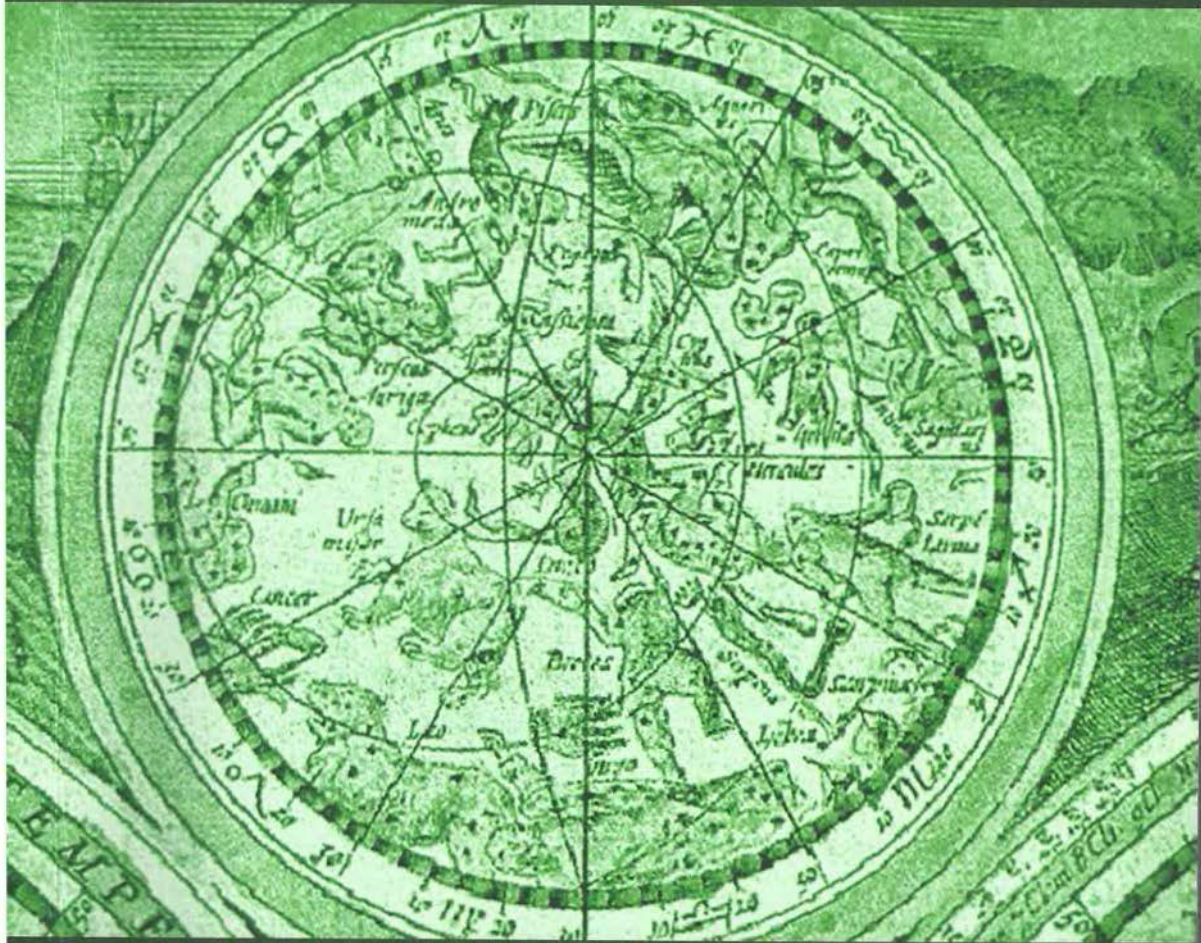


Mapping the World, Culture, and Border-crossing

Edited by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek
and I-Chun Wang



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The collected volume *Mapping the World, Culture, and Border-crossing* —edited by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and I-Chun Wang — begins with four articles that interrogate the processes and ramifications of cultural crossings and thus serve to establish a clearly defined theoretical context for the case studies that follow. The case studies range from the creation of identity through patriotic songs in Taiwan under martial law, to nationality and Japanese identity, cultural autonomy in contemporary North America, Asian migration to Latin America, ethnic identity in the writings of Tan, Naipaul, Eliot, and Özdamar, and aspects of migration and urban identities. The studies in the volume present complex analyses and they are a pleasure to read: importantly, they are relevant and needed for understanding what it means to live in our global society of today.

— Mabel Lee, University of Sydney

Edited by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and I-Chun Wang, the dozen engaging articles in *Mapping the World, Culture, and Border-crossing* are concerned from a variety of disciplinary perspectives with the "spatial turn," a cutting-edge research area, analyzing how language, education, the legal system, government, the economy, and all other cultural phenomena of society function in terms of spatial configuration taken as a primary unit of social inquiry. The articles in the volume engage with key concepts such as global displacement and cultural crossings in a world constantly being remapped by shifting geo-political boundaries by flows of language and peoples, as well as by movement of populations, owing to (im)migration and diaspora, Westernization, cultural assimilation, cultural encounters (both conflictive and touristic), multiple identities and citizenships, translation and the "trade routes" of language and literature, and globalization and multi-national hyperspace. Specific articles deal with different aspects of mapping of cultural and linguistic identities over space and time and study the ethical and political issues involved in, for example, the integration of immigrants; the integration of their children into the education system; intermediality, intertextuality, and related concepts such as critical media literacy, hybridization, and interculturalism; identitybuilding and changing in societies in transition; mapping various immigrations such as Asian immigration to Latin America and to the U.S., non-Asian immigration to Japan, and Turkish immigration to Germany. (Im)migration, which involves not only spatial movement but also a psychological transformation and the creation of a linguistically and culturally interwoven but often conflictive world has been the major cultural phenomenon of twentieth-century culture, and arguably it is to become even more central in the new century. The contributions in this volume are path-breaking in this important emerging field of inter- and transdisciplinary research.

— Louise O. Vasvári, Stony Brook University and New York University

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Introduction to *Mapping the World, Culture, and Border-crossing*

Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and I-Chun Wang

Migration is one of the most relevant phenomena of contemporary times and thus a prominent topic of research in the humanities and the social sciences in recent years. Migration is a result among other reasons of political persecution, economic pressures, or the pursuit of opportunities. The inquiry into aspects of (im)migration is to study the history of human experiences from a variety of perspectives such as ethnicity, race, nation, society, identity and identity formation, the phenomena of "border-crossing," and mental and spatial "mapping," etc., all corollaries of varied and intensity of contemporary society regardless of locus.

The articles of the volume are about the mental and physical "mapping" of and in (im)migration and border-crossing and these activities' impact on culture and society. The volume is divided into two parts. Part One: Approaches to Culture, Mapping, and Border-crossing contains articles of a theoretical and methodological bent by Sandra Bermann, "'Mapping the World' and Translation," Arina Lungu-Cirstea, "Mapping and Spatial Configurations in Jameson and Lefebvre," Clemens Seyfried, "Mapping Intercultural Education with Trust-based Learning," and Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and Asunción Lopez-Varela Azcárate, "Education, Interculturalism, and Mapping a New Europe" and Part Two: Analyses of Culture, Mapping, and Border-crossing contains articles where the focus is more on practice and application including the analyses of literary texts, urban studies, and society at large. The articles are by Pei-Ling Lee, "Mapping and the Construction of Images in Patriotic Songs during Martial Law in Taiwan," Kaori Mori, "Emigration, Nationality, Globalization, and Mapping Japanese Identity," Christopher Larkosh, "Cultural Autonomy and Border-crossing in Contemporary North America," Luz M. Hincapié, "Mapping Asian Immigration to Latin America," Hsiao-yu Sun, "Remapping Ethnic Identity in Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*," Walter Rankin, "Mapping the Other in Eliot and Özdamar," Shizen Ozawa, "Mapping, the City, and Naipaul's *Miguel Street*," and Agata Anna Lisiak, "Mapping Migration and Urban Identities in Second Cities." The volume includes a "Bibliography for the Study of Culture, Mapping, and Border-crossing" by Li-wei Cheng, Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, and I-Chun Wang.

The articles presented in the collected volume *Mapping the World, Culture, and Border-crossing* are peer-reviewed papers selected from an international conference held at National Sun Yat-sen University in November 2009 and from papers received following an open call for papers distributed globally. The editors, Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and I-Chun Wang, thank National Sun Yat-sen University, the Taiwan Democratic Foundation, and the Taiwan National Science Council for the financial support received for the conference and for the publication of the volume.

Part One
Approaches to Culture, Mapping, and Border-crossing

"Mapping the World" and Translation
Sandra Bermann

Abstract: In her article "'Mapping the World' and Translation" Sandra Bermann proposes that in today's complex world of migration, war, and globalization, translation among languages and cultures is everywhere evident. Indeed, as citizens of the twenty-first century, we inevitably think in and through translation. Yet we have only begun to explore its contemporary modes of operation, its challenges, and its promise for study. Bermann suggests ways to think about translation — its difficulties, as well as its promise. Looking first to some traditional views of translation, Bermann then turns to particular ways in which it might be recast in terms of relation, dialogue, and analogy. She considers the potential of this more pragmatic way of "thinking translation" for contemporary ideas about language and literary dissemination. Important to this perspective is the work of the Caribbean poet, novelist, and theorist Edouard Glissant. Bermann examines a few of his salient insights and images, as well as their pertinence to the questions she raises in the course of her study. Glissant's ideas can expand our understanding of the role translation might play in the world today and in the future.

Ours is a linguistically and culturally interwoven, but often conflictual world. It is a site of ongoing translation, where ordinary boundaries are often blurred and re-mapped through migration and cultural encounters. Displaced and migrating peoples bring with them languages and cultures that require translation. Globalization itself, with its financial networks and information technologies depends upon translation, although it may attempt to avoid it. And, as we know, war brings not only conflicting armies, but also conflicting languages and cultures. Whether reading newspaper reports, interacting with people, using technology, or watching a film, we often must think in and through translation. Yet we have only begun to consider its significance. I propose here some ways of thinking about translation, its challenges, as well as its promise. Important to these questions is the work of a large number of translation studies theorists as well as that of poststructuralist, postcolonial, and pragmatist thinkers identified with literary and cultural studies. But I focus here particularly on the writing of the Caribbean poet, novelist, playwright, and theorist Edouard Glissant, who has developed what he calls a "poetics of relation." I examine a few of his salient insights as they pertain to and amplify what I am calling here "translation as relation."

Translation

Although one dictionary definition of the term "translation" is simply a "rendering from one language into another," this does not tell us much. Nor does the phrase, "saying the same thing in different words," which is another common description. There is, of course, a long and distinguished history of translation theories. At times, they echo a very old, indeed mythic, search for exact equivalence. This

comes to us clearly in the often cited story of the Tower of Babel. Once, the story goes, there was one universal and transparent language, a godly language, spoken by all. The prideful efforts to reach the heavens (to make a name) resulted in the loss of this universal language. Dispersion was our fate and with it came our many languages. Transparency was gone. The story is told as a tragic one.

In our everyday world of the twenty-first century, we are living in a particularly evident plurality of languages — and in the midst of particularly frequent efforts at translation. And although the pure language of translation, the key to perfect communicability, has never been found, many continue to think about it. Buoying this desire is, of course, the sense that some *tertium comparationis* might actually be located, that some key or measure might be used by which our different languages might calibrate their meanings as they establish an exact equivalence. Behind this often unconscious assumption lies a Platonism, a desire for a universal measure outside the everyday — some rational language structure transcending the languages of our quotidian world, that might help us decode them. Countering such beliefs and their unfulfilled hope for equivalence, much contemporary translation theory makes strong claims for translation's very material necessity and, indeed, its current, altogether immanent modes and potential. Not only do we need translation in our immediate everyday transactions. We also need it for the survival and transmission of literary art and culture. Might there not be ways to think translation beyond the demand for equivalence, and to do so in a manner that would valorize multiplicity and difference in languages and cultures as it also valorizes communication among them? What of a down-to-earth story of translation, a more sublunary and hopeful one for understanding its craft as well as its role in the world?

Describing translation differently

As a good number of twentieth century theorists agree, we might indeed think of translation differently, as no longer in search of a *tertium comparationis* with its Platonic purity, and desire for perfect equivalence. We might speak of it more pragmatically and more productively. Translation might, for instance, be said to work within a non-essentialist, sublunary zone and to involve at least three very earthly actions: 1) a constant weighing of words in their different linguistic and cultural contexts, 2) a negotiation of meanings, and 3) a finding of comparable terms and contexts in a language other than the source (see Ost, *Les Detours* 38; also Bermann, "Working in the 'And' Zone"). This way of thinking translation might seek equivalence, but only the sort of equivalence that does not aspire to identity, to a sameness. It would deal in similarities that communicate, but without suppressing difference.

This change in perspective about the act of translation, the move from thinking translation as the search for equivalence to a search for mere similarity and analogy might be described as a more pragmatic or pragmatist turn. It is also a move from what Gilles

Deleuze and Félix Guattari describe as an arboreal or tree-like vision to a more rhizomatic one (see also Ost, *Le Droit* 24-26). Rather than emphasizing a return to the same, to the past, to the trunk of the translation tree, translation would entail a move outward, like the reaching tubers and roots of a rhizome, a reach to new words, to continually new possibilities of language, culture, and thought. This more earthly and outward movement also works through processes of analogy and what Charles Saunders Peirce has called abduction rather than through the more scientific, hierarchical and self-confirming procedures of induction or deduction. It would expect translation to produce a new text that echoes an earlier one but never claims to duplicate it exactly. From this perspective, the novelty and creativity of the translated text come into much sharper relief. Viewed this way — as based on analogy and abduction — translation plays an important role in creating the new in languages, even the unforeseen and the surprising. Peirce in fact describes abductive reasoning as a sort of reasoning that is not only more everyday, but also more creative than the usual inductive or deductive reasoning associated with the sciences (Walton 6-13; Davis 22-25). It comes to us in a flash, like a metaphor. It is an act of insight, a creative leap of the mind, a new hypothesis or image that relies on analogy. It does not reduce similarity to identity, or create full equivalence. It encourages us to think in similar but always different terms. In this "and zone" of analogy and abduction that is the earthly site of translation, human judgment and an ongoing internal dialogue between texts serve as guides — a judgment that owes its wisdom to a broad historical and cultural knowledge, and a dialogue that listens as well as responds. In the process, translation, while starting off from texts created before, inevitably creates something new — through a language that gestures toward the source text as it also transforms its own linguistic and cultural context. It thereby generates an ongoing dialogue between texts past and present, distant and close to home. This language of translation will bear within it a relation to another — or indeed to many others (more on this, see Bermann, "Working").

A description of translation as relation, based on linguistic analogy and abduction, rather than exact equivalence or fidelity, is more than simply operational. It also bears important ethical and aesthetic possibilities. As has been eloquently pointed out by Antoine Berman in *The Experience of the Foreign*, an ethic of hospitality inhabits the work of translation. A stranger will always be found there — speaking from another text, from another place and time (see also Berman, "La Traduction de la lettre" 87-91). Reading in translation — with a knowledge of its relational ways — can encourage awareness of the intervenient power of the translator and the polyphony of language itself. It can render us more vigilant readers, more acutely aware of textual transformations as well as cultural Otherness. Attuned to the transformative power of translation, much recent work in translation studies — emanating from postcolonial, poststructuralist thought, as well as from what is more generally termed the "cultural turn" in translation studies — has shifted emphasis to context and function in translation (see, e.g., the

work of Lawrence Venuti, Theo Hermans, Paul Bandia, Michael Cronin, Jeremy Munday, and Maria Tymoczko). Other major theorists of translation have identified the always value-laden responses that translation produces in and to specific situations. Highlighting the specific intervenient power of the translator, they underscore the ethical and political issues involved (see Mona Baker, Theo Hermans, Suzanne Jill Levine, Jeremy Munday, Sherry Simon, Luise von Flotow, among others). And increasingly, translation theorists and comparatists are rethinking premises from global perspectives, seeking new ways to understand cultural and linguistic differences occurring in the course of translation (see, e.g., Homi Bhaba, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Emily Apter, Edward Said, and Robert Young).

The work of Michael Cronin, for instance, highlights the specific viewpoints of source and translation in order to study the particulars of cultural otherness that translation can reveal. In his view, translation can in fact nurture diversity — and "global citizenship in the twenty-first century" (Cronin, *Translation and Identity* 30). His emphasis on a new "micro-cosmopolitanism" suggests that we think the global in more open, but also in more precise, local ways. He suggests, for instance, that we might study literature and culture "from below," from the viewpoint of language itself, with its many, often unforeseen cultural and historical connections (see Cronin, *Translation and Identity* 14-17). He also urges us to enter the critical discussion from any linguistic or cultural vantage point (not only from those of hegemonic English, French, Spanish, or Mandarin Chinese). Increasing attention to local languages, cultures, and texts and to their relation to the global is, I believe, essential if we are to produce literary and cultural interpretation with a heightened awareness of cultural Otherness. Doing so requires keeping differences in mind as the translator creatively weighs words in specific cultural contexts, negotiates meanings, and finds related but never identical terms in different languages and cultural systems.

Such ways of describing translation begin to provide a semantic framework for a range of current literary and linguistic issues — with ethical, cognitive and esthetic possibilities always in play. Three particular issues might be considered: 1) How might we more fully describe the ethics associated with translation as relation?, 2) If we think translation in the ways I have so far outlined, particularly in a broad global context, what do we mean by "language"? Is there in fact ever "a language," or is language itself a sort of "and zone" in which multiple languages encounter and overlap? How do we "think translation" in postcolonial situations where hybrid practices rule? What about inter-semiotic and intra-lingual as well as inter-lingual translations—all increasingly important in the global media?, and 3) Finally, what role might translation play in the study of world literature? There is clearly a growing interest in a more global range of readings — particularly visible in world literature programs in the United States and around the globe. These raise both challenges and promise for translation. According to David Damrosch, world literature seeks to chart a space for the encounter of cultures (283). How might world literature's many translations enlarge that space and promote a conversation of languages and cultures that can

engage readers with the narratives, poetries, and complex cultures and histories of our globe? And how might world literature lead in this way to a more respectful and responsive relation to other cultures? Attempts to answer these questions must range beyond the translation studies perspectives I have so far mentioned.

To broaden the context for answering them, I turn now to the work of Edouard Glissant. Writing from the French Caribbean island of Martinique, and from a deep engagement with postcolonial and poststructuralist thought, Glissant has been recognized by a number of major literary prizes — and a growing number of translations. His many works in a variety of genres produce overlapping yet expanding themes. I highlight several that are compelling in themselves and that contribute directly or indirectly to an argument for a more creative, relational and dialogic view of translation. These themes are archipelago, Creolization, relation, and translation. All expand the global context of what I have called translation as relation, and help to answer some of the questions it poses.

Archipelago and remapping

From the beginning, Glissant has written from both a "local" and a "global" perspective. A poet and writer of Martinique, he has mapped his homeland in poetry and prose, describing also the greater arc of the Caribbean islands. These islands open onto the flux of the sea and its terrifying history — as well as its unpredictable changes and unknown encounters of the future. But the islands and the sea have metaphorical reach well beyond their local context. In his theoretical writing, Glissant associates modes of thinking and of history with sorts of geographical setting. Continental thinking, more systematic, linear, and interested in filiation and genesis, would tend to be organized and characterized by "slow and imperceptible repercussions between languages" (Glissant, "Introduction to a Poetics of the Diverse" 119). Although this characterizes the European continent and particularly the Mediterranean basin, it fails to account for many other cultures of the world interacting today in energetic and sometimes violent ways. Opposed to this continental thinking Glissant juxtaposes an "archipelagan" viewpoint. Such thought is non-systematic, changeful, open to the unexpected. Like the islands themselves, set within the restless movement of the sea, this viewpoint welcomes encounter, innovation, unpredictable change. It also focuses on a history that is both discontinuous and in many cases, tragic (*Poetics of Relation* 33-34, *Caribbean Discourse* 130-43).

From his Caribbean standpoint, Glissant thus looks backward in time and outward toward the sea to relate the complicated, non-linear histories of the island of Martinique. What he describes is not the official French history of discovery, but the complex interwoven histories of the island's settling, the eradication of its indigenous population, the development of the slave trade, and the multiple immigrations that ensued. Such a history does not have lines of filiation reaching back to a single source. It is from the start a mixture. According to Glissant, such a tragic history must be faced

and accepted, in the same way as the potential for mixture and encounter it now provides. In poetic texts such as *Les Indes (The Indies)*, *Le Sang rivé (Riveted Blood)*, *Le Sel noir (Black Salt)*, and *Boises (Yokes)*, Glissant evokes the tragic history as well as the present beauty and hopes of the islands through a language that powerfully draws upon the imagery of the natural world. For Glissant, "the poetic word is flesh," as he writes in *Riveted Blood (Black Salt 32, The Collected Poems 14)*. From his island home, poetry comes as a cry more than a celebration, in contact with the sea of the Middle Passage, and with the memory of all who have suffered. Trees, birds, the shore- lines stud the sea with an accumulating imagery that reveals the working and re-workings of history. This poetry uses innovative prosodic forms, rather than the traditional Alexandrine — including the prose poem, and experiments with aphoristic short verse, to create a poetry open to new intersections, new ways of reading, new interpretive relations. The poetic word is, above all, a creolized word, a complex juncture of oral and written language. Such novelty, such resistance to the systematic and conventional, is appropriate to the history and promise of the islands, the archipelago. Through imagery, syntax and rhythmic form, his poetry evokes a thought process he describes theoretically in his *Introduction to a Poetics of the Diverse*:

Another form of thought is developing, more intuitive, more fragile, threatened ... This thought I call "archipelagic thought," a nonsystematic, inductive thought that explores the unforeseen of the world-totality and attunes the written to the oral and the oral to the written. What I see is that today the continents are being "archipelagized," at least as perceived from the outside. The Americas are archipelagizing themselves, are constituting themselves into regions beyond national borders. And I believe that this term of "region" needs to be given some dignity. Europe is archipelagizing. Linguistic regions, cultural regions, beyond the barriers of nationhood, are islands — but open islands, this being their main condition for survival" (119-20).

Here, center and periphery give way to extension, transformation, and encounter. What emerges is not a unity, but a diverse totality.

Creolization and the politics of language

Creolization is for Glissant a central concept. It is language as *métissage*, (both a cultural and a linguistic mixing.) Creole language is both a specific local and historical phenomenon — and also organically linked for Glissant to the cross-cultural phenomenon described as typical of our times and of archipelagan thinking. On the local level, the Creole language is the language used in Martinique and elsewhere. As such, it as a language without a unified, single root; it is not derived from an original African language, but a creation born of many — the languages of indigenous peoples, African slaves and European colonists. A language tied to the land, it is imbued with specific local histories and community cultures. According to Glissant, cultures and languages must be preserved. They must be left their

dignity and "opacity," to use one of his favorite terms. He means by this their depth and distinctness — though not exclusivity, isolation or hegemony. Such languages, of which there are many in the world, must resist universalization into a single language or group of hegemonic languages. Glissant thus firmly rejects the universalizing hopes of the Tower of Babel as well as the tragic view of linguistic plurality described at the beginning of this essay. In his view, "vast and dizzying possibilities are opening up, transcending fierce struggles against economic domination. This is not the pre-apocalyptic dizziness which precedes the fall of the Tower of Babel, but rather the tremor of creativity confronted with these boundless possibilities (Glissant, "Beyond Babel"). Authors should write today with the world's multiple languages in mind — as possibilities to be protected and nurtured.

Language and Creolization are the subject of some of Glissant's most compelling essays and theoretical works. His *Discours Antillais* (*Caribbean Discourse*) discusses not only the role of Creole language in the Caribbean, but its complex and problematic political situation. For it is not simply the inadequacy of either French or Creole to express Martiniquan culture that poses problems to writer and ordinary citizen alike; it is also the unequal weight and importance of the two languages. "The official language, French, is not the people's language. This is why we, the elite, speak it so correctly. The language of the people, Creole, is not the language of the nation" (*Caribbean Discourse* 166). Such a situation clearly creates major political and literary obstacles. According to Glissant, the writer can respond to this by transcending both languages to create a new idiom (what he calls *langage* as opposed to *langue*). Amalgamating both oral and written discourse, Glissant produces a distinctive written idiom that transforms the official French through the Creole language (see Britton, 141-43). Specifically, he employs Creole words and syntactical structures that invade and "foreignize" his French text. At the same time, he finds inspiration in the Caribbean arts of painting and sculpture — the painting of Wilfredo Lam and Matta as well as the sculpture of Cardenas — as he pursues his own poetics. In Glissant's resulting *langage* — a translation in its own right — the Caribbean landscape often provides images of mutation and Creolization.

Throughout many of Glissant's later texts, Creolization suggests a far more general, indeed "global" principle, referring to the increasing contact between cultures of the world. In our current era the cultures of the world are intersecting more often and becoming more conscious of one another. They are changing and exchanging across shocks, wars, but also the advances of consciousness. The idea of Creolization in this more general context is rhizomatic — extending outward to new encounters: "If we speak of creolized cultures (like that of the Caribbean for example), it is not to define a self-contained category which by its very nature would be opposed to other categories (pure cultures), but to assert that today the infinite vistas of interrelating are open to the human mind" (Glissant qtd. in Dash 148). While based in local histories, Creolization expressed as a global principle subverts attempts to glorify any single or "unique"

origin that a language, nation or group wishes to claim. It highlights *métissage*, encounter and synthesis. Creating the new and unforeseen, Creolization is a cultural expression of unending metamorphosis, a *métissage* without limits. Creolization is also the linguistic term for the "Poetics of Relation" to which Glissant devoted his theoretical book in 1990.

Relation and identities

Glissant takes the term "relation" in its usual sense, meaning rapport, connection, the tie associating things — be they phenomena, sizes, peoples etc. It suggests the act of telling or narrating as well. But he also explores it philosophically and politically. In his essays, "relation" remains anti-essentialist and strongly anti-imperialist. He uses the term to illustrate a way of thinking that does not attempt appropriation of one element or language or culture by another, but that underscores only the tie, the connection, while leaving to each entity its individual thickness, its 'opacity.' Only this way, as equals in respect and independence, do they maintain the opportunity for free dialogue and exchange. Relation for Glissant is the positive result of what he calls more generally "chaos." Referring to chaos theory in mathematics, he emphasizes the unpredictable and the accidental. Here, new sorts of identity — "relation-identities" or "rhizome-identities" — are formed. Such identities do not depend on the downward-reaching root, characteristic of what he names "root-identity," but extend outward, through multiple branching networks of roots. Such identity is not fixed but shifting and questioning, changing through the relations with the many particular Others that constitute it (*Poetics of Relation* 141-57; see also Deleuze and Guattari).

For Glissant, the modern epoch constitutes a time of growing dialogue between cultures of different sensibilities and an increasing awareness of the importance of identity as multiple and rhizomatic. A keen sense of the world's multilingualism is essential to this conception: "I write in the presence of all the world's languages ... But to write in the presence of all the world's languages does not mean to know all the world's languages. It means that in the present context of multiple literatures and of the relation of poetics with the chaos-world, I can no longer write in a monolingual manner" ("Introduction," *A Poetics of the Diverse* 119). This is to say, among other things, that we must leave behind a sense of language or knowledge that attempts to dominate or comprehend (in the sense of "grasping" that which is Other) and adopt one that is shared. Ideally, this rapport with Others permits everyone to speak the world in his/her own created language — and to act in the world as well. It also demands an ongoing awareness and respect for the great number of languages and literatures in our world, many of which are currently being absorbed. Relation is, then, above all, an encounter of the languages and cultures of the world as well as a creation of a new sort of identity that arises from an awareness of this. It is an encounter that is open, unforeseeable and creative. It entails exchanges — but has no system at hand to explain all in advance, only

a keen understanding that there *are* a multitude of systems, and that they interact in always new and intriguing ways.

According to Glissant, no communities — certainly not imperialist ones — derive legitimacy from a mythological, ontological or genetic order, but rather from a "relational" one — that is, from their connection and openness to others. He notes that wandering and encounter have always been recurrent themes, essential even to the great "foundational" epics: from the Old Testament, to the *Iliad*, the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, the Indian *Bhagavad-Gita*, the Icelandic sagas and the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Aeneid* to the *Popul Vuh* or the *Chilam Balam* of the Native Americans, to the Finnish *Kalevala*. ("Introduction," *Poetics of the Diverse* 120). In the course of such mythic journeys, different modes of relation, examples of becoming, are as important as definitions of being. Emphasizing the journeys — rather than the foundational moments — would provide challenging themes for study, while subverting the root-identities they usually suggest.

Translation and relation

Glissant does not lavish many words on translation. But he is clear about its role. He understands translation as relation par excellence. Why? For one, because in the exchange fostered by translation, two texts retain their thickness and opacity. Each is respected and works within its own cultural and linguistic community. The act of translation provides the connectivity and does so through its creative "detour" into another language, the wanderer's journey into a new language and culture. Translation's role is both real and symbolic, implicating all of the terms so far discussed. It works in a non-essentialist, relational way:

The language of the translator operates like Creolization and like Relation in the world. That is, this language produces the unforeseeable. Translation is a veritable operation of Creolization, from now on a new practice of that invaluable cultural *métissage* ... Translation inscribes itself in the multiplicity of our world, Translation is consequently only the most important type of the new archipelagic thinking. Art of the flight ["fugue"] from one language to another, without the first being effaced, without the second refusing to appear. But also art of the fugue because each translation accompanies the network of all possible translations of all languages into all. (*Introduction à un poétique du divers* 45; unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine)

For Glissant, all languages reach beyond themselves to intersect with other languages and the cultures from which they emerge. So there is much room for translation. But translation will always remain only relative, never scientifically equivalent. It does not want to be. The translator, like the writer, creates relations by forging a new language (*langage*) based on a respect for Otherness, and in dialogue with it. It is a language whose novelty and future course cannot be foreseen. This is also the sort of translation that "translation as relation" would describe.

Although Glissant's work often suggests poetic vision rather than

argument, it nonetheless illuminates what translation as relation might include. And although clearly utopian, as well as deeply political, its visions of archipelagan remapping, of Creolization, of a new rhizome identity and of creative translation have both practical and literary appeal. For one, they underscore the role of imagination in envisioning the future. They also suggest fruitful directions for answering the particular questions introduced earlier: 1) What might we then mean by an ethics of translation? Translation as relation would operate within an anti-essentialist philosophical framework. Its ethics would accept the "opacity" of the source text, while not overwhelming it or pretending to fully comprehend and transparently restate it in an equivalent semantic and syntactic structure. Aspects of the source text would always remain unspoken in the new words of translation. Translation as relation would, moreover, clearly extend to all the languages of the world. It would intend never to eradicate the source language but rather to draw attention to it and to its cultural community; 2) What might we mean by "language" in a broad global context? Is there in fact ever "a language," or is language itself a sort of "and zone" where multiple languages encounter and overlap? As we have seen, Glissant makes language issues central to his work and presents them in a variety of ways. His discussions of Creolization underscore the complexity of every language, while focusing our attention on the particular linguistic *métissage* of post-colonial situations. Glissant's explanation of language as in fact multi-linguistic and in constant transformation suggests new ways to consider the very language of translation. Indeed, it would seem that just as the poet creates a *langage*, a special idiom, for her use, so does the translator. In the creolized zone that Glissant explores, the two run parallel, each creative, each transforming language through dialogues with other texts, languages and arts; and 3) Glissant's writing also advances our understanding of world literature and translation's role within it. The emphasis on multilingualism promotes respectful consideration of the countless works of literature written in the many languages of the world. Moreover, while world literature risks being impoverished when reduced to a simple "tree-like" archaeology of texts and their cultural roots, Glissant offers a new direction of epic analysis. It builds on the wanderings rather than the "foundational" character of world literature's epic texts. This brings us back to that other journey through language, time, and space entailed in the production, translation and re-translation of texts, classic and otherwise. Finally, Glissant's very discussions of archipelagan thinking, with its potential re-mapping according to flows of languages, translations, literatures, and peoples rather than institutionalized geo-political borders, itself offers an important humanistic counterpoint to ideas of commercial, financial or military globalization and to legal and political structures fixed within the nation-state. They suggest new ways to think about literary transmission across the globe, perhaps even new ways to map world literature.

Epilogue or translating Glissant

Glissant himself can be viewed from the standpoint of literary transmission and world literature. A growing number of translations have placed his work in new cultural contexts, where they initiate important dialogues, affecting identities, languages and poetic idioms. There have already been a good number of translations of Glissant into different languages: at least 14 book-length translations into English; 1 book into Italian; 1 book into Japanese; 11 into German; 1 into Portuguese; 8 into Spanish. His English translations by Michael Dash, Betsy Wing, and Jeff Humphries, for instance (which are those I know best) have offered important recreations of his work, coupled with insights into the particularities of Glissant's syntax, lexicon and form. These translations have enabled his theoretical and creative work to widely influence postcolonial thinking about language and identity.

Arguably, Glissant has already left his mark not only on theorists and academics, but on poets as well. For instance, Adrienne Rich, the celebrated U.S. poet, speaks of the importance of Glissant's work to her own. Indeed, her sense of translation has been deepened by this encounter. She has long welcomed poetry of other cultures when forging her own distinctive work, and translations have often played a part in this. She writes of her desire for "a convergence of tributaries" jostling one against another (*A Wild Patience Has Taken Me This Far* 130), and for a language that has learned from "the heartbeat, memories, images of strangers" (*What is Found There* 86). But in recent years she has begun to measure the full political charge implicit in this term "translation." In her 2007 essay "Poetry and Commitment," Rich speaks of poetry as "an exchange of energies which, in changing consciousness, can effect change in existing conditions" (38). Here she also makes clear both the importance of translation and the fact that she does not think of it as anything disembodied, Platonic, or esoteric. It is neither a simple intertextuality, she reminds us, nor some vague understanding of World Literature (so often assumed to be a European-rooted "tree," eliciting hierarchical readings of the national and the foreign). Rather, in Rich's view, translation is a part of our many individual lives and their particular histories, deeply connected to their often terrifying twists and changes, and capable of either betraying or fostering that exchange of energy that is poetry. She writes, "I've relied — both today and in my lifelong sense of what poetry can be — on translation: the carrying over, the trade routes of language and literature. And the questions of who is translated, who are the translators, how and by whom the work is done and distributed are also, in a world of imbalanced power and language, political questions. Let's bear in mind the Triangle Trade as a quintessential agony of translation" ("Poetry and Commitment" 38). She follows these words at the end of that essay with a reference to Glissant's *Poetics of Relation*, pointing to the abyss of the Middle Passage, and to the sharing that can occur through a poet's lived awareness of other poets, other languages, and other, often tragic histories (see Bermann, "Re-vision" 111-12).

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Culture, Mapping, and Spatial Configurations in Jameson and Lefebvre

Arina Lungu-Cirstea

Abstract: In her article, "Culture, Mapping, and Spatial Configurations in Jameson and Lefebvre," Arina Lungu-Cirstea examines Fredric Jameson's volume *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* under the light of spatial theory developed in the 1970s by Henri Lefebvre. For Jameson, the spatial turn is a consequence of the gap between the limited abilities of the human perceptive apparatus and the unrepresentability of the multinational hyperspace. Lungu-Cirstea argues that Jameson reaches his definition of "culturally-dominant" sensibility by disregarding the rich body of spatial criticism outside postmodern theory. In contrast, Lefebvre's analysis of urban space points to the Marxist origins of the contemporary interest in space across a range of disciplines and cultural trends, and implicitly casts doubt on Jameson's attempt to define the spatial turn as an original development within postmodernism.

In the early 1970s, Western scholarship and culture has witnessed the emergence of a new paradigm, with focus on the description and analysis of society in terms of spatial configurations. The novelty of this approach resides, on the one hand, in a rapprochement between the characteristics of physical space and the psycho-sociological profile of the individuals inhabiting it. On the other, the valorization of spatiality qualifies as a reaction against the "canonized rhetoric of temporality of the critics and theorists of high modernism" (Jameson 365). The adaptation of this notion assumes the spatial turn — perhaps in contrast to the "visual turn" — to be connected to the rise of postmodernism and implicitly to mark a clear-cut distinction between this trend and the modernist movement.

In this article I examine the terms in which Fredric Jameson, in his *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, defines postmodernism as a new approach to space, deriving from the evolution of capitalist relationships of production. Jameson's views are contrasted with those of his acknowledged predecessor, Henri Lefebvre, as expressed in his *The Production of Space (La Production de l'espace)*. By means of this comparative method, my analysis attempts to cast a new light upon a series of related questions. I begin by considering whether, as Lefebvre argues, human life has always been defined by spatial issues, yet some thinkers never paid proper attention to it, or conversely, as Jameson suggests, the contemporary interest in space represents a novel feature which is specific to postmodern identity. For Jameson, the main characteristic of postmodern culture is a mutation in objective space, which has not yet been matched by "any equivalent mutation in the subject" (38). I argue that this claim stems from a universalizing view of urban space — in Lefebvre's terms an "abstract space" — within which the perspective of the designer takes precedence over the lived experience of the inhabitants. Although Jameson rejects the principles of semiotics, his analysis of individual buildings seems to be deeply

indebted to them. This observation appears all the more important by contrast with his pursuit of a "totalizing" approach to postmodernism based on Marxian conceptual strategies (Jameson, *Postmodernism* 400).

In turn, Lefebvre also works within the Marxian project in spite of his frictional relationship with canonical Marxism. Despite its theoretical indifference to postmodernism (Jameson, *Postmodernism* 364), *The Production of Space* addresses crucial issues on the postmodern agenda which are paradoxically left out of Jameson's analysis — such as the patriarchal aspects of the power algorithm, popular (as opposed to high culture) mechanisms of resistance, or the diversity of lived experience. However, firmly rooted in French sociological tradition (see Soja 45) and the critique of the "modernisation of France in the postwar ... era" (Jameson, *Postmodernism* 364), Lefebvre's work does not justify — what is more, defies — postmodern encapsulation. Thus, rather than ascribing the spatial turn, and Lefebvre with it, to the area of postmodern innovations, it is more productive to regard them as specific developments within Western Marxism. In adopting this stance, I draw attention to the ambiguity of Jameson's own theoretical position which may be seen as simultaneously "inside" and "outside" the postmodern movement.

Lefebvre's spatial system is essentially dynamic, as suggested by the title of his work, which alongside its Marxian undertones inaugurates an active understanding of space as a process in continuous progress (110). As he elaborated his spatial analysis within a hostile or at least opaque cultural environment, his views would only slowly penetrate into the Western academe along with the mediation of the Anglo-American school of urbanism (see Merrifield 168-69). Examining Lefebvre's position in contemporary Western culture, Andy Merrifield draws attention to the discrepancy between his "minority status in France" and his current prominence within "Anglo-American intellectual circles" (168). In Merrifield's view, canonical French Marxists of the 1970s regarded Lefebvre's concern with urban space as a deviation from fundamental class issues, whereas dissenters within this doctrine showed more interest in Louis Althusser's reformulation of Marx from a poststructuralist perspective. Lefebvre's ideas found, however, a fertile ground in the discipline of urban geography, whose foundations were being laid at the time in Anglo-American scholarship. It was the translation of *La Production de l'espace* into English in 1991 which resulted in Lefebvre's reputation as one of the leading contemporary thinkers of aspects of space (Merrifield 170). It may therefore be argued that there is a direct connection between this early work and subsequent theories as the one developed by Jameson in the 1980s and 1990s. Lefebvre assumes the pioneering task of extracting the concept of space from the abstract field of philosophy and science, and placing it in a central position within sociological and psychological debates: "how were transitions to be made from mathematical spaces (i.e., from the mental capacities of human beings, from logic) to nature in the first place, to practice in the second, and thence to the theory of social life — which also presumably must unfold in space?" (3). In his view, this separation is itself inaccurate; consequently he replaces it with a

generative concept of space, which is shown to be actively produced at the interface between physical, mental and social phenomena.

The examination of such a "social space" would therefore imply an exhaustive analysis of both concrete and abstract human activities, since none of these can be imagined outside a particular spatial configuration, implicitly shaping while at the same time being shaped by them. Lefebvre therefore regards the (previously neglected) dimension of space as a primary unit of sociological inquiry. The sweeping effect of his argumentation stems mainly from a heavy emphasis on novelty. Lefebvre construes his discourse in such a manner as to create the conditions of a cognitive "event," characterized by a rupture with a dissatisfying past in the name of an enhanced future. The (meta)narrative underlying this rhetorical strategy presupposes belief in the rational advancement of knowledge — which links Lefebvre with the much debated project of modernity, and by dint of his materialist approach, with the Marxist tradition. Edward Soja suggests that Lefebvre was far from developing his interest in social space on virgin territory; to the contrary, "in France the spatial dimension had been an insistent element of studies in political economy since the end of the seventeenth century" (45). According to Soja, after a period of decline at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this spatial tradition surfaced once more in the concerns of all major thinkers emerging — and distancing themselves — from French Marxism. Lefebvre's criticism of such thinkers (e.g., Foucault, Althusser) serves to confirm rather than disprove Soja's hypothesis. Whereas the particular direction embraced by his critique of space is undoubtedly genuine, his denial of predecessors as well as contemporary affiliations should also be approached in terms of the modernist rhetoric of innovation. This emphasis on the value of the present moment compels thinkers to a specific form of voluntary amnesia — so that in most cases the severance of all links with the past can be exposed as a mere rhetorical trick.

By contrast, for Jameson the "claim to historic originality of postmodernism" resides precisely in the "renunciation of the new or novum" (*Postmodernism* 104). In the "Introduction" to his book, he even adopts a critical distance from his own attempt to define this movement as a self-sufficient cultural trend: "I have pretended to believe that the postmodern is as unusual as it thinks it is, and that it constitutes a cultural and experiential break worth exploring in greater detail ... The fundamental ideological task of the new concept, however, must remain that of coordinating new forms of practice and social and mental habits ... with the new forms of economic production" (xiii-iv). This constant subordination of hermeneutical "suspicion" to the principles of coherence and continuity — stemming from Marxian habits of thought — signals the ambiguous character of Jameson's relation to postmodernism. It becomes obvious then that the critic's interest in contemporary space comes secondary to the task of providing a "totalizing" description of the postmodern movement. This observation casts a new light upon his attempt to enunciate a form of spatiality which characterizes exclusively the postmodern age.

From the onset, the "spatial turn" is indicated as one of the most "productive ways of distinguishing post-modernism from modernism proper" (154), due to the latter's obsession with the problematic of time and historicity. In contrast to Lefebvre's view of space as a social category organizing the entirety of human history, Jameson postulates a "supplement of spatiality" specific to one particular stage in the evolution of capitalism, namely the contemporary age of "multinational capital" (*Postmodernism* 365). The arbitrariness of Jameson's attempt to justify the limitations of his discussion of space becomes conspicuous in such paradoxical statements as "even if everything is spatial, this postmodern reality here is somehow *more* spatial than everything else" (*Postmodernism* 365). While Lefebvre's argument relies on the concept of change as the very driving force of the history of ideas, Jameson shifts the weight of the discussion towards the fields of nature and economy. Under the circumstances, his effort to stretch natural space seems far-fetched, or at least insufficiently argued. At the same time, the postulation of a supplement of space turns out to be quite superfluous, since following Lefebvre, Jameson also insists upon the mutual dependence between the spatio-temporal axes and the processes of production (*Postmodernism* 367). Spatial configurations in any age would be accordingly stretched and molded by all other social factors. Rather than advocating space as the distinguishing feature of postmodern society, it would be more justifiable then to regard it as merely one of the main concerns of contemporary culture theory. The latter approach also accounts for the connection between the spatial turn and the Marxist formation of both thinkers, given that Marxism precedes and transcends modernism and postmodernism alike. In a parallel vein, it is obvious that both Lefebvre and Jameson, by the very scope of their analyses, take distance from classical Marxism. What is more, despite the resolutely Marxian character of their method, both have been severely criticized for straying from the right path of genuine Marxist criticism (see Jameson, *Postmodernism* 297; Merrifield 168). Jameson sums up this controversy in the following metaphor: "Marxism and postmodernism: people often seem to find this combination peculiar or paradoxical, and somehow intensely unstable, so that some are led to conclude that, in my own case, having "become" a postmodernist I must have ceased to be a Marxist in any meaningful (or in other words, stereotypical) sense. For the two terms (in full postmodernism) carry with them a whole freight of pop nostalgia images, "Marxism" perhaps distilling itself into yellowing period photographs of Lenin and the Soviet revolution, and "postmodernism" quickly yielding a vista of the gaudiest new hotels. The over-hasty unconscious then rapidly assembles the image of a small, painstakingly reproduced nostalgia restaurant – decorated with old photographs, with Soviet waiters sluggishly serving bad Russian food – hidden away within some gleaming new pink and blue architectural extravaganza" (*Postmodernism* 297). Such an image can only serve as an ironic and somehow outdated commentary upon the conceptual rigidity of Marxist groups in the West no less than elsewhere. Beyond doubt, it was not the secular worship of such groups which shoveled Marx's ideas into the twenty-first century, but,

rather, the heresies of such thinkers as Jameson and Lefebvre who dwelled on primary texts so as to develop the present-day body of Marxian concepts.

The above metaphor challenges additionally the Cold War stereotypes of East versus West — with "bad" Marxism figuring as the gloomy economic depression of the Soviet Union and "good" capitalism symbolized by the breathtaking skyscrapers of international corporations. Yet, on the other hand, Jameson's choice of illustrations throughout his book conveys the feeling that it is once more the role of the West — more specifically, the prosperous US-American business environment — to set the pace for the world's economic and cultural development. From this standpoint, Lefebvre seems closer to the spirit of Marx's work, not only in methodological but also in ethical terms. If we take, for instance, the system exposed in *The Production of Space*, it becomes evident that it can only be validated on the ideological scaffolding of Marx's theory of production. Lefebvre's theory of social space relies on three related concepts. To begin with, "spatial practices" designate the correlation between the "social relationships of reproduction" — the private and family sphere — and the "social relationships of production" — the sphere of work and social interaction (Lefebvre 33). They generate the specific configuration of any given society, and ensure its cohesion by requiring a certain degree of perceptual "competence" from its members. In other words, these practices represent the ways in which individuals perceive the social space they inhabit. Secondly, "representations of space" refer to the abstract space as conceived by architects and planners. By means of a system of codes and signs, these representations embody the ideology of the dominant class, and the social hierarchy imposed by the relationships of production. In capitalism, for instance, this ideology is represented by the "logic" of the "world of commodities" (Lefebvre 53) which is inherent in such spaces as banks, commercial and business centers, airports and motorways, or information networks. Lastly, "representational spaces" are the domain of lived experience, of everyday activities, and may contain codes related to the "underground" order of existence, and also to art. This triad is envisaged as pervading all forms of social activity, and accounting for the complex network of influences between space and its inhabitants. For instance, for an English male peasant living in the Middle Ages, spatial practice was dominated by the roads connecting his home and village to neighboring ones, and also by the famous pilgrims' and crusaders' ways across several continents (Lefebvre 45). Representations of space were to be found in the design of churches and castles, based on an opposition between Heaven and Hell, light and darkness, the world above and the one below. Representational spaces, on the other hand, regulated his daily routine, and were reflected by the various artefacts he produced, or the fabrics he used. However, as Merrifield points out, this ingenious conceptual system could well be regarded as merely pretentious in the absence of a Marxian substratum of in-depth analysis (175). Lefebvre's concept of abstract space can be fully understood only in terms of Marx's abstract labor — as relations of production stripped of their human content. These abstract con-

cepts are subordinated to social reality by virtue of their financial significance. The work of architects, in other words, is influenced invariably by monetary considerations — and in most cases, it depends upon the interests of the money-supplying individuals or institutions. Lefebvre's spatial system is therefore backed by the Marxist thesis that money represents the common denominator of social relations in any capitalist society.

In my opinion, it is precisely this abstract space that Jameson privileges in his analysis. By this I do not mean solely that his book focuses on the examination of post-1960 architectural forms, and the extent to which they are representative of the contemporary *air du temps*. The changes in architectural space can justifiably offer invaluable insights as to the nature of the society inhabiting it. Yet Jameson repeatedly prioritizes the perspective of the designer over the diversity of concrete experience, by homogenizing human occupation of space into one exponential pattern. For methodological purposes, even such simplification would be acceptable had the analysis been maintained within the disciplinary confines of architecture. Nevertheless, these partial conclusions are extended to the sphere of sociology, and brought to bear upon the very nature of postmodern sensibility. If we take for instance the analysis of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles, it becomes obvious that Jameson's primary concern is with the vision of the architect, John Portman, and the failure or success of his enterprise. The building is stripped of economic connotations, and treated as a collection of signs presumably inscribed by the creator for a certain audience, who may or may not be able to interpret them correctly (*Postmodernism* 39-44). Jameson proceeds by looking at the individual elements of the construction, and trying to decipher their role in representing Portman's identity as a postmodern architect. One interesting example in this respect is his attempt at a narrative analysis of the hotel lifts: "We know in any case that recent architectural theory has begun to borrow from narrative analysis in other fields and to attempt to see our physical trajectories through such buildings as virtual narratives or stories ... In the Bonaventure, however, we find a dialectical heightening of this process: it seems to me that the escalators and the elevators here henceforth replace movement but also, and above all, designate themselves as new reflexive signs and emblems of movement proper ... Here the narrative stroll has been underscored, symbolized, reified, and replaced by a transportation machine which becomes the allegorical signifier of that older promenade we are no longer allowed to conduct on our own: and this is a dialectical intensification of the autoreferentiality of all modern culture, which tends to turn upon itself and designate its own cultural production as its content" (*Postmodernism* 42). This semiotic approach clashes with Jameson's initial commitment to a sociological-materialist perspective. In addition, by making a unique model of interpretation — implicitly, his own — the cornerstone of his spatial system, he infringes upon the democratization of the sign which lies at the very foundation of poststructuralism. If architecture is to be interpreted as a language, therefore, we should necessarily make room for a variety of alternative perspectives.

For Jameson, however, the human subject occupying postmodernist space is by definition one whose "perceptual habits were formed in that older kind of space I have called the space of high modernism" (*Postmodernism* 38). Further on, modernist architecture is described as "elitist" and reclusive, painstakingly isolating itself from the city fabric. By contrast, postmodernist buildings such as the Bonaventure hotel are essentially popular, open to "locals and tourists alike" (*Postmodernism* 39). Under the circumstances, while Portman's design may well be the result of a negotiation with high modernist ideology, there is little reason to generalize this observation at the level of hotel guests and staff, whose perception would undoubtedly be shaped by a wider variety of factors, among which their own cultural background as well as the social role they accomplish within that space. This generalization supports one of the crucial claims in Jameson's work; namely, that technological progress has resulted in a "postmodern hyperspace" which has surpassed the adaptability power of the human perceptive apparatus. In my view, Jameson's position can be challenged from several perspectives. On the one hand, his view of space can be contrasted to that of Lefebvre. For the French theorist, "representations of space" as embodied in public buildings represent the reification of relationships of production — therefore a direct if covert expression of what Jameson would call a "mutation in the subject." Yet, Jameson sees these spaces as a function of the "superstructure" and reverses the Marxian paradigm by interpreting art — in this case, architecture — as the driving force of social change: "At any rate, the very concept of space here demonstrates its supremely mediatory function, in the way in which its aesthetic formulation begins at once to entail cognitive consequences on the one hand and socio-political consequences on the other ... Le Corbusier's 'free plan' may be said in much the same sense to challenge the existence of the traditional room as a syntactic category and to produce an imperative to dwell in some new way, to invent new forms of living and habitation as an ethical and political (and perhaps also a psychoanalytic) consequence of formal mutation" (*Postmodernism* 104-07). It appears that Jameson — programmatically or not — chooses to obscure the increasing commodification of intellectual work in Marshall McLuhan's "global village." In so doing, he ignores or at least minimizes an essential feature of late-capitalist economy. By placing the socio-political in the subordinate layer of his development scheme, the critic leaves little room for the economic and political motivation of architects themselves, and the various ways in which dominant ideologies are reflected in urban planning. At the opposite pole, for Lefebvre, the belief that artists "are in some way the cause or *ratio* of space, whether architectural, urbanistic or global" (304) represents a regrettable fallacy in the history of art, which can only stem from a faulty methodology — that is, the practice of considering works of art in disjunction from their social function.

One further argument in support of this criticism is formulated by Walter Benjamin in his analysis of nineteenth-century Paris. Benjamin defines the then current stage of capitalism as the moment when the architect-engineer replaces the artist as "the painter of the

modern world" (176). Taking as an example Georg Haussmann's "strategic beautification" of Paris (partly serving the consolidation of state power, and partly for "sanitary purposes" with obvious economic repercussions), Benjamin infers that modernist aesthetics — which was still governed by the principle of Beauty — has been superseded by a new vision which has "liberated the forms of creation from art" (176) and implicitly relocated them at the level of technological processes of production and reproduction. On the other hand, Jameson's theory leaves open the question of the mutation in objective space. By insisting upon the role of artistic design in the production of postmodern sensibility, Jameson dismisses the equally justifiable hypothesis that it might have been this very change in sensibility which triggered the demand for new spatial configurations. The various social and political movements of the 1960s have undoubtedly influenced the *Weltanschauung* of postmodern architects, prompting the emergence of a new type of building — more transparent, more accessible, less centralized. Following this line of thought, Italian architect and theorist Paolo Portoghesi would claim that "architecture was one of the first disciplines to go into crisis when faced with the new needs and desires of postmodern society" (209). Needless to say, Jameson does not actually ignore the social dimension of contemporary architecture. To the contrary, he alludes repeatedly to the economic reality underpinning his analysis, namely the relationships of production within multinational capitalism. As previously stated, however, he underplays the diversity of power contributions to the production of space, and, as his overview of the Bonaventure hotel suggests, focuses primarily on the dimension of consumption, which is in its turn homogenized. It would not be too much to say, then, that in his attempt to come up with a coherent explanation of postmodernism, Jameson is forced to resort to an undue simplification of the complex reality that he sets out to describe. Conversely, it is the all too ambitious complexity of description which represents one of the setbacks of Lefebvre's spatial system. As Merrifield notices, more often than not the sociologist leaves to the reader the task of filling in his highly comprehensive conceptual frameworks (173). The common quest for an all-encompassing set of explanations confirms the fact that, as Kanisha Goonewardena points out, the principle underlying the work of both Jameson and Lefebvre is the Marxian descriptive "totality" — which stands in sharp contrast with the "positivist and empiricist philosophy of postmodernism" holding that "reality is constituted of isolated, self-sufficient particulars" (59). Goonewardena suggests that as far back as 1971 György Lukács — working within the framework of dogmatic Marxism — noted that the true essence of Marxist criticism resides not in the "primacy of economic motives in historical explanation," but in the "point of view of totality" (59). From this perspective, the spatial systems under analysis qualify as fundamentally Marxist, beyond certain methodological and contextual differences. This conclusion provides a strong argument for an understanding of the spatial turn as a peripheral development within Western Marxism, which subsequently permeated other fields of culture (see Soja 43-45) — architectural theory included.

Owing to the cultural context of their production and reception, the spatial systems put forth by Jameson and Lefebvre enter a complex relationship not only with Marxism but also with the equally influential deconstructive movement. With a similar materialist formation impinging them towards anti-formalism, these thinkers however respond differently to the challenge of deconstructive analysis. Lefebvre opposes the textualization of social space. In his view, to regard space as a discursive concatenation of signs and meanings would lead to an over-simplification of its praxis. While admittedly spaces contain meanings, they cannot be however reduced to the sum of those meanings (136-37). In other words, he continues to claim the spatial dimension for the realm of sociologic analysis, carefully opposing the deconstructionists' attempt to subordinate the social to the linguistic. In *The Production of Space*, the notion of abstract space is associated to a covert ideological content, which exerts a diffuse yet all the more powerful influence upon ordinary members of society. Thus — as Merrifield sums up — such space represents implicitly not only the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie, but also the patriarchal values underpinning capitalist society, expressed in "the 'phallic erectility' of towers and skyscrapers, symbols of force, of male fertility, and of masculine violence" (176). Furthermore, Lefebvre draws attention to the deceitful blankness of all "representations of space" such as maps, transport networks, and city plans which ultimately aim to project their fake homogeneity upon the representational or lived space. This constructed erasure of difference prevents the natural expansion of what he calls "differential space" — one celebrating the palpable presence of living bodies, whose diversity of experience undermines centralized discourse. By contrast, modern urban planning ultimately represents a "spatial embodiment of Logos" (Merrifield 177), the final assault of rationality upon the freedom of the body. In urban centers designed by adepts of the New Town movement, the lives of the inhabitants seem to be thoroughly pre-determined by the architect's draft. Such spatial configurations are meant to convey not the dynamic relationships of individuals with occupied space, but rather the frozen power hierarchy.

As Merrifield points out, Lefebvre's Marxism is doubled by a celebration of those aspects of social life characterized by Nietzsche as Dionysian. Lefebvre rejoices in the subversive character of festival, which is indicated as one important way for the individual to evade the rational strictures of commodified space (385). However, a genuine festival is more than the mere space of leisure, or non-work; it requires the creative transformation of the participants. Just like the ancient carnival then, such a spatio-temporal event may actively challenge the social fabric. Consumerist society, however, curbs the regenerative potential of festival by relegating leisure to "specially designated" places, which offer the mere "illusion of festivity." These spaces — such as winter resorts, beaches, youth camps — become intensely eroticized, so that even sexual pleasure is turned into an object of consumption (310). In this way, commodification reaches even the innermost level of personal relationships. As a result, individuals are reduced to the role of passive consumers — a necessary

yet subordinate link in the processes of production. "The final stage of the body's abstraction" — concludes Lefebvre — "is its functional fragmentation and localization" (310).

In Lefebvre's spatial analysis, Marxist principles are only slightly adapted with a view to foregrounding the right to freedom of the human subject occupying space. Jameson's Marxism, on the other hand, is fully adjusted to the worldview and methods of poststructuralism. If we examine, for instance, the analysis of the famous Frank Gehry house in Santa Monica, we notice that Jameson clearly privileges such concepts as textuality (of architecture), displacement and placelessness (of spatial dimensions), decentered subjectivity (*Postmodernism* 108-17). The description of this family house is governed conspicuously by a search for "the minimal units" of the language of architecture (105). From this perspective, Jameson identifies three types of signs which he connects to particular spatio-temporal paradigms: a frame, a wrapper and the postmodern space proper, which is the "new kind of space," produced by the "dialectical engagement between the two others" (120). To begin with, the "frame" consists of the pre-existing early twentieth-century family house which the architect used as the basis of his new building. This set of rooms and facilities, whose initial use and furnishing have been preserved or carefully reconstructed, is seen by Jameson as a memory-sign, a remnant of the old bourgeois ego which represents the core of postmodern identity. The meaning of this antiquated living space is, however, altered by the mere proximity of the rest of the building, in a manner which is interpreted once more in textual terms. In its relation to the past, postmodern architecture is shown to follow the pattern of the literary progression from parody to pastiche — or "blank parody," that is, the random and gratuitous imitation of dead styles. Subsequently, the old house and its yard have been encapsulated into a corrugated metal construction — the wrapper. One might expect Jameson to follow the frequently cited analysis of Gavin Macrae-Gibson in considering this industrial structure to be the postmodern element of design. However, he chooses to interpret it from an intertextual perspective — as conveying Gehry's position within a particular disciplinary polemic. The wrapper would then stand for "the visible agent of architectural transformation in course" (*Postmodernism* 115), a programmatic attempt to leave behind such traditional oppositions as the one between façade and living quarters, inside and outside, open and closed. Wrapping is seen as a deconstructive device which serves to annihilate the conceptual binary oppositions inherited from the old building, and implicitly to make possible a truly new type of space which challenges the viewer's perceptive abilities. Through the mediation of this innovation, the living room is prolonged into the former front yard which also accommodates the dining room and the kitchen. The very concept of wall is undermined by the joint glass and metal structure which both delimits and opens up this space to the outer world. The odd perceptual effect of this interstitial area is described by Macrae-Gibson in the following terms: "Gehry's distorted perspective planes and illusionistic use of framing members ... [i.e.] the tilting of planes expected to be horizontal or vertical and the

converging of studwork members cause one to feel suspended and tipped in various directions oneself (Macrae-Gibson qtd. in Jameson 116). For Gehry the world vanishes in a multitude of points, and he does not presuppose that any are related to the standing human being. The human eye is still of critical importance in Gehry's world, but the sense of centre no longer has its traditional symbolic "value." Therefore, Jameson sees only this third area of the house as illustrative of his concept of "postmodern hyperspace."

The collapse of spatial boundaries causing the typical confusion of the senses calls to mind the analysis of the Bonaventure hotel. Just as in that case, the critic homogenizes the social diversity of potential observers into one exponential pattern. While it is possible to produce several interpretations of architectural signs, these hermeneutic exercises are assumed to be based on a perspective which is class and especially gender neutral. Gehry's house and the Bonaventure hotel stand out accordingly as both representative and formative of postmodern sensibility. Their free play with visual and tactile effects stems from a *Weltanschauung* which is posterior to the deconstructive "event," and by means of which "the structural distraction of the decentered subject [is] now promoted to the very motor and existential logic of late capitalism itself" (*Postmodernism* 117). More interestingly, their internal lack of cohesion testifies to some irreconcilable rupture within the social fabric itself. Thus the detached unassimilated metal of Gehry's wrapper is also read as an attempt to make visible, in this very symbol of prosperous capitalist enterprise, the ghetto-side of American society, the squalor and poverty of decaying industrial areas. This somber reality partially obscures and partially highlights the Utopia of the US-American superstate — defined by advanced technological development, political and economic power — in the same manner in which the wrapper relates to the frame. Jameson thus associates the findings of his textual analysis to the problems of the social environment, and integrates once more his discussion of postmodernism within the analysis of the capitalist modes of production. He further turns into account Gehry's design so as to advance his own project of an "aesthetic of cognitive mapping" described by Soja as the "ability to see in the cultural logic and form of postmodernism an instrumental cartography of power and social control" (62-63). Following this line of thought, Jameson proposes the interpretation of Gehry's construction as a material response to the contradictions within post-industrialism. The invention of an intermediary spatial dimension would reconcile, at least from an artistic perspective, the opposite poles in the representation of present-day US-American society. Jameson's plea for a politically charged culture seems to stem from the need to adapt to, rather than resist, that "world space of multinational capital" which forges postmodern identity. However, one cannot deny that his descriptive analyses put forth a series of remarkable insights. By and large, Jameson's conclusion conveys the sense that the logic of late capitalism presupposes the gradual absorption of differences into the fabric of a decentered postmodern individuality. While Lefebvre pleaded for the fight against what he regarded as a superficial externally-induced similarity, Jameson

insists on the inescapable character of modernization and its adjacent effects. This hermeneutic difference spells out once more the specificity of each thinker's position with respect to Marxism. As a final point here, it may be useful to take into consideration Jameson's view that "what was variously called 'poststructuralism' or even simply 'theory' was also a subvariety of the postmodern" (*Postmodernism* xvi). The relationship of postmodernism to deconstruction obviously represents an extremely complex issue, which can make in itself the subject of a wider paper. Suffice it to say that critical opinions diverge, as suggested for instance by the conspicuous absence of Derrida's essays from acknowledged anthologies of postmodern texts (see, e.g., Jencks; Docherty). Furthermore, in one of the introductory chapters to their 2001 anthology *Modern Literary Theory*, Patricia Waugh and Philip Rice reverse Jameson's classification by describing poststructuralism as anterior to, and formative of, "all the most recent critical movements" (180), postmodernism included.

In the conclusion to his book, Jameson comments upon the intense specialization and compartmentalization of contemporary thought. Among other consequences of the spatial turn, he lists the passage from the modernist "historicity" based on an acute perception of time to the postmodern "historicism," which replaces a historically meaningful representation with the randomness of collage. As a result, cultural products tend to lead a disconnected existence, oblivious to one another. He opposes this tendency with his own method of mapping a historical phenomenon in its totality, which has been shown to be of Marxist utopian origin. By stating his overt support for the concept of totality, the critic places himself in a controversial position with respect to the cultural movement he attempts to theorize. One might conclude then either that his view creates a niche within a trend famously characterized by Jean-François Lyotard as a "war on totality" (46) or, as Goonewardena claims, that Jameson is "best understood as the most impressively dialectical theoretician today not of space, perhaps not even *post-modernity*, but certainly totality" (59). As Jameson himself points out, in postwar Western culture, the concept of totality has been associated with totalitarianism and terror. The anti-Utopian, anti-essentialist orientation of postmodernism derives directly from this juxtaposition, however biased it may prove to be. One might then push Goonewardena's observation one step further and wonder whether Jameson actually theorizes the postmodern movement from the position of an outsider, so that his analysis should not necessarily be regarded as a postmodern, but merely as a (neo)Marxist text. Referring to Perry Anderson, Steve Matthewman and Douglas Hoey appear to confirm this intuition when asserting that postmodernism had been initiated as a bourgeois liberal movement, yet Jameson's intervention altered its position in the political spectrum, marking the "discursive victory" of "the revolutionary Left" (535). Such shift of perspectives leads radical contemporary analysts to describe postmodernism as a cultural construct, an ever-changing "chimera" or "spectre" (Matthewman and Hoey 530-36).

In sum, I argue that what is significant is the in-between-ness of

Jameson's theoretical position. Following Goodewardena, I suggest that the main merit of Jameson's spatial analysis is to have imported Marxist geography and implicitly Lefebvre into the arena of Anglo-phone humanities and social sciences scholarship and thought. Other aspects of my analysis, such as the specific aims of Jameson's *Postmodernism*, as well as the thematic gaps I have identified as a result of the comparison with Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, confirm the hypotheses stated at the beginning of my argumentation. On the one hand, it seems that Jameson undermines his own enunciation of the spatial turn as the sign of a "novel" postmodern epistemology by giving in to the temptation of a "totalizing" description — fundamentally alien to the postmodern spirit. On the other hand, we cannot but observe that this hybrid model of totality offers considerably less than Lefebvre's (more consistent) Marxian approach.

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Mapping Intercultural Education in Trust-based Learning Clemens Seyfried

Abstract: In his article "Mapping Intercultural Education in Trust-based Learning" Clemens Seyfried introduces the concept of "trust-based learning," an approach he developed for learning in an intercultural world and applied in primary and secondary education. The objective of the concept is the raising of opportunities students with (im)migrant background in education. Seyfried presents an overview of the educational situation of (im)migrants and ethnic minorities in the European Union with special focus on Austria, followed by a description of the said concept of trust-based learning including the results of a statistical survey conducted in Austria. The focus of the concept is the importance of trust, framed by the following question: is there a difference in the self concept of students regarding trust as a determining variable for learning by students with and without an (im)migrant background? The article closes with a proposal for a new approach in pedagogy in general and in intercultural education in particular.

Scholarship about pedagogy and (im)migration suggests that there exists difficulty in describing the situation of (im)migrant students in the European Union (EU) today. The difficulty resides in the fact that the twenty-seven countries of the EU use different categories when collecting primary and secondary school data and the data categories of such as citizenship, belonging to a minority group, or the students' first language remain insufficient to gauge the state of affairs of the EU's (im)migrant population insufficiently (see, e.g., EACEA <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/101EN.pdf>; on the issue of the ideological nature of the taxonomy of immigrant and migrant, see, e.g., Tötösy de Zepetnek). Further, statistical data is difficult to analyze because there is, in general, "a lack of comprehensive and comparable data on the educational situation of migrants and ethnic minorities in the EU Member States" (Luciak <http://inst.at/trans/15Nr/08_1/luciak15.htm>). Overall, the situation is that (im)migrant students are disadvantaged in terms of enrolment in type of school, duration of attending school, indicators of achievement, dropout rates, and types of school diploma obtained. This argumentation is borne out in the evaluations of the EU's EACEA: Education, Culture & Audiovisual Executive Agency, according to whom the educational success of (im)migrant students is comparatively higher in countries with lower levels of economic inequality, high investments in child care, and a developed system of preschool education. The educational success of (im)migrant students is better in comprehensive educational systems with a later selection of students for different tracks of education and worse in systems of high selectivity (see EACEA <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/101EN.pdf>). In order to remedy the said situation, some of EACEA's recommendations include the implementation of an effective system of preschool, primary, and secondary school system,

the improvement of opportunities by making the educational system comprehensive and less selective at the same time, the integration of elements and symbols of the cultures of origin into school life and curricula, the desegregation of schools and classes where there is a concentration of minority students, the adequate preparation of teachers for reaching (im)migrant students, and the encouragement of students of (im)migration background to teaching careers (see EACEA

<http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/101EN.pdf>).

In order to improve the above described shortfalls of the educational system in the EU, there is a need of theoretical points of departure, frameworks upon which improvements can be based. I postulate that one such framework is "trust-based" learning and I present a brief outline of theoretical frameworks relevant for the development of trust-based learning and its application and practice in intercultural education. The concept and framework of trust-based learning thus serves as a map of the integration of (im)migrant children into the educational system and thus into society (for more detail, see Seyfried). Geneva Gay argues that concepts for the definition of multicultural education — i.e., intercultural: I use the current concept of "intercultural" — express the multiple approaches and perspectives of diverse disciplines like anthropology, sociology, psychology, and pedagogy. But if one attempts to arrive at a general definition, one could describe multicultural/intercultural education as "a concept, a framework, a way of thinking, a philosophical viewpoint, a value orientation and a set of criteria for making decisions that better serve the educational needs of culturally diverse student population" (Gay 28). A.J. Banks differentiates between four different levels of approaches with regard to the development of intercultural curricula: level one is defined as "The Contributions Approach" whereby socially constructed elements of school life constituting elements and factors of "peer pressure" — such as "idols," the significance of holidays in diverse cultures, the aspect of food, etc. — are implemented as an integral part of the curriculum; level two, "The Additive Approach," represents the content, concepts, and lessons and are added to the curriculum without reforming the structure; level three, "The Transformation Approach," implements the change of the structure of the curriculum to enable students to view concepts, issues, and events from the perspectives of diverse ethnic and cultural groups; and level four, "The Action Approach," is where students shape issues and learn to make decisions on important personal, social, and civic issues and take responsibility for looking for solutions. Arnd-Michael Nohl analyses different concepts of intercultural education and arrives at the conclusion that the European "pedagogy for foreigners" (*Ausländerpädagogik*) remains lacking of concepts and practices of integration, thus of deficit-orientation and he develops the concept of multi-dimensional "collective affiliations" similar to Banks. My last example of relevant frameworks is Paul Mecheril's work who follows Nohl in his criticism of deficit-orientation with the addition that while intercultural pedagogy accepts and focuses on cultural differences, at the same time

time differences regarding age or gender remain ignored. Niklas Luhmann's systems approach is particularly relevant for my framework. According to Luhmann, communication occurs in settings of complexity and contingency. Thus he postulates that at the same time we need possibilities and avenues for reduction and simplification without which we are not able to manage communication in daily life or in professional contexts. Thus, Luhmann assumes that trust is a possibility for the necessary reduction of complexity and contingency. Preceding Luhmann, Erik H. Erikson points out the importance of trust in his framework of developmental psychology according to which trust is the first stage of development of the child from birth to one year. At this stage, the fundamental attitude of trust or mistrust to each other obtains the relevant experiences for later development in age and world view. Also Franz Petermann takes the term trust and adds a connection between trust, empathy, and self-efficacy and he argues that the competence of empathy is a necessary basis for the development of trust (note: these concepts are based on the theory of social-cognitive learning of Albert Bandura). Last but not least, the proposition with regard to trust as a basic point of departure of pedagogy Barbara Thies bases on empirical data in her 2005 study that it is evident that trust between students and teachers improves commitment and confidence in learning.

Further, an important factor of my framework of trust-based learning is the work of Günter Krampen and Petra Hank. Krampen points out the important position of trust in daily life and adds that trust is not elaborated on scholarship and argues that trust is mainly used in the context of interpersonal trust. Thus Krampen and Hank develop the "triad of trust." This model differs between "interpersonal trust," "trust in oneself," and "trust in the future." The concept suggests an outside-inside-outside process of development: "prototypically starting in ontogenesis from the development of interpersonal trust (outside; i.e., trust in other persons), then turning into the development of trust in ones own competencies (inside; i.e., trust in oneself), and resulting in the future (outside; i.e., trust in the future not only ones own, but in the future or relatives, friends, ingroups, outgroups, society, and humanity too)" (Krampen 110). This concept suggests trust as a determining variable for the ability to act in any way. It is connected with the action theory model of personality with the concepts of the action theoretical perspective of development (see Krampen and Hank), a differential expectancy-value model (note: these concepts are based on the social learning theory of J.B. Rotter, J.E. Chance, and E. Phares, an attempt "to account for human behaviour in relatively complex social situations" [1]). Consequently, if trust is a determining variable for the ability to act, two questions are important for my framework of trust-based learning, namely, are there differences concerning trust by students with and without (im)migrant background and which structure of the developing and learning process is advantageous in intercultural education?

The data compiled and analyzed by EACEA applies of course to Austria, where the distribution and patterns of students with native

German language proficiency and non-native German language (im)migrant background is between 11% to 34%, depending on the type of school (i.e., preschool, elementary, and secondary school) (see Bundesministerium <http://www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/18975/zahlenspiegel_2009.pdf>). For the development of my framework of trust-based learning I structured a survey questionnaire based on the above explained triad of trust. The variables "interpersonal trust," "trust in oneself," and "trust in future" were defined as dependent variables. Further variables included were "integration in class," "social atmosphere," and "examination behavior." 403 students in the age from eleven to fifteen years of age were surveyed in one school where the school's composition of students was similar to the distribution of students regarding (im)migrant and non-(im)migrant background in Austria (the selection of the school was based on the statistical data by the Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur (Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts, and Culture <http://www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/18975/zahlenspiegel_2009.pdf>). The reliability analysis of the data of the survey revealed a reliability coefficient (Cronbach alpha) between 0.705 and 0.897. One of the foci of the survey was on whether there would be a significant difference between students of (im)migrant and non-(im)migrant backgrounds and, surprisingly, there was no significant difference save a tendency to significance in the variable of "interpersonal trust" ($p = 0.07$). However, in the variance analysis of a general linear model an interesting result of data came about: if the factor "(im)migrant background" is combined with the variable gender (girl/boy), one can observe a significance in the variable trust in oneself ($p = 0,012$). This surprising result requires a brief explanation: in the context of the special biographical background of most of the group in this study suggests that girls do not as much challenge the "outside" environment as boys. It is assumed that this is because girls are more protected against value conflicts in traditional families. In this atmosphere, girls are at times prohibited to go outside of the family and this is why girls have significantly higher "self trust" scores than boys. Altogether, the differences in the scores of trust are not only an effect of (im)migration or non-(im)migration background (and this confirms the findings of Nohl and Mecheril).

The importance of trust can be deduced from the correlation between the variables of triad of trust as they are "interpersonal trust," "trust in oneself," "trust in the future," and the variables "enjoy school," "integration in class," "social atmosphere," and "examination behaviour" (these second group of variables are meant to describe the social-emotional atmosphere). Further, there is a high significant correlation at the 0,001 level between the variables of trust and the variables considering the recognised social-emotional atmosphere. Comparing this result with the question concerning differences between students with and without (im)migration background, there are different outcomes: the group with no (im)migrant background has a high significant correlation (at the 0.01 level) with the variables of social-emotional atmosphere and in the same way with the different dimensions of trust. These are

the same effects one can observe by the whole group. The group of (im)migrant background differs in two aspects: at first, the significant effects are not as high as in the first group and not as often. The most significant correlations demonstrate the variable "interpersonal trust" and the least trust in future. This refers to a not so deeply structured construct of trust by persons of this group.

Having considered the results of the survey, I suggest two important points: the dimensions of trust are not a significant difference between students with and without background and a closer view brings special perspectives. The combined factors of "(im)migration" and "gender" demonstrate that significant differences concerning the independent variable "(im)migration" are evident. There are significant correlations between variables of trust and of variables of the social-emotional atmosphere. These correlations have different characteristics in the two groups of students of (im)migrant and non-(im)migrant background in that there are indications of a lack of integration of trust in dimensions of experiences in the school environment of Austria. Thus, the challenge in institutional learning processes is relevant and of importance in that teachers have to handle different requirements from different groups. Teacher training is in many cases oriented on the assumption that didactical and methodical competencies are the way as to how to deal with these new requirements, hence the importance of a new approach to implementations of methods in the processes of learning in schools of the EU. The enormous effort concerning the maintenance of discipline and the motivation to acquire knowledge often has the opposite effect versus the initial intention. As more teachers are trying to improve motivation and concentration, fewer students are aware of their own responsibility. If the process is starting without grip on reality and as my analysis of the survey suggests without a base of trust, the chance for successful learning vanishes. Thus my proposal that trust-based learning would improve the process of learning in three sequences: working towards an atmosphere of trust, setting an innovative environment by methodical and didactical reflections, and an outcome oriented evaluation and self evaluation which enhance the next starting point of the learning process. The results of this study underline the perspective of intercultural education as it is argued by Nohl and Mecheril. Clearly, the behaviour and learning habits including the conjoining results of learning are not pertaining to the criteria of (im)migrant or non-(im)migrant background of the students. Hence my proposal that the efforts towards an innovative learning environment ought not to focus on differences in background. Instead, the framework of trust-based learning allows to implement a differentiated approach for a development oriented situation in the classroom. The significant correlations between variables of trust and of social-emotional atmosphere in the school environment — students, teachers, and the curricula — indicate that trust is a determining variable for successful development and learning. Therefore, a concept of learning in a framework of trust-based learning and its implementation present an alternative approach for the actual challenges in pedagogy.

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Education, Interculturalism, and Mapping a New Europe
Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and Asunción López-Varela
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Abstract: In their article "Education, Interculturalism, and Mapping a New Europe" Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and Asunción López-Varela Azcárate discuss the field of intermediality and its relationship to cultural and educational practices in an increasingly digital world (that, is, in the Western world). The notion of intermediality raises a number of issues including social and cultural practices, education, aspects of globalization, the cultural industry, the integration of (im)migrants in Europe, etc., and thus the field represents a crucial aspect of the social and cultural landscape of contemporary Europe.

The theoretical background of our study is based on the framework of comparative cultural studies, a theoretical and methodological framework built on tenets of (radical) constructivism, interdisciplinarity, and the contextual and empirical study of culture (see, e.g., Even-Zohar; Schmidt, Tötösy de Zepetnek). It is, indeed, a "puzzling paradox" that "neither social theories concerning modernity, modern publicity or the media, nor humanities theories regarding different cultural forms, types of texts or genres have paid significant attention to the fact that "the past and present of contemporary culture and media are indeed part and parcel of multimodal and intermedial culture and media" (Lehtonen 71). Importantly, the processing, production, and marketing of cultural products such as music, film, radio, television programmes, books, journals and newspapers, digital media, etc., determine that today almost all aspects of production and distribution are digitized. As Mikko Lehtonen postulates, culture is indeed multimodal as it makes use of technology as well as symbolic forms that employ simultaneously several material-semiotic resources (75). Intermediality, then, is about the relationships between and the employment and practices of multimodal media. Does intermediality represent the potential for innovative artistic creation, publishing, and education? Or, on the contrary, is it an attack on aesthetic purity and academic rigour? How can we get the best of intermediality in contemporary cultural practices and in education?

First, we propose that intermediality can be defined as the ability to read and write critically across varied symbol systems and across various disciplines and scholarly as well as general discursive practices. It has been argued that thought is concerned with primarily linguistic expression and that even if we live in/with sophisticated visualities in contemporary Western culture, the shapes and processes of the discourse, as they are shaped in and through new technologies, are crucial for understanding symbolic exchange and cultural interaction. As such, intermediality is related to critical media literacy (see, e.g., Rodowick; López-Varela). Intertextuality is a type of first-level intermediality as its narrative structures transgress medial borders. Therefore, "intermediality is intertextuality that transgresses media borders" (Lehtonen 76). Through the notion of a medium, the centrality of the material, its technological di-

mensions, mode of transmission, and related cultural aspects becomes imperative for the understanding of intermedial dynamics as Marshall McLuhan has introduced. A medium serves to mediate signs between people: "A medium is that which remediates. It is that which appropriates the techniques, forms, and social significance of other media and attempts to rival or refashion them in the name of the real. A medium in our culture can never operate in isolation, because it must enter into relationships of respect and rivalry with other media (see Bolter and Grusin 65). The sense and practice of agency and the very notion of mediation implies that media studies and related disciplines, such as comparative cultural studies, cannot continue to be seen as isolated monads but need to become part of more complex research networks which work both in scholarship, education, as well as in cultural practices in general: "Studying intermediality questions academic disciplinary boundaries" (Lehtonen 82) and "If media (and also 'media-texts') are to be located in changing relationships, if their function also depends on historical changes of these relationships, then we have to conclude that the idea of isolated media-monads or isolated sorts of media has to be abandoned" (Müller 297-98). The loci and spaces where intermediality and interdisciplinary study touch withdraw themselves from territorial demarcations as their points of encounter constantly shift. A more complex theoretical understanding of intermedial processes is required and research has oriented itself towards this recognition (see, e.g., Lehtonen; Wolf; Helbig; Müller; Wagner; Chaple and Kattenbelt; López-Varela; Tötösy de Zepetnek). Here, we focus on the practical cultural implications of intermediality and its aspects on the current landscape of society at large and in pedagogy in particular.

Intermediality has become a Western-based phenomenon with global impact with the ability to create new forms of artistic and critical innovation, to find ways for their distribution (i.e., open access to scholarship published on the world wide web) to link cultural communities in cyberspace and to be applied as vehicle for innovative educational practices. Today, discursive practices including visualities form a complex intermedial network of signifying practices that construct realities rather than simple representations of them. Socially constructed meaning or what we call "culture" takes place through processes of the negotiation of stories, images, and meanings, that is, through jointly-constructed and contextual agreements, power relations, and their authorisation, and legitimisation of social positions and loci. Therefore, the ways intermedial discursive practices are produced, processed, and transmitted are a relevant and important area of research and practice (see, e.g., Semali and Pailliotet). We would like to add here that while outside of the Western world access to and the use of new media — and thus the potential of intermediality — is severely compromised because of economic inequalities, its impact is, nevertheless, felt globally. Public discourse and communication are achieved by institutionalized means of transmission that always precede the content of what is communicated. Individual and social identities are developed — at best — by dialogue, communicated through a given set of prac-

tices — mainly spoken, written, and visual communication, and inscribed in supporting materials that change over time and can be manipulated in their own distinct ways. The most relevant supporting material is human memory including such processed and "archived" through books, television, cinema, software, and digital media that provide long-term storage (see López-Varela, "The Relevance of Different Kinds of Supporting Materials"). Technological changes affect the way information is transmitted, emerge in particular cultural conditions, and, in turn, result in new social and cultural situations. Technologies produce relational positions of greater or lesser privilege through regulating the flow of intermedial discourse in particular ways. The materiality of media is already culturally encoded and bears a certain institutional validation prior to specific content being transmitted. Thus, people's lives are spent shaping and responding to new material media and artefacts. New media do not replace or substitute prior technologies but creates new intermedial configurations of the whole social and economic system of media. Thus, the internet and the world wide web have not replaced broadcast media or printed books but it is causing the re-evaluation and reinterpretation of these media systems and practices. More often than not, the information and communication possibilities of the internet are parasitic of broadcast-mediated communication, as the growth of companion websites which accompany media organizations, newspapers, consumer products, sporting events, etc., shows. However, knowledge sharing is what culture is all about and new media have the potential to be more than just distribution channels for established cultural industries.

Information and the processing of information are the communicative vehicle of culture today. The concept, knowledge management, and uses of information are linked immanently to education, knowledge, creativity, innovation, democratic participation, civic education, citizenship, etc. Technological applications and intermediality thus play an important role in developing educational and cultural policies and practices, expanding the stock of shared heritage while maintaining cultural diversity and the multiplicities of identity formation. The large intermedial capacities of new media such as the internet and the world wide web present, however, problems in need of solution. One of these is related to the processes of distribution. The amount of information generated on the world wide web is so large that the organization of knowledge has become an important part of cultural work including the cultural industries. The digital preservation of cultural heritage is as important as establishing criteria for deciding which information is relevant and ensuring free access to digital archives and online documents, an issue linked also to educational aspects. In addition, in many cases new technologies are only providing information such giving access to government documents and open-access educational sources while most websites do not facilitate interaction that would allow the exchange of ideas and provide cross-cultural relationships and linkages, a matter particularly important in education. There is also the question of the digital divide we referred to previously and that is not only a matter of accessibility or purchasing power.

Another important issue is electronic publishing, which began some fifteen years ago but it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that it began to gain more importance especially with regard to peer-reviewed, full text, but open-access publishing of scholarship (on this, see, e.g., Tötösy de Zepetnek, "New Media"). The establishment of copyright is believed to serve the greater public interest because apart from guarantying a just reward for the author, it is considered to be an incentive for further creativity and a guaranty for quality. The privileged bond between author and his/her creation as a relation between a point of origin and its demarcated dissemination; the notion of artistic and scholarly work as somehow a fixed and stable entity: these symptoms of modernity helped to reinforce the myth of separate and sustainable media and art forms with their own inner definable essence. However, since open access to information is a precondition for fulfilling the right of any citizen to freedom of expression (protected under the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights), there is a growing need to secure a balance between respect for authors' rights and the need to provide free access to as many users as possible. The greatest risk is the growing economic focus of cultural and new media policies; the fear that only marketable cultural products will find the way to the general public: "Commodification intensifies intermediation" (Lehtonen 78). Intellectual property and its tracks of distribution have become concentrated in only a few multinational companies so that only those profitable products will find their way into the market (see Yúdice). It is necessary to stimulate and create structures and the logistics of production and diffusion other than those of multinational companies and to create circuits of communication for international intercultural cooperation. In this sense the debate on open-access publishing on the world wide web becomes particularly important, as mentioned previously. The preservation of the public domain is thus an important aspect. Thus, the future of information society depends on achieving a balance between commercial and non-commercial initiatives.

Besides the problems of publishing, accessibility, and media literacy mentioned above, there are socio-cultural issues related to the changing nature of modern societies and that in turn relate to intermedial issues. The massive increase of (im)migration and movements of people have radically transformed the context in which cultural activities are developed. It has been proposed that the national objectives of cultural cooperation, mainly diffusion of historical and artistic patrimony and the strengthening of national identities and the expansion of their markets need to be oriented toward intercultural co-production (see, e.g., García Canclini, Rosaldo, Chiappari, López). All cultural aspects are now conditioned by a growing non-territorial transnationalism which develops from the increasing movement of people across the globe, and thus the study of culture needs to be networked in order to facilitate intercommunication among different cultures. In this new panorama of shared cultural products intermedial technology becomes particularly important. The question concerns not only the unfair distribution of technological products within 20% of world population taking

up 90% of internet access. The 2005 Unesco *Proceedings on eCulture and Cultural Policy* show that public policies cannot bridge the "digital divide" by focusing solely on the provision of good ICT infrastructure and educational strategies that aim at enhancing technical literacy, thus facilitating access to cultural literacy by helping people to relate critically and self-critically to other cultures. There is a need for special measures to level inequalities owing to geographical location, gender, age, education, and position in the labour market; there is also a need to take into account special groups such as ethnic minorities, (im)migrants and refugees, leading to the formation of open-access civil networks.

It appears that the growth of new media technologies (and what makes them marketable) responds to three central values of (post)modern society: mobility, communication, and individualization. These values are related to a key aspect of intermedial loci and spaces, namely the fact that they are designed to be permanently active. Thus, the most popular application of the internet is its interactivity because it can produce immediate feedback. The interactivity inherent to the internet is often felt as a process of interchange and cooperation/collaboration, a dialogue which can promote a sense of connectedness. Thus, (im)migrant communities across the globe have also co-opted for the internet to find a space of social belonging in their struggle to produce new identities while in diasporas. However, research has also shown some of the paradoxes of connectivity, for instance the fact that an excessive use of net technologies may disconnect the individual from the active political sphere of real space and from embodied interactions surrounding her/him, therefore diminishing the sense of social and personal responsibility to others (see, e.g., López-Varela "Webness Revisted"). The more individuals look to (new) media for acquiring cultural identity, the less they look around for social solidarity. The paradox of increasing mobility is the greater individualisation it creates, as people can communicate and interact at a distance regardless of their physical situation. Even more than mobile telephony, the internet enhances this individualisation by providing means of fast asynchronous communication (see Langer). In political terms, new media allow the expression of public opinion while lacking the possibility of real direct interaction and very often massive control of the media by private interests distorts systematically the content of public discourse.

In terms of space, the developed world is experiencing a shift from communities based on small-group-like villages and neighbourhoods and towards flexible partial communities based on networked individualism where people have multiple and shifting sets of "glocalized ties." This is owing to the fact that people bear in increasing number multiple locations of residence and citizenships and thus multiple cultural allegiances (on this, see, e.g., see Appiah; Kymlicka). But it is also that the public/private distinction which prevailed before the extension of private control in modern capitalist societies is disappearing. Hence the argument that intermediality is helping public discourse to colonize the confined spaces of the home where individuals gain access to the public sphere through the in-

ternet. With more and more companies offering their workers tele-work options, the household unit becomes a primary cell of modern public relations. In this context, the generalized interactivity of the internet, along with the ability of anyone with access to put forward their own views in any of a range of forums poses a threat to the distinction between public information — epitomized in the notion of journalistic objectivity — and personal opinion, a distinction central to the formation of the imagined community of the democratic nation-state. Nor surprisingly, geographic and kinship ties of family, local neighbourhood, and nation are yielding new ways of "imagining" (Anderson) social and national spaces, with individuals becoming dependent on media and the hyperspace to acquire a sense of belonging and attachment to others.

Intermediality contributes to globalization in the sense that it helps the mobility of culture in its crossing of virtual borders. Does it, however contribute to semantic and civic standardization? If not, how can we speak across semantic borders? (see Rifkin): "For a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with either standard (formal, Castilian) Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but to create their own language?" (Anzaldúa 55). How do we cross over? How do we make the gap become "a chink a window through which I can observe the world" now that "the apertures of perception have widened ... just as the number '2' implies all other numbers, so a bivalent consciousness is necessarily a multivalent consciousness" (Hoffman 272). Already Jim Rosenberg's work in the mid- to late 1990s on spatial hypertext describes an enormous range of possible types of linkages, where linking is not limited to the binary either-or commonly understood as hypertext, but can be thought of in terms of modes of "gathering" through set and category relations. How do we provide interdisciplinary intermedial bridges? How do we use new technologies, oriented towards growing individualisation and detached multiculturalism, to create an intercultural, inclusive, and non-essentialist society through comparative approaches in cultural studies and with a focus on dialogue?

Intercultural situations are influenced by negotiation between several, sometimes competing, sets of views. Interculturality in the sense of inclusion requires mutual (ex)change in/of both the (im)migrant groups and the larger society. We have already mentioned that, despite the digital divide, (im)migrant communities across the globe co-opt the internet increasingly to find intermedial spaces of social belonging in their struggle to produce and/or cope with new identities in their new loci/space. The state of exilic and diasporic location and existence often strengthens ritualistic, religious, and ethnic identities, and diasporic communities located in democratic nation states often have to confront their local visibility through public acts and demonstrations of the hospitality of their home culture in their struggle for enhanced citizenship rights (on this, see, e.g., Kymlicka; McClennen). In order to become a participatory citizen it is relevant to provide positive contributions to the public

sphere and exercise civic responsibilities. Therefore, the mechanism of social control is placed inside people's subjectivity so that conforming behaviour is produced voluntarily. In general, people cling to the products of hegemonic/essentialist culture that produce and reinforce the dominant ideology and, in order to fit into the centre and avoid marginalized positions people will draw upon the dominant discourse to legitimate their claims of entitlement. The internalization of feelings of marginality may lead to passivity instead of participation in the development of sustainable agreements. The main criteria used to justify inclusion and/or exclusion in a given society continues to be that of identity, with a generalized "failure to acknowledge hybridity ... a political point whose ramifications can be measured in lives" (Pieterse 224). Slavoj Žižek, among others, holds that this kind of managed encounter with otherness indicates multiculturalism's complicity with the cultural logic of late capital. As T. Rickert puts it, "otherness can only exist, true difference can only maintain its status, insofar as it accepts a priori a benign, pluralist, universal framework" and he adds that "this framework is already disempowering because it reduces otherness and difference to the benign framework of tolerance" and hides violent resistances and conflicts that stage underlying traumatic logics (Rickert 132). We should be encouraged "to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences (Rickert 132): "The in-between spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood — singular and communal — that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation in the act of defining society itself. It is in the emergence of interstices — the overlap and displacement of domains of difference — that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest or cultural value are negotiated" (Bhabha 2). The question is: How can contradictory codes and conflicted discourses, which find a new vehicle in intermediality, always still caught up with non-rational and affective influences buried in language, find a way to consensus? Which are the "in-between" mechanisms of authentic mediation? Can virtual mediation contribute to remediate the situation?

Mediation contributes to the creation of an atmosphere where problems become "shared problems" and in which the expression of emotions is acceptable under the foundation that symbolic consistency and subjective identity are achieved by means of affective processes. As Eva Hoffman puts it "like everybody, I am the sum of my languages, the language of my family and children, and education and friendship, and love, and the larger changing world — though, perhaps I tend to be more aware than most of the fractures between them, and of the building blocks. The fissures sometimes cause me pain, but in a way, they're how I know I'm alive" (272). Emphasis on the emotional may also lead to uncovering underlying resistances to cooperate and participate. People need to be engaged in social action and (im)migrants should be empowered to do so. However, there are certain social positions that may not entail full participation as a legitimate social agent. Social needs and entitlements are constructed in discourses quite differently with regard

to gender, culture, social class, or race. They are assumed within relational contexts, in contrast with interests which are internally referenced to the individual psyche. (Im)migrants, in particular, may feel a lower degree of entitlement to certain social needs. How can we use new media and its intermedial possibilities in a constructive way to build platforms from which migrants can be heard and get involved in joint social action?

The influx of (im)migrants in European countries has brought about structural changes at every level of the educational system. There is at present a social consensus that the main "political" problem (in the sense of building citizenship) is the result of demographic decline in most of developed nations and the entrance of (im)migrants and the subsequent effects on the (sub)systems of production, culture, and education. Mobility and (im)migration are favouring the development of new forms of political administration based on citizenship, with the subsequent acceptance of cultural pluralism, in detriment of national models, even if simultaneously these continue to grow in different parts of the world. Global displacement, together with the growing use of networked communication which employs forms of intermediality, would be affecting a socio-cultural revolution towards the belief in multiple citizenship definitions. Intermediality shows reality as a changing and dynamic process where the individual is defined within a plurality of times and spaces — genre, language, group, etc. — multiple and intercultural. Therefore, all understanding of cultural change is seen as open to contacts and interferences, crossroads, and meeting points within a dense network of informational structures and reminiscences. The feeling of belonging not to a single space, but to a dynamic network of translations and cultural hybrids is, we argue, mediated by technological changes and media structures that offer possibilities of network and intermedial representation and production.

Ideology is inscribed in every aspect of the pedagogical situation, not only through the authority of the instructor at all levels of the curricula but also in such factors as the classroom layout, the educational institution's structure, the evaluation system, the ways education is valued socially, in the systems of social and individual group interaction, etc. Established since the formation of nation states, one of the goals of education is to provide competent and responsible citizens who understand their obligation and their right to insist that economic, social, and political power be exerted in the best interests of the community. Thus, in recent years, educational (radical) constructivist approaches that inspire European educational convergence have recovered the humanist tradition that focuses more on quality and the development of abilities and attitudes, that is, the "how" of education (on this, see, e.g., Riegler <<http://www.radicalconstructivism.com>>). This has been due to the need to accommodate greater flexibility, mobility, and tolerance in European systems in order to work towards an educational convergence that has been encouraged from the economic point of view for several reasons. First, we can mention the compromise achieved with regard to the free movement of workers within the community after the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and economic considerations meant

to encourage a flow of investment and the free movement of capital. A further reason was the pressure that came from the ideal of a hypothetical cultural unity of Europe. *The Janne Report* (1976) was the expression of this vision of a European society whose cultural memory could be built on the basis of its educational system and the "glocalized" teaching of history, literature, languages, etc. The 1988 *European Educational Policy Statement* and the *Maastricht Treaty* of 1992 continued to reinforce the central value of the European dimension in education. Finally, there is the immanent pressure when work mobility was delayed owing to the incapacity of the European community to reach consensus in the recognition of professional qualifications and when student mobility flourished in the 1980s (see Lenearths). Parallel to these moves towards European unity, collaborative learning spaces and the moving away from hierarchical notion in the teaching and learning processes, there has been a growing interest in the use of computer-mediated communication, networked, and internet-based applications in educational environments (see López-Varela, "Didactic Patterns"; Gómez Peña; McLaren, Hammer, Scholle, Reilly; Sleeter). Present-day students working in various modes of media and communication (visual, audio, and verbal/textual) require them to engage in productive tasks and activities in a variety of modes. These environments (virtual trips, webquests, miniquests, etc.) offer new possibilities to educational institutions not only in the form of on-line instruction (courses, lessons, tutoring, etc.) but also in the form of multi-institutional project collaboration and professional activities employing new media technology online (i.e., intermediality in education and scholarship). They seek not only to treat information, that is, question, research, the finding of meaning, the developing of ideas, analysis, evaluation, synthesis, the solving of problems, etc., but also to communicate, transfer information and use such in making decisions in an effective and responsible way by applying it to concrete social situations. Hypermedia, as an online learning resource, is only given shape and meaning through user interaction. In this way, autonomy, the key to future responsible citizens, is not taught theoretically but achieved through experiential learning, becoming a course strategy that concerns the entire curriculum, its materials, tasks, and learning arrangements with and via dialogue between instructor and students along with their cultural and spatial contexts.

Intermediality, intertextuality, and related cultural terms such as hybridization, border crossing, interculturalism, and collaborative learning pervade contemporary critical media and culture theory and practice. The variety of terms and taxonomies stems from the once heterogeneous theoretical approaches rooted in different fields such as literary studies, linguistics, (comparative) cultural studies, sociology, cultural anthropology, media and communication studies, education, etc., in an attempt to draw interdisciplinary bridges in their response to the growth of virtual environments and their merger in intermedial networks and practices. We would like to emphasise the potential of intermediality to serve as a model that not only increases our understanding of the mechanisms of media convergence but also applies to parallel phenomena in intercultural and educational

contexts. We propose that the basis for a constructive conceptualisation of social change is mediated through technology and that the application and practice of intermediality as a vehicle for socio-cultural needs to be further explored, both theoretical and practically, in its aspects of production, distribution, and usability. In addition, the understanding and implementation of cultural policy in different parts of the globe needs to be understood as mediated and re-mediated by public as well as scholarly discourse. As scholars and educators, our efforts ought to be directed not only upon our students, but also society at large, aware of the cultural codes and the competing discourses — of race, class, sexual orientation, age, ethnic, and gender formations, for example — that influence our positions as subjects of experience. Thus, future research should extend even more to explore intercultural intermedial pedagogic methods in order to investigate how cultural beliefs, values, and cognitive styles influence the development of intergroup interaction so that passive and excessively individualistic positions can be overcome. The classroom should be used to show students the dynamics of discursive positioning and train them to think and perform differently while at the same time achieving a way to consensus. If modernity turns to essentialist notions, postmodern media power has given way to a certain sense of futility of critique that undermines any attempts to change the world substantially for the better. Passivity, irony, and cynicism are common not only in the classroom and the academe but in society in general. Resistance and participation — as proposed here with both theoretical and applied intermediality — should replace resignation. Intermediality and the supplementary relation between subject and media always hinges on the notion of becoming. Becoming holds an "in-between" space, a gap between absence and presence that invites an analysis to the process of intermediality in terms of philosophies of difference (Derrida) as opening up but also crossing-over. Comparative bridges to cross over from the theoretical development with its contingent application of intermediality to cultural remediation and back towards interculturality would advance society in all its contexts and processes.

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Part Two
Analyses of Culture, Mapping, and Border-crossing

Mapping and the Construction of Images in Patriotic Songs during Martial Law in Taiwan**Pei-Ling Lee**

Abstract: In her article "Mapping and the Construction of Images in Patriotic Songs during Martial Law in Taiwan" Pei-Ling Lee postulates that the memory of history and the rule of the Kuomintang could be considered as the base of constructing the rhetorical meaning of "Taiwanese" in contemporary Taiwan. Lee proceeds to analyze six patriotic songs of the period and by applying the rhetorical perspective of critical rhetoric and textual analysis, she discusses how "Chinese" cultural identity was constructed and shaped throughout people's daily activities. The analysis includes the exploration of the linkage between the text and the historical circumstances and presents the special moments of the identity-building, -changing, and -reconstructing process in Taiwan's modern history.

As the first land that was colonized by a non-Western country, Taiwan was a Japanese colony between 1895 and 1945. After World War II, Taiwanese people have changed their identities, culturally and nationally, from Japanese to Chinese and then to the recent Taiwanese. Because of the popularity of postcolonial and other post-studies, the discussions and debates of identity issues have attracted much attention in scholarship. In Taiwan, the "Who am I?" question has also been asked repeatedly.

According to Antonio Gramsci's thought on hegemony, people's attitudes, values, and beliefs are controlled, or at least influenced, by mechanisms of and executed by the state (see, e.g., McQuail). According to Homi Bhabha, identity "is always the production of an 'image' of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image" (117). Bhabha's statement points out the rhetorical meaning of identification because the "image" of identity is actually constructed throughout people's daily rhetorical activities. Thus, the further question is: How is an identity itself constructed? When people want to study a case of a state that was facing a painful identity transition after it had been released from previous colonizers and, consequently, is facing an identity crisis in recent times, it is important to investigate what kind of historical memories have influenced the process of identity reconstruction in contemporary society. Taiwan has faced the struggle of identification in the process of decolonization. However, recent studies have paid more attention on discussing and identifying the meaning of "Taiwanese." Based on the rhetorical power of music, for instance, scholars have focused on the development of Taiwanese folk songs during different periods (e.g., Yang, "Ge Yao"), and then discussed the political meanings revealed in the lyrics (e.g., Yang, "Taiwan"). Studies of patriotic songs, especially Chinese patriotic songs, are not as popular as the study of Taiwanese folk music. However, some researchers did analyze this issue in their studies. For example, Hui-Ching Chang's and Richard Holt's article points out the importance and functions of political songs and discusses the rhetorical meanings of "Taiwan" and "China" revealed in patriotic songs during different periods in Taiwan

after World War II. and Ying-fang Hsu analyzes patriotic songs under the Japanese colonization and martial law periods from different aspects.

Critical rhetoric

It is important for a scholar of rhetoric to hold a standpoint of skepticism, especially when he/she plans to deal with political rhetoric that relates to the relationship between hegemonic power and identity construction. Accordingly, the rhetorical perspective adopted in this project is that of critical rhetoric because it is the most appropriate approach to answer the critical question and the following arguments. The aim of critical rhetoric, as Raymie E. McKerrow postulates, is to "understand the integration of power / knowledge in society" (91). This approach recognizes the partisan characteristics of rhetoric and emphasizes on deconstructing an existing power structure and favoring the formation of new structures of power or knowledge. McKerrow points out two theoretical rationales of critical rhetoric: a critique of domination and a critique of freedom in his work "Critical rhetoric: Theory and Praxis." The concept of domination, according to Anthony Giddens's explanation, refers to "those cases of the exercise of power where an actor obeys a specific command issued by another" (156). Therefore, domination reveals the relationship between a dominated self and a dominant other as well as the struggle between class and people. As McKerrow states, the way the ruling class can maintain power is to "address themes in terms of a 'people'" (94). Accordingly, the theoretical rationale of a critique of domination can be treated as a critique of power; the major function is to question the discourse of power as well as challenge the existing social structure in a society.

The idea of a critique of freedom is mainly influenced by Michel Foucault. According to John Rajchman, the emphasis of Foucault's philosophy "does not aim for sure truths, but for the freedom of withholding judgment on philosophical dogma" (2). This kind of skeptical view influences McKerrow's critique of freedom. Unlike a critique of domination, a critique of freedom does not attempt to pose itself on any "right" position or against anything; rather, it acts as "one of never-ending skepticism, hence permanent criticism" (McKerrow 96). McKerrow believes that the function of discourse is to act as an agent to construct the truth. A critique of freedom can give a critic a space to challenge the status quo and to question oppression by the ruling party. Some rhetorical researchers (e.g. Charland; Hariman) question critical rhetoric because McKerrow does not state clearly how this perspective locates self in criticizing or analyzing power structure in a society. Dwight Conquergood's study may offer the direction in fixing and reconsidering the lack of critical rhetoric: he suggests to take into account the performance-centered and rhetorical foundation of ethnography, especially with regard to the relationships between identity and culture, as well as self and others (184). Therefore, from analyzing the tension and contradiction between experience and written text, the mission of the scholar, according to Conquergood, is to search for the interaction between "a

field of knowledge and relations of power" (193). In other words, critical rhetoric treats rhetoric as critical practice where the critic treats rhetoric in the context of a critique. This approach provides a fundamental rhetorical perspective for analyzing rhetorical artifacts and answering the critical question in this study.

Textual criticism and rhetorical artifacts

As one method of rhetorical criticism, textual analysis focuses on analyzing "the historical and biographical circumstances that generate and frame its composition, the recognition of basic conceptions that establish the co-ordinates of the text, and an appreciation of the way these conceptions interact within the text and help determine its temporal movement" (Leff, "Textual Criticism" 380). Michael Leff mentions the importance of the external situation when critics analyze rhetorical texts because one discourse is presented under specific circumstances. As Leff notes, rhetoric has both intentional and extensional elements. Textual criticism, therefore, concentrates on interpreting "the intentional dynamics of a text" (Leff, "Things Made by Words" 223). Textual critics are primarily interested in the finished text itself rather than the person who presents it. However, the extensional dimension is not wholly ignored in textual criticism. As Leff indicates, each discourse must be treated as "a functional intervention in a local context" ("Things Made by Words," 229). Therefore, textual critics focus on intertextual issues rather than the single performance. In terms of rhetorical artifacts, the rhetorical meanings hidden behind the lyrics are the foci to be analyzed in this study. When Charles J. Stewart, Craig Allen Smith, and Robert E. Denton discuss the power of music on social movements, they argue that song is a powerful rhetorical tool to reinforce certain awareness and to implement its political policies (169). Chang and Holt also postulate that "music has rhetorical power to reflect, influence, or mold social realities" (94). And for Simon Frith "identity is ... an experiential process which is most vividly grasped as music. Music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others; of the subjective in the collective" (110).

By applying the rhetorical perspective of critical rhetoric and the rhetorical criticism of textual analysis, six Chinese patriotic songs are selected in this study to discuss the following critical question: how was "Chinese" identity constructed and shaped throughout people's daily rhetorical activities during the martial law period?

Review of historical background

After World War II, Taiwan was returned to China. However, the domestic tension between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) moved right after the end of the war. The second civil war between the KMT and CCP ended KMT rule over mainland China. After the government of the Republic of China (ROC) retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the ruling party, KMT, treated Taiwan and its surrounding islands as the base of the opposition to communism and for the recovery of the state. Martial law and the pro-

visional law articles of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion reinforced the authoritarian power of the KMT in Taiwan. Under martial law, the KMT government paid the most attention to reconstruct Chinese identity, culturally and politically. One strategy that the KMT government used to strengthen Chinese identity was to distribute a series of patriotic songs. In one of Chiang Kai-shek's articles (Chiang was ROC president from 1947 to 1975), we read about the necessity for the government to "train national righteousness, encourage fighting spirit ... concentrate on the music and song in order to correct the decadent music and excessive song" (Chiang 73; unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine). During the martial law period, these patriotic songs included Chinese folk songs, military songs, anti-Japanese songs, and anti-communism songs.

Analysis of songs

For the purpose of my analysis I selected six popular Chinese patriotic songs: "I Love China," "Brave Soldiers," "China Must Be Strong," "Love of China," "The Song of the Republic of China," and "Sons of Tanshan." To answer the critical question more systematically, depending on different Chinese characters in the lyrics, these select patriotic songs are analyzed under three categories: the historical memories of China, the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland, and the political goals of the KMT including the legal-political status of the ROC regime as well as the importance of anti-communism. In the designation of particular Chinese characters, the historical memories of China and the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland are useful for the KMT to stress Taiwanese people's sense of belonging to Chinese culture. The political claims, on the other hand, are useful for the KMT to legitimize its governance. Under the KMT rule, these Chinese patriotic songs presented the voice of the authority. Five of the six selected patriotic songs present strong historical memories of China. In the lyrics of "I Love China," for instance, the first part of the lyrics emphasizes historical memories such as culture, history, and racial integration. The first stanza calls directly for people to love China and the rest of the text provides the reasons for doing so. When the lyrics of this song indicate the long-standing Chinese history and culture, the rhetorical meaning behind the messages claims the orthodox status of the ROC regime. In addition, the "I" in this part of the lyrics refer to "people who live in Taiwan." In order to construct Taiwanese people's cultural identity of being "Chinese," this song creates a "self" image by connecting the glorious historical memories of China with people who do not really live in China. The hidden meaning, however, is to exclude the independent character of Taiwan and to make Taiwanese culture and history as subordinate to the Chinese ones.

Like "I Love China," "China Must Be Strong" is another famous military patriotic song under martial law in Taiwan. As a patriotic song made at the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese War, however, the historical memories included in this song are different from the above song. The lyrics of "China Must Be Strong" describe

the scenes of a battle and then invoke Chinese people to fight against Japan's aggression. The purpose of this song, during the war between 1937 and 1945, was to strengthen people's resolution to win the war. After it retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the KMT still claimed ROC's legitimate status of representing "legal China" and strategy for the KMT in its claim to be the legitimate government of all of China was to emphasize its role during the second Sino-Japanese War. "China Must Be Strong" was popular during the period under martial law in Taiwan because the memories of war in this song represented the continuity of the ROC rule and, accordingly, support the legal-political power of the KMT for ruling the ROC, and all this resonated with the population.

"Love of China"'s lyrics present enthusiastic admirations for Chinese history. The historical memories of China included in this song refer to the lyric: "Come back to Hua Xia's Han and Tang dynasties." In this line, Hua means China and Xia was the first dynasty (2033 B.C.–1562 B.C.) in Chinese history. When these two Chinese characters are put together, it usually refers to the brilliance of Chinese civilization starting with the Xia dynasty. A similar context is invoked by "The Song of the Republic of China." The purpose of mentioning "ancient and holy sages of the past" and "5,000 years" in the lyrics is to appeal people's admiration for Chinese civilization. However, unlike the above referred to lyrics, the text of this song does not contain much space on describing the past glory in Chinese history. On the contrary, the lyrics emphasize the tribulations and distress ancient Chinese people suffered. By stating so, the rhetoric of this song encourages people indirectly to imitate their ancestors and, accordingly, to overcome the difficulties that the KMT government faced starting from 1970s.

The lyrics of "Sons of Tanshan" also show historical memories of China. For instance, "Yan-Huang," the Mandarin pronunciation of the Yellow Emperor, is addressed directly; also, the word "Tanshan" is an alternative name of China. Unlike the above Chinese patriotic songs, however, "Sons of Tanshan" describes the immigrant history of Taiwanese ancestors. In the text, "the place afar" means the Chinese mainland, and "a place remote from home" signifies Taiwan. Of course, the word "Taiwan" is not mentioned in the lyrics directly, which was the politically correct strategy under martial law. In the rest of the lyrics, the text reminds the Taiwanese people that they should not forget where their ancestors were originally from and why they came here. The rhetoric of "Sons of Tanshan" signifies two different meanings. First, people who live in Taiwan are Chinese because their ancestors were originally from the Chinese mainland. The references "Blood is thicker than water" and "Pass the flame" present an inseparable relationship between China and Taiwan. The text places Taiwanese culture as subordinate to Chinese culture. In other words, Taiwanese culture is only a local category of Chinese culture. This concept was what the ruling party, KMT, wanted people to believe and also was commonly shared in the society under martial law.

Three of the selected songs present strong geographic connection with the Chinese mainland. For example, in the first part of "I

Love China," the third stanza, "the land is broad and the produce is rich" shows such a context. The purpose of mentioning the broad land in China and its rich produce is to invoke people's aspiration of "going back" to China. The song that used the most space in presenting the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland is "Love of China." The text refers to China's natural landscapes such as the Qian Tang, Nuijiang, and Changjiang rivers, the Yinshan mountains, prairies, and deserts and specifies famous scenic spots such as the Dunhuang area and the Great Wall. People who grew up in Taiwan would learn about the landscapes referred to in "Love of China" from textbooks only. The rhetoric in this song, therefore, leads Taiwanese people to believe that China, not Taiwan, is the homeland and the place they should return.

Similar to "Love of China," several famous landscapes of the Chinese mainland such as "the prairie of Qinghai" and "the Himalayas" are referred to in "The Song of the Republic of China." The difference between "Love of China" and "The Song of the Republic of China" is that the previous presents a general picture of China while the landscapes indicated in the latter are selected with a specific purpose to invoke reverence of the richness of the Mainland. The Changjiang River and Yellow River are two other important landscapes referred to in the lyrics: these two rivers have special meanings in Chinese history and thus reinforces the sentiment that China — that is, ROC — stands "throughout the ages, until forever."

Under martial law, the KMT treated the ROC government as the only legal representative of China. Therefore, anti-communism was the loftiest political goal of the KMT. In "I Love China," for instance, the first part of text provides people the reasons about why they should fight for the nation (China) and the second part explains why people should fight for the state (ROC) and in the second part the song encourages people not to be afraid of battle and death because it is "for our nation, for our state." Although the text of "I Love China" does not express it directly, the song asks people to fight against communism. Thus, the rhetoric in the second part of this song implies that people in China suffered under the governance of the CCP, and the KMT was the one to save people in China and to "revive the former glory of China." By combining Chinese historical, geographic, as well as political factors, the KMT emphasized its status in order to maintain its political legitimacy. "Brave Soldiers" is another military patriotic song popular, or even required, to sing in the military and at all levels of school under martial law. Unlike "I Love China," the lyrics of "Brave Soldiers" do not cover any historical memories of China or the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland. The only purpose of this song is to serve the political claims held by the KMT government. The song encourages people to be "brave revolutionary soldiers" and to be "busy for the career of anti-communism."

Anti-communism is the political goal for the KMT to maintain its legal and political status. During the period under martial law, the KMT government advanced the so-called "defeating communism and recovering the state" program of propaganda. By controlling people's knowledge, ethical standards, philosophical approach, and their sense of national identity, the KMT dominated all types of state

mechanisms, as well as major organizational and educational systems of society. In this process, the function of patriotic songs was to strengthen people's support of the government and help the authorities to legalize its political power. Therefore, "Brave Soldiers," a typical example of such patriotic songs, linked the "career of anti-communism" and "masses" together. The rhetorical meanings behind the lyrics imply the correctness of defeating communism and the legitimacy of the KMT government. In addition, they provide ethical reasons, such as indicating "moral integrity" for the rulers to call for people to "advance towards the battle field." Superficially, the songwriter of "Brave Soldiers" stood on the people's position and encouraged people to serve a great political action. The message of the song suggests an attempt to construct an image of an ethical, orthodox political leadership. In other words, actions in the lyrics such as the "career of anti-communism" suggest implicit approval of the KMT government. The third military song, "China Must Be Strong," is also directed against Mainland China's communist government. For example, "shellfire is everywhere" and "jackals and wolves are everywhere" refers to the battle between the communist Mainland and the KMT. The reference to "jackals and wolves" are not the Japanese forces when the song was sung during Japanese occupation but is a reference to the Mainland's communist leadership.

Starting from the 1970s, the KMT's political objectives shifted subtly from anti-communism to maintaining the existence of ROC and the change can be observed in songs. For example, in "Love of China," political messages are stated in the last part of the song: "Rise with force and spirit / Regain possession of the lost territory/ Let the blue sky and the sun illuminate the ground." In other words, the last part of the song indicates that people should go back to the Chinese mainland, regain the territory lost after 1949, and make the ROC regime regain rule. In the last part of the lyrics with the earlier lyric "Come back to Hua Xia's Han and Tang dynasties," the rhetorical meanings of the connection implies that the ROC regime is the one that will rebuild a glorious period of Chinese history. Therefore, again, this kind of intertextual referencing presents the orthodox political objectives of the ROC regime. In the case of "The Song of the Republic of China," the title of this song refers directly to the purpose of the song, namely to extol the existence of the ROC. In order to increase people's faith in ROC, the historical memories mentioned in the second part of the lyrics remind people what ancestors had conquered in the past and, consequently, they should not be afraid of the current predicaments. The song suggests to people to believe that the ROC can "stand the test." The word "test" expresses two meanings: the threat from the Mainland and the diplomatic difficulties that the ROC faced at the time. Also, by addressing Chinese historical and geographic factors, the lyrics of the song imply ROC's legal and political status of being the only China of the world.

Summary

As a tool the KMT government used to control people's political sensibilities and to maintain its rule, patriotic songs represent how the KMT shaped and constructed Taiwanese people's identity under martial law. During that particular period, students were required to sing patriotic songs every day in school; the government established a strict prohibition of publication in order to ensure all songs sung in public would not threaten the ruling power of the KMT. Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined community can be utilized to explain the KMT's efforts during the martial law period. This "imagined China" under the KMT rule was constructed via the representation of historical glory and the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland. Authorities exercised cultural hegemony and promoted a highly homogeneous society in Taiwan. Thus, the government attempted to educate Taiwanese people that "we" were Chinese and, accordingly, to lead them to construct a collective Chinese identity. In terms of historical memories, "the competition for the control of historical narrative is typically a major facet of identity politics" (Hsiau 150).

In the Chinese patriotic songs analyzed, historical experiences that happened in Mainland China were mentioned repeatedly. For instance, the long-standing Chinese culture and history and the glory of the Han and Tang dynasties were referred to in "I Love China," "Love of China," and "The Song of the Republic of China." In "China Must Be Strong," the text referred to a battlefield that happened on Mainland China during the second Sino-Japanese War. In all of the above songs, Taiwan and Taiwanese history were excluded. In the one song where there is a reference to immigrants to Taiwan — "Sons of Tanshan" — the text propagates that Taiwanese people are to continue the blood of Chinese. The geographic connection with Mainland China in the songs analyzed relates more directly to KMT's political claims than to collective historical memory. Among the patriotic songs, military songs including "I Love China," "Brave Soldiers," "China Must Be Strong," pay less attention to describing the beautiful sceneries of mainland China and its culture. In the select Chinese patriotic songs, the only exception is "Sons of Tanshan" because the lyrics say that "I treat this distant land [Taiwan] as my homeland." However, this song still conveys the message that Taiwan should be treated as an extension of China. Therefore, the geographic characteristics of the Chinese mainland included in these patriotic songs helped the KMT strengthen Taiwanese people's Chinese identity because it presents the linkage between "who we are" and "where the home is." In addition, the positive description of the Chinese mainland and the "home" image of China affirm the peripheral position of Taiwan under martial law.

In conclusion, the dichotomy hidden in these Chinese patriotic songs, in which the distinction between "dominant" versus "subaltern" and "we" versus "others" can be signified. Accordingly, especially in "Sons of Tanshan," Taiwanese history and culture are described as the subordinate level of Chinese history and culture. In terms of self-identification, "we" refers to people who value Chinese

culture, share collective historical memories that happened on the Chinese mainland, and treat China as the homeland. People who do not agree with such values or share the same historical memories are categorized as "others" insofar as they were ignored, excluded, or even hated in all types of narratives. This kind of distinction, indeed, is the remote cause for the ethnic and identity conflicts happening in Taiwanese society in contemporary times. The analysis of the selected songs reveals that patriotic songs under martial law highlight the glory of Chinese history and civilization, as well as the connection to the Chinese mainland. By emphasizing these factors, the KMT attempted to remove the Taiwanese people's Japanese identity that was constructed during the Japanese colonization. In addition, the sense of "Great China" shared among Taiwanese people was gradually established through the stress of these Chinese elements. Externally and politically, the construction of people's Chinese identity helped the KMT to claim its orthodox and legal representation of the "only China" in the international community. The legal-political status of the ROC regime, on the other hand, could assist the KMT to strengthen its political goals of anti-communism and accordingly to legalize its authoritarian rule. However, this "Chinese" identity constructed by the KMT under martial law was gradually challenged during the post-martial law period and has generally been replaced by an alternative Taiwanese identity in contemporary Taiwan.

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Emigration, Nationality, and Japanese Identity in the Era of Globalization

Kaori Mori

Abstract: In her article "Emigration, Nationality, and Japanese Identity in the Era of Globalization" Kaori Mori examines the question of nationality by focusing on legal cases fought over Japanese Nationality Law and the permission of special residence in the past twenty years. People who challenged Japanese nationality law are Japanese women who married internationally in the legal case of 1984, immigrant women who had children with Japanese men out of wedlock in the case of 2008 legal cases, and undocumented foreign residents in the other 2008 case. In examining these cases, Mori shows how emigration has changed the established legal framework, and forces us to reconsider what nationality is.

Introduction

The ways that nation states grant nationality vary. Some nations confer nationality to those who are born in their land and others to those who are born to parents who have the nation's nationality (*jus sanguini*, i.e., the system of citizenship based on blood). Japan basically takes *jus sanguini* system and this system has generated problems because the nation did not admit nationality to the children born between Japanese mothers and non-Japanese fathers, and to the children born between unmarried couples of non-Japanese mothers and Japanese fathers. These problems were fought in courts, and brought changes to the Nationality Law. Because of law suits and the ensuing legal revisions, if a child has a Japanese parent, she/he can have Japanese nationality now. What is now argued is whether the nation should give nationality to children who are born to non-Japanese parents and have been raised in Japan. Because of the impact of globalization, Japan has acquired more foreigners: the Ministry of Justice reports that the number of foreign residents has increased approximately 50% in the last ten years. Some of these foreigners, whether legal or illegal, have settled in Japan and as a result, children of non-Japanese parents are increasing. The number of foreign couples in 2007 was 13,249 and this number is about two times more than the number of foreign couples 1987 (Kokuritsu Shakai Hosho Jinko Mondai Kenkyujo 49).

On 25 May 1984, a revised Nationality Law was issued. Before this revision, only Japanese fathers could give Japanese nationality to their children. A main reason why this revision was made was because Japan signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1980. Article 9 of CEDAW stated the equality of the sexes in acquiring, changing, or maintaining nationality, including the bestowal of nationality on children. To make the CEDAW effective in Japan, the government needed to revise the country's Nationality Law, which did not give Japanese women a right to bestow nationality. Other reasons were the increase of Japanese women who married non-Japanese men, the existence of stateless children, and the increasing social con-

sciousness towards gender equality (see, e.g., Ikehara; Ikehara, Shiono, Tanaka, Hayashi, Miyazaki, Yamada 12). This legal revision was welcomed by many people who married internationally. A US-American father who had two children with a Japanese spouse wrote of his joy: "This year my wife and I gave our children something different — a new nationality. We took advantage of a new law effective January 1 allowing children of Japanese mothers and foreign fathers to hold Japanese citizenship. ... And I had to go to the ward office to return the alien registration certificates no longer needed by the two brand new Japanese citizens" (qtd. in Battenfeld 7).

While the government prepared for the revision, two legal cases challenged the Nationality Law in the late 1970s. In case A, a child of a Japanese mother and a US-American father were the plaintiffs (all cases discussed here are without the names of the plaintiffs for the reason of privacy protection except William Wetherall. He is the father of the case B children and he has written articles on the case with his name). At the time she was born, since Nationality Law did not allow the Japanese mother to bestow Japanese nationality to her child, the child was unable to obtain Japanese nationality. What made her case complicated was that her US-American father could not give her US-American nationality either. The father was born stateless since his parents were White Russian refugees and they were denaturalized by the USSR. He was raised in Japan as a refugee, and obtained his U.S. nationality later in his life (see Wetherall). However, there was a problem with his U.S. nationality with regard to his child as well. In the United States nationality is governed by *jus soli* and if the child was born in the US, she could get U.S. nationality automatically; however, she was born in Japan. And the father did not meet the U.S. residency requirement as a naturalized U.S. citizen to be able to give U.S. nationality to his child and thus the child was stateless. The mother appealed to the court to claim Japanese nationality for her child on the ground that the Nationality Law which did not give the Japanese mother the right to give her children Japanese nationality was unconstitutional because Article 14 of the Constitution guaranteed gender equality. In case B, the plaintiffs were two children and their Japanese mother. Unlike case A, the children had U.S. nationality through their father but the couple wanted to give their children Japanese nationality. They sued the state on the same ground as case A, namely that the Nationality Law was unconstitutional.

The two cases received support especially among Japanese women with foreign husbands. Six Japanese women who married to German citizens made a support group and wrote a letter to the mother to show their alliance with her. They described their shock when they were told at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin that they could not give their children Japanese nationality because it was only a Japanese father who could give Japanese nationality to children. They wrote, "We have collected petitions to change the Japanese Nationality Law in Berlin now. We have enclosed our members' petitions in this letter with a hope that this would in some way help your case. This will be a long case but we hope you go through this hard

time. We offer our full support from Berlin" ("A Letter to the Mother of the Case B").

Both cases were lost at court. The court decision was that patrilineality of the Nationality Law was not unconstitutional because the rule prevented dual nationality and the criteria of naturalization for children of Japanese mother and non-Japanese father was relaxed (Sawaki 102; Wetherall, "Constitution vs. nationality" 137). The court's decision provoked controversy. For example, Yumiko Yanson — married to a foreigner — wrote of the shock when she heard the court decision: "About ten women including myself who married internationally were sitting in the auditorium in tension. Many were women in their 20s and 30s, and some were pregnant. This decision affected us directly so when the decision, the rejection of giving Japanese nationality to plaintiffs, was announced in just twenty seconds, we were too taken aback to move" (Yanson 79). Some legal scholars also found the decision problematic. Junko Torii wrote that "the patrilineality of the Nationality Law is problematic from the view points of gender equality and the protection of children's rights" (Torii 55) and Takao Sawaki wrote that "I cannot support the court decision that prioritized the prevention of dual nationality over gender equality" (Sawaki 105). And the father of case B wrote of his disappointment in an article: "My first impulse was to feel that the decision reflected the thinking of judges who politically sympathize with the Ministry of Justice and the Diet, and who do not view human rights as something 'guaranteed' by the Constitution. While I have no doubt in my mind that the decision was to some extent influenced by the fact that the judges were all males who had received a conservative legal education, it is more important to stress that their decision was grossly misinformed; the multiple nationality issue is merely a red herring, while naturalization is neither easy nor equal (qtd. in Wetherall, "Constitution vs. Nationality" 137). While the two cases did not change the Nationality Law directly, they made an impact on public perception, as well as in legal circles and in 1984 the Nationality Law was revised.

The revision of the Nationality Law

The 1984 revision of the Nationality Law enabled Japanese women who married internationally to give Japanese nationality to their children at birth. When this revision was made, a new rule was included, which was that if a child was born to unmarried parents, the child could receive Japanese nationality when a Japanese parent recognized the child as hers/his or when a Japanese parent recognized a child until the child became twenty years of age hers/his, and married a partner later on, and reported their marriage and the recognition of the child to the Minister of Justice.

Japanese immigration law has a visa category called "entertainer visa" and with this, many women from countries such as the Philippines and Thailand came to Japan to work as entertainers such as bar hostesses or prostitutes. Some of these women develop relationship with Japanese men and have children out of wedlock. However, unless the man recognizes the child as his or he marries

the woman, the child is unable to obtain Japanese nationality. And with this rule a new set of discriminatory practice arose. Ten children, ranging in age eight to fourteen who were born to unmarried Filipino women and Japanese men sued the state.

Article 14 of the Constitution says that "all the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, or social relations of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin." Plaintiffs claimed that the fact that they could not have Japanese nationality because of their social status as illegitimate children was unconstitutional. This rule is also against Article 2 of Convention of the Rights of the Child, which says that "state parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members." Article 24 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also prohibits any discrimination as to social origin or birth. The decision of the Supreme Court was issued on 4 June 2008 and the plaintiffs won. The decision stated that the Nationality Law that required parents' marriages as a condition of giving Japanese nationality to children was unreasonable and unconstitutional. Hiroshi Sano explains that parents' marriage was a condition of giving nationality to children of a non-Japanese mother and Japanese father before because if parents did not marry, it was not sure if children really had a tie with Japan (88). Yet, the judges acknowledge that parents' marriage does not necessary guarantee the child's tie with Japan. In fact, one plaintiff's parents are not married but they have lived together and their children have been well acculturated in Japan.

Remaining problems

Japan had 2,217,426 registered foreigners in 2008 (Ministry of Justice, 21 August 2009). They live in Japan with visas such as a permanent resident visa, an educational visa, an employment visa, etc. If a foreigner does not have one of these visas or they remain in Japan after their visa is expired, their stay is illegal, and the number of undocumented foreign residents is 113,072 in 2009 (Ministry of Justice, 21 August 2009). However, what is illegal is only their visa status and it is rare that they commit crimes and many of these undocumented foreign residents are hard working people who contribute to the Japanese economy and society (Yamaguchi 129).

When these undocumented foreign residents stay longer in Japan, it is a natural outcome that some of them marry, have children, and thus are rooted in Japanese society. If an undocumented foreign resident marries a Japanese, she/he has a possibility to be issued a permission of special residence, and if she/he wishes, she/he can apply for naturalization, and thus become a Japanese national. Even if an undocumented foreign resident marries a non-Japanese, there is a possibility that the undocumented foreign resident may be given a permission of special residence by the Minister of Justice. The Ministry of Justice issues a permission of special residence at discretion. Because the rule is by discretion, some may receive per-

missions and others cannot even if their condition is the same. Since the Ministry of Justice's permission discretion has been criticized for its arbitrariness, the Ministry announced a guideline for a permission of special residence in 2006 that undocumented foreign residents may obtain permissions "if they reside in Japan for a long time, have less connection with their mother country, and find it difficult to live in their mother country; if they have serious diseases and need special medical treatment in Japan" (Watado 32).

Permissions of special residence have functioned to make the illegality of undocumented foreign residents' status legal. In 2007, 8,522 undocumented foreign residents (70% of those who applied for the permission) were granted permissions ("A New Guideline for Special Residency Visa"). However, the other 30% were not granted and if they cannot get permissions, they may be deported. One of those undocumented foreign residents who were deported and received social attention was the case of a Filipino family, case C. The family of case C is of Filipino origin having resided in Japan for more than ten years. The family consists of the parents and their daughter. The mother first came to Japan in 1992 with a fake passport, and so did the father in 1993. They met in Japan, married, and their daughter was born in 1995. Their stay had been illegal but the family had worked hard both at workplaces and school, and were accepted in the community. A big change happened to the family when the mother was arrested by the Immigration Bureau for her illegal stay in 2006. Following her arrest, the family was ordered to be deported. The family appealed to revoke the order, but it was refused by the Tokyo District Court in January 2008, the Tokyo High Court in May 2008, and the Supreme Court in September 2008, respectively ("On the Overstay Filipino Family in Saitama"). The Immigration Bureau tends to give permissions of special residence to undocumented foreign families who have children over thirteen years of age for the benefit of the child. It is apparent that children of undocumented foreign residents who have spent more than thirteen years in Japan will have problems if they return to their parents' countries whose culture and language they are not accustomed to. In the case of family C, it was unpredictable if they could get the permission because the daughter became thirteen during the trial. As the courts' decisions show, their appeal was not accepted. Considering the daughter's education, the Immigration Bureau decided to give her a permission of special residence but not for the parents. Obviously, this decision provoked controversy because it tore the family apart ("On the Overstay Filipino Family in Saitama"). The city where the family had resided submitted a plea to the Immigration Bureau to give all the family members permissions of special residence. Approximately 20,000 Japanese signed a petition to give the family permissions of special residence ("On the Overstay Filipino Family in Saitama"). The lawyer and scholar of law Tomomi Takasa wrote the following opinion:

Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says "no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, not to attack upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the

right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks." Equally, Article 17 of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights defines that "no one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks." The same treaty writes, "the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State." (67)

These treaties ban the state's arbitrary intervention to sever family bonds so what the Japanese courts, as well as the government did to Family C was obviously against the treaties. Takasa also argues that the decision is not only against the treaties but also the Constitution in which Article 13 states that "all of the people shall be respected as individuals. Their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall, to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare, be the supreme consideration in legislation and in other governmental affairs." Takasa argues that even if only one parent stays in Japan as an undocumented foreign resident, her/his basic human rights should be guaranteed under the Constitution.

Japanese public opinion was divided over the case and whether the human rights of undocumented foreign residents should be protected or not. While the family sought for the permission of special residence, many Japanese were sympathetic to the family as the fact that about 20,000 people signed the petition shows, but there were people and organizations who accused the family saying that they were criminals because they entered Japan with fake passports and thus they ought to be deported. A news article reported how these groups harassed the family ("Protests Against the Calderon Family").

The economic gap between developing countries in the South and developed countries in the North pushes people in the South to move to the North for better lives. Unless the gap is overcome, the flow of people from the South to the North would continue. In addition, the Japanese population is decreasing sharply and there is a chronic labor shortage even under the current recession. Laborers from other countries are needed as cheap laborers but there is no national policy to accept foreign laborers in Japan. The unfair world economic system and the lack of adequate policies of immigration in Japan have generated undocumented foreign residents in Japan. Family C in case is one of these undocumented foreign residents who sought a better life in Japan. Their coming to Japan with fake passports needs to be taken into account but we should not forget the background of why they had to come to Japan and why they ended up becoming undocumented foreign residents. Viewing undocumented foreign residents as not necessarily illegal is gradually shared by Japanese people. When a Korean family that illegally stayed in Japan filed a lawsuit to revoke the order of their deportation, a judge of Tokyo District Court admitted their appeal and commented as follows: "We have to say that it is illegal to come to Japan without having proper immigration procedures under the present international legal orders but it is understandable that

people move to other countries for better lives. If those immigrants could coexist peacefully with people in their host countries, their border crossing would not be immoral" (qtd. in Kodama 208).

Conclusion

Article 10 of the Constitution of Japan states that "the conditions necessary for being a Japanese national shall be determined by law" and thus nationality is defined by the Nationality Law based on the concept of *ius sanguini*. However, lawyers Kazuyuki Takahashi Yuji Iwasawa, and Yuichiro Hayakawa note that the Constitution does not specifically define that Japanese nationality has to be decided by bloodline: "as far as the Constitution is concerned, we can take both *jus soil* and *jus sanguini* system. If a person has a tie with Japan either through bloodline or soil, that person can be Japanese. ... What kind of qualifications are necessary for individuals who claim Japanese nationality through the either of the two systems depends on policy makers" (50). There is no doubt that entering or staying in other country without a proper visa is illegal. It is the government's duty to control undocumented foreign residents, but it is also the nation's responsibility to protect the human rights of people, especially children, residing in its territory regardless of their status. More deliberate discussions would be necessary over the issues of who could be Japanese but the evidence of the increasing number of foreigners in Japan necessitates the rethinking and remapping of rules and regulations relevant to the situation.

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Cultural Autonomy and Border-crossing in Contemporary North America**Christopher Larkosh**

Abstract: In his article "Cultural Autonomy and Border-crossing in Contemporary North America," Christopher Larkosh posits the strategy of transiting vast expanses of geographical space as one way of bringing academia's local day-to-day preoccupations into contact with its ever-globalizing aspirations. While Larkosh does not presume to offer generalized prescriptions for remapping comparative literary and cultural studies, he argues that it is nonetheless important to recognize lesser-taught living languages, cultural traditions, and gendered perspectives through the lived experience of their immediate and ever-changing spatiotemporal environment. In drawing from an expanded understanding of source text, one both literary and experiential, Larkosh argues that divergent forms of thinking of self and others beyond the ideological confines of a single nation-state and within the context of other peoples, countries, languages, and communities may be scholarship's most immediate ethical responsibility.

One may already be wondering: in the wake of such oft-quoted critical epigraphs on the intellectual potential of travel and exploration, will it ever be truly possible to depart in good faith again? And yet, I am still compelled to address questions of border crossing and remapping, in a concrete, if somewhat circuitous way, as previously uncharted voyages often are. In so doing, I wish to revisit a pressing current academic challenge: that of bringing academia's local day-to-day preoccupations into contact with its ever-globalizing aspirations. While I do not presume to offer any generalized prescriptions for the shape a mobile or transient approach to comparative literary and cultural studies might take for others in my field, it is nonetheless out of a commitment to debating our purposes as academics that I venture one possible definition here, however tentative: it is the task of recognizing lesser-taught (even if globally spoken) living languages, cultural traditions and gendered perspectives, not only through the conventional methodology of rereading and elaborating upon literary texts, but also through the lived experience of their immediate and ever-changing cultural and linguistic environment: in other words, the here-and-now.

Admittedly, this may be a more visibly practical task for me than for others. I teach Portuguese literature and culture in southeastern New England, where a large portion of the population is either of Portuguese, Brazilian, or Cape Verdean ethnic origin. The Portuguese language thus plays an important role in both my workplace and in the day-to-day cultural life of the surrounding region; at my university, for example, not only the members of my department, but also a sizable number of other faculty members, staff, and students speak Portuguese on a daily basis. At a state university that still serves a large population of Portuguese heritage speakers, there is no clearly defined linguistic border between Portuguese as an on-campus academic pursuit and as an off-campus marker of cul-

tural, ethnic, and linguistic community. At the same time, it would be misleading to assert that Portuguese speakers in the region live — or want to live, for that matter — in anything resembling an exclusively monolingual environment. Living in Anglophone North America means invariably coming into contact not only with the English language, its omnipresent mainstream media and cultures on one side and the oft-revisited points of reference determined by the language and culture of one's own community on the other, but also with other points on the map marked by the languages and cultural traditions of other ethnic groups, whether a network of businesses or cultural establishments, or the calendar of Portuguese and other movable feasts and ethnic celebrations that continually mark local cultural life.

This practice of cultural border-crossing may be limited for some to what might be called the "Chinatown (or Little Portugal) phenomenon": a visit to a more-or-less clearly delineated district of an urban area to eat out, browse the shops, perhaps visit an architectural landmark or side street, and then head for home, maybe even a bit self-satisfied with the sense (however mistaken it might actually be) of one's cosmopolitan "openness" or "connectedness with the community." Meanwhile, the ethnic composition of the urban landscape continues to shift, with established communities like the Portuguese dispersing in suburban areas, to be replaced by newer arrivals: Southeast Asians, Central Americans, etc. These groups, regardless of their origin, may still be considered "exotic" to some, but for others they are already a common and integral part of their everyday lived experience. In other words: "Chinatown" is quite often already "our town," and "Little Portugal" is no longer "little" (dispersed as it is today over a broad area of interconnected cities, suburbs, small towns and rural areas), nor is it strictly "Portugal" (always diasporic, interspersed as it is with both English-language culture and other cultural and linguistic elements from around the world).

While the work of theorists such as the Indonesian-Dutch sociologist Jan Nederveen Pieterse continues to fuel debate whether this form of repeated back-and-forth cultural exploration of ethnicities is either preferable to none at all or even useful in this kind of academic discussion (27), more important for me is the challenge such communities face as they continue to represent and map out their cultural and linguistic identities over space and time, both in connection to and separate from the English language and mainstream media cultures, as well as alongside the other cultural elements in their midst. So I imagine my main objective in comparative literary and cultural studies as that of presenting imaginable, if incomplete, supplementary materials to make possible and inform this kind of border crossing, especially in ways that implicitly interrogate those predominant representations of clearly-bordered national identity, as well as the imaging of other less clearly delineated forms of minority linguistic and cultural difference that are too often based on violence, fear or paranoia.

So, in order to uncover an alternative strategy of border crossing for North America, perhaps a circuit of minoritized perspectives

similar to the one African/Native American theorist John Brown Childs has called "trans-communality," one may have to depart not only from my own academic enclave but the immediate cultural communities surrounding it: ideally, without any planned route or 'excess baggage' in the form of a preset research agenda. This is quite possibly the most challenging of all the intellectual exercises I propose here: while anthropologists like Claude Lévi-Strauss have questioned for some time whether one can ever completely ignore one's own ethnic, cultural and linguistic heritage and professional affiliations, there still may be something to be said at times for at least attempting an approach from as blank a slate as possible. Much like the sculptors of North American Native communities, who allow the stone and wood they work with to tell them what they want to become, I would let the road tell me where I was going at the moment that I crossed it, much in the way captured in the best-known verses of the Spanish poet Antonio Machado: "Traveler, your traces are the only path; traveler, there is no path, the path is made as you go. One makes the path, and when looking back, one sees the track where no one will ever step again. Traveler, there is no path, only the wake upon the sea" (unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine) ("caminante, son tus huellas/ el camino y nada más;/ caminante, no hay camino,/ se hace el camino al andar./ Al andar se hace el camino,/ y al volver la vista atrás/ se ve la senda que nunca/ se ha de volver a pisar./ Caminante no hay camino,/ sino estelas en la mar" [158]).

Those familiar with such commonplaces of twentieth-century intellectual history will also recall Walter Benjamin's well-known model of looking back through the interpretation of Paul Klee's painting "Angelus Novus" in his 1939 essay "Über den Begriff der Geschichte," which unfurls its catastrophic vision of time and retrospection so unyieldingly that those looking back upon the rubble of history in the inescapable storm called progress, whether Benjamin himself or a subsequent critical reader, might imagine themselves subject in much the same way to this presumably unavoidable state of powerlessness. To take the messages of these two literary figures at their word, however, might well entail recognizing where their paths were to end, each on a collision course of exile from the forces of order that pursued them, albeit in opposite directions, toward the Spanish-French border: Machado would escape to the French town of Collioure from Franco's advancing troops in the last days of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 to die there soon after; as for Benjamin, he would be detained on that same border as he attempted to travel out of Vichy France through Spain to neutral Portugal and then to the U.S., but instead would take his own life while in French custody in August of 1940. Then again, understanding the broader significance of these violent crossed destinies, at an always repeated and militarized political border, may actually run counter to the act of returning to these literary texts themselves: that is to say, in order to see a viable way out, I may even have to set aside, if only momentarily, the works of such "*status quo*-tables" such as Machado or Benjamin at the heart of my own internalized canon of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western literary knowledge. There would

inevitably be ample time afterwards to return to these well-worn canonical volumes in the library of comparative literature at some point, but for the time being, it would be the perspectives gained from my own lived experience that would guide my eventual readings and research, and not the other way around.

It was thus that, on a Friday afternoon in August, I would pull out of my driveway in Providence, Rhode Island, for a 4000-mile road trip and sea voyage that would eventually last twelve days. With no itinerary exclusively predetermined by the unavoidable cultural, linguistic or professional baggage that all of us carry, I would drive toward and cross the U.S.-Canada border simply by following Interstate 95 North, the highway that passes through my own town of Providence, Rhode Island. I would soon realize, of course, that this trip would be more involved than I had imagined: that is, with other, less clearly marked borders ahead. For instance, only when I reached the Nova Scotia border did it dawn on me where I would have to go if I wanted to cross another international boundary: I would have to board a car ferry from the port of North Sydney to Argentia, Newfoundland, and then drive to the port of Fortune to take another passenger ferry to the French overseas territorial collectivity of St. Pierre and Miquélon. The next available ferry was not until the following day, however, so I would have to spend the next twenty-four hours on Cape Breton Island.

After turning off the main highway onto the first available byway, I found the first signs of how culturally and linguistically unprepared I was for much of what lay ahead. While many people may know that Canada is an officially English-French bilingual country, fewer have any knowledge of the Canada's Allophone or "other language" communities, including the fact that Nova Scotia is the main area outside of the British Isles where the Gaelic language is spoken. In the town of Judique, I stopped at one such musical gathering or *ceilidh*, where a crowd had assembled to hear a group of local Celtic musicians play. No sooner had it appeared, however, this small town and its bilingual English-Gaelic signage were already receding in my rearview mirror as I approached yet another cultural and linguistic enclave, the French-speaking Acadian port of Chéticamp. I could not help but wonder whether these discoveries would have had the impact they did if I had mapped out my trip beforehand and knew where I was going. So my spontaneous approach, even if it was simply not to plan, was proving to be a powerful means (if not a strict methodology) for considering these continually alternating cultural landscapes as possible countermodels to the literary global city, complete with its series of appearing and vanishing urban enclaves, as primary territorialized representations of ethnic, linguistic and cultural autonomy.

After these last populated spaces, there were only the highlands of Cape Breton, the occasional moose on the side of the road, the ocean, and solitude. This understanding of both my own limits and our interconnectedness as living beings would be underscored the next day at the delighted surprise of happening upon the Tibetan Buddhist monastery of Gampo Abbey. While it is well off the main highway on an unmarked road, it is by no means hidden: that is to

say, it is quite well known to others, given that it was the first full-time Tibetan Buddhist monastery in the U.S., and many of my friends to whom I related this chance arrival since were actually surprised that I had never heard of the monastery's spiritual teacher, the well-known Buddhist nun and author Pema Chödrön. But perhaps it was in fact my very ignorance that allowed me to arrive: that limitless ignorance of what is outside of our own preconceptions, bordered as it is by those places (e.g., the city, the university campus) where each of us is expected to spend time, engaged with those texts often considered inseparable from our professional responsibilities. The nuns and monks seemed amused by the tale of my chance arrival, but not at all surprised: for how else could one truly arrive here, if not without expectations?

When I later began to delve into Chödrön's writings, I would find a passage that would reiterate these sentiments: "The path is uncharted. It comes into existence moment by moment and at the same time drops away behind us. It's like riding in a train sitting backward. We can't see where we're headed, only where we've been. This is a very encouraging teaching, because it says that the source of wisdom is whatever is going to happen to us today. The source of wisdom is whatever is happening to us right at this very instant" (146-47). In this reinterpretation of how each of us might arrive, the act of looking back moves beyond the possible readings offered earlier: it is no longer necessarily fraught with any Benjaminian anguish over one's own powerlessness in the overwhelming crush of the past's detritus, but instead imbued with the courage that results from merely being in the present.

In this place, at the moment of my inexplicable arrival, I could not avoid the recurrent question of how my own cultural and linguistic baggage, in league with my current academic interests, had already been at work limiting my ability to see what had always been right in front of me. Here I was once again, confronted by a teaching that emerged from beyond my field of knowledge and vision, much like a moose stepping out into the roadway or a whale surfacing in the water at the edge of a boat I was on, and with the sheer force of its presence, forcing me to stop and listen: not for language, but for a lesson from other intelligent and communicating species, in the form of an exchanged gaze and the implicit recognition of the other's presence. At the abbey, I saw how others could look into the eyes of a deity or sacred artifact and also have another form of *darshana*, a vision of connectedness with all things. Before leaving, I visited the *stupa*, the religious monument containing a representation of the Buddha and other religious relics; behind it was a series of inscriptions carved in stone. One stood out in particular: "Do not try to be the fastest." As I got back behind the wheel and drove on, I found myself repeating this dictum again and again, "road-testing" its immediate and long-term potential for uncovering and interpreting what lay ahead.

In a few hours I was at the dock in North Sydney, ready to board the car ferry for the 14-hour Atlantic voyage to Newfoundland, and then, after yet another day of aimless driving and waiting, on to St. Pierre et Miquélon and another international border crossing. Such

territorial enclaves and other similar political microdivisions may provoke questions about territorial integrity in ways that larger countries do not, at least not in such an immediate, palpable way. It is with these last remnants of earlier continental empires that North Americans are compelled to face the arbitrary and disputed (if not altogether impermanent) nature of all present territorial and institutional entities, no matter how established and stable they may appear to be. After all, it was only after my arrival on the island of St. Pierre proper that I was reminded that I had already been there; i.e., when the ship had crossed the narrow strip of French territorial waters granted it in recent negotiations with the Canadian government. It is not just in densely populated territorial areas of the globe, but increasingly in the 200-mile limit and continental shelf of the earth's oceans, that many of the world's borders will be disputed in the present century.

Such disputes seemed far away, however, especially on a sunny August afternoon when the temperature was at 24 °C and all stereotypes of a deserted, frozen outpost could momentarily be shelved. There was no visible reason why the islands of St. Pierre and Miquélon could not be considered as undeniably French as any other locations I had ever visited: with its *boulangeries*, *pétanque* courts, *le Palais de Justice*, and other commonplaces. No matter how territorially separate they may be, they might have seemed even "as French" (if not more so) than metropolitan France itself, above all in their seemingly intentional displacement of other places in close geographical, cultural and linguistic proximity, such as Acadie, Québec, or other corners of Francophone North America. For example, the directional sign in one corner of the town of St. Pierre seems to point out in all directions towards faraway corners of the globe, but all the coordinates in this selective territorial geography — whether the European city of Paris (which evidently can stand in quite ably for all of metropolitan France), a corner of South America, the main settlements on other islands in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean or the South Pacific, or even a slice of Antarctica — are still organized and "pointed out" as part of the same French Republic as these two dots of land off the coast of North America. Apart from that, the most visible "other" culture — represented in signage, local businesses, last names and the imposing *fronton* for the game of *jai-alai* in the center of town — is perhaps that of the Basque Country (*Euskadi*), located on both sides of the present-day border between France and Spain, to where many of the islands' inhabitants trace their ethnic origins.

Those with a more all-encompassing view of "Francophone" culture might take issue with this limited representation of cultural geography, were it not for the fact that such limited constructions are all too common no matter where you go, with a number of change-resistant academic departments of national language and culture in North America still providing some of the most trenchant examples (e.g., programs still centered primarily around the literature and culture of the European mother-country, its cultural capital, and attendant models of literary cosmopolitanism; ones in which a single imperial language predominates, with other regional

or related languages relegated to institutionally inferior status; or ones in which eminent and institutionally powerful scholars who have never even attempted to learn a non-Western language, even as they may talk of the rise of world literature, continue to practice a politics of reconsolidation of dominant Western literary culture on a daily basis). In light of this concrete physical performance of identity at the political periphery of a faraway yet ever-present European nation-state, how might one manage to break away from lingering models for academic disciplines and related research in the humanities that still strangely resemble this type of overseas territorial outpost, they too — no matter how comfortable or charming it may appear in a short visit — unquestioned remnants of Empire?

Upon my return to Newfoundland, I asked myself what it would imply to re-invoke my own academic persona as a professor of Portuguese language and culture in this region. It would be hard to forget the history lessons of exploration and "discovery" in North America so dear to configurations of Portuguese diaspora identity: ones that, combined with the discourses on Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia, were an unavoidable part of my own education growing up in a largely Portuguese US-American town in Massachusetts. Newfoundland was, after all, the part of the Americas where the Portuguese had first arrived over 500 years ago, with the already well-documented arrivals by the Corte Real family and João Fernandes Lavrador in the late fifteenth century, and where Portuguese fishermen were to continue to haul in their catch from the surrounding waters well into the twentieth century as crewmen on Portugal's White Fleet (see Andrieux 61-62; Doel). I stopped by the provincial archives in St. John's to see what documents or other traces might document this historical presence, but aside from photo collections of the White Fleet and some surveillance records of stranded sailors and other Portuguese nationals during World War II by the local constabulary, there was apparently little archival material here to encourage extensive research on the topic. One document seemed promising, however: a 1945 letter detailing plans by a Portuguese newspaper editor to place a memorial in a nearby town called Portugal Cove "to mark its discovery by Gaspar de Corte Real," subject to the support of the local government.

The next day I drove through Portugal Cove; it was the morning of the annual regatta, and the whole town was out on the pier watching the competition, as the rowers raced back and forth across the harbor, but no one I talked to knew anything about the origin of the town's name, nor of any historical monument to Portuguese explorers. They were, in a word, indifferent, and more importantly at this point, so was I. One might raise funds in Portugal or the Portuguese community in North America for such a commemorative marker or *padrão*, but what would be the point of it? Any insistence on the putative "Portugueseness" of this place beyond its name would seem like an overbearing act of identity politics, if not outright colonial nostalgia. As for the statue of Gaspar Corte Real proposed so many years before, one would eventually be given to Newfoundland by the Portuguese in 1965: not to be placed in Portugal Cove, but in the capital St. John's. Outfitted in armor and decorated with the

emblems of this historical narrative — the compass, reproductions of an ancient map — this bronze personification to a Portuguese explorer might easily be considered the *epitomé* of this kind of melancholy over past or present colonial crisis that such appropriations of public space seek to process and validate. The commemorative plaque never even mentions the name Newfoundland in the English inscription, preferring the Portuguese *terra nova*, as if this were the only truly acceptable language in which this place name could be uttered.

So I cannot say that, after this particular encounter with Portuguese symbols and exported memory, I was all that compelled to seek, much less leave, any further traces of it here at this late hour. After all, there are still numerous self-styled Portuguese historians on the university lecture circuit who go so far as to submit their research on their country's masculine narratives of overseas "exploration and discovery" to putative methods of mathematical systematization in order to add scientific legitimacy to a patently nationalistic discourse: one in which Portuguese explorer Diogo de Teive may have reached the Newfoundland coast as early as 1452, and in which Christopher Columbus himself may have been not Italian, but in fact Portuguese (Rodrigues and Devezas 80-81). If this were not enough, they go on to propose this sanitized vision of national "exploration and discovery" as reflected in sixteenth-century visual representations, such as the 1502 Cantino Map that shows Portugal global discoveries, and Japanese *namban* screens that document the multicultural Portuguese arrival in Japan, as potential models for our globalizing twenty-first century (288-89), while conveniently glossing over the details of most of Portuguese colonial history's bloodier chapters. To offer just one example of this instance of selective memory: it has been documented that Gaspar de Corte Real captured fifty-seven of Newfoundland's Native Beothuk people and sold them into slavery upon his return to Portugal to defray the costs of his voyage; all of whom died soon after. Naturally, no mention of this would be made in this particular historical account, much less on any monument erected to honor a Portuguese presence here.

An alternatively gendered and postcolonial approach to these repeated myths of masculine exploration, discovery and appropriation, then, may well begin with what Daniel Coleman has identified in his study of masculine migrations in Canadian literature as "resisting heroics": "a retiring masculinity, one which distances itself from the prescribed rituals of aggressive masculine performance, one which does not want to participate in the competition in the first place" (82). Once again: "Do not try to be the fastest," or for the matter, always the first. For even if, as has been stated repeatedly in the academic retracing of the Age of Exploration, that "Portugal has a privileged place of communication with other corners of the globe" ("Portugal tem un lugar privilegiado de comunicação com outros quadrantes" [da Cunha 131]), there is almost always someone who has been, either territorially or discursively, there before: not just other European colonizers, but also Indigenous groups like the Beothuk, the last of whom died in the early 1800s due to starvation and disease,

disease, largely from being driven by British settlers from the lands and coasts on which they had lived over centuries. So bear with me as I add yet another necessary commonplace that bears repeating: that "communication," regardless of how "privileged" one considers one's own "place" in it, consists not only of speaking, but also listening; it is not only occupying space, but also leaving space for others. In order to achieve this, one may have to suspend, at least momentarily, one's own position as primary speaker in the official narrative, a paradigmatic shift that is arguably as impossible as the aforementioned "blank-slate approach." In this context, it may seem even more ironic the extent to which postcolonial theorists, from Ashis Nandy in the early 1980s to Sankaran Krishnan in his 2009 book *Globalization & Postcolonialism*, have endeavored to strike the unavoidable self-critical notes in their discussions as they interrogate their own postcolonial status and that of others as Western-based academics. Meanwhile, examples still surface of self-proclaimed "Lusophile" scholars content to reaffirm their country's cultural identity in the ambivalent context of its colonial past "insistindo em ser como é" (da Cunha 162): indeed, by simply "being who they are" (whatever that is supposed to mean).

Needless to say, as I re-boarded the car ferry, drove back along the northern coast of Nova Scotia and found myself facing the possibility of crossing yet another provincial border, this time to Canada's smallest province, Prince Edward Island, and by this point I had already become somewhat skeptical of the teaching potential of border-crossing for its own sake. What exactly was I doing here anyway and what could possibly be learned on the island on the other side? Such persistent doubts would be answered by the chance suggestion I received from a woman on the ferry across: today was the last day of the annual Abegweit Powwow, a gathering of the Island's Aboriginal people, and it was open to the public. My car thus separated from the line of cars headed toward Charlottetown and points west as I turned off on a dirt road that would eventually lead to a wooded area, where I witnessed the drumming, dancing and regalia of a culturally and linguistically distinct people who were present at the arrival on these shores by the Portuguese 500-odd years before, and more importantly, were still here.

At one point, it was announced that two of the elders needed a ride back to Charlottetown and I volunteered, once again allowing circumstance to determine the hour of my departure and my next destination. After the ceremony ended with the Grand Exit, I drove Elders Katherine Archer and her cousin Frank Bernard home. On the way there, Katherine read me a poem she wrote entitled "Survivors," which retold her traumatic experience at the Canadian Indian Residential School in Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia. While awareness of this tragedy has increased in recent years, especially thanks to the detailed historical work of First Nations scholars (see, e.g., Paul), I would like to privilege the author's own voice here by quoting her poem in its entirety:

They take us from our homes
They cut our braids

They told our parents if not heeded
They would go to jail without fail
They had to send us to this school
They did not know what we would lose
There they discovered their children could not talk the language
There they discovered the children could not do the walk
There they discovered the white way
There they lived under conditions that were physically,
psychologically and spiritually unhealthy
We lost the roots of our ancestral traditions
We lost values of our grandfathers
We shared each other's grieves, despairs, fears, anger and hatred
We have lost touch with our families, friends and loved ones
We have lost the fun times and teachings of our culture
We have missed the safety of our home
Oh what trauma we had in the still of the night and beautiful days
Oh to hear the screams and cries of the small children
Oh how fearful we'd be at night when footsteps would start
Oh the thoughts that came to your mind
Would it be me tonight?
Oh how you wish it would not be your sister
Oh how they did not care how alone or how young you were
Oh what shame we carried all these years. (Archer 19)

Listening to this woman as she read her literary testimony to me while I drove on across this land provided a powerful, living counterpoint for this study of cultural border crossing. While academics may learn any number of languages to read other people's writings and transmit their narratives, listening to people in person and relaying the accounts of their lived traumas, in a way that is both respectful and accurate, may well be the more challenging, impossible and necessary border to cross on this particular itinerary. For how to retell the history of another living being you have encountered, and for whom no real apology or reparation is possible? How can one do justice to even a single surviving account, when there are countless other narratives of rape, dispossession or cultural genocide that are lost forever? In spite of an acute awareness of the impossibility of arriving at any kind of complete history here, those committed to the study of political, cultural and linguistic border crossing as part of their academic practice are nonetheless compelled to recognize the ethical responsibility that such epistemological shifts away from European grand narratives of "exploration" and "discovery" entail.

When we arrived in Charlottetown, Katherine and Frank thanked me in Mi'kmaq: *Wela'lin*. I repeated this word of thanks to express my appreciation to them and the message thus seemed to take on another level of meaning: that of keeping their culture, language, and distinct identity alive in spite of the persistent and all-too-real threats of violence, injustice, and erasure. I felt that it was in this language that I could more fully express not only my thanks for their generosity, but also my respect for their enduring quest for cultural and linguistic autonomy, and for the trust they had shown in sharing

it with me. These lessons on the limits of cultural border-crossing would stay with me as I continued my journey over the Confederation Bridge and back into New Brunswick. The day before, 15 August, had been the Acadian National Holiday, and the region's newspapers were still reporting the day's festivities. As Acadian academics themselves continue to ask: who, what, and where is Acadie today, as a French-speaking nation born in this corner of North America and forged through a history of global diaspora, that maintains its language, culture and historical perspective without the help of any recognized political borders (Caron 433)? After being arrested *en masse*, having their property confiscated, forcibly deported from the region, and dispersed across North America and beyond by the British in 1755 (see Arsenault), many Acadians went into hiding in this area, which would eventually become the heartland of contemporary Acadian culture (see Allain, McKee Allain, Thériault 368). Because of the global diaspora resulting from mass deportation, Acadians are found in other parts of the world, perhaps most notably in the U.S. state of Louisiana, where they are called Cajuns. Despite the attempts to erase them from the map of North America, the Acadians and their culture continue to thrive and as I drove through the towns of Cocagne and Bouctouche, I was impressed to see practically every house decorated with the colors of the Acadian flag, identical to the French *tricouleur*, except for the gold star in the upper left-hand corner.

The overwhelming unanimity of this display of cultural identity was interrupted only twice: first by a row of houses on a road outside Neguac decorated by the same red-and-white flag of the Mi'kmaq nation and the Aboriginal colors of red, yellow, black, and white I had seen at the powwow the day before, and then by another kind of house in the town of Bas-Caraquet, painted with flowers, the words "peace" and "love", and the slogan "No Nation." I could not help but wonder what the point of such a statement could be, especially in the context of a historically threatened ethnic and linguistic community. Do those from within even the most endangered national identities have the need at times to opt out? And is the existence of such a safe house for dissidents, a "no nation" within the nation, perhaps the best mark of its openness as a society? And what if my own "way of being" was to be in continual flux as well: to challenge established cultural and linguistic boundaries and cut across normative constructions of identity predicated by language, culture, ethnicity and/or gender? Would there continue to be a place, however Utopian, for such people in the twenty-first century as we continue to map ourselves out in relation to others? Some who do opt out may wish, as so many have, to migrate to a new territory and attempt to assume a new cultural and linguistic identity there. But then again, is such migration ever truly voluntary? One might argue that in the context of economic necessity, political persecution, and the pressures of cultural assimilation into the mainstream, opting into or out of a cultural identity is never completely optional. Moreover, the international borders that still cut through nations such as the Mi'kmaq, Acadians and others rarely if ever correspond to local cultural, linguistic regional divisions. Ultimately, the questions of

"disputed status" is by no means a phenomenon limited to entities like Taiwan, but can be said to characterize a broad expanse of inhabited and uninhabited territory, no matter how fervently governments and officialized discourse may insist to the contrary.

This is startlingly apparent even today back at the U.S.-Canadian border, an arbitrary line laid out on maps by governments in negotiations that took place far from the communities that inhabited these spaces. In this region of North America, the 1842 Webster-Ashburton treaty that definitively set the present border was one such example, although considered at the time to be a "good and wise measure" (Carroll 306), the border as drawn not only divided local French-speaking and Indigenous regions, but when it was resurveyed in the last century, it was discovered that it even ran right through some houses. In few places is the arbitrary nature of this border more clearly illustrated than in the border towns of Pôhénégamook, Québec/Estcourt, Maine. For years the residents on the Québec side crossed over without any hindrance to fill up their tanks at a gas station conveniently located just across the border, but after security measures were tightened in the wake of the 11 September attacks, the situation changed. In November of 2002, one Pôhénégamook resident, Michel Jalbert, was stopped by U.S. border guards for not checking in with U.S. Customs before entering the U.S. and having a hunting firearm in his trunk. This infraction of U.S. law, combined with a felony conviction for breaking and entering from a few years back, was enough to have him arrested, jailed, and fined thousands of U.S. dollars, all for buying fifteen Canadian dollars worth of gasoline a few meters from the border.

One might like to dismiss the importance of such cases as exceptions, but the uncomfortable fact is that increased securitization has already changed the way of life, perhaps irreversibly, on what remains the world's longest demilitarized border. I spent a hour or so in Estcourt, tracing on foot how the border ran not only through this small community and its single row of houses, but also, in the most literal sense, through me. As I stood with a foot in one country and one in another, jumping back and forth over the line as in a child's game of hopscotch, there was no penalty or punishment for crossing, embodying and embracing this or any other border of culture, language and nation that pass continually through so many of us, even when the physical border is miles away. Of course, there is never any guarantee that such alternative crossings will be recognized, much less prevail, in mainstream academic or political discourse. As we speak, other increasingly pervasive models of border crossing continue to extend across the horizon: in the floodlit spaces of barbed wire and fencing, or in the exploitation, detention and deportation of those designated as illegal migrants. The necessity, efficacy and scope of such measures will no doubt continue to be debated across North America for some time to come. In the meantime, however — especially within a global comparative framework in which semi-autonomous political, linguistic, and cultural entities still complicate what constitutes a separate national identity and electronic communications networks can redefine the limits over which dispersed ethno-linguistic communities can communicate and con-

sider themselves "connected" as part of a shared culture — what are the chances of creating new models for durable, vibrant, and open interactions out of the all-too-clearly bordered nation-states of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

In contrast to the persistently fixed models of empire and nation, alternative terminologies and configurations have often been neglected or overlooked: whether of the often invisible and shifting boundaries that can separate one ethnically-identified neighborhood from another; "Chinatowns" and other ethnically marked spaces from "our" towns; the ethnic enclaves of Little Portugal from the historical narratives that surround Portugal Cove and other sites of "exploration and discovery"; or the loosely bordered nations of indigenous and linguistic minority peoples that make up the North American cultural landscape on both sides of the U.S.-Canada border and beyond. I have attempted to offer here a few lived examples of the countermodels that such ethnic and linguistic subgroups, islands, territorial enclaves and other unfixed spatial entities continue to hold out as they increase their visibility and take on greater significance as part of a resilient and interconnected cross-border archipelago of languages and cultures. In this alternative remapping, national, cultural and linguistic identity might well come to resemble a network of both fixed and continually shifting points that bridge over, tunnel through and ferry across geographic and historical distances, crisscross and interrogate present nation-state boundaries, and offer new sites for making sense of both our departure to other spaces and our return home. With such examples in mind as our present century unfolds, divergent forms of thinking of self and others beyond the ideological confines of a single nation-state, and within the context of other peoples, countries, languages and communities, may even be our most immediate ethical responsibility.

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Mapping Asian Immigration to Latin America **Luz M. Hincapié**

Abstract: In her article "Mapping Asian Immigration to Latin America" Luz M. Hincapié discusses Nicolás Tanco Armero's *Viaje de Nueva Granada a China y de China a Francia* (Voyage from New Granada to China and from China to France) and his narration of journey. With Tanco Armero's travelogue Hincapié introduces the history of contact between South America and Asia starting with the Chinese coolie trade in which Tanco Armero was actively involved. Further, Hincapié examines how this came about and how Peru and Brazil became the countries with the highest numbers of Japanese immigrants in South America. Hincapié also discusses the history of Japanese immigration to Colombia until the interruption brought about by World War II and current migratory trends between Asia and Latin America.

Tanco Armero and the coolie trade

Born in 1830 in Colombia, Nicolás Tanco Armero was educated abroad and spoke fluent English, French, as well as Spanish. Protesting against the Colombian government, the 21-year-old exiled himself to Cuba where he arrived in November 1851. He taught math in a school in Havana and wrote a treatise of arithmetics before being hired by sugar plantation owners. In his 1861 travelogue *Viaje de Nueva Granada a China y de China a Francia*, he writes about the plantation and the sugar mill and he records his disgust of the institution of slavery: "It is sad for the traveler visiting these sugar plantations to hear, in the silence of the night, the sound of the sugar mill and its machines constantly working and mixing with the horrible sound of the shackles and the somber song of the wretched African beings! ... In these moments the heart palpitates with compassion and reason is outraged against the wickedness of man who has stripped his fellowmen of their freedom and turned them into machines" (37; all translations are mine). His narrative reveals his thinking: since he was employed by the Cuban saccharocracy and admired the technological might of the slave-driven plantation and sugar refinery, he cannot condemn slavery completely and must add that the African slave in Cuba is not treated as cruelly as twenty years earlier. In his descriptions of slavery, one can also see the concerns of his Cuban contemporaries: he observes that the African slave population doubles the amount of white people and that the slave trade has been reduced due to English anti-slavery trade ships (*Viaje* 40). Indeed, Spain had signed treaties with the British to abolish the slave trade in 1817 making it difficult for Cuban plantation owners to bring African slaves. The Revolution in Haiti (1791-1805) had shown Cuba what could happen if the African slaves revolted to overthrow the white elite but it had also benefited Cuba by removing Haiti from the competition of sugar production. By the 1840s, Cuba had surpassed Jamaica, Brazil and Puerto Rico becoming the leading sugar producer (Yun and Laremont 104-05). Yet the fear of the vast African majority remained and the Cuban

landowning class started to look towards Asia for a possible solution. According to Lisa Yun and Ricardo René Laremont, "Planters thought that using Chinese coolie labor might help alleviate multiple problems. The control of labor costs and the control of the body politic became dual concerns" (104). China faced problems of inflation, fiscal drain from the illegal opium trade, frequent natural disasters, recurrent political rebellions, destruction of farms, and rural destitution which caused massive migration to coastal cities (Yen 32-36). From this source of cheap labor, approximately one million southern Chinese were procured illegally, often deceived, intimidated, and kidnapped, by Western organized traffic from 1840 to 1875; of this enormous number, about 150,000 went to Cuba and close to 100,000 to Peru (Yun and Laremont 103). *La trata amarilla* or yellow trade started to Cuba with the arrival of 206 coolies in June 1847. At first, the Cuban elite depended on rival British coolie brokers until they set up their own agencies in Manila, Macao, Havana, London, and Amoy (Xiamen) (Hu-DeHart, "Latin America" 33-34). The ounge, single, educated, multilingual, adventurous, and ambitious Tanco Armero was hired for the agency in Amoy and for this purpose he lived in China from June 1855 to July 1858.

Within the scheme of enlightenment thinking of the era, Tanco Armero's travelogue illustrates two concerns of the South American Creole ruling class. On the one hand, a desire to further the civilizing project which would bring progress to the newly independent nations. On the other, a belief in the civilizing power of the Catholic church. Traveling and writing travelogues, more than a privilege, became a duty for the nineteenth-century Latin American elite who wrote to educate and enlighten (Martinez 104). Tanco Armero's text becomes particularly significant since he is the first Colombian to have written about the Far East. Since christianity's civilizing mission in China becomes a recurring concern, he provides a detailed history from ancient times to the Qing dynasty and the arrival of missionaries who began to "diffuse the light of the Gospel and to make every corner of the Celestial Empire resonate with the divine word" (*Viaje* 296). Despite Tanco Armero's detailed descriptions of China documenting religious beliefs, government, education, family life, and customs, his actual business there is barely mentioned. He writes of sending "two ships with Asian settlers for the island of Cuba" (*Viaje* 425). Tanco Armero and other traders euphemistically called the Chinese coolies "settlers," "free workers," or "immigrants" (Hu-DeHart, "Race Construction" 80), and used a "contract" to defend the business from anti-slavery attacks. It stipulated a term of eight years, weekly wages, food, clothing, housing, and medical attention. The coolie would be a free worker and able to return to China when the contract was completed. The reality of the indentured laborer, however, was a far cry from legal discourse. As Moon-Ho Jung asserts, "The insatiable global demand for 'coolies' manifested locally in an upsurge of kidnappings and fraudulent schemes in the early 1850s, coercive tactics that drove Chinese residents to equate the trade to 'pig-dealing'" (685) (see also Yun and Laremont 112).

The Chinese coolies to Cuba arrived in the midst of the entrenched institution of slavery and plantation owners modeled the

coolie system after slavery using punishment regulations such as flogging. As one coolie explained, "the owner continually urges upon the overseers that a large crop of sugar is the only matter of importance, and that no consideration should be shown to labourers, as if one be beaten to death ten others can be purchased" (qtd. in Yen 69). Furthermore, Plantation owners in Cuba and Peru employed opium as a form of social control since it made addicted coolies more compliant and perpetuated their debt to the plantation (Hu-DeHart, "Opio" 38-39). Opium overdose became another way to commit suicide along with hanging, drowning, and jumping into the sugar cauldrons. For many coolies, the end of the eight-year contract never came. Instead, re-contracting became the norm, thus obscuring the distinction between indenture and slavery (Hu-DeHart, "Latin America" 36.; see also Pérez de la Riva for his thesis that Chinese indentured labor was another form of slavery, 133-40). The dreadful nature of this business may explain why Tanco Armero is silent regarding the purpose of his voyage to China. Indeed, what he chooses to reveal or hide offers some clues as to the way the white South American Creole male positioned himself with regard to Europe and the Orient. In his fractured and contradictory discourse, he attempts to deal with what Walter Mignolo refers to as the "white Creole double consciousness": during the period of nation formation, the consciousness of the white Creole leader had to define itself in relation to Europe and to the Amerindian and Afro-American populations. It became a double consciousness which did not recognize itself as such because, first, it thought it was European and, second, it defined itself as homogenous and different to the rest of the population (65-70). Hence, Tanco Armero's criticism of slavery does not mean he identifies with the Negro, rather, his anti-slavery discourse firmly places him within the scheme of enlightenment thinking and as such assures his belonging to the European tradition. In that way, he can admire the slave-driven plantation system whose technology and efficiency will lead to progress and civilization while simultaneously condemning the institution of slavery.

As Edward Said notes, travelers from the West had absorbed the Orientalist discourse which Europe had been producing since its first contact with the East: "the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying 'us' Europeans as against all 'those' non-Europeans ... the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures ... the hegemony of European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness" (7). Tanco Armero's European education guarantees his compliance with this discourse. Thus, he resorts to what Said calls a "flexible positional superiority" (7) to identify himself *vis-à-vis* the Orient. China becomes the ideal setting to feel his Europeanness, an opportunity that Europe itself could not grant him. In Europe, South American travelers were constantly reminded of their foreignness by Europeans who showed great surprise at the Creoles' light skin color and their ability to speak perfect English and French (Martinez 112). In the Orient Tanco Armero can confirm his Europeanness by residing in the Treaty Ports, in the areas and great hotels where Europeans live and where he can witness and glorify

the civilizing work of the Christian missionaries and the capitalist success of nineteenth-century European imperialism. The white South American Creole can emphasize the cultural capital — a cosmopolitan polyglot universe — which he shares with other Europeans living in China. To further guarantee his belonging to the West, Tanco Armero must establish a distance between himself and the Oriental other. Caught in the prevalent nineteenth-century dichotomy of civilization versus barbarity, he struggles to prove China's backwardness in his descriptions. Still, he cannot avoid expressing admiration for the written and spoken language (*Viaje* 473-74), the agricultural system, the irrigation channels (*Viaje* 411-13), and filial piety (*Viaje* 335, 378). He calls China a great nation whose powerful government is centralized yet not despotic and even considers that the West would benefit from following a system like the imperial examinations where governing is done by enlightened and instructed men (*Viaje* 333-35). In one part he concludes, "if the reader who has perused these pages does not dare say that China is *civilized*, he will not say that it is a *barbarous* nation either" (*Viaje* 477; emphases in the original). Yet in an earlier section he writes, "These people whose customs you are reading, not only do everything the opposite of you, but also anarchy reigns in their moral, political, and social order; its culture promotes its *savagery* and its civilization maintains its *barbarism*" (*Viaje* 382; emphases in the original).

Ultimately, for China to be as civilized as Europe, according to Tanco Armero, it needs "the divine religion of Jesus Christ" (*Viaje* 324) since "the basis of modern civilization is unquestionably Christianity" (*Viaje* 458). In the conquest of the American continent, the Christian civilizing mission had already proven its usefulness in the justification for colonization and exploitation of cultures deemed "savage." For Tanco Armero, the Orient would have to follow the same steps to be integrated into the group of what he calls "cultivated countries" (*Viaje* 469). All the same, Tanco Armero also reveals his "double consciousness" in his awareness of being a European at the margins as when he criticizes the British for the Opium Wars. He decries the infamous business that poisons and benumbs the population "only to fatten the chests of the vile speculators" (*Viaje* 315). He is aware of the injustice committed by a colonial power on a colonized people, he can possibly make the connection to the injustices of the Spaniards on his own previously colonized nation, yet he does not see the similarities with the coolie trade that fattens his own chest. The Chinese coolie trade resulted in an enormous capital for Tanco Armero who brought over 100,000 Chinese coolies to Cuba's and Peru's sugar plantations between 1855 and 1874 (Yun and Laremont 108). At the end of his life in 1890, our wealthy Orientalist had made three voyages to the Far East, each with a long residence in China. During his last one, from 1871 to 1874, he made his second visit to Japan and wrote *Recuerdos de mis últimos viajes, Japón* (Memoirs of My Latest Travels: Japan). Although much shorter than the first travelogue, it nevertheless captures an almost identical discourse on his views about Japan. In fact, in this text "Orientals" (*Recuerdos* 159), which seems to include every peoples

east of the Mediterranean, become a homogenous backward mass. He speaks of the "indolent Asian" (*Recuerdos* 150) and claims that "the Oriental peoples have remained in complete ignorance during centuries" (*Recuerdos* 158). The Japanese, which are part of this "race," are lazy, hypocritical, and false (*Recuerdos* 173-75) and have remained spiritually and morally backward (*Recuerdos* 238). Besides their lack of religion, Tanco Armero has further proof for determining their savagery: "It can truly be said that the barometer for judging the civilization of a country is the place women occupy in it ... all these peoples of the extreme Orient, seem barbarous to us, for the humiliating condition to which they have reduced the most beautiful and interesting part of humanity" (*Recuerdos* 182). In contrast, the Christian doctrine has re-vindicated the position of women in his modern society and made her "sweet companion" and "angel of the house" (*Recuerdos* 183).

Tanco Armero again gives detailed descriptions of Japan in terms of the civilization/barbarity duality. He believes the Meiji Revolution has not made significant improvements but merely copied and imitated which is the core of his discourse on Japan; as far as he is concerned, anything noteworthy in Japan has been imported from China, Korea, or elsewhere. To illustrate this, he compares a young man from Tokyo or Yokohama who dresses in European style but still looks strange and gaudy: "In the same way ... outdated, worn-out, cannot dress up with modern ideas" (*Recuerdos* 125). Again, he makes little references to the purpose of his trip to Japan but the businessman might have been exploring its commercial potential. Nevertheless, the Japanese migration to Latin America does not occur until several decades after the Chinese coolie trade ended.

Japanese immigration to Latin America

Prior to the nineteenth century, contact between South America and Asia had evolved from the famous Manila-Acapulco galleon trade which began in the mid-sixteenth century and flourished between the two colonies of the Spanish empire. The great profits made by Chinese silk merchants who had established a trade network between the Orient and the west coasts of the Viceroyalties of New Spain (today's Mexico) and Peru attracted the attention of Japanese Shogun Ieyasu who tried to negotiate treaties with the Viceroy of the Spanish Philippines (Masterson and Funada-Classen 13-14). The first recorded Japanese to set foot in the Americas were tradesmen on a voyage to New Spain in 1610; however, this initial contact produced limited results and after Ieyasu's death Japan was closed under the *Sakoku* (locked country) policy.

In 1872, Japan and Latin America would again have formal contact because of an incident involving a Peruvian ship called the *María Luz*. While the ship was docked in Yokohama for repairs, one of the coolies swam to a British ship begging for protection from mistreatment. British and Japanese authorities intervened and the case was taken to court. Two men were put on trial, one was the captain of the ship Ricardo Herrera and the other was Nicolás Tanco

Armero, the latter represented in his absence by the former (Sanmiguel 83-84). Under contract with Tanco Armero, the ship was carrying 225 coolies who were returned to China. The incident became significant because, first, Japan became aware of the conditions of slavery to which the Chinese coolies were being sent and it resolved to protect its subjects by establishing treaties of amity and commerce before promoting immigration to any country. Secondly, the Peruvian government saw the need to establish relations with Japan and China. It signed a treaty of amity and commerce with Japan in 1873 and one with China a year later while other Latin American countries followed.

After slavery had been abolished in the first half of the nineteenth century in most South American countries, many had been left with severe labor shortages for their cotton, sugar, and coffee production. Many had tried, unsuccessfully, to lure European migration which would not only provide labor but would also "whiten" what the white Creole elite considered the degenerate mix of *mestizos* and *mulattos*. As we have seen, Peru and Cuba momentarily resolved their labor shortage with the Chinese coolie trade. After the end of the trade, Peru continued to need labor for its growing sugar and cotton production and, as well as many South American countries, it started to look toward Japan to fill labor shortages. Although the Meiji government was achieving rapid modernization and industrialization of Japanese cities, the peasantry was paying for it with higher taxes. According to Daniel M. Masterson and Sayaka Funada-Classen, "the economic and social policies of the Meiji government before 1890 led to the ruin of thousands of peasant families" (8). Massive rural dislocations in the early Meiji would soon be followed by an overseas diaspora which would continue until World War II.

In the boom of Japanese immigration to the United States, Canada, and Hawaii, immigration companies, regulated and even subsidized by the imperial government, were established for the profitable business of recruiting and shipping Japanese overseas. Mexico, because of its proximity to the United States, was the first to attract organized Japanese immigration. An agricultural colony was established in 1897 and thirty-four young Japanese men were brought but the project encountered so many problems that it failed within six months (Masterson and Funada-Classen 27-30). Nevertheless, close to 11,000 contract workers were brought during the duration of immigration to Mexico to work in the coffee, hemp, and sugar plantations, in railroad and road construction, and in the northern mines. The tendency to transmigrate from Mexico to the United States was curbed by the Gentlemen's Agreement (1907-08) which forced the Japanese government to limit migration to territories adjacent to the United States. This policy, as well as other exclusion and immigration laws in the United States and Canada (i.e., head tax) would ensure that large numbers of Japanese immigrants would now turn to South America for opportunities to settle and work.

Peru's first Japanese immigrants arrived in 1899 as contract laborers to sugarcane plantations. From the start, the Japanese

contract laborers had to deal with a system whose legacy was African slavery and the Chinese coolie labor which made Peruvian sugar planters reluctant to adhere to labor agreements or to the demands of the laborers. The initial group was devastated by malaria, typhoid, yellow fever, and dysentery and many fled the plantations since language difficulties and misunderstandings over work assignments created problems between them and the plantation managers (Masterson and Funada-Classen 36). Despite these initial difficulties, as many as 30,000 Japanese laborers entered Peru, many from the overpopulated Ryukyu Islands. Within a decade, the Japanese immigrants began to leave plantations for urban commerce especially in the Lima-Callao area where barbershops became some of the most successful initial Japanese businesses. Only those who stayed in the Chancay Valley continued to work in cotton production and, by the 1930s, they were farming 42% of all the cultivated land in the area where they opened a school and established associations such as the *Sociedad Industrial Japonesa* (Japanese Industrial Association) (Masterson and Funada-Classen 64). Whether they remained in agriculture or fled to urban commerce, the usual pattern Japanese immigrants followed was to become independent and organize themselves into associations. As Masterson and Funada-Classen note, "as was true elsewhere in Latin America, the ability of Japanese immigrants to pool their resources and rationally integrate their economic activities within the broader Japanese community gave them a significant advantage over their native competitors" (65). This advantage, however, and their success even in the midst of the Depression would also generate animosity and would add to the difficulties they faced during the Second World War.

No other place, except for Manchuria, would receive the number of Japanese immigrants that Brazil reached with the entry of close to 200,000 representing 75% of Japanese arrivals to South America. The demand for Japanese labor on coffee plantations and the availability of land for colonies in the states of São Paulo and Paraná explain the great success of this experiment, largely subsidized and accompanied by significant capital investment from both Brazilian and Japanese interests (Masterson and Funada-Classen 42). During the decade after signing their first treaty in 1895, Japan and Brazil initiated some fruitless efforts to bring Japanese workers. What finally motivated the immigration to Brazil was the restriction of Japanese immigrants to Canada and the United States, as well as the economic depression suffered by Japan after its war with Russia (1904-05). The first group of workers arrived to Brazil in May 1908 but many fled plantations because owners refused to pay the wages stated in the contract. Another problem was that the Japanese immigrants were rarely experienced farmers and instead included policemen, guards, fishermen, school dropouts, teachers, gamblers, sailors, barmaids, and country geishas (Masterson and Funada-Classen 46). As in many other places in Latin America, the immigrants had unrealistic expectations and lacked preparation for harsh working conditions, and were not able to deal with the unscrupulous employment practices of plantation owners. The first

generation Japanese (*issei*), who arrived to Brazil before 1934 remained overwhelmingly in agriculture with a life of constant sacrifice, denial and lack in order to transition from wage laborers on huge coffee plantations to small farm owners (Masterson and Funada-Classen 75). Japanese immigrants never intended to stay and although Brazil offered more possibilities than elsewhere in Latin America, they still thought they would be able to return dressed in "golden brocade" as they had naively thought before leaving Japan (Masterson and Funada-Classen 51). After 1920 the Overseas Development Corporation (Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha) became the only immigration company operating in Japan and by 1934 it had established several large colonies in the states of São Paulo and Paraná while the Japanese government financed construction of roads and the Brazilian government donated schools (Masterson and Funada-Classen 78). These colonies would eventually have medical facilities, mills, and processing plants.

After 1908, Japanese immigrants arrived either by direct migration or transmigration to most Latin American nations; in addition to the main receiver countries more than 5.000 went to Argentina and small communities of less than 700 were created in Cuba, Colombia, and Panama. Chile, Bolivia, and Paraguay received only a few hundred while a handful wandered into Uruguay, Venezuela, and the Central American countries. As can be expected, Japanese immigration to the main receiver countries has received a scholarly attention in those countries, as well as in Japan and the United States (there are several volumes dedicated to the Japanese in Brazil and especially to their return migration to Japan; see, e.g., Lesser; Tsuda). However, immigration from Japan to smaller Latin American countries such as Colombia is less studied.

Japanese immigration to Colombia

Colombia received less than 200 Japanese immigrants between the 1910s and World War II. Being such a small community there has been little research on the history of this immigration and it is generally not known even within Colombia. There are only a handful of short articles and books narrating this history. Among these, the Colombo-Japanese Association of Cali has produced three texts in Japanese on the occasion of the 30th, 50th, and 70th anniversaries of their immigration. Only the text commemorating the 50th anniversary appeared in Spanish in 1986 under the title *Los pasos de 50 años. Historia de la inmigración japonesa en Colombia* (The Passing of Fifty Years: History of the Japanese Immigration in Colombia). This text is a mélange of information including photographs, chronological tables, information about agriculture, biographical profiles, personal memoirs, anecdotes, interviews, fragments from newspaper articles, and even songs. In addition, in 2002, Inés Sanmiguel her book *Japan's Quest for el Dorado: Emigration to Colombia*.

According to Sanmiguel, the first Japanese immigrant to have arrived in Colombia was (Enrique) Kojoiro Mizuno who went to try his luck in Peru, then to Panama arriving to Barranquilla in 1915

(100-02). He married a local woman and set up a barbershop in the town of Usiacurí. A few years later, (Rafael) Toshio Adachi and (Eduardo) Toshio Doku, from Mizuno's hometown, arrived looking for him. The three men worked together combining the barbershop with a grocery shop. During the next decade, a dozen or so more Japanese men and a few women arrived in Barranquilla and settled there. In 1994, the president of the Japanese Association of Barranquilla, José Kaoru Doku, conducted a census which showed that the descendents of these immigrants totaled 613 people. Although many went into other economic activities such as gardening, bars, grocery, or retail, the Japanese barbers of Barranquilla and Usiacurí won a reputation for being clean and gentle and were called *manitos de seda* (little silk hands) (Sanmiguel 103-05).

The Japanese immigrants to the Atlantic coast were independent travelers who had migrated from Peru to Panama or from Cuba to Panama and then to Barranquilla which, at the time, was an important entry port guaranteeing economic opportunities for the newcomers. A few other independent travelers entered Colombia through another important port, Buenaventura, on the Pacific Coast, and settled in the nearby city of Cali. Among these is Koichi Tamura who opened a grocery shop and a hotel which would become an important shelter for future immigrants to this region. He was followed by four students from the Overseas Colonization School in Tokyo who arrived directly from Japan in May 1923: (Manuel) Tarho Matsuo, (Adolfo) Akira Nakamura, (Antonio) Tokuji Nishikuni, and (Samuel) Kiyoshi Shima (Sanmiguel 103; Asociación Colombo Japonesa 65). Despite these cases, the bulk of Japanese immigration to Colombia came as organized settler migration sponsored by the Overseas Development Corporation and the Japanese government. After Colombia and Japan signed a treaty in 1908, both sides made several outrageous and failed plans to bring Japanese immigration to Colombia. One such plan proposed bringing 10 to 15,000 Japanese workers to exploit the area of the Lower Atrato River which to this day remains largely impenetrable due to the Darien Jungle separating Panama and Colombia. In 1928, Japanese entrepreneur Ken-ichi Tomita signed a contract with José Antonio Montalvo, Minister of Industries, to bring 2000 colonists to the Eastern Plains in Meta. This resulted in another failure because the contract stipulated that all the immigrants must be Catholic, but once the absurd religious demand had been amended, it failed to pass Clause 30 of the contract which stipulated that the project must first be approved by the National Academy of Medicine (Sanmiguel 38). Their answer was that the Japanese, being of an inferior race, should not be accepted in large numbers since their mixture with the already degenerated Colombian race would have catastrophic consequences for the society. In effect, the 1920 proceedings of the Medical Congress in Cartagena organized by the National Academy of Medicine had concluded that the best way to regenerate the Colombian race was through mixture with white Europeans. During the congress, sociologists and medical doctors had also tried to prove the inferiority of the black and yellow races (Sanmiguel 27). As in other Latin American countries, the discourse of a degenerate race

due to the miscegenation of the African, Indian, and white races had been constant and findings such as by the Medical Congress, as well as texts written by the ruling elite and by prominent thinkers had been circulating these racial theories since the nineteenth century. One example of this is an interview with José Macías, former Colombian consul in Kobe, that appeared in January 1929 in the newspaper *El Espectador*: "As a general rule the Japanese are not honourable in their commercial relations, and are hypocritical, cunning, without energy and without initiative. They would never be able to acclimatize themselves here. They have a mentality absolutely different and contrary to our own in race, religion, language and customs. Weak, sickly, plagued with atavistic blemishes, both physically and morally, we must stop that migratory wave. To mix our Indians and our *mestizos* with Japanese would produce a hybrid product of really disastrous consequences for all" (Macías qtd. in Sanmiguel 28-29). The former consul may have been reading Tanco Armero's text on Japan since this passage reminds us of the vocabulary used in the nineteenth-century travelogue: lazy, indolent, hypocritical, deceitful, malicious, and vengeful are the words used by Tanco Armero to describe the Japanese (*Recuerdos* 174-75). Moreover, Macías's interview in *El Espectador* is illustrated with a photograph of him dressed in a *kimono* in the same way that Tanco Armero gets his photograph taken dressed in Chinese clothing after his return to Colombia around 1870.

Despite the initial opposition to the immigration of Japanese to Colombia, the Overseas Development Company sent two employees to survey its social and economic conditions. Yuzo Takeshima and Tokuhisa Makijima traveled through the Cauca River Valley, the Magdalena River Valley, Medellín, Barranquilla, Santa Marta, and Bogota from July to September 1926 after which they sent a report home with observations. Then, while immigration agents were sent to different towns in Japan with the slogan "if paradise exists in this world, it is Colombia" to recruit families, Takeshima dealt with the purchase of land for the colony. He bought 128 hectares in the Department of Cauca five kilometers southwest of the town of Corinto for the *Colonia El Jaguar* (Sanmiguel 68-71; Colombia's regional divisions are called departments and the area to which the Japanese immigrants arrived and then spread is the Cauca Department and the Cauca Valley Department, named so because of the Cauca River which traverses them from south to north). Few people were initially attracted to the prospect of living in a "paradise" they had never heard of. It was common to hear about immigrants to Peru and Brazil whose relatives received letters and news of these countries but Colombia was unknown. With the approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the immigration company prepared a pamphlet with general information; geographical location, ethnic composition and instructions on how to behave and what to take (Sanmiguel 72-73). They were told they would be going to an agricultural endeavor for which they had to have a lot of patience, agricultural experience and health. To join the project, families had to have enough savings for the paper work (certificates of good conduct and health, passport, photos, and vaccinations);

expenses for the family abroad during the first seven months were calculated at 630 yen; a capital of 1000 yen to invest was suggested; plus transportation and food during the journey. The Japanese government subsidized only part of the transportation fees (Sanmiguel 77). They would receive land to cultivate for free but were expected to comply with company rules which meant they could not sell their crops independently during the first three years. They were unaware that they also had to do all personal shopping through the administration of the settlement. The company appointed Samuel Kiyoshi Shima as administrator since he knew the language and had experience in the vicinity. Shima also became a teacher providing practical information on agriculture, geography, climate, religion, and language. The first group of five families, totaling twenty-five individuals, arrived to Buenaventura on 16 November 1929 after a month's voyage and two days later to El Jagual Colony. The immigration company gathered another group of five families, thirty-four members, who arrived in April the following year (Asociación Colombo Japonesa 33-35).

Soon after arrival, the Japanese immigrants started to suffer from malaria, infections of the skin, and diarrhea. They had little medical attention and some died of malaria. The physical work they had to endure was very hard: building houses, finding water, clearing the land. All members of the family including the children had to work. The head of the family was the unquestionable authority but the wife's role was indispensable: she worked from dawn to dusk, was the first to get up and the last to go to bed (Sanmiguel 116). Those who were not part of the immediate family, cousins or friends who had come as part of the family unit, were obliged to work without pay since the family had provided for their migration. The locals would call the Japanese immigrants *burros* (donkeys) because they never observed Sundays or holidays to rest and worked seven days a week at the beginning (Sanmiguel 120).

The immigrants planted rice but after failing two years they switched to *azuki* and *shirokintoki* beans from Japan and corn. They realized the disadvantage of being forced to sell all their products and buy all they needed from the company and the community was split between those who were against the company and wanted to leave and those who thought they owed the company and should finish their contracts. Many left before the contracts were finished, but those who stayed also started to move away once their contracts finished because the land was soon exhausted. By the time the last group arrived in October 1935 (14 families totaling 100 individuals) the first groups had started to move to nearby towns and cities (Asociación Colombo Japonesa 37). The last group was subjected to different arrangements with the company and received less financial assistance. This time they were expected to pay for the land during a nine-year mortgage. Again Takeshima was entrusted to buy land adjacent to the colony for this last group (Sanmiguel 75-79). Since the number of children had increased, the Japanese government helped them establish a school which opened in 1936 with twenty-one boys, twenty girls, a local teacher, and a Japanese teacher. The school helped the first and second group of

immigrants reconcile past differences and, in 1937, it celebrated the first *undokai* (sports day) (Sanmiguel 120). Since the land was of poor quality and had low production profits, many moved out of the colony which started to disintegrate and was completely abandoned by the end of the Pacific War (1937-1945).

Conclusion

The Second World War was a decisive moment for Japanese immigrants in the whole Western hemisphere. It affected negatively immigrant communities everywhere, the United States and Canada being the most drastic with their interment policy. In the U.S., FBI officials were sent all over Latin America to work with the national governments making sure that "alien enemies" did not pose a threat to security. The worst conditions were suffered by those in Peru where close to 2000 Japanese Peruvians were sent to internment camps in Texas and their properties were confiscated (Masterson and Funada-Classen 119-22.; for a detailed description of the effects of the war on Japanese Latin Americans see Masterson and Funada-Classen, chapter 5.; see also Gardiner). In Brazil, Japanese communities were mistreated and confined to their communities but since they had become such an indispensable part of the economy, they were still allowed to work and sell their products. Mexico refused to send its Japanese immigrants to United States internment camps, but it did relocate the large community that lived in border towns to the United States and moved them to Mexico City (Masterson and Funada-Classen 116-18). In Colombia, eleven leaders of the Japanese community were interned along with Germans and Italians in a hotel near Bogotá. Those who remained in Valle del Cauca could not move around or sell their products and *Colonia El Jagual* was watched by soldiers. The Japanese immigrants in Barranquilla were ordered to relocate to the interior since the United States government thought they were dangerous to the Panama Canal.

In addition to relocation, expulsion and loss of property, Japanese immigrants in South America were confronted with the realization that there would be no triumphant return to Japan. Once the *issei* confronted this reality, they started to prepare for life in the host country and made their first efforts at integration into the local community. After the war, and once Japan resumed diplomatic relations with South America in the early 1950s, there were renewed efforts at organized immigration which occurred in some countries such as Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic. The last attempt at organized Japanese migration to Colombia was to a banana plantation in the jungles of the Southern Pacific coast which ended up in a fiasco for the seventeen young men who were brought to work there. Colombia continued to receive some Japanese immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s including Japanese workers and businessmen who came and continue to come with Japanese companies. By the 1980s, however, new trends emerged. First, Colombia started to receive Chinese immigration which intensified in the 1990s and which has been even less studied than the

Japanese immigration. Second, the phenomenon of return migration of Japanese descendents to work in Japan began with again huge numbers going from Brazil and Peru but many young Japanese Colombians have also taken the economic opportunities which Japan can now offer.

In conclusion, Tanco Armero witnessed and influenced momentous events in Asian history: he was in China during the Second Opium War and was responsible for much of the Chinese coolie trade to South America and he was able to observe the introduction of the Meiji Restoration in two trips to Japan (1866 and 1871). The remarkable timing of these voyages made him a privileged eyewitness to events which would be so crucial in bringing about the migratory patterns between Asia and South America. That his own country would have migratory waves of Chinese and Japanese who would come to prove him wrong in his assessment of their laziness and indolence; that his own "race" would now be mixed with Chinese and Japanese blood; that those Japanese Colombians, as well as other Colombians, would now become the "coolies" of Japan. In sum, he could not have foreseen any of this in the project of "civilization" and "progress" which he conceived for his country.

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Remapping Ethnic Identity in Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*
Hsiao-yu Sun

Abstract: In her article "Remapping Ethnic Identity in Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*" Hsiao-yu Sun remaps ethnic identity in Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*. Drawing on the family stories, Tan metaphorizes and mimics the divergences and clashes between the native (Chinese) culture and the immigrant culture (U.S.) through the conflicts of the four pair's mother-daughter relationships. Sun discusses the de/construction of ethnic and self identity, the transmission of native cultural heritage, the transformation of self, and the assimilation of the other from Buddhist and psychoanalytic perspectives. Bennett-Goleman's schema theory and the concept of karma are employed to examine ethnic identity. Sun concludes that ethnic identity and subjectivity of the Joy Luck women is not only constituted by "discursivity and contextuality" but also conditioned by schemas or karmas.

Migration involves not only a spatial movement but also a psychological transformation, inasmuch as it makes not feasible for all immigrants to become one with the (m)other(land). They are constantly trapped "in-between" to re/define their ethnic identity: they want to keep their ethnic origin or identity on the one hand and to completely assimilate to the alien culture on the other. Hence, as Li Zeng remarks, they struggle between a "diasporic self" and a "cultural other" (1). Concerning dual ethnic identity construed through (im)migration, Amy Tan, a daughter of the immigrant parents, mimics the divergences and clashes between the native (Chinese) culture and the immigrant culture (U.S.) through the conflicts of mother-daughter relationships in her novel *The Joy Luck Club*. Issues about racial, political, or cultural differences have been widely debated by scholars. In my article I employ perspectives from psychoanalysis and Buddhist psychology to tackle the issue of ethnicity and diasporic identity in the novel. I use Tara Bennett-Goleman's schema theory and the Buddhist concept of karma to examine the protagonists' latent emotional patterns to exemplify the protagonists' ethnic identity or subjectivity and the entangled relationships between mothers and daughters, native culture and immigrant culture, and self and other. Bennett-Goleman's concept is considered psychoanalytic but it is, in fact, based on Buddhist psychology, so with the inclusion of the Buddhist perspective, I trace her theory's origin and then broaden the scope of mapping the mindset of the characters' identity.

The differences of historical backgrounds, generations, classes, sociocultural systems and values, and languages cause "serious fractures" in the relationship and communication between Chinese-speaking immigrant mothers and English-speaking daughters, as Wendy Ho points out (Ho 104). Indeed, the conflicts between mothers and daughters function in the novel as a synecdoche mimicking ethnic identity problems. Hence, embedded in their conflicts or arguments is the problem of ethnic identity. The relationship between Jing-mei and Suyuan is a pivotal example. Jing-mei often

expresses her anxiety over the inability to reconcile her Chinese heritage with her American surroundings. She is quite bothered to translate concepts and sentiments from her mother. For instance, Jing-mei thinks of her mother's mah jong gatherings as "a shameful Chinese custom, like the secret gathering of the Ku Klux Klan or the tom-tom dances of TV Indians preparing for war" (Tan 18). After attempting to explain the significance of the club's name, she recognized that the concept was not something that could be translated. Besides, Jing-mei recalled her mother's gift of the jade pendant through "American Translation," for she felt that she, like other jade-pendant wearers, was sworn to the secret covenant, "so secret we don't even know what we belong to" (Tan 195). Moreover, she often thought of her mother's life in China so mysterious and remote that she hardly even believed it was real. She always thought of it as just a Chinese "fairy tale" (Tan 14).

On the surface, the misunderstandings in relation to both generation gaps and cultural differences seem to be the main cause of the conflicts between mothers and daughters, but on a different level the psychological traumas or emotional schemas may also be the key factors triggering the conflicts. Hence it is important to read the Joy Luck women's identity problem as complicated psychological positionings, as well as cultural and sociohistorical positionings in Chinese diaspora communities of the United States. The sense of loss, among the psychological problems, usually conditions and defines a person's identity. As indicated by scholars, both the mothers' and daughters' narratives are grounded on the theme of loss (Heung 30-34). Through their personal narrative, they explore the traumas shrouded in layers of silence, secrecy, pain, and prohibitions. Although the mothers and daughters in the novel interpret China with different codes and from different positions, they are all overshadowed by a prevalent sense of loss, inasmuch as moving to an alien territory means the loss of self identity and the reality of existence. To use Ying-Ying's words, "We are lost" (Tan 60). Ying-ying's story "Waiting Between the Trees" chronicles how betrayal, loss, and displacement caused her to become a "ghost." Lena views her mother as psychologically imbalanced. She thinks of her mother as a "displaced person" using a photograph taken after the scared woman was released from the Angel Island Immigration Station to represent her personality (Tan 96). Like Lena, Jing-Mei Woo says of her mother: "She had come here in 1949 after losing everything in China: her mother and father, her family home, her first husband, and two daughters, twin baby girls" (Tan 126). Lindo Jong lost her mother, father, and her family home before she moved in with a family that did not want her. Rose Hsu Jordan recounts her effort to regain a sense of self and assert it against her philandering husband in "Without Wood." The Joy Luck mothers work painfully to speak the bitter and buried pain of their lives in order to reclaim their own identity. Indeed, the narratives of loss not only depict the vulnerability of these Chinese women in the U.S. but define their identity, manifesting not merely the agony of a culture enmeshed in a transforming crisis but also the individual psychic tragedies. In this light, these stories record not detached reveries or myths about

China but, rather, the psychological transformation of the Joy Luck mothers who struggle to let go of the past and to recover from the traumas accumulated from stressful political and sociohistorical conditions.

In the novel, Tan tries to employ some Chinese concepts about *fengshui* to explicate the fate or the pains they encountered in their life. Both concepts seem to suggest that their fate was predetermined or doomed by their birth date or by their geomantic conditions. The unpleasant and traumatic feelings, however, can be interpreted differently from the psychoanalytic perspective. Bennett-Goleman's psychotherapist schema theory — drawn on Jeffery Young's study of the model of maladaptive schemas — is "a packet of ways the mind organizes, stores, and acts" depending on the previous experience it has. Schemas work as the mind takes in the welter of physical signals that enter the eye and ear and make sense of it all. Significantly, they also select for our attention what matters and weed out what they deem irrelevant" (73). Schemas form the mind's shortcut by determining what goes into the mental compartment and direct us what to do to "make all those elements operate seamlessly so that we end up at the destination we want" (73). In other words, schemas function as the storage systems that "preserve particular emotional learning" and form habitual ways to see, to feel, to think, and to react about things (128). With this mental map, schemas continue to be activated and revived in the later experiences, despite the original events that nourish the previous emotions are taken away. Bennett-Goleman argues that schemas react akin to what Freud called repetition compulsion, "where people are drawn into recreating in adult relationships the childhood patterns that shaped the schema in the first place" (259). When the emotional reactions are fixed, they become mental habits. Bennett-Goleman calls these mental habits schemas, most of which, however, are negative and destructive and function as the biased lenses through which people decipher the world and distort life events to confirm their twisted perception of the reality. When filtration becomes fixed, it creates influence on their entire personality. Bennett-Goleman's theory may explain how the Joy Luck women are afflicted by certain emotional schemas, which in fact also define their identity.

Bennett-Goleman's schema theory is in fact a modern continuation of the task undertaken by the ancient mind scientists of early Buddhist psychology, which also reveal that people tend to form mental patterns where a specific mind state dominates the emotional responses. These patterns lie dormant and the old feelings and responses automatically return when something happens that activates the reaction pattern (Bennett-Goleman 87). As early as in the fifth century, Buddhist psychology formulated and analyzed that mind states are conditioned by what people do and involve a repetition of actions. Hence, previous experience provides the conditions for the present state of mind, things done in the past have the strongest conditioning effect on the mind and become dormant tendencies in the mind that erupt in episodes of mental and emotional disturbance. The formed patterns of habit are both conditioned and conditioning. They usually create the circumstances for their

own repetition, insofar as they give rise to the predominating patterns of response. In Buddhist view, the mind, according to Caroline Brazier, "has a kind of stickiness, old patterns remain and certain ways of seeing the world or doing things predominate (44). Our mentality is conditioned and repetitive, and, with the fixed pattern, it moves us toward a narrowing of perception (Brazier 19). A conditioned mind carrying the traces of earlier states and actions often gives rise to *dukkha*, suffering, which then leads to further repetitions of the actions and behaviors. According to Buddhist psychology, people respond to the unavoidable suffering of life with compulsive patterns, which are extremely powerful, because they not only create cycles but also become self-reinforcing. These same behavioral patterns repeat themselves and become addictions. They thus become another cause of suffering or *dukkha*. The behaviors create a cycle that has a life of its own. People enact the behaviors just because they familiar. At any rate, the conditioned behaviors quickly become the compulsive patterns, because they function as ways of self-perpetuating. When something painful happens, one feels impelled to react and is overwhelmed with the compulsion to build a secure sense of self. In other words, building identity or perpetuating self is the inevitable response to *dukkha* when one's sense of permanence and identity is under threat. Here Buddhist psychology offers a model about mental process by suggesting that an identity or self is formed as a response to the overwhelming pain of some life events. To escape from this pain, people will follow the fixed patterns and thus unconsciously enter a state of delusion, or *avidya* (Brazier 12). These behavioral patterns also form a kind of "cocoon," which not only help people escape from the painful feelings but also keep them from experiencing the world, because they think of the patterns of behavior as "me" and to "cling to the identity they offer" (31). The habitual patterns of escape in turn are perceived as a self. In Brazier's view, the self is thus both "a protection and a prison," and it is "held together by the ever-repeating patterns of habitual behaviors which create the illusion of permanence and reliability about self (33). These familiar patterns thus represent the "permanent attributes" of their identity (31). The self is therefore a "defensive structure" built in response to affliction (31). In brief, it is the "fortress" people protect themselves from experiencing the pain of loss and impermanence, but it is also a delusion generated by repetition. It is by nature the greatest "defense mechanism" (32). In the Joy Luck women's case, the emotional schemas which they acquired when they first encountered their suffering or traumatic events hold the key to the understanding about their identity formation, be it personal, political, cultural, or ethnic.

According to Buddhist psychology, the fixed reaction patterns are stored in our unconsciousness or the *Alaya*, a mental minefield storing the accumulated things people have experienced, and they have the potential for springing into action and activating habitually the emotional or mental confusion. The fixed pattern of reaction and perception, in Buddhist view, is based on the karmic force. Ben-

Bennett-Goleman's theory of schema is in fact quite close to the Buddhist concept of karma. All of the maladaptive schemas can be approached and interpreted as effects of karmic forces. According to Buddhist psychology, karma twists attention, memory, and perception to fit a mental bias and thus makes things seem very different from what they actually are. When that karma is built into the core ways of seeing ourselves and others, it shapes not just our way of seeing but our world view. For each of us, a karma — too often negative — comes up time and again in our thoughts, words, actions, and even our dreams. Some of these fixations are so basic to the outlook and life history of a given person, and they are almost identical to scripts that person tends to repeat in relationship after relationship, particularly in the most important relationships. According to Buddhism, a karma is formed when people attempt to manage an accidental situation. If the experience is quite unusual, disturbing, or pleasant, the mind will store a deep imprint and then develop its clinging or attachment to either avoid the situation, if disturbing, or repeat the same pleasure, if pleasant. Like schema, karma is itself "a repertoire of habitual formations and coping strategies" (Bennett-Goleman 92). It is the origin of our identity and a unique conglomeration of forces, values, beliefs, predispositions, and reactions. The karma endures as an ongoing trait in the present life and progressive potential for the future. When it is formed, it incorporates the pulses of love or hate, joy or dread into its complex and multidimensional formula stored in the unconscious or *alaya*.

The fixed and compulsive behavioral patterns, according to Bennett-Goleman's theory of schema, can be classified into at least ten schemas: abandonment, deprivation, subjugation, mistrust, unlovability, exclusion, vulnerability, failure, perfectionism, and entitlement. In Bennett-Goleman's view, each schema has its own emotional trait, "a distinctive gut-level, wrenching feeling that takes us over when the schema has us in its grip" (83). Besides, one schema may activate a cluster of schemas to manipulate the mind set. Few people are plagued by just one schema; typically they have several. Schemas can interact as they develop. Children who grow up with the unlovability schema, for example, may have a need to prove themselves that can lead to perfectionism. The abandonment schema may make them play into the pattern of subjugation. On close examination, all the Joy Luck women were afflicted with a cluster of schemas, such as abandonment, deprivation, unlovability, and vulnerability, and this cluster may work together to mold some other schemas or patterns when they grow up and start to work and get along with people other than the family members.

Things in relation to the representation or identification of ethnicity may have their buried emotions in relation to the different types of schema. For instance, on the surface level both the Joy Luck club and the mah jong table, a symbol of ethnic identity, may signify something "genuinely Chinese," inasmuch as these mothers feel the need to define their self by a reference group and to manage a certain nostalgic image or presentation of the ethnicity to survive the drastic changes in their lives. But on the latent, they reveal the mothers' ongoing fear of being abandoned again. So both the club

and the mah-jong table are an expression of their urgency to hold one's life together and to escape from the feeling of being left alone. It satisfies their need to maintain a psychological continuity of self. In the novel, all the mothers suffered from being abandoned either realistically or symbolically in their childhood, they were afraid of being left alone again, so the Joy Luck club is formed to expect luck and experience joy in their new life. According to Bennett-Goleman, the schema of abandonment results from the reactions to loss. People who are preoccupied by the abandonment schema have the ongoing fear that they will be left alone.

The abandonment schema formed in childhood is later transformed into an exclusion schema after the mothers immigrated to the U.S. The exclusion schema revolves around how we feel about our own status in groups and "I don't belong" is its motto. Finding oneself on the outside of things, like being left out of a social or cultural group, is typical of the exclusion schema. This core belief typically leads the person to stay on the edge of the action, which reinforces the sense of being excluded. Immigration causes the denial of Asian American women's voices and identities — denials not only by a male-dominated Chinese society and a Eurocentric American society but also by their very own daughters who try so hard to assimilate into the dominant society to the degree that they tend to resent their mothers and deny their ethnic identity. To avoid the feared social rejection, the mothers who feel incompetent with strangers withdrew into a corner at a gathering, just like the Joy Luck club and mah-jong table, which keep them from adapting to an alien and heterogeneous society. Moreover, the mah-jong table, in Buddhist view, is an indication of attachment or addiction people cling to. Embedded in this schema is a kind of attachment to sense pleasure. Playing the mah-jong is originally set as a fun-game for satisfying all kinds of personal pleasures in addition to killing time or gambling. Suyuan started the mah-jong group during the Japanese invasion of China. She then started the San Francisco version of the Joy Luck Club in 1949 after she settled down. Given the tough and alien situations, they were still attached to the feeling of good old days and bygone happiness (Tan 13-14). At the mah-jong table, the mothers may ignore or forget "past wrongs" done to them and repeat the same clinging to feasts and fun. The attached karmic force, as indicated, has the forceful tendency to fulfill itself despite all the conditions.

Other than the mah-jong table, the mother-daughter conflicts are another instance. The Joy Luck daughters are genetically Chinese and have been raised in mostly Chinese households, but they identify with modern US-American culture. They often hold anger, resentment, guilt, and fear toward their mothers, because they are unable to reconcile the Chinese heritage. But on close inspection, the cultural or ethnic differences and conflicts in fact have their profound basis on maladaptive schemas, insofar as both the mothers and daughters are under the attacked by a cluster of schemas. The mothers in the novel had the painful experience of being deprived in their past. "My needs won't be met" sums up core belief of the deprivation schema. In a similar way, the daughters have this dep-

rivation pattern in different ways (96). Jing-mei's need to have her individuality, for instance, was deprived by her mother. Waverly had no self will and had to follow her mother's order. Rose relived her grandmother's life by rarely revealing her own need. Their distorting lens of the deprivation schema fixates on signs of being neglected. This distortion leads to a trail of chronic disappointments in relationships and activates other schemas, such as subjugation and entitlement schemas (98).

The pattern of subjugation revolves around the feeling that one's own needs never take priority. Other person always rules. The core belief of subjugation is "it's always your way, never mine" (Bennett-Goleman 99). This schema typically originates in a childhood dominated by controlling parents. Lindo, for instance, after disastrous floods, famine, and poverty, was left by her own family to live in her future husband's house. Before then she was considered as a "useless" daughter and treated as if she "belonged to somebody else" (45). She was and thus deprived of the sense belonging to the original family. Lindo suffered the subjugation trauma, but on the other she made herself a dominant mother. Waverly, having the fear of being rejected by the mother, became hyperreactive to the sign of being controlled and quick to express anger at those in authority. Another way of subjugating is to give in. Such people have no sense of their own preferences, opinions, even their own identity. They can go along submissively with partners who are strong and controlling. This is the exact relationship between Rose and Ted. Rose, raised by a dominant mother whose words had the power to control her children, hardly knew how to say no to the mother. With the subjugation schema, Rose repetitively assumed the submissive role in her relationship with Ted. These patterns are derived usually from the early experiences in the childhood, but when they grow up and enter the workplace or society, these schemas often travel in packs and operate in clusters, such as entitlement, failure, or perfectionism (Bennett-Goleman 118). On the basis of the maladaptive schemas developed from childhood, people with the entitlement schema feel special, and they think they are entitled to do whatever they want. This unbalanced relationship may also be found in the relationship between Lindo and Suyuan and between Waverly and Jing-mei. Lindo is the lifelong friend of Suyuan and Waverly is at the same age of Jing-mei, but there are plenty of contests between the girls. The Chinese New Year crab dinner scene is the most obvious example. Lindo criticized Suyuan's taste of color without taking into consideration about her feeling. Moreover, when the platter of steaming crabs was passed around, Waverly was the first to pick the best crab, and Suyuan took the rest good ones for her family members and left the one with the torn-off leg for herself (Tan 199). As for the relationship between Jing-mei and Waverly, Waverly tends to tease and embarrass Jing-mei since her childhood. Jing-mei had been outsmarted by Waverly and she was completely convinced that she was a failure and hence harbored a deep sense of self-doubt. At the crab dinner, Jing-mei was completely defeated, as she stated, "That was the night, in the kitchen, that I realized I was no better than who I was" (Tan 204). The entitled person will expect her partner to satisfy

her every need while she attends to none of others. The crab scene indicates Lindo and Waverly could be the entitled persons, although they were once deprived and abandoned. Despite the entitlement to take advantage, they actually feel a sense of inadequacy, even shame, which they cover over with "narcissistic pride" (Bennett-Goleman 117).

The Joy Luck women also had some common schematic patterns, such as unlovability, vulnerability, and failure. The misfortune or abused childhood made all the mothers feel abandoned and deprived, and they might reach to the conclusion that they are unlovable. "I'm not lovable" typifies the unlovability schema (Bennett-Goleman 104). This pattern has recurred in every relationship between the mothers and daughters. At its core lies a feeling of being somehow flawed. A constant message of parental disapproval, like "You're just not good enough," fills the very small world of a child, becoming engraved in his view of himself, and some give in to their deep sense of unworthiness, like Jing-mei (Bennett-Goleman 104). She lacks self-confidence and is haunted by the fear that something about her dooms to fail. The sense of being unlovable can lead to any number of problems in relationships, such as failure. Whatever the cause, the hallmark of this pattern is feeling like a failure, like Jing-mei. She wanted to please the mother and fulfill her wish by making herself a genius, but after giving an awful piano performance in the talent show, she came to the conclusion that she had no talent to be a genius. The incessant comparisons with other Joy Luck daughters further fostered her fear of being a loser; she just felt she was not good enough to succeed. She struggled to get rid of failure schema but inescapably repeated the pattern in the later experiences, as she stated, "In the years that followed, I failed her so many times, each time asserting my own will, my right to fall short of expectation. I didn't get straight As. I didn't become class president. I didn't get into Stanford. I dropped out of college" (137). Emotionally trapped by the childhood fear and worry, Jing-mei did not learn the way to perceive herself otherwise. However, in Waverly's case, she moves to another extreme, she feels that she must do better to win Lindo's love and approval. She cannot accept for who she is but only for how well she does. Unlike Jing-mei, she is afflicted by the perfectionism schema. The emotional root of this schema is a sense of failing no matter how hard one tries. People with the perfectionism schema see the world through a lens of "unrealistically high expectations" and drive themselves to do their best and beyond (Bennett-Goleman 113). The perfectionism schema makes Waverly workaholics. But no matter how well she does, she pressures herself to do more. This schema can pay off in terms of achievements in career. Afflicted by failure or perfectionism schema, Jing-mei and Waverly have similar pain. Both the failure and perfectionism schemas have to do with the ability to accomplish. The failure schema leads us to expect too little of ourselves; perfectionism, too much (115).

Both schema and karma theory have the scientific basis by verifying the function of amygdala in the emotional brain. According to neuroscience, amygdala holds the key to trigger the schema attack, insofar as it acts as the storage center for our negative

emotional memories of the terrifying and infuriating moments from our lives. The strong emotion often leaves an imprint in amygdala. Along with each emotional imprint, the amygdala "dutifully stores whatever reaction we learned at those moments" (Bennett-Goleman 134): amygdala acts as "a schema warehouse" readily reactivating "the well-practiced script of a schema" (134-35). At any rate, the habitual response is itself a schema attack.

Schemas may also function as the intergenerational chain to entrap the parents and children, like a social gene, as Bennett-Goleman suggests (283). In Buddhist thought, family members also share similar karmas and the karmas may be passed down generation after generation, if it is not eradicated from the unconscious. Karma is considered a mental habit and predicated upon the existence of rebirth. It can be best exemplified by Nagarjuna's twelve limbs of co-arising dependence, which is also called twelvefold causal schema. Karma, at any rate, is the causal mechanism underlying rebirth (113). Buddhism see life as continuously and comprehensively lawful, and all suffering is caused by deeds and karmas accumulated in the past. The twelve limbs of co-arising dependence, with karmic force at its core, designate all of the aspects of the relations of human being and his environment or the interactions between the subject and object. They can not be understood or viewed as independent entities; they are actually interconnected and interdependent on each other.

Karmas may influence this life depending upon where and when they occurred in the previous life; it is completely based on the cause-effect rule, as revealed in the twelve limbs of co-arising dependence. In Buddhism, Yogacara theorists tried to find out how some aspects of mental activity could be carried from the previous life to the present. In response to these questions, Vasubandhu and Asanga proposed the existence of *alaya* or *alaya-vijnana*. The *alaya* is the place where karmic traces, *bija* (seed), and the imprints of action traces are stored. The theory of karma, according to Brazier, suggests that the *bija* remains in the *alaya* and it will ripen when particular circumstances or conditions arise, mimicking those conditions in which the seed was first laid down (51). When the *bija* ripens, the person would repeat the same action he first reacted and committed. The repeated action would lay further karmic seeds on the mind and increase its depth and strength. Repeating the action, however, creates effectively a persistent and deep-rooted pattern. For each karma, the accumulated energy becomes an even stronger karmic force to repeat itself when another similar condition occurs. Karma's hereditary aspect was accepted by Carl Jung who pointed out that "rebirth is a continuity of karma" (12). He credits karma theory for its heredity based on the hypothesis of reincarnation, as he indicates (see Coward 369). In a letter to E.L. Grant Watson in 1956, Jung admitted that the question from the past could be the result of the collective karma of his ancestors or the result of his own karma acquired in a previous life. For Jung, our ultimate reality is not located at the level of everyday ego-centered experience, as we usually think it to be, but at the deeper level of the unconscious. As he states, "our unconscious existence is the real one, and our con-

scious world a kind of illusion, an apparent reality constructed for a specific purpose, like a dream which seems a reality as long as we are in it" (299-300). Thus, the realistic world is merely the projected karmic illusion and is characterized by a focus of ego-consciousness.

Karma may be passed down generation after generation in a family and reactivated from life to life. Rose's story may best exemplify the shared or collective Karma. In her family, the schema of subjugation passed down over generations. An-mei, brought up by a conservative grandparent, was expected to be a submissive daughter of the house. An-mei unconsciously identified herself with the mother. Her schemas of subjugation shapes the way she perceives the world and interacts with others. Rose's personality is almost identical to An-mei's mother. Having never seen her grandmother, Rose relived or extended her life in a different time and space. The family members share common karmas, which become the unwritten rules in family. As An-mei says, "I know this, because I was raised the Chinese way: ... And even though I taught my daughter the opposite, still she came out the same way! Maybe it is because she was born to me and she was born a girl. And I was born to my mother and I was born a girl. All of us are like stairs, one step after another, going up and down, but all going the same way ... I can still hear what happened more than sixty years ago" (210). And Ying-ying's story may be another forceful example about the hereditary nature of karma stored in the unconscious. Unlike other Joy Luck Mothers, Ying-ying was from a rich family and her family was very wealthy and took good care of her. Her getting lost from her family on a festival trip was remembered as an emblem of her unfortunate life. On the surface level, Ying-ying's mental disorder of losing her capacity to remember seemed to indicate the shock she encountered when she was abruptly located in an alien country. However, on the latent level, this incident must have been imprinted in amygdala as a disturbing experience or have awakened the bad schema or karma stored in the unconsciousness from the previous life. Her memory itself has become a psychic defense which helps to justify her social disengagement and her fatalistic perception of the world. The incident of getting lost is temporary but her perception of her identity is completely conditioned thereafter. She is unable to believe her family has found "the same girl" (77). Given this, one may speculate that the karmic force developed from her childhood experience must have triggered the profound emotional loss and identity confusion she experienced in the past and repeated the similar conditions for the old habit pattern to be activated. Looking back on her experience at the Moon Festival, she reflected that "it has happened many times in my life. The same innocence, trust, and restlessness, the wonder, fear, and loneliness. How I lost myself" (Tan 77).

It is thus evident that either schemas or karmas become the primary constituents which define the Joy Luck women's subjectivity and ethnic identity. Schemas are psychologically useful in the first place to ward off the threat to ego, and they may also bring forth a host of socially situated and intricately related values and beliefs in relation to self- knowledge, self-identity, and ethnic reality. Their

negative emotions become the backdrop of their identity and life performances. Their constant battles, on closer investigation, had little to do with the situation at hand but much to do with the symbolic meanings of what had happened in the past. The Joy Luck women are afflicted by their own emotional problems, but they are awakened at certain crucial moments to have awareness of the hidden mental habits which damage their lives and their relationships. The awareness reveals itself through the reconciliations between mothers and daughters. To ward off schema or karma attacks, according to Bennett-Goleman or Buddhism, people need to learn to identify these habitual emotional reactions as they begin to take hold. Both mindfulness meditation and schema therapy, a recent adaptation of cognitive therapy, are forceful in bringing awareness to destructive emotional habits and further repairing and transforming the maladaptive emotional habits. It is verified by the scientific discoveries that "mindfulness shifts the brain from disturbing to positive emotions, and makes it stay plastic throughout life. Neuroscience reveals that people have a crucial choice point, that is, a magic quarter-second, during which we can reject a self-defeating emotional impulse. This transformation begins with refocusing the lenses of our conditioning to see things as they actually are" (Bennett-Goleman 6). Besides, mindfulness, in Buddhist view, is a forceful way to help people free from the attacks of negative schemas or karmas, and it also insightful to reveal the delusion of the existence of permanent ego or self. Mindfulness helps people open the way to live more authentically rather than see things through the distorting lens of emotional habit (93). In the novel, Tan depicts not only a common oppression of women but also reconciliation moments between mothers and daughters, moments with mindfulness and awakening. In "A Pair of Tickets," Jing-Mei's journey to China is not only a journey returning to China to see her lost sisters but also a journey reconciling with her mother whom she had long neglected as an alien other. Rose, after her frustrating experience with her psychiatrist, is able to demand her divorce rights after a period of mindful observation of her absurd and broken marriage. Ying-ying is awakened to face the pain of her past and even able to supply Lena with the personal strength. One moment of clarity and awareness can change a life. On the basis of mindfulness, one second of impersonal self-observation can release a storehouse of ignorance. The reconciliation moments are actually the effects of mindfulness which help the mothers free themselves from the confined world and make behavioral changes by starting to communicate their needs and feelings clearly and appropriately to others.

Both schema and karma may help us draw closer in thought to an understanding of deluded self and alienated or false identity. Insight into our past ignorance flashes out of temporary realization of the impermanence of our self, that is, *Anatta*, an instance about the *sunyata* of the identity and subjectivity. In Buddhist view, however, there is no enduring, permanent self hidden within us, despite we do have individuality. The gist of the claim of the twelve limbs of co-arising dependence suggests *sunyata* of the subject. However, before the emergence of post-structuralism, across the entire

spectrum of Western psychoanalytic theories emphasize the need for unity, cohesion, or concordance among the constituents of the self and is thus striving for an integration or enhancement of the self. At any rate, coming to the turn of the last century, critics begin to see that there is no unique or final boundary around a self. Neither can ethnic identity be essentialized or substantiated. In fact, the fluidity of ethnic or self identity is clearly demonstrated by the Joy Luck immigrants. To take Lindo for example. She often thinks like a person of "two faces," she wants to have the best combinations of Chinese and US-American (Tan 252). By doing so, she is constantly wearing a mask. Likewise, Ying-ying St. Clair is forced to invent a fictive self to survive in America. Upon her arrival, she is renamed Betty St. Clair; she loses her Chinese name and identity as Gu Ying-ying and is given a new birthdate. Constant wearing of the mask makes it difficult for the wearer of the mask to be her real self and to become psychologically dependent upon the mask. The dualistic or multi-dimensional perspectives of self reassure the impermanence of identity. Maskedness has almost also become their common identity symbol, since they all contain an enormously complex historical, social, psychological mixture of identities.

The self identity of the immigrants is subject to change. Tan actually questions the problem of essentialist concept of ethnic identity. Throughout the novel, she tries to reveal a moving or shifting ethnic identity by deliberately juxtaposing the multiplicities of ethnic identity. She reconfigures the notion or icon of "Chineseness" and problematizes the construction of a Chinese-American identity through the multiple narrators' memories, stories, and narratives which by nature are imaginary rather than historical, biased rather than objective, contingent rather than essential, and partial rather than holistic. In the novel, the experiences of Chinese immigrants in America and their past life in China are not documented by an objective narrator but by a series of mothers narrating their extremely subjective experiences. As Malini Johar Schuller indicates in "Theorizing Ethnicity and Subjectivity: Maxine Hong Kingston's *Tripmaster Monkey* and Amy Tan's *Joy Luck Club*," Tan's construction of ethnic identity is not based on "a vision of a stable and unchanging China" that can be recalled accurately, and "these cultural or ethnic origins are multiple and discursive" (13). Four mothers introduce different versions of China, neither of which is more real or authentic than the other (Schuller 14). Tan's decision to have several mothers and daughters telling their different stories reflects her awareness of ethnicity as a constantly shifting social construct. For instance, Suyuan tells her daughter the history of the Joy Luck Club which she started in Kweilin, but the history changes with each retelling. Jing-Mei complained of her mother's repeating the same Kweilin story in various versions: "I never thought my mother's Kweilin story was anything but a Chinese fairy tale. The endings always changed ... The story always grew and grew" (Tan 14).

The problem about ethnic identity becomes even more controversial for the daughters, inasmuch as their China narratives are completely based on the primary text of her mother's recollection

through the media of myths, legends, talk-stories which in all make up their ethnic identity. Their cognition or understanding of China seems to be structured, mediated, and determined by the narratives of the mother tongue with various versions. Tan uses a dialogic mixture of myth, fantasy, reverie, and historical facts without demarcating any as more true than the other and thus questions the truth status of a national history," as Yuan remarks in "The Semiotics of China Narratives in the Con/texts of Kingston and Tan" (Yuan, 152). The mother's fictive talk-stories, radically shaping the daughters' vision of their ancestral origin, have already been translated in a new cultural context and with reference to their American experiences. The Chinese image or identity for the daughters is to some degree invented or imagined, just like the fortune cookie, a myth about Chineseness, commented by An-Mei, "American people think Chinese people write these sayings ... But we never say such things!" (Tan 262). With a mixture of myth and traditional historical storytelling, the narratives about China suggest that "ethnic origins are always created and recreated in the complex process of social representation" (Schuller 15). The daughters must "come to terms with themselves in relation to the historical situation they inherit from their mothers and then must choose their own subject position. They have to extricate themselves from the identity fabricated by their mothers' China narratives and assert their own subject position by reconfiguring bicultural discourse" (Yuan 158). Hence, the narratives about Chinese identity are imaginarily defined with "a displaced mentality and exile consciousness" (154) "From that displaced context and removed memory," as Yuan indicates, they invent "a China in a fantasy space, reconfiguring the ghost of China to inscribe the present subject position" (158). In brief, in a displaced context, the mothers have constructed the image or narrative of China for themselves and for the daughters. The Chinese identity thus exists discursively in narratives. Ethnic origins, in other words, are always already complicated by representations. It is quite clear that either ethnicity or subjectivity is constituted by representation and social construction. Hence, ethnic identity does not have a fixed entity, or an autonomous, unified, self-generating quality. It is based on differentiation and contextualization.

Given different conditions, the ethnic self is multiple rather than unified; it is a creation generated from contexts or subjective projections. Tan uses discursivity and contextuality to show how cultural origins are multiple and complex. "Both mother and daughter develop multiple discourses to encode their identity. Both attempt to carve out a personal space in an alien culture that has limited and marginalized their lives, their heritage, and their language," as Yuan comments (158). According to Schuller, the women of color often think of ethnicity not simply as essence but as representation, as something linguistically constructed. In other words, their identity is "a social construct, constantly reformulated and reformulating itself through languages," narratives, and representations (Schuller 5). Memory, reveries, fairy tales, stories, myths, and fictive narratives which are data of the ethnic encyclopedia define an ethnicity which is by nature imaginary and contingent. The ethnic identity of the Joy

Luck women is not only constituted through "discursivity and contextuality" but also defined by emotional schemas or karmas and they all point to different types of deluded selves. In Buddhist view, embedded in the different selves is the *sunyata*, devoidness, of both ethnic identity and subjectivity.

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Mapping the Other in Eliot and Özdamar Walter Rankin

Abstract: In his article, "Mapping and the Other in Eliot and Özdamar," Walter Rankin explores the opposing ways allusion can be used in the works of major and minority authors. While Eliot is a canonized author whose *The Waste Land* is characterized by allusions to Eastern and Western works supplemented with his own comprehensive endnotes, Özdamar is a Turkish-German author whose *A Cleaning Woman's Career* subjects Western literary and historical figures — including *Medea*, *Hamlet* and *Ophelia*, *Nathan the Wise*, *Julius Caesar*, an Hitler and Eva Braun — to the interpretive powers of a Turkish cleaning woman working as a guest worker (*Fremdarbeiter[in]*) in Germany. In contrast to Eliot's literary and anthropological amalgam, Özdamar's text centers exclusively on characters so well-established and recognizable that their emergence is awarded no further explanation even as they are brought together through the ramblings of her beleaguered narrator. By employing this literary device, Özdamar and other minority authors can assume a position of discursive power on their own and in relation to canonical texts, bringing their works a heightened level of legitimacy and authority.

In a 1996 interview with David Horrocks and Eva Kolinsky, Turkish-born German author Emine Sevgi Özdamar commented on her aesthetic and deliberate desire to write in the German language while living and working in Germany: "I was also attracted to German as a new language. You see, at that time, I often traveled back to Turkey by train, finding myself together with ... all migrant workers. Their common language was German ... They made mistakes, of course, but the German they spoke was devoid of clichés and came out almost like poetry as they struggled to express the images of their mother tongue in this new language. And this, as I now realized, was the language of some five million *Gastarbeiter* [guest workers]" (47). Özdamar arrived in Germany in 1965 at the age of nineteen, and she was among the early groups of *Gastarbeiter* following Germany's Labor Importation Contract with Turkey in 1961. Following World War II, Germany found itself in great need of workers to help during the rebuilding process, and it turned to migrant workers as a primary resource of inexpensive, mostly manual labor. By 1973, migrant workers made up nearly twelve percent of the work force, the majority arriving from Turkey (Panayi 217). These workers were mostly young, and mostly male, and they almost invariably encountered the worst working conditions for the least amount of pay. In fact, wages for male migrant workers averaged more than seventy-five percent below those of native Germans performing similar services (Panayi 223). Typically, these workers lived in poor communal accommodations, and they maintained a limited command of the standard (High) German language owing to their physical and social divisions apart from German society (Panayi 224). However, this forced commingling of migrant languages led to the spontaneous and necessary creation of a

utilitarian language and, ultimately, to the poetic hybrid tongue described by Özdamar. In *The Rustle of Language* Roland Barthes examines our linguistic power struggle: "In contemporary societies, the simplest division of languages bears on their relation to Power. There are languages which are articulated, which develop, and which are marked in the light (or the shadow) of Power, of its many state, institutional, ideological machineries ... And facing them, there are languages which are elaborated, which feel their way, and which are themselves outside of Power and/or against Power" (107).

The language of these (im)migrant workers certainly began outside of Power, and, in truth, it has remained there for the most part due not just to its relative newness, but also to the nature of German society in relation to that which is foreign. According to Azade Seyhan, the writing of Turkish-German authors like Özdamar "is by no means unified; nor is it easily classifiable along gender, ethnic, and class lines. Herein lies one of the challenges of cultural translation, for the cultural production of the 'Other' has to be understood in its own historical context and in its relation to and dialogue with German literary traditions and cultural institutions" (418). Özdamar is able to take this language and use it to create boundary-crossing and boundary-shifting works that subsume and subvert the Power around her. In her discussion of Özdamar's 1990 collection of short stories called *Mutterzunge* (Mothertongue), Bettina Brandt notes that the author and her narrator are "shaped by three different languages: Turkish, Arabic, and German ... [As] language pairs, neither Turkish and German, nor Turkish and Arabic, nor Arabic and German have, from the perspective of historical linguistics, much in common" (31). This linguistic disparity strengthens Özdamar's unique voice, however, and Annette Wiersche maintains, "Özdamar plays with the German language, interspersing it with foreign metaphors, foreign-sounding words, and exotic linguistic constructions and violating grammatical rules ... In doing this, a foreignness within the language is established that has its own charm and carries a poetic sound and rhythm" ("Özdamar spielt mit der deutschen Sprache, durchsetzt sie mit fremden Metaphern, fremdklingenden Wörtern und exotischen sprachlichen Konstruktionen und verstößt gegen grammatikalische Regeln ... Dadurch wird in der Sprache eine Fremdheit hergestellt, die für deutsche LeserInnen einen ganz eigenen Reiz hat und einen poetischen Klang und Rhythmus trägt") (173; unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine; on Özdamar, see also, e.g., Milz <<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol2/iss2/4/>>).

The compound term *Gastarbeiter* and *Gastarbeiterin* (i.e., male and female forms: "guest worker") carries ironic and conflicting messages within German society (so also in Austria) and it delineates clearly the power structure on social and economic levels. As David Horrocks and Eva Kolinsky explain, "In German everyday culture, the host is obliged to be polite, fair, and courteous to a guest, while the guest is expected to follow the rules of conduct that prevail in the host's home. That guests should never outstay their welcome has been one of the key rules of German hospitality" (xviii). Thus, the guest workers were welcome for a limited stay, and although they

could renew their contracts, they were not encouraged to live indefinitely. Being labeled "guests" ensured that these workers should not regard Germany as more than a temporary dwelling away from their permanent home, just as the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 (which included the Reich Citizenship Law) defined the right of citizenship to the nationality of the blood (*ius sanguini*). For the children of guest workers raised in Germany, the dichotomy of their identity became ever more severe. Although they often spoke German with native fluency and may have never visited their parents' home of origin, they were considered residents of Germany — not legal citizens. According to Panikos Panayi, their education was often conducted apartheid-style in rooms separate from the native German children with German parents. Fewer of these students were geared towards the *Gymnasium* (high school), the preparatory school preceding entry into the university, further defining their space outside of those professions requiring higher education. As late as 1996 in Germany, Arlene Teraoka explained, "Naturalization, though possible in theory, is rare in practice: only 1% of foreigners (and 0.75% of Turks) are naturalized citizens, although the majority (60%) have resided in Germany for over a decade" (136). Germany's revised Nationality Law of 1999, which went into effect on 1 January 2000, resulted in some dramatic changes in how foreign-born residents and their children could become citizens (see German Embassy <http://www.london.diplo.de/Vertretung/london/en/06/other_legal_matters/Reform_Germanys_citizenship_seite.html>). The waiting period to become a naturalized citizen was decreased, for example, from fifteen to eight years, and children of foreign-born parents living in Germany could now be considered citizens from birth providing their parents met specific residence criteria. In the context of Özdamar's early texts, however, such radical changes would have seemed quite improbable. Unfortunately, the implementation of a number of integration reforms have stalled within Chancellor Angela Merkel's increasingly fractious government, and "the question of integrating foreigners in Germany has led to disagreements within the Great Coalition" ("Die Frage der Integration von Ausländern in Deutschland hat zu Unstimmigkeiten innerhalb der Großen Koalition geführt" ["Koalitionsstreit" <http://zeus.zeit.de/text/online/2006/15/integration_0804>]). A national conference on integration — to include representatives from the federal and local governments along with members of the political parties, businesses, scholars, public intellectuals, and religious organizations — remains in the planning stages.

In relation to the political and societal issues concerning guest workers and their children, Özdamar is remarkable in several regards. As a female guest worker from Turkey, she was one of the few women initially to come to Germany on her own, working in a factory, and not as a dependent joining a working spouse or parent. Indeed, even by 1981 there were only 658 Turkish women for every 1,000 Turkish men living in Germany. When Özdamar arrived in 1965, she would have been among the initial group of guest workers who were not allowed to bring their families with them and who "would find themselves living in communal accommodation ... consisting of mass

overcrowded quarters with minimum furnishing and poor cooking and sanitary provision, administered by house managers in an authoritarian manner" (see Panayi 219-20). Additionally, she did learn the language and she learned to manipulate it and play with it, becoming the first non-native speaker of German to be awarded the Ingeborg Bachmann Prize in 1991 for a live reading from her at the time unpublished novel with the lengthy, stream-of-consciousness title *Das Leben ist eine Karawanseraï hat zwei Türen aus einer kam ich rein aus der anderen ging ich raus* (Life Is a Caravanserai Has Two Doors through One I Came in and through the Other I Went Out). In her discussion of fiction and autobiography, Patricia Fox asserts that a number of authors view their displacement as "a cathartic return to a world never glimpsed, vaguely remembered from childish imaginings" or with "a truncated longing or a half-hearted resignation" (Fox <<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol1/iss4/2/>>). This view resounds with Özdamar: in her largely autobiographical writings, Özdamar came to view her own "displacement" in Germany as a realm for self-discovery and reflection, a place where she did not outstay her welcome, but rather where she could continue her search for identity where writing "was more like a search for identity, but in a foreign country it is different from the process you undergo in your homeland. When you are in a strange land it is almost like an archeological dig. You delve and you delve, right back to your origins in your mother's belly" (Harrocks and Kolinsky 50).

Analyzing the work of a so-called "minority" author is likewise similar to an archeological dig — what lies beneath a fresh surface may be the remains of canonized texts and Western cultures. Inherent in this type of analysis is the anthropological and semantic problem of categorizing texts using the terms "minority" and "majority." In addition to implying that unavoidable power struggle among languages and cultures as described by Barthes, using this terminology further cements their divisions and ignores their arbitrary nature. It therefore appears that the minority text operates primarily when defined against the major works rather than among them. The result is a singularly defined discourse averse to both change and inclusion. Karen Jankowsky notes, "The process of developing a multicultural understanding of literature in German is, however, fraught with difficulties in articulating equality without either erasing or overly accentuating differences between groups" (262). The genre of migrant literature (*Migrantenliteratur*) in Germany is barely forty years old and can be considered a unique subcategory within minority literature; rather than focusing on a particular minority race, gender, or religion, however, it encompasses the works of migrant authors writing in German, typically as their second language. As a relatively new literary category, it also "perpetuates the notion that this body of literature is at best an expendable 'enrichment' to 'native' German literature" (Adelson 305). Indeed, minority authors like Özdamar must fight to gain recognition within — and, in some cases, preferably without — the established literary canon. As a relatively new literary genre in Germany, (im)migrant literature can be viewed as the adolescent seeking an independent status from the elder canon while striving to

form its own identity.

Literatures are often placed within such genres as poetry, drama, or fiction based on their common style, form, and content. In his seminal work *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to Literary Genre*, Tzvetan Todorov notes that "we discover a principle operative in a number of texts, rather than what is specific about each of them," when we determine to label texts within the confines of a particular genre (4). Minority literature does not appear to be a genre-by-choice, but rather a genre-by-default, in which the "principle operative" is tied to the author as a minority writer rather than to her writing as a literary work. Indeed, Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari define a minority literature as "that which a minority constructs within a major language" (16). When discussing grouping by genre, the truism that power is granted through sheer number should certainly not be ignored. Indeed, with this power comes the establishment of a more solid, recognized identity. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that texts (major as well as minor) must sacrifice a portion of their individual identities when they become qualified and quantified within a specified genre. Paraphrasing and interpreting Mikhail Bakhtin in "Comparative Literature and Cultural Identity," Jola Skulj argues that "the cultural identity of a national literature is continuously undergoing the impacts of new qualities and peculiarities. Linked to features of another cultural identity, one cultural identity re-accentuates its own inexhaustible characteristics" (Skulj <<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol2/iss4/5/>>). In establishing their identity, minority texts do not always define themselves against the canon. Nor do they necessarily ally themselves to the "collective identity" of minority literature as emphasized by Deleuze and Guattari. Rather, as evidenced in Özdamar's short work, "A Cleaning Woman's Career: Memories of Germany" ("Karriere einer Putzfrau. Erinnerungen an Deutschland") the final tale within the 1990 prose collection *Mutterzunge*, a minority text can, through allusions, incorporate canonized texts and form its identity in relation to them. As Jankowsky emphasizes: "Thinking multiculturally means acknowledging that more than one culture sets values and meanings. In general, multicultural thinking implies that acquiring knowledge about the different cultural structures that coexist within a country, as well as globally, will allow for a greater understanding of the mental map out of which people from various backgrounds participate in society" (263).

Özdamar's "Karriere einer Putzfrau" represents, then, not just the collected memories of an unnamed Turkish cleaning woman, but, rather, part of a greater amalgam which includes such canonical and historical figures as *Hamlet*, *Woyzeck*, *Medea*, *Nathan the Wise*, *Julius Ceasar*, Georg Heym, Adolph Hitler and Eva Braun, and the fabled prince featured in the classic Grimm fairy tales. These separate identities conflate to establish the "whole" of her story. In this article, then, I focus on how minority texts, with particular regard to "Karriere einer Putzfrau," can achieve their own voice and identity while, ironically, alluding to canonized, major texts. Özdamar focuses on the positive creative experience afforded her by living and writing between worlds: "Whether you want to or not, you find

find yourself in two places at once. ... the whole thing runs like a simultaneous film in which images and yearnings merge without any gaps. When the two come together in this way, it makes for a beautiful encounter" (Horrocks and Kolinsky 53-54). In his discussion of comparative literatures, Jeffrey Peck notes in his *Hermes Disguised*, "Once a text is brought down from its place of veneration, from a fixed and immovable place in the museum of masterpieces, from the bastion of the best, so to speak, the understanding and meaning of a text can change when seen in a different context and through a new interpretive eye" (281). In employing the literary device of allusion, minority texts and authors deterritorialize so-called major texts from their comfortable "immovable place." Majority texts must then function within the minority framework. Minority texts can thus actually gain power in relation to the major texts, and with that power comes a certain authority and legitimacy. Allusion has long been employed effectively in major texts. How then does the use of allusion in a minority text, such as Özdamar's "Karriere einer Putzfrau," differ from that of a major text, like T.S. Eliot's acclaimed 1922 ode to inference, *The Waste Land*? Further, if great differences do indeed exist, are they primarily do to the minor/major dichotomy? Özdamar's and Eliot's texts do share some significant similarities and they have much in common structurally. Both texts are slight, no more than twenty pages and extremely complex and dense with references. The authors shift between scenes and images with little transition. In fact, the reader is carried through a transitory realm where the fictional melds with the historical, and physical and temporal laws do not exist. Ultimately, each functions as a mythical Atlas wielding an allusive orb. And both confront seemingly barren worlds of fruitless repetition as they allude to pained figures whose personal horrors can be felt by those reading today. Eliot, a firm believer in inter- and intra-textual discourse, would likely claim that Özdamar's text has, like all texts, merely engaged itself in an extended, inclusive canonical conversation.

In his *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*, Eliot, the critic, determines: "No poet, no artist of any art, has complete significance alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison among the dead. ... The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the new (the really new) work of art among them" (49-50). According to Eliot, the author — major or minor — could be viewed primarily as a channeler of literary spirit from that "ideal" order of existing monuments, conducting a séance among dearly departed texts. Considered as such, the narrating cleaning lady of "Karriere einer Putzfrau" is herself an author communing with the dramatically deceased. The resulting text is a drama starring Shakespeare's betrayed Caesar and ruminating Hamlet, Euripides's enraged Medea, Büchner's disturbed Woyzeck, and Lessing's enlightened Nathan. Adolf Hitler and Eva Braun are blended into the tale for historical measure and the cleaning lady casts herself as the crazed, drowned Ophelia: "Bedsheet in hand, I

thought of all the other dead who play their roles on the stage! The villains win in life, but the dead may play out their madness on the stage. ... I have already told you all, I have as much madness as all the dead. So I have run along, madness in hand, bedsheets in mind, oh pardon, the other way around, to the next theater" ("Das Bettlaken in der Hand, dachte ich an alle anderen Toten, die auf der Bühne ihre Rollen spielen! Die Bösen gewinnen im Leben, aber die Toten dürfen auf der Bühne ihren Blödsinn machen. ... Ich habe es euch doch gesagt, ich habe soviel Blödsinn wie all Toten. So bin ich gelaufen, Blödsinn in der Hand, Bettlaken im Kopf, oh Pardon, umgekehrt, bis zum nächsten Theater" [111-12]). It should be noted that Özdamar does not merely draw from other texts referentially. Rather, she permits her speaker to participate actively with the appropriated characters. Ultimately, her displaced cleaning lady does not simply converse with these figures; she physically and dramatically interacts with them. And, as these figures are displaced themselves -- either from their literary or historical settings -- she is on equal footing with them. Her *Blödsinn*, madness, has as much merit as theirs.

Roland Barthes asserts, "We know now that a text consists not of a line of words, releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God), but of a multi-dimensional space in which are married and contested several writings, none of which is original: the text is a fabric of quotations, resulting from a thousand sources of culture" (52). Although Eliot claims that "the progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality," he comes across as a rather determined "Author-God" who does not allow himself to fall victim to his resulting text (52-53). Although he is at first submerged seemingly within the deluge of voices and cultures that resonate throughout *The Waste Land*, he maintains his authorial and authoritative presence by inserting his own explanatory notes to the dystopian text. He tells his readers which works specifically influenced his choice of symbols, including Jessie L. Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*, which he recommends "to any who think such elucidation of the poem worth the trouble" (70), and James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*. Eliot's choice of allusions becomes "one of Eliot's poetic procedures for distancing himself from his emotions. ... by which personal experience can be seen from the perspective of other poets, other times" (Reeves 7). His reader is carried along not merely by the poetic narrative, as in Özdamar's work, but by clearing stated authorial guidance and endnotes as well. There are no helpful notes supplied by Özdamar to guide her reader. Her many allusions stand in their relation to her cleaning lady alone; together, they shape the text into its narrative. The result is a minority text which converses freely with the major works without the obvious intrusion of the writer as mediator. Where Eliot's allusions steer the reader through a theatrical text, serving an explanatory function similar to the classic Greek chorus, Özdamar allows her allusions to stage their own coup de theatre. Eliot's poem has also been viewed as a dramatic text "attested to by Eliot's own recorded performance and by the frequency with which it turns up as a text for readers' theater on college campuses — persuasive testimony to the

poem's dramatic character and possibilities with its five parts functioning as five separate shows, replete with characters from all classes" (Selby 154). Both Eliot and Özdamar subvert dramatic conventions and elements, creating theatrical texts with further nuances that emerge from being performed or read aloud.

What, then, is the overall purpose and effect of allusion within literature and these texts specifically? The *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* is a renowned manual for literature. It is also extremely conservative. It states very directly that the technique of allusion subsumes the following: "(1) prior achievements or events as a sources of value; (2) readers sharing knowledge with the poet; (3) incorporation of sufficiently familiar yet distinctive elements; and (4) fusion of the incorporated and incorporating elements" (Preminger and Brogan 39). These points can be applied readily to major texts, but how valid are they when analyzing the use of allusion within the confines of a minority text? The following sections concern the applicability of these assumptions to Özdamar's "Karriere einer Putzfrau" as a minority text and Eliot's *The Waste Land* as a major one. The first and second characteristics are assumed by both authors who allude to specific canonized — and primarily Western — texts. It should be noted, therefore, that Eliot, a major author writing in his native, and a major, language, alludes to English, German, and French texts. It is important to note that he also includes quotations and statements in such "foreign" languages. When Eliot quotes a work like Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* in German, however, there is no great shock, because he is a major author simply writing in another major language. There is little surprise that he should be able to do this as a Western poet. However, Eliot also draws upon Eastern tradition as when he refers to Hindu fables. He concludes his work: "Shantih shantih shantih," which he explains in his own note as "a formal ending to an *Upanishad*. 'The Peace which passeth understanding' is our equivalent to this word" (76). By incorporating Eastern philosophy and then explaining its meaning and inclusion, Eliot seemingly violates all of the characteristics ascribed to allusion. This Hindu phrasing would likely not be among the familiar literary traditions his Western audience could expect to share with the poet. Ultimately, a paradox of legitimacy arises through Eliot's deterritorialization of a minority (for Western society) language: When a major author alludes to a minority text, does he/she give it a legitimacy which it did not previously possess on its own? Or is that legitimacy simply recognized through the major author's authority? In either case, even when a minority text is brought into the discourse of a major work on its own terms, it appears subject to the power of that alluding author. It remains the other, minority work encased within the controlling, major text.

Özdamar, a minority author writing in her second language, alludes to many of the same types of images and texts as Eliot, particularly Shakespeare and his *Hamlet* and *Ophelia*. The key difference is that Özdamar, as an active embodiment of displaced otherness, communicates in a major language that is not her own. Both she and her Turkish cleaning woman-come-actress actually appear to be living the interwoven lives described by Eliot as he

recalls the cruelest month of April "mixing / Memory and desire" (53) and the blind, prophetic Tiresias "throbbing between two lives" (61). Similarly, Özdamar's title character has blended memories and desires that drive her creation of this bizarre, theatrical tableau. Although Özdamar's cleaning woman shares some qualities with the popular Nasreddin Hodja of Turkish folklore (on this, see Ashliman <<http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/hodja.html>>), a humorous and seemingly simple-minded trickster who reveals thoughtful insights to those who have come across his path, Özdamar does not directly allude to any popular Turkish figures or images in this particular tale. Perhaps she wants to prevent them from becoming powerless "guest workers" in German literary territory; rather, she alludes only to established Western characters, who are then subject to her power. She does not, however, determine the legitimacy of these texts; that has been established through a canonical tradition outside of her. Nevertheless, Özdamar has the authority to alter these Western figures and to place her cleaning lady on a level alongside them. It is this fact which is crucial to the second assumption of allusion concerning audience. Özdamar's intended reader is both German and, like her, Turkish German, and she is the minority Other speaking the German language and employing Western texts: "This is the burning hot truth of the sun at two o'clock in the afternoon. A slow, sexual nightmare that becomes clearer little by little, without nightmare and without effect. The dog of Eva Braun bites the children of Medea and the extras, Nathan the Wise enters and says, he is the peace minister with the Nobel Prize, one should leave Medea's children and the extras playing mensroom occupants in peace" ("Dies ist die brennendheiße Wahrheit der Sonne um zwei Uhr nachmittags. Ein Träger von Zeugungsalptraum, der sich nach und nach aufklärt, ohne Alptraum und ohne Wirkung. Der Hund von Eva Braun beißt die Kinder von Medea und die Statisten, Nathan der Weise tritt auf und sagt, er sei der Friedenspfaffer mit Nobelpreis, man solle Medeas Kinder und Männerpissoirbesetzerstatisten in Ruhe lassen" [115]). In this excerpt, Özdamar erases the boundaries between German history and literature while incorporating figures of Greek tragedy. She allows Hamlet and Ophelia to talk with Caesar, Medea, Woyzeck's mother, and most intriguingly, with Nathan the Wise. Nathan the Wise is widely regarded as Germany's greatest symbol of enlightened thinking, a Jewish figure who is able to unite peacefully with Christians and Muslims. Including him among these murdered, murderous, and mad characters shows the impotence of reason in the cleaning woman's world. He also assumes their attributes through association, revealing her belief that the unity brought about in Lessing's Nathan the Wise was little more than an eccentric aberration rather than a realistic, achievable goal.

Deleuze and Guattari argue, "Even when it is unique, a language remains a mixture, a schizophrenic *mélange*, a Harlequin costume in which very different functions of language and distinct centers of power are played out" (26). This schizophrenia is readily apparent in "Karriere einer Putzfrau," because Özdamar, herself, is forced to communicate in the language and mind-set of a majority. She too is consequently split between the minor and major cultures. The effect

of such deterritorialization is, as noted by Arlene Teraoka in "Talking 'Turk'," almost heuristic for the majority: "They [the minority] speak, while we learn to listen. We are no longer sovereign or manipulative toward their reality but unsure and ignorant. And it is only when the self can suspend the imposition of its beliefs that it can hope to listen carefully to what the other is saying" (161). Eliot, in contrast to Özdamar and other minority authors, is a major author dealing primarily with other major authors and texts; they are essentially appendages of the same Self, a majority. Özdamar operates as a surgeon, making her minor incisions of the major textual body. It is possible to consider the texts of Özdamar and Eliot as both "comparative" and "combative" unto themselves, especially if interpreted within the context of Todorov's *Genres in Discourse*: "A new genre is always the transformation of an earlier one, or of several: by inversion, by displacement, by combination ... It is a system in constant transformation, and historically speaking the question of origins cannot be separated from the terrain of the genres themselves" (15). Each text does indeed transcend the literary boundaries of genre through its allusive maneuvers, working on multiple dramatic, poetic, and referential levels. The remaining characteristics of allusion concern this echoing of familiar, known elements within the walls of a new context. The voices of other texts resonate within the new text (the other text), often amplifying, but just as frequently muffling, its voice. For Eliot in *The Wasteland*, "Allusion is a key to this poem, combining the metaphoric and metonymic function and inspiring the constant metamorphosis of style, structure, syntax, character" (Davidson 115). Eliot's poem can be viewed as a labyrinth with the allusions acting as a thematic compass for the reader's voyage and the blind, prophetic Tiresias as the captain. In one of his explanatory notes to the text, Eliot notes: "Tiresias, although a mere spectator and not indeed a 'character,' is yet the most important personage in the poem, uniting all the rest. ... What Tiresias sees, in fact, is the substance of the poem" (72). By providing this note, Eliot intrudes again in his work while demonstrating his insistence upon the kind of unity that Özdamar does not believe can be provided to her disparate, desperate characters.

In contrast to Eliot, it is the lone figure of Özdamar's cleaning lady as Ophelia who acts as the reader's guide through her tale, and it she who ultimately directs the narrative through its allusive elements. Shakespeare's Ophelia descends into madness after being rejected by her beloved Hamlet. She is a tertiary participant who acts as a spectator but is unable to discern the truth. In this regard, she is as blind as Tiresias, but she lacks his prophetic insights. By choosing this as her defining role, the cleaning woman adopts Ophelia's madness, pain, and rejection. Describing her life, she proclaims, "In my country, I was Ophelia. ... Once one is killed in his own country, one can sleep anywhere, regardless where" ("In meinem Land war ich Ophelia. ... Wenn man in seinem eigenen Land einmal getötet ist, kann man überall schlafen, egal wo") (110-11). She may have been killed in her own country, but she has resurrected herself on-stage in Germany where she can "sleep" even if she cannot truly live. Skulj asserts, "Through its complexity of influences, cultural identity defies

predictability. Its own creativity, when being enacted in a dialogue with other cultures, changes itself only to a new sense of its existence. Comparatively speaking, the creativity of individual cultures exists through permanent re-interpretations of their own image of identity" (Skulj <<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol2/iss4/5/>>). Accordingly, a crucial difference between Eliot and Özdamar is that she never fully relinquishes the narrative flow of her texts to the guidance of other major texts. Rather, she simply places the texts alluded to in the hands of a displaced woman who discovers that her fairy tale "prince" is but a dog that she must follow with her white plastic bag. A brief catalog of the figures she gives voice to in her collective drama reveals her own despair and anxieties concerning the powerful Western tradition: Ophelia goes insane and drowns herself; Hamlet is the unsure prince haunted by his father's ghost who warns him of his mother's infidelity with his uncle; Caesar is the self-absorbed leader murdered by his most trusted friend; Medea murders her husband, his lover, and her own children out of jealousy; and Woyzeck kills his beloved Marie in a fit of rage. The poetic cleaning lady even details her own fairy tale which concludes contrarily to the typical Brothers Grimm story in which the couple lives happily until their death. In the versions she has lived through, she laments that "in the end, the evil ones always win" ("am Ende gewinnen immer die Bösen") (105). Her text envisions no glorious castle far away, and if it did, she would surely have to mop its dirty floors and change out its bed linens. The once-powerful figures who populate her drama have – like her – all been betrayed within their very homes and lands and by those they trusted most. She sees that safety cannot be found at home, regardless of the minor or major status of those involved. No happy ending is available. Özdamar's cleaning lady focuses on each of these figures after their fall. In her homeland, she already considered herself the betrayed figure of Ophelia, ordered unsympathetically by her Hamlet, "To a nunnery, go, and quickly, live well" ("In ein Kloster geh, und schnell, lebwohl") (102). As a cleaning lady in Germany, she allows herself to become the drowned corpse (*Wasserleiche*) of Ophelia: "So I drowned in the dark brook of my bed linens" ("So bin ich ertrunken in dem schwarzen Bach meiner Bettwäsche") (103). Özdamar allows this to be the cleaning lady's story, and it is her tragedy which unfolds. The characters she chooses to star in her drama have been displaced from their own dramas, and she is their playwright scripting their new identities even as she searches for her own.

Özdamar concludes her story with a linguistic problem for her leading-lady who mixes up some common-sounding words in German: "Here is the floor polisher, the stage is polished daily, they said, no here is the floor polisher they said, the stage is staged daily, the bean is polished daily, no, no, the stage is polished daily" ("Hier ist die Bohnermaschine, die Bühne wird täglich gebohnt, haben sie gesagt, nein hier ist die Bohnermaschine haben sie gesagt, die Bühne wird täglich gebühnt, die Bohne wird täglich gebohnt, nein, nein, die Bühne wird täglich gebohnt") (118). There is no way to do justice to Özdamar's delightful play on words with a literal translation, however. In German, the words "bohnen" (to polish),

"Bühne" (stage) and "Bohne" (bean) are very similar in sound and show the inherent difficulties one encounters when working within another language. My looser and more figurative translation reads, "The stage steps are swept daily, they said, no the stage pets are swiped daily, they said, no the stage pets are swept daily, no, no, the stage steps are swept daily." The old cleaning woman understands each of the characters' motivations even if she cannot always get the lines right on the first try. Ultimately, Özdamar has created a text in which perhaps the most extreme of minorities — her cleaning lady is a minority figure based upon her race, gender, and class — is allowed to reign over the majorities. She reveals herself to be an actress as much as an author, and as such, all identities are within her range in this *Theater des Blödsinns*, her own theater of the absurd. And now, having flubbed the closing line of her final act, the cleaning woman's Ophelia allows the canonical curtain to fall as she awaits applause from her audience and ponders the possibility of an encore performance.

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Mapping, the City, and Naipaul's *Miguel Street*
Shizen Ozawa

Abstract: In his article "Mapping, the City, and Naipul's *Miguel Street*" Shizen Ozawa discusses cross-cultural elements in V.S. Naipaul's volume of short stories. This collection of interrelated short stories was his Naipaul's third published book. Despite its significance as the starting point of Naipaul's long literary career, *Miguel Street* is often regarded as a mere study for his early major novel, *A House for Mr. Biswas*. Nevertheless, a more interesting picture of the work emerges once we take into account that Naipaul at the time was working as the editor of the BBC's *Caribbean Voices*. While the importance of this radio program for the emergence of Anglophone Caribbean literature is widely acknowledged, Naipaul's contribution has been hardly explored. Reading *Miguel Street* alongside the critical commentaries he made in the program, Ozawa examines the text as Naipul's answer to what he perceives as the problems of contemporary West Indian writing. Ozawa argues that the attractiveness of the work derives, partly, from the complicated nature of Naipaul's cross-cultural experience at that time.

David Dabydeen recalls the excitement V.S. Naipaul's *Miguel Street* stirred up in him:

I remember distinctly where I was when I first read my first West Indian novel, Naipaul's *Miguel Street*. I was in our house in New Amsterdam, British Guyana. I was eleven ... And the overwhelming pleasure I felt in the presence of the novel was due to a recognition of myself and my surroundings, as if for the first time. Here were characters who behaved and spoke like our own people ... It was about me — all of us — struggling to achieve, but failing in sad and comic ways. The failure was not dismal — like the Africans in the Tarzan films — but poignant, showing us to be people of ambition and humility. We were small people, but we had human qualities. (59-60)

The work leaves a similarly deep impression on Abdulrazak Gurnah: "The first book I read and saw myself and the people around me in was V.S. Naipaul's *Miguel Street*. I knew these people but I had never met them in a book before" ("The Books That Made Me" 41).

These comments are interesting in two respects. First, they are made by writers whose worldviews are very different from Naipaul's. Indeed, as if to underline ideological divergence, Dabydeen qualifies his youthful enthusiasm immediately after the quote: "later in life, I can see incipient, if not open, contempt in *Miguel Street* for the West Indian character" (60). What aspects of the work attract Dabydeen and Gurnah to it, despite their political and cultural stances that are so much at odds with from Naipaul's? Second, and more interestingly in terms of what my paper seeks to explore, they particularly mention *Miguel Street*, Naipaul's first book to be written but the third to be published (this was because the publisher André Deutsch was reluctant to run the business risk of publishing a collection of short stories by a hitherto unknown writer. For this reason, two novels, *The Mystic Masseur* and *The Suffrage of Elvira*, came out before *Miguel*

Street (Athill 204-05). This is somewhat surprising because almost all Naipaul scholars would agree that *A House for Mr. Biswas*, his fourth novel published in 1961, is the representative work among Naipaul's early writings. Although critical evaluation of *Miguel Street* is higher than *The Suffrage of Elvira* and *The Mystic Masseur*, these three works have been generally regarded as a series of apprentice exercise for the masterpiece. Nevertheless, the comments quoted above seem to indicate that *Miguel Street* is perhaps more important than is usually thought, at least in terms of its impact on younger writers. If this is the case, where does its influence derive from?

A reading of *Miguel Street*

Miguel Street consists of a series of interrelated short stories set in the colonial Trinidad of the 1940s. In each story, the narrator focuses on one resident of Miguel Street, a slum in Port of Spain where he grew up. Looking back, the narrator describes the personalities of the street members, and how he, as a child, responded to them. Despite economic hardship, their attitude to their life is positive, mainly because they cherish their own lifelong dreams. Still, their failure to realize them inevitably leads to deep disillusionment and sadness. For instance, Elias, a boy character who is about the same age as the "I," has been suffering physical abuse at the hands of his father. Nevertheless, he studies very hard, hoping to become a doctor. Despite his serious efforts, however, he repeatedly fails in his examinations and ends up as a driver of scavenging carts. Similarly, Popo, a carpenter whose dream of making a "thing without a name" fascinates the child "I," is eventually arrested for theft, because he has stolen things to make his house comfortable, in a desperate attempt to regain his wife's love. Once out of jail, he becomes an ordinary furniture maker, abandoning his romantic dream. As Rocio Davis observes, one of the generic characteristics of the connected short stories is that a "vision of unity or community" emerges as the reader discovers parallels and repeated themes (324). In *Miguel Street*, the vision in question is the impossibility of attaining cultural maturity in Trinidadian society. The street members' invariable failure implies that the cause lies not in their personal faults, but in the cultural stagnation of the larger society that determines their lives. It is only the narrator himself who manages to escape from the street at the end of the novel. Consequently, leaving the slum appears as the only solution to its insularity and sluggishness (Hassan 72). In this respect, it would certainly be possible to detect in this earliest work, as Dabydeen does, Naipaul's pessimistic view of colonial world. Nevertheless, as suggested above, something seems to differentiate it from his later works. In order to pinpoint this quality, let me analyze one of the stories, "B. Wordsworth."

The episode begins with the scene in which a self-proclaimed poet, "B. Wordsworth," comes to the narrator's house and asks permission to enter its yard: "I asked, 'What you want?' He said, 'I want to watch your bees.' We had four small gru-gru palm trees and they were full of uninvited bees. I run up the steps and shouted, 'Ma, it have a man outside here. He say he want to watch the bees.' My

mother came out, looked at the man and asked in an unfriendly way, 'what you want?' The man said, 'I want to watch your bees.' His English was so good, it didn't sound natural, and I could see my mother was worried" (40). What is noticeable in this text, which can be taken as a typical passage of the work, is that Naipaul carefully and efficiently uses two different kinds of English. On the one hand, the members of the street's community, including the child "I," speak Caribbean English. "B. Wordsworth" worries the mother, precisely because his standard English, more than his peculiar wish to observe bees, marks him out as a suspicious stranger. In short, the vernacular is symbolic of the cultural identity of the street. In contrast, the adult narrator uses standard English. In the last story of the work, the "I" wins a scholarship to study in England, thanks to his mother who manages to bribe a powerful politician. Considering that the "I" still uses Caribbean English at the end of the story when he is about to leave Trinidad, he seems to acquire standard English only after he arrives in the "mother" country. Therefore, his mastery of standard English symbolizes both the level of his education and the psychological distance from the provincial surroundings of colonial society. The very fact that he keeps using it in his narrative, rather than using the Caribbean variety, indicates the decisiveness of his boundary-crossing. This point becomes clearer when we compare, as Christian Mair does, *Miguel Street* with Samuel Selvon's writing. Selvon's narrator, who often uses his Caribbean English both in narrative and dialogue, gives an impression that he retains a distinctively Caribbean cultural identity. In contrast, *Miguel Street's* counterpart, who stops using the vernacular, implicitly identifies himself with the culture of the metropolis symbolized by standard English. As if to emphasize the point, the story ends with a scene in which the "I" is just about to depart for the metropolis: "I left them all and walked briskly towards the aeroplane, not looking back, looking only at my shadow before me, a dancing dwarf on the tarmac" (158).

Such implicit association with the metropolitan culture subtly colors the narrator's recollection of the street community and its members. There is certainly something comical, if not outright mockery, in the description of B. Wordsworth. Explaining to the child "I" that the B of his name stands for "Black," he claims: "White Wordsworth was my brother. We share one heart. I can watch a small flower like the morning glory and cry" (41). In his mind, only the difference of skin color separates him from the great Romantic poet. Moreover, asserting with much confidence that his work is "the greatest poem in the world," he explains his artistic goal: "I hope to distil the experiences of a whole month into that single line of poetry. So, in twenty-two years, I shall have written a poem that will sing to all humanity" (45). Considering that the only line he quotes from his poem is "The past is deep," however, his ability as a poet is very questionable (45). The overestimation of his own literary aptitude characterizes B. Wordsworth as a charming, but essentially provincial, mimic man. Nevertheless, B. Wordsworth is not depicted as negatively as the characters of Naipaul's later fictions. He is certainly not a Ralph Singh. This is mainly because the child "I," too young to

judge the poet, responds to him warmly and innocently. In fact, he later becomes one of the father figures for the child (In *Miguel Street*, the boy's father is dead before the stories start (66). Interestingly, Naipaul did write a story "The Enemy," which describes how the narrator's father died. He later decided not to incorporate it to *Miguel Street*, presumably in order to emphasize the emotional closeness between the "I" and the street members, many of whom act as surrogate fathers. "The Enemy" is now collected in *A Flag on the Island*). After the "I" is severely scolded and beaten by his mother, the poet takes him out for a walk to console him. He urges the child to look up at the sky and "think how far those stars are." The narrator recalls: "I did as he told me, and I saw what he meant. I felt like nothing, and at the same time I had never felt so big and great in all my life. I forgot all my anger and all my tears and all the blows" (43). However doubtful his talent as a poet might be, B. Wordsworth's "poetic" sensibility does inspire the child; he instinctively understands how small, yet how precious, life can be. The poet also reciprocates the trust his unofficial disciple places in him. In the form of an allegorical story about a boy poet and a girl poet, he tells the child of the trauma of his wife's death in childbirth (43-44).

The extent to which B. Wordsworth, despite his dubious qualifications, influences the child "I" is further underlined at the conclusion of this short sketch. As the story unfolds, it gradually dawns on the "I" that B. Wordsworth's status as a writer is much in doubt. When B. Wordsworth admits with bitter self-derision that he makes his living by singing calypsos in the calypso season, the image of a Romantic poet that he projects onto himself is beginning to crumble. He also stops mentioning his work, the "greatest poem in the world" (45). Then, in the penultimate section of the story, the "I" finds him seriously ill. To amuse the upset child, the poet makes a fool of himself: "That story I told you about the boy poet and the girl poet, do you remember that? That wasn't true. It was something I just made up. All this talk about poetry and the greatest poem in the world, that wasn't true, either. Isn't that the funniest thing you have heard? But his voice broke" (46). In a desperate attempt to minimize the psychological impact that his imminent death might make on the child, he turns his long-standing dream into a big joke. At the same time, he is poignantly aware that his life has indeed been futile. The comment another character makes elsewhere is also apt here: "When a man start laughing at something he fight for all the time, you don't know whether to laugh or cry" (60). B. Wordsworth completely fails to establish himself as a poet, not leaving even one poem on his death. He clearly emerges as yet another example of those street residents who cannot realise their life's dream. As if to emphasise the ephemerality of his aspirations, even his house is soon torn down. The story ends with the phrase, "it was as though B. Wordsworth had never existed" (47). Pointing to the materialistic orientation of the society, the merciless destruction of his house implies that Trinidadian society does not place a high value on literature and cultural activities in general. B. Wordsworth is implicitly characterised as another victim of the seemingly aimless cultural ambience of the colonial society.

Even if B. Wordsworth is a failed poet, however, the "I" does not show any contempt for him. He sympathetically understands the deep sense of defeat and futility that has been hidden beneath the persona of a pseudo-Romantic poet. Moreover, he detects — again, almost poetically — that B. Wordsworth is dying: "I felt it so keenly, it was as though I had been slapped by my mother. I could see it clearly on his face. It was there for every one to see. Death on the shrinking face" (46). In fact, if we take seriously B. Wordsworth's criterion that a poet "can cry for everything" (41), the "I" has indeed become one; after their final meeting, he leaves the poet's house, "crying, like a poet, for everything [he] saw" (46). In addition, the very fact that the adult "I" nostalgically tells his story points to the poet's influence on the development of his writerly sensitivity. In this respect, B. Wordsworth's life is probably not as hollow as it initially appears. A similar point can be made with regard to *Miguel Street* as a whole. It is certainly true that the members of the street are all losers in some way or another. Nevertheless, through the child "I"'s response to them, their peculiar, but nonetheless attractive personalities are revealed. The narrator somewhat proudly explains: "A stranger could drive through Miguel Street and just say 'Slum!' because he could see no more. But we, who lived there, saw our street as a world, where everybody was quite different from everybody else" (56). Having crossed the boundaries between the slum and the metropolis, the adult narrator does not hesitate to portray the cultural bleakness of the colonial society. At the same time, however, he sympathetically commemorates the spirit of the community members, to whom he felt close in his childhood. Despite his close identification with the British culture, he does "look back" to his Trinidadian hometown with much affection. Such an aspect of *Miguel Street* raises an interesting question about the cultural position of Naipaul the writer, which I consider next.

Naipaul, *Caribbean Voices*, and *Miguel Street*

In an autobiographical essay, Naipaul recalls how he started writing *Miguel Street*. He was then twenty-three years old and in London, struggling to become a full-time writer after graduating from Oxford: "It is now nearly thirty years since, in a BBC room in London, on an old BBC typewriter, and on smooth 'non-rustle' BBC script paper, I wrote the first sentence of my first publishable book ... The only money I got — eight guineas a week, less 'deductions' — came from the BBC Caribbean Service. My only piece of luck in the past year, and even in the past two years, had been to get a part-time job editing and presenting a weekly literary programme for the Caribbean" ("Prologue to an Autobiography" 15). The repeated references to the BBC underline a close relationship between the writer and the institution. According to Asa Briggs, the cooperation at that time clearly recognized that the chief purpose of its Overseas Services was to strengthen the connection between the Commonwealth and Britain, thereby increasing and protecting the latter's trade and investments overseas (484). Despite this imperialistic aspect of the BBC's working, however, it would be too simplistic to assume that

Naipaul's controversial cultural Anglicization started as early as during this stage. This becomes apparent once we know that "a weekly literary program for the Caribbean" is *Caribbean Voices*. *Caribbean Voices* is almost legendary, because it was a significant launch pad for prominent Caribbean writers such as Samuel Selvon, George Lamming, and Derek Walcott. As Glyne Griffith explains, *Caribbean Voices* was initially conceived and developed by the Jamaican poet Una Mason during the Second World War (197). Nevertheless, it was only when Henry Swanzy took charge after the war that the program became prominent. From 1945 to 1958, this half-hour program, recorded in London and broadcast to the Caribbean islands every Sunday, inspired the ambition of writers in the area by providing them with a precious outlet for their work. The program was beneficial particularly to short story writers who had had very few publication opportunities (Cobham 86). George Lamming's reminiscence points to the program's cultural impact: "from Jamaica to Guyana, throughout the islands every Sunday evening, people gathered round a radio to hear whose work was going to be read from London" ("The Coldest Spring" 9). A letter Naipaul's father Seepersad, himself a frequent contributor to the program, addressed to his son also testifies to its influence: "by the way, I have been paid great eulogy by Swanzy on my story 'The Engagement' in his half yearly review ... It seems — again believe it or not — mine was the only quite real and satisfactory story. I am beginning to believe I *could* have been a writer (Naipaul, *Letters* 78). Swanzy's high evaluation gave much encouragement even to Seepersad who has been tormented by a deep sense of failure as a writer.

The program also had a profound influence on those who had been in the "mother land." As is well known, among the many immigrants who came to Britain from the Caribbean after the Second World War seeking better job opportunities were some writers who dreamt of literary success there. According to Lamming's explanation: "these men had to leave if they were going to function as writers since books, in that particular colonial conception of literature, were not — meaning, too, are not supposed to be — written by natives. Those among the natives who read also believed that; for all the books they had read, their whole introduction to something called culture, all of it, in the form of words, came from outside" (*The Pleasures* 27). In this period in which the colonialist ideology still held sway, literary success as such was deemed possible only in the "centre." Therefore, as Kenneth Ramchand points out, the pattern of writers' migration to the metropolis was firmly established by the early 1950s (12-13). This exodus is reflected in the places from which stories were contributed to *Caribbean Voices*. At one point, as many as eighteen pieces out of fifty broadcast in the programme in six months were written by writers residing in the metropolis (*Caribbean Voices* 18 February 1951). Most transcripts of the program are preserved in the BBC Written Archives Centre. In fact, the program itself seemed to play a significant role in attracting them to Britain. Swanzy comments during the program: "Several of the West Indian writers now in London would not perhaps have come if it had not been for the program. I have often felt rather uneasy at this

influence, because it lures many away to a land which at the moment is not at all easy for the whole craft and tribe of writers and would-be writers" (*Caribbean Voices*, 19 August 1951). Despite his uneasiness, Swanzy does not hesitate to offer them valuable financial help by employing them as readers of the scripts. In short, both practically and psychologically, the programme was a significant beacon to Caribbean literary aspirants.

While Naipaul is different from many other contributors in that he arrived in Britain on a prestigious government scholarship, he was one of those who were strongly inspired by *Caribbean Voices*. Before establishing himself as a professional writer, he sent his stories to the program. His first piece of work to be broadcast on the program, a poem "Two Thirty AM," was read on 24 September 1950, just a few days before his period of study at Oxford started. Even while he was at the university, Naipaul's father encouraged him to "place an article or two — or short stories — with Swanzy" (Naipaul, *Letters* 68). Whether or not it was the result of this advice, Naipaul managed to broadcast several pieces. One of his letters to his father describes how the acceptance of a story by the program pleased him: "He [Swanzy] thinks that my sketch was 'extremely well done'. It is being broadcast on April 27, and I shall probably read it myself. It means more money that way. Actually it is the first time that Swanzy has given me unstinted praise. The last page of my first story was too literary. My second was too involved and too drawn-out. This is extremely well done. I mean, there is definite progress" (Naipaul, *Letters* 173-4). For Naipaul the literary novice, *Caribbean Voices* was significant both as a chance to earn some money, and more importantly, as a critical sounding board. At the very beginning of his career, he honed his skills, guided by Swanzy's judgement.

Swanzy, on his part, evaluated Naipaul's writing highly from the start. In his "The Last Six Months," where he regularly reviewed pieces broadcast in the previous half year, he often praised Naipaul's work, alongside with more established writers such as Samuel Selvon and George Lamming. Perhaps because of such high estimation, Naipaul's relationship with *Caribbean Voices* proved to be much more enduring and substantial than other writers. When Swanzy left the program in 1954 to do radio-related work in Ghana, Naipaul was singled out as the next editor. How Naipaul, who had not published any book then, was chosen was yet to be investigated. But the choice seems exceptional, considering that there were more established writers among the regular contributors residing in Britain (in fact, in 1956, the editorship was handed over to Edgar Mittelholzer, who had published nearly ten books). Anyhow, for the next two years, Naipaul worked for the program on a part-time basis. This is the period that the passage from "Prologue to an Autobiography" quoted earlier refers to.

Naipaul makes consistently light of the significance of his involvement with the program for the development of his skills. While "Prologue to an Autobiography" movingly describes how the London atmosphere in which *Miguel Street* was written subtly seeps into it, the account carefully avoids mentioning *Caribbean Voices*. Similarly, he avers in 1964 that he "did nothing important" in the corporation

("Radio and Television"). More recently, he reminisces: "I am not coming back to London with any great love in my breast for *Caribbean Voices*. Because of my association with the programme I have had to mix with the literary boys over here and those things, as you know, really sicken me" (Naipaul qtd. in French 175). Such a gesture of distancing himself from the program certainly contributes to the construction of a Naipaulian persona, a writer who has always been in the periphery, uprooted by colonial and postcolonial dislocation. Nevertheless, his close relationship with *Caribbean Voices*, first as an amateur contributor, then as its editor, raises an interesting question as to its possible influence on Naipaul's early writings, especially on *Miguel Street*, his virtual first work.

To explore this problem, it is vital to bear in mind what the BBC program sought to achieve. From its inception, Swanzy firmly believed that the role of *Caribbean Voices* lay in encouraging a distinctively West Indian writing:

it must not be forgotten that the BBC is subsidising West Indian writing to the tune of £1,500 a year in the programme fees alone. It is for this reason that we encourage 'local' writing, descriptive and otherwise, as well as for the more obvious reason that people write and speak best about the things they have made most their own, which in most cases are all the little details of personal living to which they bring almost automatically the writer's discipline of speech and selection. ("Caribbean Voices" 28. For a similar statement, see Swanzy's letter to Gladys Lindo, dated 13 August 1946 (qtd. in Griffith 203). In the actual broadcast, Swanzy repeatedly questions whether the London-based programme really contributes to the development of a Caribbean writing. For instance, in a 1949 broadcast, he states: "Sometimes one wonders what is the good of a programme like Caribbean Voices. It provides some recognition for writers, it is true, and a little money from time to time. But it has not the time to develop a theme or the space to develop a circle, it is ephemeral, and above all, it is so incredibly remote. Literature, as opposed to science, is above all a regional thing, rooted in the soil of every day life. What can one really do at a distance of 4,000 miles? (*Caribbean Voices*, 21 August 1949).

This conscientious and unassuming stance of Swanzy seems to be a major factor in the program's influence and popularity. As Rhonda Cobham points out, it is very likely that Swanzy's preference for pieces thematizing "local" daily life has a significant impact on contributors (154). Of equal significance is that the program's "espousal of regional forms embraced a vernacular manner of writing that transgressed the cultural norms which, in other arenas, were propagated fiercely by the BBC" (Griffith 204). It cannot be over-emphasized that Naipaul wrote his earliest pieces for the program which sought to establish a specifically Caribbean literature. While Lamming agrees with Samuel Selvon's comment that "Henry gone and the Voices stop" (*The Pleasures* 67), it remains to be investigated whether and how Naipaul's taking over of the editorship changed the nature of the program. Significantly, however, as the editor, he was keenly aware – and even supportive – of its cultural mission. In one broadcast, he argues for the establishing of a re-

gional literary tradition that would make Caribbean writers less susceptible to the cultural influence from the West: "It seems that the more established and more inventive the West Indian writer gets, the more removed from truth is his writing.... I believe that nothing lends that unanalysable quality of body to writing than truth to one's environment. It is this quality of truth that is the charm of Selvon's first book, of parts of Lamming's first, of some of the dialogue in the second, *The Emigrants*" (*Caribbean Voices*, 22 January 1956).

Whatever the trajectory of Naipaul's later career might be, at this stage he believed firmly in a distinctively Caribbean writing that is characterized by its "truth" to the Caribbean milieu. Other comments he made during the programs also reflect its firm belief in the cultural values of the "local." For instance, he criticizes the writers' tendency to exoticize: "So often with West Indian writing one gets the impression that the whole thing is being done for alien approval.... Once West Indians begin to feel that it is as normal for them to write about the West Indies, as for Englishmen to write about England and Americans about America, I feel this obsession with the outside will disappear" (*Caribbean Voices*, 16 September 1956). What he advocates here is a Caribbean literature for a Caribbean readership. Naipaul is also alert to the problem of how to use a vernacular effectively. In introducing one story, he comments: "Some years ago it was the West Indian fashion to write a story in dialect, in many instances just for the sake of dialect. The story tonight, however ... is a good example of the use of dialect because it is a real part of the story, and not just a means of avoiding the vigours of straight writing" (*Caribbean Voices*, 3 April 1955). It is while he, following Swanzy's lead, was thus arguing for the validity of the "local" that Naipaul began to write *Miguel Street*.

Earlier I argue that the standard English used by the *Miguel Street* narrator points to the decisiveness of his geo-cultural move to the metropolis. However, the cultural context under discussion reveals that Naipaul's boundary-crossing is much more complicated. In fact, two of the stories from *Miguel Street*, "Mechanical Genius" and "B. Wordsworth," were broadcast on *Caribbean Voices*, on 13 October 1955 and 29 April 1956, respectively. There are only minor differences between the script of "Mechanical Genius" and its final book version. This strongly indicates that *Miguel Street* was almost completed while he was in charge of the program. As to "B. Wordsworth," it was even adapted for radio broadcast by Naipaul and the program producer John Stockbridge. It was read by Gordon Woolford, Errol John, Pearl Connor, Andrew Salkey, and Naipaul himself. While *Miguel Street* was later to be published by a metropolitan publisher, André Deutsch, it was culturally flexible enough to be read aloud by readers from the Caribbean for a Caribbean audience. Indeed, the influence of *Caribbean Voices* on *Miguel Street* perhaps might be even stronger. In this respect, "Old Man," a piece Naipaul contributed to the programme is an interesting case to consider, because it can be read as an early version of a discarded story from *Miguel Street*. Broadcast in 1953, this early sketch focuses on Mary the Chinese who, while not appearing as a major character in *Miguel Street*, is referred to as a mother of eight children

(77). While no other street community members turn up, the "I" of "Old Man" is very similar to his counterpart in the final book version; fatherless, he lives with his mother. The similarity is underlined further in that he also describes the main character in a retrospective manner. Nevertheless, there is one crucial difference. Not only the "I" but also all other characters most of the time speak in standard English. The narrator simply makes an excuse: "I shall not attempt to give any real indication of the way Mary spoke English. It would be unintelligible; sometimes it was, even to me." Interestingly, the story ends with the narrator's observation: "It is only when we leave Trinidad for some time that we see how truly amusing we have been.... For when we are abroad, you see, we realise that Trinidad, with its blending of peoples, and with its burning political problems of no significance, is really the world in small" (*Caribbean Voices*, 26 April 1953).

While this passage can be read as a summary of the theme of *Miguel Street*, the absence of a vernacular makes Trinidadian culture less distinctive. A comparative reading suggests that the effective use of Caribbean English in the later work might be read as an indication of how Naipaul developed his literary skills, following *Caribbean Voices*'s advocacy of "local" writing. In fact, in one essay, Naipaul recalls his BBC days: "First of all I had to learn the difference between the written word and the spoken word. The spoken word can reproduce well on the printed page; but the formal, literary script can sound stilted and cold, and is sometimes difficult to read aloud" ("Radio and Television"). The importance of the voice in radio broadcast might draw Naipaul's attention to the possibility of creating a work which utilizes vernacular dialogue very effectively.

In 1958, one year before the publication of *Miguel Street*, Naipaul discusses his own peculiar position as a West Indian writer writing for a British audience: "It is an odd, suspicious situation: an Indian writer writing in English for an English audience about non-English characters who talk their own sort of English" ("London" 12). Nevertheless, as I demonstrated, this comment does not tell the whole story. His detachment from the Caribbean context is not as strong as the essay and Naipaul's own subsequent comments imply. Even if Naipaul writes mainly for an English audience, two of the stories of *Miguel Street*, as well as a piece that can be read as one of its early versions, were broadcast on the radio programme specifically targeting at Caribbean listeners. As its editor, he, following his predecessor's policy, argued for a Caribbean literature for Caribbean people. It should be also pointed out that Naipaul around this time also contributed to other programmes of the BBC's Caribbean Services from time to time. For instance, he at one time appears in *Commentary*, "an end of the week programme reflecting a West Indian viewpoint on current topics," and introduces to the listeners National Portrait Gallery in London (*Commentary*, 8 January 1955. Naipaul's Copyright Files preserved in the BBC Written Archive Centre shows his involvement in other BBC programmes at the time under consideration here. Most of the scripts of these programmes are not extant). In other words, during his BBC days, the presence of a Caribbean audience for him was as significant as, if not more

significant than, an English readership. Like the narrator of *Miguel Street*, Naipaul the writer also did "look back" after his boundary-crossing, but in a far more substantial manner; he addressed Caribbean listeners. It is this connection with a Caribbean audience, however tenuous it might be, that makes *Miguel Street* distinctive among Naipaul's oeuvre. It is probably not surprising, then, that Dabydeen and Gurnah could easily identify with the world described in the work.

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Mapping Migration and Urban Identities in Second Cities
Agata Anna Lisiak

Abstract: In her article "Mapping Migration and Urban Identities in Second Cities" Agata Anna Lisiak analyzes how Kaohsiung and Hamburg, both port metropolises and second most important cities in their respective countries, define and express their urban identities in and through new media. Lisiak observes that whereas the role of port cities as transit points of transnational migration has been enhanced in the last few decades owing, among other factors, to impeding globalization, the municipal authorities refrain from embracing the present-day (im)migration as part of the cities' urbanities. In her analysis, Lisiak focuses on images and texts communicated through official municipal websites of Hamburg and Kaohsiung in 2009.

Port cities have always served as "transit points and interfaces of transnational migration" ("European Port Cities" 5) and this role has been not only reconfirmed, but also enhanced in the last few decades owing, among other factors, to impeding globalization. Remarkably, whereas the governments of port cities recognize and take pride in the historical impact of migration on urban identities, they refrain from embracing the present-day immigration. When we look at the official English-language website of Porto, for instance, we encounter a thematic section entitled "Foreigners in Porto," which could — and, in my opinion, does — imply that the section provides information about and/or for immigrants currently living in the Portuguese port city. In reality, the link guides us through the histories of English, Dutch, Belgian, German, Spanish, Italian, French, and Brazilian immigration to Porto dating back as far as the 1st A.D. and completely ignores the more recent arrival of African and East European immigrants (see Municipal Council of Porto). Similarly, the research conducted by an international group of scholars and directed by Waltraud Kokot from the University of Hamburg shows that the Greek port city of Thessaloniki "presents itself to a European audience as a cosmopolitan city with a rich multicultural history, while present-day new immigrants surviving as street vendors are subject to social exclusion" (16). The same is true of other port cities across the world. In my paper I look at two port metropolises, Kaohsiung and Hamburg, both historically and currently exposed to and affected by migratory movements.

Another common feature shared by Kaohsiung and Hamburg is that they are second cities — an underdiscussed phenomenon, which I briefly describe here and which I intend to analyze at length in my coming projects. In what follows I inquire into how second cities that are also port cities define and express their urban identities. I focus on images and texts communicated through official municipal websites of Hamburg and Kaohsiung in 2009. I look exclusively at the English-language homepages of both cities, which are clearly directed at potential tourists, visitors, and investors. The interdisciplinary character of the paper justifies the use of theoretical frameworks and methods of analysis from such areas of knowledge as

as urban studies (Harvey; Lynch), media and communication studies (Highmore; Mitchell), comparative cultural studies (Tötösy de Zepetnek), and marketing (Knowles; Wheeler). I propose that a comparative and interdisciplinary approach provides apt tools to analyze the complexities of both port cities and second cities.

The concept of brand identity has been extended beyond its traditional role in selling consumer goods and applied to cities (see Elliott) at least since the rise of urban entrepreneurialism in the 1970s (see Harvey). According to Alina Wheeler, urban branding is hardly a new phenomenon: "Mankind has always used symbols to express fierce individuality, pride, loyalty, and ownership. The power of symbols remains elusive and mysterious. ... Competition for recognition is as ancient as the heraldic banners on the medieval battlefield. No longer limited by physical terrain, managing perception now extends to cyberspace and beyond. As feudal domains became economic enterprises, what was once heraldry is now branding. The battle for physical territory has evolved into the competition for share of mind" (1). The newly discovered need to market cities as brands may be therefore considered simply a continuation of an old urban tradition reinvented by the corporate world: first, companies borrowed the idea of the coat of arms, processed it, and transformed it into logos and slogans; then — after "modern heraldry" started producing desired effects such as brand loyalty — city authorities were inspired to apply the modernized versions of ancient branding. Consequently, "the representation of the city is becoming closely associated with the marketing of the city. Urban representation and urban boosterism now go hand in hand" (Short and Kim 106)

As Andreas Huyssen observes, "the city is increasingly affected and structured by our culture of media images. In the move from the city as a regional or national center of production to the city as international center of communications, media, and services, the very image of the city itself becomes central to its success in a globally competitive world" (60). The fierce competition between cities has intensified owing to a number of factors such as the growth of multinational companies, the emergence of new global economic sectors, municipal governments' role in urban marketing, and competition for hosting global spectacles (e.g., the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup, international film festivals, and trade fairs) and international institutions, which "generate considerable economic multiplier effects" (Short and Kim 11). Creating a convincing and effective city brand is one of the most powerful tools in the inter-urban competition. A successful urban image can not only increase a city's chances of attracting international and state investments, but also, importantly, "help create a sense of social solidarity, civic pride and loyalty to place and even ... a mental refuge in a world that capital treats as more and more place-less" (Harvey 14). In the face of growing standardization and cultural globalization, locality becomes a crucial asset and "difference is prized, visited, created, commodified" (Short and Kim 80). Together with the rise of global identities, local or national identities gain in importance and come to constitute a crucial part of the city image.

Urban images are particularly crucial when it comes to the development of urban representations. John Rennie Short and Yeong-Hyun Kim distinguish two discourses of urban representations: "the positive portrayal of a city" and "the identification of the shadow" (97). The former — known, for example, from the official websites of cities — is aimed at attracting investors and visitors and influencing local politics and is closely connected with urban marketing. The latter tends to be "contained, controlled or ignored" in municipal media: "this discourse works through silence, as some issues and groups are never mentioned, and through negative imagery, as some groups and issues are presented as dangerous, beyond the confines of civil debate" (Short and Kim 97). In this article I analyze municipal media images and texts which represent only the positive portrayal of the city.

Urban images and urban representations are important tools of urban entrepreneurialism. In his 1989 article "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism," David Harvey defines urban entrepreneurialism as a form of urban governance that "typically rests ... on a public-private partnership" and focuses on "investment and economic development with the speculative construction of place ... as its immediate (though by no means exclusive) political and economic goal" (8). Particularly widespread in late capitalism, that is, since the 1960s in Western societies (see, e.g., Jameson, *Postmodernism*) and since 1989 in Central Europe, urban entrepreneurialism has four basic options: 1) competition within the international division of labor, that is, "the creation or exploitation of particular advantages for the production of goods and services" (Harvey 8), some of which derive from the resource base or location while others are created through private and public investments and incentives; 2) competition with respect to the spatial division of consumption that rests increasingly on investments aimed at improving the quality of urban life (gentrification, consumer attractions, entertainment, etc.); 3) competition over "the acquisition of key control and command functions in high finance, government, or information gathering and processing" (Harvey 9), which necessitates investments in transport, communication, office space, and so on; and 4) competition over the "redistribution of surpluses through central governments" (Harvey 10). These four strategies are not mutually exclusive, but rather complimentary, and all of them imply "some level of inter-urban competition" (Harvey 10).

Competition between cities has been rendered more acute through the sinking transport costs and the reduction or removal of spatial barriers to movement of goods, people, money, and information (Harvey 10). Consequently, cities compete with each other not only on the national and global levels, but also, increasingly, within international economic communities (EU) or free trade agreements (NAFTA). Owing to the growing inter-urban competition, municipal governments aim at attracting "highly mobile and flexible production, financial, and consumption flows into its space" (Harvey 11) — in doing so, they often repeat certain "patterns of development (such as the serial reproduction of 'world trade centers' or of new cultural and entertainment centers, of waterfront development,

of postmodern shopping malls, and the like)" (Harvey 10). The question remains, of course, which of these investments make sense in the long run: how many world trade centers does the world really need? Some of the costly entrepreneurialism-induced urban developments flop because the market fails to respond as expected, or simply because their success has been miscalculated. What they all have in common, however, is that they aim at enhancing "property values, the tax base, the local circulation of revenues, and ... employment growth" (Harvey 13).

The entrepreneurial city's focus on symbolic economy "associated with finance, media, tourism, heritage, gentrification, and, above all, with consumerism" (Cronin and Hetherington 2) shapes urban landscapes and cultures and often results in urban transformations. The success of the entrepreneurial city relies greatly on the development of a convincing and attractive urban image. Contemporary municipal governments — often in cooperation with associations of private interest groups (hotel and restaurant owners, airlines, entertainment agencies, etc.) — create elaborate image campaigns including logos, slogans, websites, and commercials and attempt to sell thus redefined cities as brands. Since my focus remains on official urban images and texts commissioned by city governments, it should be understood that whenever I use anthropomorphic phrases in relation to cities (for instance, "cities communicate," "cities decide," "cities prefer"), I mean the authorities responsible for the decisions affecting the cities.

Before I turn to an analysis of images and texts as communicated through the official municipal websites of Kaohsiung and Hamburg, I would like to address the issue of migration in port cities, which is absent from the self-representation of both cities in the new municipal media. Whereas they are quick to emphasize their cosmopolitan and international character and their strong ties with various regions across the world, in their English-language image campaigns directed at an international audience Kaohsiung and Hamburg fail to explicitly mention or even hint at the multicultural and multiethnic aspect of their societies. Even without knowing the statistics, it would be only natural to assume that as port cities and international metropolises have attracted substantial numbers of immigrants. Indeed, 18% of Hamburg's population (1.75 million) are of immigrant background in the stricter sense, i.e., foreigners and naturalized Germans with personal migration experience. According to the wider definition of people with immigrant background (introduced in Germany in 2005), which includes also the children of immigrants born in Germany (also those holding German passports), 26% of Hamburgers are of immigrant background (in comparison: in Berlin, hailed as a multicultural metropolis, these figures are 16 per cent and 23 per cent respectively [Statistische Ämter 172, 196]). In Kaohsiung, the numbers are considerably lower. Only 1%, or 15.130 of the city population (1.5 million) are immigrants, most of them from Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines (Ministry of the Interior). For political and ideological reasons, the numbers do not include the citizens of the People's Republic of China. We should also keep in mind that the category of the immigrant is not as strict and far

reaching in Taiwan as it is in Germany: for example, many Vietnamese and Thai women who marry Taiwanese men obtain the Taiwanese citizenship and cease to be classified as immigrants. Nevertheless, even if we take into consideration the "invisible" Chinese immigrants in Taiwan and the different definitions of the word "(im)migrant," Hamburg evidently attracts more foreigners than Kaohsiung. Regardless of the number of immigrants, however, the websites of these cities do not include any mention about their immigrants.

One of the reasons why Kaohsiung and Hamburg refuse to address immigration in the official imagery may be that immigration in port cities has been increasingly identified with illegal migration which city authorities clearly do not consider marketable. Illegal trade, refugees, and human trafficking are only some of the problems related to global migration as experienced in port cities. Eager to keep their image in check, Kaohsiung and Hamburg choose to emphasize their international properties (cosmopolitan, global, outward-looking, etc.) without giving any detail about the actual multicultural and multiethnic character of their societies. Instead of addressing modern-day migration, both cities — and, as my initial research shows, also other port cities/second cities such as Thessaloniki and Porto, which owing to their position at the borders of the EU, among other factors, experience considerable inflow of often illegal immigrants — do not address the issues of migration on their homepages directed at potential visitors, tourists, and investors. It is important to note, however, that what is true of English-versions or municipal websites, is not necessarily the case when it comes to the original-language versions of municipal homepages. The German-language homepage of Hamburg, for example, provides information about immigrants and people of immigrant background and lists associations and community initiatives that help immigrants.

Despite the international popularity of urban studies as an academic discipline and the growing interest in urban matters across academic disciplines (the so-called spatial turn), there has been little comparative research on second cities (see, e.g., Hodos). This is not to say that the cities under scrutiny have been completely omitted in scholarship; when they are discussed, however, it is outside the context of second cities. Instead, some of the world's most famous second cities have been analyzed at length as global cities (Los Angeles), postcommunist (St. Petersburg), postcolonial (Mombasa), increasingly multicultural (Rotterdam), etc. Moreover, the term "second city" has been used to describe various phenomena — most commonly it refers to the second largest city in the country and/or a provincial capital (as opposed to nation's capital) — which may, but do not have to apply to the same city.

I propose that the second city is a city that is culturally, economically, and socially second most important in a given country; it is also a city of international cultural, economic, and social importance, which has been developing throughout centuries and which has been intensified by recent globalization processes. Owing to growing international markets, global migration, information tech-

nology, new modes of transport and communication, second cities have become increasingly independent of the first and/or capital cities. The political importance of second cities varies depending on the administrative division of the country they belong to (federal versus centralist systems) and on their involvement in international politics. With few exceptions (e.g., Ankara), second cities are not capital cities and, thus, they do not have to represent the culture of the whole country, but rather focus on their local urban culture and/or the culture of the region they belong to. Therefore, I argue, second cities have a better opportunity to focus on their urban histories and cultures and to communicate them through city logos, city image campaigns, new architecture and monuments, cultural and sports events, etc. Also, second cities focus increasingly on their role as international players — for example, monuments built in capital cities very often refer to the nation's history, while those erected in second cities commemorate local events and people or point at the international character of the city and its inhabitants.

Keeping the above in mind, Kaohsiung and Hamburg share a number of characteristics: 1) unlike the first cities of their countries (Taipei and Berlin, respectively), the said second cities are coastal metropolises with internationally known harbors; 2) as port cities they have been shaped and reshaped by international influences, even before the onset of modern globalization in the late 1980s; 3) as second-largest cities in their countries they play an important cultural and economic role nationwide and are unquestionably identified as second cities (in contrast: in the United States, for example, it remains questionable whether the title of the second city belongs to Chicago or Los Angeles). As I demonstrate in what follows, the municipal authorities of Kaohsiung and Hamburg identify the cities explicitly as port cities and international metropolises and implicitly as second cities.

As Kokot notes correctly, "Hamburg presents itself as a maritime port city, first and foremost. At the core of this representation is the former inner city port with adjoining quarters and storehouses, which are now being transformed into recreational areas. The building sites of the new HafenCity are incorporated into maritime tourist attractions" (11). The images published on Hamburg's official homepage confirm the above. The header of the website clearly presents Hamburg as a port city: it features a picture of a beach bar located in the harbor. The sunlit faces of people relaxing on a terrace are juxtaposed with the sight of containers resting in a old dock: the human meets the industrial across the water. Also the website's photo gallery is dominated by images related to port and maritime life: out of seven of gallery's sections, five are devoted to the harbor and its immediate vicinity, one to Alster (an inner city lake), and one to Hamburg's City Hall. Also most thematic sections of the homepage are illustrated with port-related pictures: "Tourist Information" shows a container ship on the Elbe, "Economy" shows a close-up of piled-up containers and a crane, and "Attractions" features a picture of HafenCity — a new district in the historical harbor area of Hamburg. The header of Kaohsiung's homepage does not in the least hint at the port character of the city, but presents it as an ultramodern and fast

metropolis: we see the Dome of Light at the Formosa Boulevard subway station, the High Speed Railway bullet train, and Kaohsiung's downtown skyline with skyscrapers. When it comes to the website's thematic sections, however, they are illustrated predominantly with pictures of the port and maritime life, thus, reconfirming Kaohsiung's urban identity as a port metropolis: they include multiple photos of harbor cranes, container ships, docks, the ocean as well as bird views of the Kaohsiung Port.

Official municipal websites are usually divided into thematic sections such as Tourist Information, Economy, Transportation, Attractions, etc. Reading the texts published in all these different sections helps understand what kind of urban identities the cities strive to communicate. In the case of Kaohsiung's and Hamburg's official websites, it is possible to differentiate between three types of urban identities the cities explicitly and implicitly communicate: they present themselves simultaneously as port cities, international metropolises, and second cities. As I demonstrate below, these identities do not exclude each other, but rather overlap and strengthen each other. Here I group some quotations from the official English-language municipal websites confirming the threefold urban identities represented by Kaohsiung and Hamburg. Kaohsiung clearly recognizes the necessity of urban identity building and urban marketing in a globalized world: "Globalisation has ... forced the people of Kaohsiung to take a good look at their city's image in order to identify what it actually stands for." The city portal emphasizes the role of the port in Kaohsiung's development: "The long coastal line is linked to the economic lifeline of Kaohsiung; therefore, the development of Kaohsiung Port is one of the most important projects of the city." It also presents itself as an international city: "the transport network of Kaohsiung will become an *international transport hub* after the future urban rail systems, such as Mass Rapid Transit, expressways, and High Speed Rail, are built underground, and the complete and rapid land transportation is combined with the sea and air transportation." Kaohsiung's image as a port city is often combined with its image as an international metropolis, e.g.: "Being conveniently *located by the ocean* gives a city a distinct advantage in the *international shipping industry*. By capitalising on this geographical advantage, famous coastal cities such as Rotterdam, San Francisco, Hamburg, and Vancouver have become home to a number of the *world's most significant international shipping routes*, and therefore have a *major effect on world trading*. Possibly enhanced by their superb location, these cities share other common characteristics such as a vibrant culture, a colourful history, spectacular sights, and renowned landmarks. *Kaohsiung City shares the same advantages as those of its fellow coastal cities;*" "Although it is now facing *stiff competition from developing harbour cities* such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Shanghai, Kaohsiung Harbour still maintains an annual growth of 8-10% (volume of cargo shipped in), which proves *the strong position of Kaohsiung Harbour in the Asian-Pacific region.*" Apart from presenting itself as a port city and an international metropolis, Kaohsiung implicitly communicates a third identity, that of a second city; it does so through a juxtaposition with the capital city

and an emphasis on its (economic) importance: "Kaohsiung the city with *the highest productivity in the country*, as well as a prosperous industrial and commercial city;" "Kaohsiung is *the biggest industrial city in Taiwan*, owing to the presence of big name industries such as CPC Corporation, Taiwan, China Steel Company and CSBC Corporation, Taiwan;" "Globalisation has brought with it a sense of urgency amongst the people to rapidly develop the city so that it remains *competitive with the capital, Taipei*."

As I explain above, these three types of urban identities often intersect, thus creating a complex image of Kaohsiung as an international port city that is also a second city in the country: "Other than enjoying prosperous industrial and commercial development, Kaohsiung City is also *No.1 in the pelagic fishing of the country* and plays an *important role in the world's pelagic fishery industry*;" "Kaohsiung City is the *largest commercial harbor of Taiwan* with vessels going *all over the world*;" "A *prime location by the ocean* means that Kaohsiung City is *the only city representing Taiwan on the world's international shipping routes*;" "With a shift towards globalisation during the 21st century, there's been an increase in the number of factories moving to Asia. Not only does this potentially improve the economic situation of the Asian-Pacific region, but it has led to a new way of doing business. This 'new way of doing business' revolves around *the concept of a city serving as a central area for a number of countries, rather than the more traditional approach of a city solely serving the country it's located in*. Kaohsiung is taking advantage of this widening of the boundaries and is being developed as *the central location in the Asian-Pacific region for shipping and trade*;" "Kaohsiung is a *trading window between Taiwan and the rest of the world*."

The crucial role of the harbor for the city's development is also strongly emphasized on Hamburg's official website: "It is for sure, without the Elbe river Hamburg wouldn't be the *economic power* it is today. ... Hamburg's cityscape would be completely different if *Hamburg Harbour* wouldn't exist;" "The *port sight-seeing trips* are impressive and they offer a special perspective on the panorama of Hamburg." Here too the image of the port city intersects with that of an international city: "Hamburg places *second as the largest container harbour in Europe and seventh world-wide*. It's only 120 km away from the high seas and is able to accommodate the biggest container ships the world has to offer;" "Between 1850 and 1939 Hamburg was the '*gate to the world*' for almost 5 million European emigrants. Through *Hamburg Harbour* many people left their home and started a new life in the new world. BallinStadt is dedicated to these *emigrants*;" "Apart from the Hamburg Senate's business-friendly policies, which facilitated *the port extension and the deepening of the Elbe River*, close ties between specialized financial institutions and Hamburg's old-established *shipowning companies* are a cornerstone of this development," "*Hamburg Harbour is the central hub for trade with Eastern and Northern Europe*." Hamburg's international character is also referred to outside the context of the port city: "As a *trade and transport metropolis*, Hamburg has *more than 90 consulates*. 460 companies from Asia alone have their Eu-

European headquarters or a branch office in Hamburg;" "With 755 square kilometres, the city area is *seven times bigger than Paris and two and a half times bigger than London*. As a result, Hamburg's living and housing standards are particularly high;" "Hamburg has 2,302 bridges — *more than Venice and Amsterdam combined*. With *over 90 consulates*, Hamburg is *second only to New York City* in the world;" "Hamburg is a *cosmopolitan city*. This is the reason why many places of the *HafenCity* were given *international names*. As an example you can find the Shanghai Bridge;" "HafenCity [is] the biggest town planning project of Europe." Hamburg recognizes its position as Germany's second city ("with 1.7 million inhabitants, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg is *the second largest city in Germany* and one of the 16 federal states of the Federal Republic of Germany") and the most important city in the region: ("Economically and culturally, Hamburg is also *the centre of all Northern Germany*. 3.5 million people live in the metropolitan region of Hamburg—for them, Hamburg is a *shopping and cultural metropolis*"). Hamburg takes pride in its vibrant economy that considerably surpasses that of Berlin: "Hamburg has the brightest economic prospects of Germany's large cities. ... A decisive factor for Hamburg leading the field was the *port*, accounting for the city's *cosmopolitan flair and international trade network*. The experts also positively evaluated HafenCity's development for creative firms. ... In the global competition for talents, the *Elbe metropolis* has taken the right steps to create future growth by setting up strategies to turn creativity into wealth"—this quotation demonstrates that Hamburg embraces its various urban identities: those of a second city, a port city, and an international metropolis.

The convergence of these three identities is also visible in the following passages published on Hamburg's city portal: "As a *trade centre*, Hamburg has always been *outward-looking*, and this has shaped the mentality of the inhabitants of Hamburg;" "There are many reasons why Hamburg's economy is thriving. For one, Hamburg is one of *the major winners of globalization* and the concurrent expansion of *worldwide trade*. In particular, its tradition of *strong links with Asia* has allowed this city with the *largest German seaport* to benefit greatly from the dynamic development in that region of the world;" "The volume of container handling in Hamburg has doubled since 2000 and will reach the magical mark of 10 million containers in 2008. *At the European level*, this puts the port of Hamburg in *second place*, hard on the heels of the port of *Rotterdam* which has not been able to match Hamburg's dynamic growth in recent years."

As I have demonstrated, present-day (im)migration is completely left out of Kaohsiung's and Hamburg's English-language municipal websites. Instead, Kaohsiung and Hamburg market themselves as international metropolises, port cities, and — implicitly — second cities. I therefore propose to analyze port cities from a hitherto ignored or underestimated approach, namely as second cities. This article is the first attempt known to me to discuss port cities that are second cities from this particular perspective. While looking at the said cities through a postcolonial, postmodern, post-industrial, and/or globalized lens helps understand many processes

shaping their urban identities, analyzing them as second cities provides new information about their urbanities and yields new insight into their complex natures, roles, and functions. For these and other reasons, I propose that the analysis at hand is valuable both as a project in its own as well as an introduction to a larger research enterprise.

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Part Three
Thematic Bibliography

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The collected volume *Mapping the World, Culture, and Border-crossing* —edited by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and I-Chun Wang — begins with four articles that interrogate the processes and ramifications of cultural crossings and thus serve to establish a clearly defined theoretical context for the case studies that follow. The case studies range from the creation of identity through patriotic songs in Taiwan under martial law, to nationality and Japanese identity, cultural autonomy in contemporary North America, Asian migration to Latin America, ethnic identity in the writings of Tan, Naïpaul, Eliot, and Özdamar, and aspects of migration and urban identities. The studies in the volume present complex analyses and they are a pleasure to read: importantly, they are relevant and needed for understanding what it means to live in our global society of today.

— Mabel Lee, University of Sydney

Edited by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and I-Chun Wang, the dozen engaging articles in *Mapping the World, Culture, and Border-crossing* are concerned from a variety of disciplinary perspectives with the "spatial turn," a cutting-edge research area, analyzing how language, education, the legal system, government, the economy, and all other cultural phenomena of society function in terms of spatial configuration taken as a primary unit of social inquiry. The articles in the volume engage with key concepts such as global displacement and cultural crossings in a world constantly being remapped by shifting geo-political boundaries by flows of language and peoples, as well as by movement of populations, owing to (im)migration and diaspora, Westernization, cultural assimilation, cultural encounters (both conflictive and touristic), multiple identities and citizenships, translation and the "trade routes" of language and literature, and globalization and multi-national hyperspace. Specific articles deal with different aspects of mapping of cultural and linguistic identities over space and time and study the ethical and political issues involved in, for example, the integration of immigrants; the integration of their children into the education system; intermediality, intertextuality, and related concepts such as critical media literacy, hybridization, and interculturalism; identitybuilding and changing in societies in transition; mapping various immigrations such as Asian immigration to Latin America and to the U.S., non-Asian immigration to Japan, and Turkish immigration to Germany. (Im)migration, which involves not only spatial movement but also a psychological transformation and the creation of a linguistically and culturally interwoven but often conflictive world has been the major cultural phenomenon of twentieth-century culture, and arguably it is to become even more central in the new century. The contributions in this volume are path-breaking in this important emerging field of inter- and transdisciplinary research.

— Louise O. Vasvári, Stony Brook University and New York University

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