From academic heritage to Aboriginal priorities: Anthropological responsibilities[1]

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Throughout My 34 Years Of Involvement With Aboriginal People Across Australia, I Have Regularly Chosen To Respond To Aboriginal Priorities Against A Certain Academic Heritage, Illustrated By The Refusal Of Some Colleagues – In France Or Australia – To Recognise The Importance Of Women's Agency In The Society, The Impact Of History On Aboriginal Ritual Life And Cosmology, The Continuity Of Their Culture In New Forms Of Creativity, The Respect Of Ethical Protocols, The Discrimination And Social Injustice Suffered By Indigenous People And The Legitimacy Of Their Political Struggles.

Aboriginal cosmopolitics and gender

In the mid 1970's, no French scholar was doing fieldwork with Aboriginal people: students were introduced to Australia through classic studies on religion, totemism and kinship by Durkheim and Lévi-Strauss. In Australia Aboriginal people had designed a flag and set up the Tent Embassy in front of the Parliament in Canberra to claim a recognition of their sovereignty.[2] I was invited by an Aboriginal organisation, the Central Land Council, to do fieldwork in Lajamanu, an old reserve, where the Warlpiri people – with the assistance of some anthropologists – had just won a land claim on a huge territory of some 600 by 300 kms. Relation to land was at the heart of Australian totemism –

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[2] www.aboriginaltentembassy.net.

defined by many Aboriginal groups (more than 200 languages) as the Law of the Dreamings – in a way that challenged the "elementary forms of religious life" proposed by Durkheim.[3]

It was a time of hope with intensive ritual activities and exchange between the Central and Western Deserts. Warlpiri did not call ritual activities "culture" yet but "business". The Lajamanu school had a pioneer bilingual program and acquired a first video camera that was used by the Warlpiri for a film they made for a mining company to save the sacred site of the Granites from destruction. With the instalment of the satellite the Warlpiri from three communities established the Tanami Network to broadcast their own videos and do teleconferencing with their relatives in jail or hospital. In those days there was no ban on packing trucks with people to travel as I did in a ritual convoy covering thousands of kilometres from Lajamanu to Docker River to witness the ceremonial transfer of the Kajirri initiation cycle.

copyright B. Glowczewski & Lajamanu people

Photo 1 by B.G. 1984. The Granites Or Yarturluyarturlu, Tanami desert, Central Australia, country of the Warlpiri people: sacred granite stones embody the life forces and imprints (Kuruwarri) of Possum and Plum Dreamings (Jukurrpa). Paddy Patrick Jampijinpa is filming Warlpiri women to protect the site from mining.

I had witnessed Kajirri 5 years before, in 1979, and with a 16mm camera filmed women's rituals related to this male initiation cycle. Contrary to Mervyn Meggitt's monograph *Gadjeri* (1966) which stated that in the 1950s this ceremony was restricted to men, I discovered the importance of women during the 5 months of its performance. Both sexes performed their ritual activities in separate spaces but – since I slept in the women's camp – I could see the women ritual "bosses" (Napanangka and Napangardi) daily discussing with one or two men what Dreaming tracks to celebrate. The women were celebrating Two Women (of Nampijinpa "skin") who travelled from place to place with powers extending beyond current female social roles; men were celebrating two heroes who travelled the same route and had not yet acquired the male social role (Glowczewski, 1989, 1991). The initiation ceremony – with 22 young men in seclusion – was a form of statement about an ideal sexual androgyny where each gender performs its cosmological autonomy separately, thereby creating a sort of polarity to assure the efficiency of the parallel celebrations. Indeed the women's ritual role

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[3] Durkheim's book (1913) was inspired by Spencer and Gillen *Native tribes of Central Australia*. See television series *The First Australians*, episode 4: Arrernte (Aranda, Arunta) People (Central Australia): http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=28-xzP8mRwU.

proved to be essential for the reproduction of the society, including the circulation of hair-strings, which struck me as being an example of female inalienable possessions described by Annette Weiner for Melanesia.[4] On gender issues and women's agency, debates were hot with French colleagues.

My writings in the 1980s demonstrated the Warlpiri ingenuity of resistance through rituals and the dynamics of the Dreaming conceived as a space-time in feedback with the present: I rejected the notion of cyclical time and Aboriginal people as being outside of history, or that of reducing relations between people and their Dreamings to symbolism, that is to define totemism as simple nominalism (Levi-Strauss, 1962). To me, Dreamings were "in becoming" in the sense of Deleuze and Guattari, "devenirs", through ritual performance and alliances between people, that is they constituted a process of assemblage (*agencements*) of subjectivisation between people, their totems and places rather than essentialised features of

identification: Warlpiri practice exemplified tensions between affect and expression, individual and collective, a network of relations intertwining humans, non-humans and places, in a transformative way, where women and men had a complementary role. But in the 1980s such ideas were not popular in anthropology.

Photo 2 by B.G. 1984. Warlpiri people from Lajamanu leaving Docker River after a ceremonial exchange (2000 kms)

French psychoanalyst and philosopher Felix Guattari was struck by my interpretation of Warlpiri data: our discussions and further writings informed the work he elaborated after the publication of *Anti-Oedipus* with Deleuze (Guattari & Glowczewski, 1987; Glowczewski, 2011). I had translated two Warlpiri cosmological concepts in the following way: *kankarlu*, which means "above" and public, as "the actual", and *kanunju*, which means underneath and secret, as the virtual: men and women have different roles in the constant transformation of virtual into actual and vice versa. The virtual secret realm needs to be actualised in ritual or through the birth of new children and the reproduction of any totemic species (Dreamings), while some aspects of the actual public realm return to the virtual at death, spirits waiting to be embodied again in people and things.[5] This analysis

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[4] Weiner's theory, which she presented in 1981 at the seminar of Maurice Godelier, inspired a chapter on hairstring in my PhD (Glowczewski, B. *Le Rêve et la terre: rapports au temps et à l'espace des Aborigènes australiens: les Walpiri à Lajamanu (Hooker creek, une communauté du désert central australien),* Université Paris VII, Jussieu, 1981-82), which I translated for the US journal *Ethnography* (Glowczewski, 1983a). Weiner (1994) in turn commented the Australian data (Glowczewski, 2002).

[5] Filmed conference: Glowczewski, B., 2012. "Tracking the spirit of the Dreamings. Ritual dreamers and Warlpiri artists from Lajamanu". *Dreams of Insomnia workshop*, Fondation Ratti, Come, Italy. Filmed online: http://www.fondazioneratti.org/seminars/239/dream_of_insomnia_workshop.

allowed me to step away from the exclusive oppositions between real and imaginary, nature and culture, which too often reduces Indigenous people to nature and the notion of the Dreaming to a mythical time. The Dreaming is a space-time matrix with past, present and future potentials: its expressions (the Dreamings as totems) are embodied in places, people and other things but they need to be reactivated through emotions during some rituals, nostalgia in exile and the happiness experienced in return to place, sleeping in special places, and dream revelations of new images and sounds to nourish the rituals. Painting on canvas also participated in this Dreaming enaction (in Varela's sense).[6]

Guattari's *Schizoanalytical cartographies* (1992) proposes a model of temporal permutations between 4 polarities to grasp the existential economy of the world we live in: 1) existential territories as "virtually real"; 2) incorporeal universes of reference and value defined as "virtually possible"; 3) the economy of social flows (as "actually real"); and 4) rhizomatic abstract machines or ideas (as "actually possible").[7]

Guattari used as an example of "**Existential territories**" the way the Warlpiri and other Desert people in Central Australia produce and reassemble (through dreams or ritual interpretations) their Jukurrpa, the Dreaming space-time and networks of totemic stories embodied in the landscape. Desert people's "existential territories" have "affective" interactions with multiple layers of "incorporeal universes of references and values": not only totemic songs, designs and dances, but also Dreamings redefined through art and negotiations for rights and protection of land, Christianity or digital images.

For Guattari **universes of value** are in a discursive feedback with the "actually possible", that is the polarity of **abstract machines**. In the Aboriginal case, I understand kinship relations and classifications to be such abstract ideas, as expressed in the mathematical diedric group (figured through an oriented cube) which I have unfolded with topological devices like the hypercube (Glowczewski, 1989, 1991). The Warlpiri found my hypercube a "good game": indeed Aboriginal kinship systems – which fascinated generations of anthropologists and mathematicians – are not fixed systems of classifications but dynamic in their interaction with existential territories. Aboriginal existential territories are confronted today not only to kinship – and its reassemblage to satisfy their new needs – but also to other abstract machine like the State, various institutions and technologies.

Existential territories, universes of value and abstract machines are in a constant transformative relations with the "actually real", **the material and energetic social flows** which involve

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[6] 2012, Exhibition of the first Aboriginal artists from Papunya who painted with acrylics on canvas in the 1970's: http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/tjukurrtjanu/tjukurrpa?accept=1; video on the Warnayaka art centre in Lajamanu: http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=XnYzNxxYPn4#!.

[7] Guattari "menu" on Youtube, French TV debate, 1992, 6 part video subtitled in Portugese: http://www.youtube.com/channel/HCXQhnB2ewmLE

– for Indigenous peoples – land, traditional circulations of food, hair, blood at initiations and death, but also money, mining royalties, the art market, that is the world integrated capital, and multiple effects on the body and the mind of the violent impact of colonisation.

Incorporating history through ritual

In 1979, I was lucky to witness a new intertribal secret ritual cycle (Juluru) that I described in a French article as "a symbolic manifestation of an economic transition", a form of "cargo cult" or "historical cult" (Glowczewski, 1983b). The Warlpiri said the ceremony had been dreamt in Western Australia. I found out when going to Broome on the West Coast in 1980 that it was dreamt in 1912, in Port Hedland, just after the sinking of the Koombanah steamer. The ceremony was a re-enactment of violent aspects of historical contact to promote a double Law where the changes imposed by colonisation could be intertwined with the Aboriginal cosmology: it was an attempt to redefine the status of women, young people and "middle men", defined as people who, through their life experience, were acting as mediators between the traditional society and the State system.

Years later, when I lived and worked with coastal people in Broome, the notion of "middle men" was also referred to people of mixed descent who suffered the Stolen Generation; the secret cult Juluru was in a way trying to deal with the spirits of all the dead who were transported by the boat before its wreckage: that is children taken away from their parents to be sent to missions, Aboriginal men chained by the neck to be sent to Rottnest Island prison and lepers deported to leprosariums; the secret cult was also related to a 3 years Aboriginal strike – from 1946 to 1949 – where 800 Aboriginal pastoral workers walk off from 27 stations in Western Australia (Glowczewski, 2002, 2004; Swain, 1998; Muecke, 2010), twenty years before the Wave Hill strike of the Gurindji. The transfer of the Juluru secret ceremony from the West coast to Central Australia used traditional trade routes, through the Kimberley and Balgo in the Western desert called Wunan (Akerman, 1979; Mowaljarlai et al, 2000).

Photo 3. Extract from Milli Milli (53' documentary, 1992) by Wayne Jowandi Barker. In this yawulyu (women only ritual) two of the dancers embody the Watikutjarra, "Two Men", the Dreaming of the ancestral shamans (mapan). They are also embodied by the two sacred hills (near Balgo, Western Australia). Warlpiri, Kukatja and many other language groups from de desert share this Dreaming.

DREAMINGS ARE BECOMING in both genders and many places

After the passing of the Mabo Native Title Act in 1992, many conflicts opposed Aboriginal people who had to demonstrate continuity of their culture and land occupation to claim a Native Title in the Tribunal created for that purpose. Hundreds of claims were prepared. A Ngarrinyin man, David Mowaljarlai, had already fought in court for 17 years to challenge the Australian government to recognise not just his clan land but the model of an interconnected society which connected several language groups of the Kimberley plateaux with other groups on the coast and in the desert; he used to draw the sharing system that connected communities through trade routes and "history stories" as the "body of Australia" made up of a grid looking like a knotted fishing net spread across the continent. A version of his map of trade and spiritual connections was published in his book *Yorro Yorro* (Mowaljarlai & Malnic, 1993) and reproduced in an anthology of cartographies (Woodward & Lewis, 1998). He was invited by Unesco four years later to call for protection of the rock art of the Kimberley from diamond mining (Glowczewski, 2004).

Rhizomatic or network thinking corresponds to a paradigm shift in the Western world: the perception of a network as an open, dynamic, both discursive and non discursive system only became widely understood once the internet became part of our everyday life with its virtual sites on the web, hyperlinks connecting such sites and cartographies of social networks (Glowczewski, 2004, 2007b, 2013). But, as noticed by Bruno Latour in 1999, many people then still did not understand the transformative power of networks.[8]

The Australian totemic cartography bringing together geographical, social and spiritual elements resonates with Felix Guattari's "ecosophy" that proposes to understand transformations through the enmeshing of three bounded ecologies: of the environment (macro level), of the mind (micro level) and of the social (intermediary level) (Guattari, 2000).[9] Such a resonance between a hunter-gatherer mental and physical mapping and our current technological environment challenges the constant resurgence of evolutionist prejudice.

Epistemological delays have had an impact on Aboriginal land claims temporality. For instance, the Ngarrinyin's arguments were too pioneering, too different from the classic model of the hunter-gatherer stereotype and conventional "land rights" scheme to fit in the legal discussions of the court. It is the Ngarrinyin strong testimony filmed in rock art spiritual places (Gwion Gwion film by

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[8] Before the web come into being, says Latour (1999:15), "the word network, like Deleuze and Guattari's term rhizome, clearly meant a series of *transformations* — translations, transductions — which could not be captured by any of the traditional terms of social theory. With the new popularization of the word 'network', it now means transport *without* deformation, an instantaneous, unmediated access to every piece of information. That is exactly the opposite of what we meant".

[9] Part 5 of video debate with Guattari (subtitled in portuguese) :http://www.youtube.com/channel/HCXQhnB2ewmLE.

Jeff Doring and book with Mowaljarlai et al, 2000) that helped them to get their Native Title. But the granting of a Native Title (contrary to the NT Land Rights Act) is not enough to empower Aboriginal people. It often creates new problems that continue to feed anthropologists and lawyers. The strategy of many land claims is to oppose and divide families in court proceedings, instead of trying to defend a general vision which could demonstrate that across clan and language boundaries an interlinked society was reproduced before and after colonisation through exchange routes and new links forged in reaction to forced displacements (Toussaint, 2006). To use such an argument would imply a change of paradigm not only in Australia, but in the social sciences generally to understand our world of displacements and new networks (Glowczewski, 2007; Glowczewski, 2011b; Abeles, 2006).

Ethics of secrecy and data return: the use of new technologies

Right through the 1980's and 1990's I was asked not to show my films of women's rituals to men, even overseas. This ethical requirement to respect secrecy involved an anthropological responsibility of constant negotiations as Aboriginal values changed over time. Secrecy is a cosmological priority with political implications: in gender relations, for men and women to assert their own space and rights. As land rights became a public process, sometimes carried through art, some female rituals became public. Similarly, ritual secrecy asserts Aboriginal power in relation to other Aboriginal groups and to the representatives of the colonial order and the State that overpowered their traditional life. Today the control of their images, especially through the web is a way to assert a new autonomy as a transformative agency.

In the mid 1990's, I developed a multimedia project to return my recordings to the community and test hyperlinks as a tool to map the network organisation of the desert people's system of knowledge: digital media was ideal to show on an interactive map how totemic stories and songlines were connecting sacred places and how ritual designs painted on the bodies, relevant songs and dances were connected to the Dreaming stories and pathways Warlpiri men and women chose to paint on canvas. It took two years of discussions with many Warlpiri people to select what could or could not be shown to respect secrecy and also the taboo on showing images of the dead: we had to develop a program allowing to hide when needed the photos of people recently dead. The CD-ROM was installed on the new computers of the Lajamanu school and 3 years later, in 2000, a public version called *Dream Trackers* (Glowczewski, 2000) was published by UNESCO, with a licence recognising the intellectual copyright of 50 artists who had contributed to the CD-ROM with their art but also with Dreaming stories and oneiric revelations of new designs to paint on the body, and new ritual songs and dances. The Warlpiri artist and then Warnayaka arts manager, Jimmy Robertson Jampijinpa, was invited to launch the CD-ROM by UNESCO in Paris: he said that "this CD-ROM brings people to the

mind". The return of my data to the community and recognition of Indigenous intellectual copyright has been another anthropological responsibility derived from Aboriginal priorities (Glowczewski, 2005, 2007b). The CD-ROM *Dream Trackers* was used in the school for 10 years until all Macintosh computers were replaced by PCs. Every time I come back to Lajamanu I am asked to reinstall it on public and private computers.

Photo 4 by B.G. 2011.

Lajamanu Library and e-learning centre: a Warlpiri boy is cruising through the Dream Trackers CD-ROM.

After Warlpiri started to use YouTube to post their own short films, they asked me why their data was not on the web. Now most of my Warlpiri audiovisual archives are online – thanks to the online digital source and annotation system developed by Laurent Dousset (www.odsas.fr; Glowczewski, 2013). For two years I have been documenting the data with Australian linguist Mary Laughren and also with some Warlpiri people. Most young people are extremely keen to access old photos and recognize themselves and friends as children, or members of the older generation who are still alive or who are now dead. In fact the last two years saw young Warlpiri organise funerals with framed pictures of the dead brought to the grave and circulated among the mourners. This new ritual has shocked the older people who refuse to go to such funerals as they still respect the taboo on the images of the dead.

Inherited funeral practices also continue, which involve the whole community: widows and other bereaved women camp aside with a ban of speech, gifts of goods (including blankets) and

circulation of the deceased hair between the relatives. Times are changing, but old and new values are intertwined in a productive tension: conflicts express what is at stake, and in many statements, the power of image as embodied in reality is the reason for the various responses to the images of the past and the creative process of making those images live again like in art, be it on canvas or digital. Some Warlpiri families who live now in cities (the diaspora is massive) put photos on play stations that display them randomly day and night: the screen is used as a light in the house, a sort of digital chimney (as if the succession of past and present faces was recreating the fire of the camp). On the other hand, Facebook can be used to enflame fights.

New technologies are reactivating old and new relations of power. The enthusiasm and collaboration between generations during the annotation workshop I organised in July 2011 can be seen on the ODSAS website (www.odsas.fr). But Warlpiri people in Lajamanu cannot access the internet as easily as they used to: many sites are blocked, the connexion is slow and expensive. Various recent government policies have disempowered them from having control of some of their own resources. For instance the building the Warlpiri funded partly themselves – through their mining royalties – for their library and e-learning was mostly closed during 2011-2012, the new shire refusing to employ several Warlpiri on a part-time basis to run it. The interruption of bilingual programs also saw 25 Warlpiri men and women dismissed from the Lajamanu school when the teaching of Warlpiri – which is the children's first language – was reduced to half an hour a week. Warlpiri communities have created and continue to fund with their own resources from mining the Warlpiri Triangle (linking Lajamanu with Yuendumu and Willowra) to promote bilingual education – including through the internet – as a stimulus for better school achievements. Internet is also used by young and old artists of the Warnayaka art centre to document their art on canvas and create new digital art. Youtube is invested for cultural and political statements.[10]

Civil movements and anthropological involvement

For many years I have called Aboriginal people "refugees of the interior". In 2012 Amnesty International released a report denouncing both the Australian treatment of asylum seekers and the Stronger Futures Bill designed to extend for another ten years the very controversial Northern Territory Emergency Intervention which was imposed in 2007 on 73 Indigenous communities for a 5-year period. In these communities, many Indigenous people and leaders elsewhere, as well as the UN special Rapporteur, have accused this policy not only of being racially discriminatory and therefore

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[10] Wanta Jampijinpa, Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu (Steven Jampijinpa Patrick) 2006 *Ngurra-kurlu*, YouTube, <www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFZq7AduGrc&feature=related> accessed December 2012; *Lajamanu and the Law* 2008, YouTube, <www.youtube.com/watch?v=aU4m3bRyRqU&feature=related> accessed December 2012.

racist but also of failing to achieve improvements in the living conditions of Aboriginal people – in terms of their economic situation, health and general wellbeing. But the legislation was passed and the Bill became law in July 2012 despite the "Stand up for Freedom" campaign launched by some Yolngu people from Arnhem Land. Such positions are not shared by all but 2011 saw the creation in the Northern Territory of an Aboriginal party, First Nations by Japarta Ryan, a former member of the Australian Labor Party

Photo 5 by B.G. 2012. Lajamanu: Andrew Johnson Japanangka is calling to vote for The First Nations Party at the Northern Territory elections.

and the grandson of Indigenous activist Vincent Lingiari. It was supported by many Warlpiri in Lajamanu. On the other hand, a Warlpiri woman, Bess Price, ex Labor, won the election for the Country Liberal Party in the region and supported the NT Intervention. Political anthropology is desperately needed in Australia to grasp the new responses to decades of Aboriginal disenchantment and injustice (Langton, 2008, 2011).

In 2004, when I was a guest researcher at James Cook University in Queensland, the violent death in custody of Cameron Doomadgee occurred on Palm Island, and sparked a riot with some 20 Aboriginal men and women committed to a hearing in the Townsville Court House. For months in 2005 I followed their committal hearing in court and the long campaign for an inquest that led to the policeman held responsible, Chris Hurley, being brought to trial (Glowczewski, 2007c). Hurley was found not guilty because of a lack of witnesses but there was no lack of evidence about the cause of Doomadgee's death (his liver was split in two) which took place less than an hour after he was taken to the police station for singing drunkenly in the streets. The sentences of the rioters ranged from prison terms of several months to 6 years. Lex Wotton – with whom I wrote the book, *Warriors for peace* (2008), about the events on Palm Island following Doomadgee's death – received the maximum sentence. Wotton was released after two years' imprisonment in 2010, but a ban of four years was imposed on him preventing him from speaking to the media and in public. His parole board made an exception to this ban in allowing him to speak publicly at a press conference he gave at Palm Island in July 2011 and again a few months later at a human rights convention organised by James Cook University.

A newspaper reported that Aboriginal Dr. Chris Sarra "drew cheers from a crowd of 130 as he labeled Mr. Wotton 'his inspiration'" during an opening speech at the First Nations Pathways Conference at JCU: "It's easy for people like me to challenge injustice from the safe confines of higher education or a newspaper column"; Dr. Sarra said: "You and the people on Palm Island put your lives on the line to stand up for what was right".[11] In 2012 the High Court refused to lift the ban on Lex Wotton's speaking in public or in the media. Lawyers have labelled the ban as racist: is the State afraid of an Aboriginal man who says: "we don't want two laws, one White, one Black, we want one law for all, we want to live in peace"[12] (statement I filmed in 2005 and put online on the French website of Audiovisual archives in Social Sciences, AAR). Lex Wotton triggers "moral panic" for finding strong words and arguments to express the painful history of his stigmatised island and to criticise the difference in justice applied to Black and White in Australia, the criminalisation of Indigenous peoples (Cunneen, 2007) and the deafness of institutions which do not listen to Indigenous propositions.

Photo 6 by B.G. Palm Island 2007: Lex Wotton and wife Cecilia in front of the photo of the Palm Island Debutante ball they won when they were teenagers.

The Aboriginal critique of so-called reconciliation policies and their constant claim for maintaining their culture as a life style, engaging both individual and collective assemblage, old and

[11] http://www.townsvillebulletin.com.au/article/2011/11/29/287031_news.html.

[12] "We want to live in peace", 5' minute by Glowczewski 2005-2007: http://www.archivesaudiovisuelles.fr/EN/_video.asp?id=1635&ress=6071&video=9890&format=68.

recreated practices, insist on their recognition as Humans with a singularity to respect, instead of being rejected as "Others" failing to assimilate. As expressed by Andrew Johnson Japanangka declaration "They should learn how to respect us as human beings. We all Australians, we should learn how to work together, and share this together, support ourselves together, learn from each other".[13] Such a position questions the consensus of assimilation. Anthropological responsibility in terms of theory – for me – is to advocate "dissensus" as defined by Guattari (1991, 1995)[14]: that is dissensus as the propeller (or driver) to stimulate the creation of new societal forms, forms that can respond to the poverty and injustice generated by exclusion, but this means that recognition of existential heterogeneity needs to be conceptualised at the structural level of contemporary societies and nations. It is a task for any science to construct new models to think the heterogeneity and connections of all forms of existence in our global world. For anthropology, it means to step away from the sterile oppositions between universal versus relative or assimilation versus exclusion.

One way to approach transformations of heterogeneous complexities is to use Guattari's propositions in *Schizoanalytic cartographies*:

> What the book tries to show – says Brian Holmes – is not how behavior is structured in adaptation to its context – because every discourse of power does that – but instead, how people are able to leave their initial territories and articulate original expressions in problematic interaction with others on a multiplicity of grounds, so as to resist, create, propose alternatives and also escape into their evolving singularities, despite the normalizing forces that are continually brought to bear on them by capitalist society (Holmes, B., 2009, no pages)[15]

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[13] "Lajamanu 2012" on Glowczewski's Warlpiri audiovisual digital archive: http://www.odsas.net/scan_sets.php?set_id=902

[14] Guattari & Rolnik (2008) and interview of Guattari in Brazil: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HkqmpcOHk1Y.

[15] Brian Holmes, 2009, *Guattari's Schizoanalytic Cartographies – or, the Pathic Core at the Heart of Cybernetics,* Online on *Continental Drift, the other side of neoliberal globalization* (no pages): http://brianholmes.wordpress.com/2009/02/27/guattaris-schizoanalytic-cartographies/

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