forced expulsion from the country. In a similar fashion, Canada places us outside the national narrative by positioning us as "victims" in need of saving. Although the use of metaphoric images changes from one in which we are seen as terrorists to another in which we are constituted as victims, the end result continues to be one in which we are excluded from full and equal membership in the nation.

In this paper we map part of the journey that brought us from Chile to Canada and to the Canadian academy to trace some of the hidden relations which link the North to the South and vice

versa. This journey is not only a personal journey but, significantly, it is part of a larger flow of bodies that add up to flows of capital, ideologies and knowledge (Grewal and Kaplan 1994) and that contributes to the formation of nationalist narratives in the South and to the reproduction of imperialist nationalist narratives in the North. Our analysis is centered on how "the movement of bodies links spaces" (Razack, forthcoming), and on how this flow of bodies contributes to discourses of nation-building through exclusionary narratives of citizenship both in the periphery of the South and at the imperial centre in the North. Our focus on peripheral bodies as terrains on which hegemonic relations get played out also allows us to examine the complicity that Canada shares with other Northern countries in the production of the material and political conditions that lead to our exile which, in turn, enables the North to construct itself as superior and benevolent.

Imperial and nationalist exclusionary processes are found also within privileged Northern sites like the academy where peripheral/marginal bodies are included in a contained and highly regulated manner. As Third World scholars, we are encouraged to subsume our identities into native informant practices that continue to enable "white saviour" practices. However, as individuals with our own histories and our own agency we resist homogenizing and reifying practices that continue our exclusion. Our peripheral/marginal position and our resistance to exclusionary inclusions in both the nation and the academy result in our location as outlaw bodies in the sense that we challenge the normative rules that obtain within both these hegemonic spaces to reclaim an active agency that refutes containment and exclusion.

BECOMING TERRORISTS

We will argue that by falling outside of the category of what constitutes "the" citizen as it obtained during the authoritarian-totalitarian regime in Chile (1973-1989), we became constructed as terrorists. We use the word terrorist here as a metaphor which seeks to explicate how our particular locations within the military

nation-building process were used to label us as dangerous and unwanted. To situate this process within the larger context of which it is a part, we begin by mapping out the historical processes against which the authoritarian-totalitarian discourse developed its conceptions of modernity, nation-building and citizenship as well as its exclusionary practices.

The notion of modernity in Latin America, as it is understood in the North through an Anglo-European genealogy, has been problematized by Latin American scholars. Nestor Garcia Canclini, for example, points out that the continent's economic dependence and its resistance to being completely assimilated by European cultural norms make it not quite modern or, as he says, "incompletely modern" (Schutte 1998, 3). In addition, Jose Joaquin Brunner warns us that modernity is not to be confused with some of its expressions; he contends that in the case of Latin America modernizing movements have existed but these do not in themselves mean that a fully formed modernity has been achieved in the region (1994, 65). According to Brunner, these modernizing movements represent an eruption of new elements that can be considered modern, but they occur within societies that also maintain expressions of traditional culture derived from the Latin American continent's own specific colonial history (61). Thus, the dominance of a European master narrative like modernity, derived from specific historical events like the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment, has not achieved absolute hegemony over the whole continent (Schutte 1998, 53). In Latin America, therefore, it is more useful to speak not of modernity but of the project of modernity or, as Patricio Navia puts it, "the attempt to become incorporated into modernity" (1998, 116).

In Chile, the attempt to enter modernity has been characterized, at least since the 1930s, by the existence of a political discourse that sought to incorporate liberal ideological values like individualism, constitutionalism, democracy, the patriarchal family and a competitive market economy (Held 1992, 89) within the context of neocolonial capitalist economic relations. Thus, this notion of modernity has maintained the somewhat

paradoxical relationship that Kumari Jayawardena (1986) describes between a project of modernity based on individualism, nationalism, and independence and a historical, economic, and political dependence of the South on Northern powers. From the 1930s until 1970, this particular configuration served to entrench the power of the oligarchy and the bourgeoisie as the dominant classes in Chile (Zeitlin and Ratcliff 1988, 207) as well as to establish a tradition of constitutional and representative democracy in the transfer of political power (Debray 1971, 35). This essentially elitist discourse relied on the political accommodation between elites (Navia 1998, 121) and the limited incorporation of the popular sectors as political actors. The presence of a stable system of political parties, the orderly succession of power and a certain capacity for negotiation between elites and the popular sectors did not eliminate conflict nor, sometimes, violent confrontation between the state and civil society (Moulian 1997, 156). Aboriginal populations, the working class, especially working-class women, continued to be generally excluded from this project of modernity. For instance, in the years prior to 1970, Chilean society witnessed an increase in labour conflicts and a housing shortage that resulted in massive popular movements of protest and land takeovers which were quicky and violently crushed by the elitist governments of the time (Constable and Valenzuela 1991; historia 1990). The use of state violence, although allegedly contradictory to the project of the modern nation, was nonetheless accepted by the elites and the hegemonic liberal ideologies of the time to sustain power.

It was the political and economic regime which relied on modern discourses of citizenship, nation and democracy to continue the exclusion of marginalized subjects from the structures of power that came under attack in 1970 with the election of the *Unidad Popular* government. With this openly Marxist government in power, the fragile and pro-elite compromise achieved in previous decades between the state and civil society was ruptured. The nature of Chilean nationalism during the socialist government revolved around two major axes: the new citizenship discourse which sought to fully

include the popular sectors as legitimate political and economic actors (historia 1990); and the discourse of national sovereignty which emphasized the importance of reducing the influence of foreign interests, mostly US interests, in Chile's key economic sectors (Constable and Valenzuela 1991; Silva 1991). In the new Chile, nation-building was to be accomplished not through narrow definitions of popular participation which equated citizenship and democracy to participation in electoral contests but would be achieved instead with a definition of citizenship that included civil, social, political and economic rights as constitutive elements of nation-making. By broadening the notion of citizenship to include issues of equality, the government of Salvador Allende sought to include previously marginalized groups like women, workers, peasants, agricultural workers and aboriginal populations as equal participants in the making of nation. The images, therefore, of who were seen as the legitimate holders of power changed from an exclusionary notion of the upper class as legitimate holders of power to a more popular notion of power in the hands of the people (historia 1990). Despite its inclusionary aims, the *Unidad Popular*'s Marxist organizing discourse privileged the emergence of a social movement characterized by struggles oriented principally towards anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and nationalist aims (Garreton 1996, 5). Consequently, the *Unidad Popular* was seen as a "workers' front...but with a backbone, in which the working class is indisputably the driving force..." (Debray 1971, 123). In this manner, the citizen/subject became essentialized in the imagined figure of the proletariat and all other marginalized peoples became subsumed under this unifying discourse (Schutte 1998, 50).

Although the *Unidad Popular* government did represent a significant break from the past, most notably in the new working-class orientation of the regime, some modernist continuities remained unchallenged. By limiting the national imagery to the figure of the proletariat, the *Unidad Popular* failed to challenge the patriarchal nature of the state (Bunster 1991; Lehmann 1991, 115; Randall 1992) as well as the historical racialization of poor and

aboriginal peoples (Montecinos 1997, 157). Women and aboriginal populations were to serve as loyal appendages to a project that continued to tacitly sanction the subordination of those marked by gender and racial difference through a failure to overtly question the unequal access to power available to these sectors of Chilean society (Grebe 1997, 9; McClintock 1995, 353). This is one of the most important contradictions of the liberatory project of Chilean socialism. As well, the *Unidad Popular* could not free itself entirely from the historical, political and economic influence of the North and its definition of progress (Constable and Valenzuela 1991; Valenzuela 1978). The *Unidad Popular*, therefore, continued some of the normative aspects of the project of modernity, with its paradoxical relationship to society and to the North, although within the context of a revolutionary discourse.

The emerging nation-building discourse in Allende's Chile, with its privileging of the proletarian citizen/subject and with its anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist narrative themes, was taken up by the Chilean upper classes as a complete betrayal of the country's democratic tradition. The 1973 military coup, then, became the means whereby a "natural" and civilized order was to be reestablished in the country. As Nelly Richard suggests via Jose Joaquin Brunner, "The military coup presented itself as a great ordering act, fraudulently associating itself with basic individual rights and the military's conceptions of purity and pollution ..." (Richard 1994, 56). The military's authoritarian-totalitarian discourse became the means through which all other discourses and identities were classified. The military state became the fanatic guardian of a fixed repertoire of static values which had to be defended against threats of disorder and chaos through decontaminating and purifying rites that expelled or contained the actions of the Other (57). This authoritarian-totalitarian conception of the nation ruled by Order and Purity could not accept in its midst the existence of those it designated disorderly and uncivilized citizens/subjects.

Through this process of seeking to rescue the project of modernity which it perceived to be

under threat, the military regime constructed a highly totalitarian notion of citizenship. Only those citizens who could not be charged with destroying order and civility, that is, the upper classes and members of the armed forces, were deemed capable of taking part in the (re)building of the nation. The homogenizing character of the military discourse (Richard 1994, 57) allowed the regime to aim the full force of its ideological and military apparatus against suspect members of civil society. The great purifying mission began by violently removing those who had been contaminated with the "communist cancer" and continued by containing the growth of the latter through the strict policing of bodies, particularly of traditionally marginalized bodies. Those who did not fall within the newly established category of citizen/subject became terrorists which had to be exterminated, contained or expelled.

In the months and years that followed the military coup, the state became increasingly more sophisticated in its methods of social control. Imprisonment, forced labour, exile, torture, control of the media and information, as well as infiltration in all aspects of social life became some of the methods used by the totalitarian regime to control and eliminate the "Soviet" threat while reinstating elitist and authoritarian notions of citizenship and nation. These notions were sustained through discourses that systematically categorized the proletariat, the poor, aboriginal populations and women as potential threats to the nation. Narratives of motherhood and whoredom were deployed in opposition to each other to justify the imprisonment, physical, emotional and sexual torture, and murder of working class politically active women. These women were narrated as selling their bodies to the terrorist cause while the real mothers of the nation defended it by allying themselves with the military regime (Bunster 1991; Montecinos 1997, 82). Similar narratives were used to control and oppress a racialized working class. Images of the noble savage embodied in historical narratives of heroic aboriginal figures such as Caupolicán - an aboriginal warrior that fought against the Spaniards - were used to call attention to a glorious past incarnated by the military regime while simultaneously defining dissidents and marginalized populations as ignorant

savages allied with a Marxist international threat (Constable and Valenzuela 1991).

In the 16 years of military dictatorship, Chilean society witnessed one of the most violent periods in its history. Tens of thousands were disappeared and killed by the fascist regime. More suffered imprisonment and torture (Bunster 1991; Constable and Valenzuela 1991), and an as of yet undetermined number of people were forced into exile. Exile was a less deadly but nonetheless violent way of eliminating the terrorist threat. At one point the military justified the expulsion of dissidents in humanitarian terms as a way to "peacefully" and "benevolently" deal with the terrorists (Constable and Valenzuela 1991; Valenzuela 1978; Wright and Onate 1998).

In spite of the regime's narrativization of exile as benevolent treatment, those driven into exile experienced a series of violences: separation from loved ones when members of their family were forced to stay behind; post-traumatic stress syndrome when attempting to integrate into foreign systems while still suffering from the trauma of repression and exile; and, isolation due to their displacement from their known and familiar environments (Constable and Valenzuela 1991; Wright and Onate 1998). As well, Chilean exiles became an addition to an increasing number of immigrants that constituted a pool of low-paid, marginalized, disenfranchised and racialized labour in the North.

The deployment of nationalist narratives of citizenship based on authoritarian and militarist values required the bodies of those who could be categorized as terrorist for the process of re-constructing the nation. This reconstruction, performed as an act of purification, justified the expulsion and castigation of terrorist bodies as a cleansing action. In this manner our bodies became the terrain on which notions of purity and impurity were fought. In spite of our differing locations and experiences in Chile, the one thing that we shared in common was that neither one of us was any longer allowed the right to form part of the Chilean nation. As the daughter of leftists in one case, and as a young political activist in the other, we came to represent the sinful and diseased body of the terrorist

which had to be removed if a modern and civilized Chilean nation was to exist.

Now, one could assume that all Chileans experienced exile in the same manner. In fact, since the deployment of discourses that justified the repression of large sectors of the Chilean population was based on a general notion of danger and threat not of social location but of political affiliation, the repression of undesirable bodies could be homogenized into one experience. However, not all experiences of exile can be analyzed as equal. Intersections of class, gender and race acted in conjunction with discourses of modernity to locate individuals differently within the anti-terrorist narrative. The mere capacity of certain individuals to access exit routes that brought them into exile was highly dependent on issues of class, gender and race. Pamela Constable (1991), for example, argues that at the beginning of the military regime the capacity of certain Chilean dissidents to leave the country was determined by their access to information and resources (both material and non-material) that would facilitate their escape. Further, the fact that the military regime expelled some people from the country was highly determined by issues concerning the political and economic power of those being expelled and by their political prominence (Constable and Valenzuela 1991; Wright and Onate 1998). Adult men in the family, as in both our cases, had an easier time leaving Chile and being admitted to a country of refuge like Canada while their partners and children had to wait in Chile for their immigration to be sponsored. Consequently, it would be erroneous to assume that there is such as thing as a homogeneous, unitary experience of exile. Explications of forced displacement, including exile and disappearance, need, therefore, to be carefully analyzed with respect to differentiated subjectivities that take into consideration articulations of race, gender and class.

TRANSNATIONAL AND PERIPHERAL ARTICULATIONS

The process through which we became terrorists in our home/land was therefore constituted in and through nation-building practices in the

South. But how do these peripheral nation-building practices intersect with transnational processes that serve to simultaneously maintain empire and to reinforce nation-building processes in the North?

One of the ways in which Northern imperial practices manifest themselves in peripheral areas is through the establishment of neocolonial relations. Two of the main mechanisms through which neocolonial relations have been established historically in Latin America are the development of unequal trade relations and foreign ownership of the domestic productive apparatus (Evans 1979, 26). Dependent capitalism, as this type of accumulation regime is called, is not, however, something that is conditioned totally from the outside. As both Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto have pointed out, the nature of the dependent capitalism established in a peripheral country depends also on internal factors such as the coincidence of interests between local and transnational elites, the amount of power exercized domestically by the upper classes, as well as the amount of power which national groups opposing this type of developmental project have mustered within each political configuration (Cardoso and Faletto 1979, 172-76). The disruption of the elite-sanctioned dependent capitalism developmental model by the *Unidad Popular* in Chile brought about an alliance between domestic and external capitalists which successfully overthrew the government of Salvador Allende (Chavkin 1982, 45).

The creation of dependent capitalism in peripheral Southern countries, moreover, requires the imposition of an economic and political discourse that facilitates the imposition of hegemonic relations which favour both national and transnational ruling elites at the expense of the popular sectors of society (Zeitlin and Ratcliff 1988, 226). In Latin America, it has been the ubiquitous dominance of the US in the region which has favoured the presence of US-based transnational corporations as the main agents of foreign domination of key industries in the local economies. This was particularly the case during the Cold War period when the US was able to utilize its paranoid anti-communist discourse to defend the economic interests of its transnational corporations - some of

which were threatened by local calls to nationalization - by linking up its aggressive intervention in the domestic affairs of Latin American nations with the discourse of defending democracy (Chavkin 1982; Constable and Valenzuela 1991). The history of twentieth century Latin America is replete with examples of both overt and covert US intervention in the region to defend the interests of US-based transnational corporations (for example, the CIA-sponsored coup in Guatemala against Jacobo Arbenz in 1954, the failed US-engineered Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, and the CIA-backed military coup in Chile in 1973).

It is against this backdrop of US hegemony in the region that Canada has been able to forge for itself an image which serves to highlight the more favourable aspects of its presence in Latin America as, for example, aiding the democratic process in Latin America through its involvement in Central America's Contadora group in the 1980s (North 1990, 47), enabling the development projects funded by the Canadian International Development Assistance (CIDA) program (DEC/LAWG 1977, 58), and encouraging the widespread presence of Canadian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the region (North 1990, 116). Moreover, Canada has been also able to use its position as middle power (Eayrs 1992; Holmes 1992) to equate its limited access to coercive military power with a supposed non-imperial presence in Latin America.

But is this really the case? Historical evidence shows that Canada has engaged in imperial relations with Latin American nations at least since the late nineteenth century. The main agents of Canadian imperial penetration in the region have been financial institutions and transnational corporations. In addition, the Canadian state through institutions like the Department of Trade and Commerce and CIDA has played a large role in fostering imperial relations in the region (DEC/LAWG 1977, 48-70). However, because Canada is not a superpower like the US, it cannot enforce its foreign policy through unilateral military coercive means. So how does it act to defend its economic interests when it perceives these to be threatened? It utilizes a combination of state and corporate foreign policy mechanisms that withdraw

financial support from perceived non-friendly regimes. In Chile, for example, during the *Unidad Popular* government, Canada like the US was not very supportive of the Chilean's state decision to nationalize foreign-owned industries, including Canadian ones. It therefore acted in defence of its economic interests by reducing the amount of capital flows and bilateral aid to Chile during the Salvador Allende regime and by increasing these during the "friendly" military regime of Augusto Pinochet (Mace 1987, 36-48).

This brief examination of Canadian foreign policy in Latin America, and specifically in Chile, illustrates the point that in spite of its international stance as defender of human rights and peacekeeper Canada is not beyond utilizing coercive measures to secure its imperial relations. Because of its own dependent relationship with the US, Canada is not able to wholly determine the nature of its predatory actions in Latin America; however, it does engage in a type of scavenger imperialism where Canada is left to manouevre in spaces where the US has no interest or where Canada's presence serves to further US interests. In Latin America, Canadian transnationals have played a key role in building the infrastructure needed for the efficient penetration of US transnational in the region (DEC/LAWG 1977, 51). In the 1990s, Canada's official entry into the Organization of American States (OAS) has had little effect in changing the prevailing dynamic in which Canada continues to benefit from following US policy in the region. As a consequence, Canada backs neo-liberal international economic policies that emphasize privatization of state companies, international economic integration, free trade and open investment in Latin America in order to continue securing profits in a manner which prevents potential conflict with the US (Sheinin 1994).

Transnational relations of imperialism function in tandem with the modernizing project of Southern and Northern elites to maintain neocolonial configurations of power in place. Canadian scavenger imperialism helps generate the economic and political conditions for elite hegemony in the periphery and in the centre. As a result, hegemonic nationalist discourses which rely on the exclusion of popular sectors from the "civilizing" project of

modernity are reinforced. In the case of Chile, Canadian scavenger imperialism played an important role in helping sustain a totalitarian regime that produced expendable bodies. Canadian scavenger imperialism, therefore, is complicit in the production of terrorist dispensable bodies in the South that can turn into salvageable victim bodies in the North.

EXILE JOURNEYS, VICTIM BODIES AND OUTLAWS

Our exile journey from Chile to Canada represents a physical journey across geographical space and through a carefully guarded border. We are allowed entrance, we are "rescued" because our rescuing enables the deployment of humanitarian discourses that authorize the constitution of a benign and superior Northern citizen/subject (Razack 1995; Spivak 1996; Trinh 1989). But in order for this script to create the desired outcome, that is, to enable countries like Canada to play white saviour to the "backward" peoples of the "savage" South, it is necessary that our bodies become constituted as entities worth saving. We become bodies worth saving when we turn into faithful reflections of Western representations of Third World bodies that conform to images found in Unicef posters. That is, we are worthy of rescuing when we become victim bodies.

The constitution of the Northern white Anglo-Saxon middle-class citizen as generous benefactor to the "less civilized" requires that immigrants and refugees be contained in permanent spaces of victim-hood (Razack, forthcoming; Said 1993; Spivak 1996). Such location requires that our differentiated experiences be ignored as our various race, gender and class locations get obscured in order to maintain our authenticity. This is the only way in which we can be used as "stand-ins for the South" in the process of constituting the civilized Northern citizen as benevolent rescuer of those victimized in the "savage" parts of the world (Razack, forthcoming; Spivak 1996). Our testimonies of torture, imprisonment, expulsion and displacement - as long as they do not name the role of the North in the production of expendable and

unwanted peripheral "terrorist" bodies - are necessary to reproduce the Northern humanitarian citizen/subject. Chilean refugees have historically provided a face to that victim in need of saving by offering up our stories of pain for consumption in/by the North. Detailed accounts by Chilean refugee women and men of their pain and suffering constitute some of the testimonial voices that support the humanitarian intervention of the North in our saving (Partnoy 1988; Wright and Onate 1998). In addition, our stories of pain can be used by Northern scholars to advance professionally in their careers through the use of our anthropologized testimonies (Grewal and Kaplan 1994; Grewal 1996).

For Third World bodies, the requirement to reside in victim-hood leads to material and social marginalization and exclusion. As Roxana Ng (1990a; 1990b) has argued, the existence of immigrant women in Canada allows for the re-colonization of immigrant bodies so as to sustain unequal relations. The constitution of the immigrant woman as a labour market category, for instance, determines the kinds of jobs that immigrant and refugee women are supposed to occupy - usually badly paid and insecure - and the chances for improvement and social mobility that we are allowed. As re-colonized bodies, Third World refugees and immigrants are positioned in relations of inferiority where we are generally excluded from sites of economic, political and cultural power. The construction of our persons as victims worthy of saving, therefore, requires that we be consistently made into inferior subjects. This condition of direct exploitation is lived through marginalization, poverty, unemployment/underemployment and disenfranchisement that locate us outside of the terrain of the nation.

Processes of exclusion are reproduced throughout the different levels of Canadian society, including privileged sites where the presence of peripheral/marginal bodies is not customary. In these sites our bodies are again placed at the periphery where victim performances are encouraged. Part of our experience in the Canadian academy, for example, has been one in which as Third World women we are urged to speak in a testimonial/anthropologized voice to produce narratives of pain and exotica. To take on the role of the native informant means that we have to continually perform ourselves as the authentic Other. However, this performance entails the offering up of our experiences in a manner that overlooks the complicity of the North in the construction of our peripheral/marginal bodies. As Third World scholars in the North, our inclusion in the academy becomes dependent upon our ability to sell our wares in the market of ideas which in turn, is dependent upon our ability to perform ourselves as worthy victims. And, as Sherene Razack points out, "... our role is frequently to help the First World in a politics of saving the women of the Third World and we decline at our peril." (1998, 6). In the academy, just like in the nation, our "victim" performance is encouraged because it reinforces a negative difference that authorizes the construction of our bodies as marginal while, at the same time, entitling the construction of the white, Northern citizen/subject as superior and benevolent.

How each one of us negotiates the demand to reside in victim-hood becomes of utmost importance for the kind of inclusion we are to experience. If we play the game according to the prescribed rules we can expect some form of reward whether it be contained citizenship or a carefully policed inclusion in the academy. If we choose to subvert our imposed condition, if we choose to renounce our victim-hood by exercising our political and intellectual agency to challenge our marginality, we become outlaw bodies. That is, outlaw bodies are peripheral/marginal bodies that inhabit a location where resistance, challenge, creation and agency are made possible. Although encouraged to exist in prescribed and contained spaces, outlaw bodies act powerfully to subvert imposed categories and exclusionary roles/performances. We move beyond testimonial/anthropologized performances to actively create our experiences, knowledge(s) and theories. This outlaw location, however, exists in tension with the exigencies of a normative order that demands our victim performance. Inhabiting the outlaw location, therefore, also means that as outlaw bodies we have to negotiate strategically the pressures created by the conflict between structural

impositions and our need for agency.

CONCLUSION

To speak from the outlaw location, that is, from the location which challenges prescribed norms of exclusionary inclusion both in the nation and in the academy, entails challenging facile definitions which position peripheral/marginal bodies as either victims or as overly independent agents in their life. The tension between structural oppression and individual agency and choice must be recognized as a reality which all of us live differently, according to our particular locations. So, as Southern scholars in the North, we must recognize that while we represent peripheral/marginal bodies in the nation and in the academy we are also complicit in reproducing imperial relations that produce other peripheral bodies. That is, we have to remember that the movement of bodies through controlled and patrolled borders like nation and the academy is dependent upon articulations of power which allow only certain bodies to enter and to exist as outsiders within. In our own case, for example, our entrance into the North was achieved on the backs of all those Chilean women and men who were not "saved," many of whom were raped, tortured, disappeared and murdered. Similarly, our own precarious location within the academy is made possible in part by the marginalization of other bodies of colour as cheap labour in the Canadian and international labour market and by the reproduction of discourses that justify the imperial role of Canada and the North in the economies, politics and cultures of the South.

We, therefore, cannot forget that our existence in Canada and in the academy is in part determined by our capacity to dance to the imperial tune (Razack, forthcoming). That is, our entrance into the nation and into the academy is in part determined by our usefulness to an imperial project that keeps peripheral bodies perpetually on the outside. Our negotiations and locations are therefore almost always tinged with the pressures of inhabiting a space where we are simultaneously marginalized and privileged. And in this space, part

of our job entails choosing whether to perform to imperial demands or to challenge these with an active agency that refutes containment and exclusion. That is, we can become the good "victim" and overlook the complicity of the North in creating peripheral/marginal bodies, or we can abandon victim-hood by turning to the outlaw position which enables us to discard categories which contain and exclude us. These choices are not easy to make; they require complex negotiations. But whatever we do, it is critical that we do not ignore the specificities of the bodies that flow from the South to the North and of those that stay behind. This requires that we maintain a transnational focus that traces the multiple relations that result in flows of bodies, discourses and capital and the implications of such flows for the reproduction of nation and empire.

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