

Regard sur le relativisme culturel

par Martin Hébert



Clifford Geertz a noté que le relativisme culturel a généralement été défini par les personnes qui le critiquent, plutôt que par celles qui en font la promotion sérieuse. Cette particularité facilite, sans doute, la représentation de cette idée sous une forme caricaturale dans le débat public. Les éditorialistes aiment

ériger le relativisme culturel en épouvantail facile à abattre. Il est alors présenté comme un synonyme de la rectitude politique, un symptôme de l'acceptation naïve du tout subalterne. On commencera par le confronter à une série de pratiques choisies pour heurter les sensibilités du lectorat. « Et ça ? », demandent les polémistes. « Vous acceptez cela aussi ? ». Dans un deuxième temps, on attaquera sur le front de la cohérence : « Comment se fait-il que vous tolérez tout de l'autre, mais condamnez sans gêne votre propre société moderne, libérale et démocratique ? »

Prendre du recul par rapport à ce jeu simpliste demande de plonger dans l'usage qui a été réellement fait du relativisme culturel dans la réflexion sur la différence humaine.



Dans sa formulation la plus fondamentale, le relativisme culturel peut être défini comme le principe voulant que la compréhension des actions et des croyances humaines implique nécessairement un travail de

contextualisation sociale et culturelle de ces dernières. Quand Maurice Bloch nous décrit la manière dont les Mérima de Madagascar pratiquent des rituels où ils menacent une calebasse remplie d'eau en pointant une lance vers elle, il ne peut communiquer le sens de cette pratique qu'en nous expliquant pourquoi les Mérimas jugent ce geste nécessaire dans le contexte de leur propre cosmologie. C'est là le travail d'un anthropologue, du moins tel qu'il était compris au début du vingtième siècle lorsque que fut popularisé l'idée de relativisme culturel. Cette idée revêt donc, dans un premier temps, un sens technique : il décrit une manière d'aborder et d'interpréter les cultures humaines. Notons que dans ce sens premier, l'enjeu n'est pas de juger ou de ne pas juger les croyances et les pratiques dont il est question. Il s'agit d'une injonction à comprendre avant toute chose.

Malheureusement, la nuance entre comprendre une pratique et la légitimer est souvent perdue dans le débat public. Pourtant, entre les deux intervient un acte crucial : celui de juger. Les critiques faites au relativisme culturel ne portent généralement pas sur son usage en tant que principe méthodologique du travail anthropologique. Elles portent plutôt sur une supposée conséquence de ce travail de compréhension, qui serait le « relativisme éthique ». Ce sophisme se nourrit du fait que le principe explicite de relativisme culturel a fait son apparition dans un contexte social et historique de lutte au racisme. L'intérêt des anthropologues qui l'ont popularisé fut généralement, en effet, de contrer les préjugés entretenus par les philosophes modernes, les administrateurs coloniaux ou les chercheurs occidentaux à l'égard de ces « Autres » qu'ils jugeaient sans connaître. Le travail de déboulonnage des préjugés demandait souvent, en effet, de redonner une légitimité à certaines pratiques. Là où les missionnaires voyaient de la « promiscuité », on commença à voir de la « parenté », mais organisée différemment de celle des Européens. Là où les explorateurs voyaient de l'« anarchie », on commença à voir des « systèmes politiques » ordonnés, quoique selon des principes autres que les États connus. À travers une description plus minutieuse, systématique (et empathique), ce qui avait été qualifié de « superstitions irrationnelles » commença à être compris comme des systèmes religieux aussi complexes et évolués que n'importe quel autre. Et oui, même la plupart des pratiques qui avaient été présentées comme de la cruauté arbitraire lors des premiers contacts se révélèrent participer à des systèmes d'usage de la violence qui étaient tout sauf aléatoires et qui, comme en Europe, participaient souvent des



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