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**WOR(L)DS APART:
NAVIGATING DIFFERENCES**

**guest-edited by
Sonia Caputa and Anna Gonerko-Frej**

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WOR(L)DS APART— NAVIGATING DIFFERENCES

guest-edited by
Sonia Caputa and Anna Gonerko-Frej



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NAVIGARE ...

Navigare necesse est, vivere non est necesse. This sentence, attributed to Pompeius Magnus, has inspired humankind for generations. Whether it is interpreted literally or metaphorically, the imperative expresses the absolute necessity of movement—irrespective of its motivation—as a condition of the existence of *a future*. Yet, navigation cannot be simply reduced to *movement* alone: after all, those who *navigate* differ from those who *are adrift* in their ability to actively control their course. As an intentional form of movement, navigation is, in a sense, synonymous to negotiation: to *negotiate* one's way through rocks and shoals, one needs to simultaneously demonstrate stamina, sensitivity, and vast knowledge. The mastery of the vessel, its structure, handling, maintenance and maneuverability must go hand in hand with the knowledge of meteorology, trigonometry, cartography, and many other areas of applied science.

Still, such knowledge alone may not suffice to make port safely. Ships need crews, and thus the navigator must negotiate the ship's course in yet another dimension: pushing the limits of his or her fellow sailors to warrant the vessel's survival, the navigator must know when and how to let go to avoid a catastrophe. On board, everyone needs everybody else because everybody *depends* on everyone else. Importantly, no seafarer should ever forget that *a ship is not a discursive structure*: it cannot be deconstructed, it cannot be relativized. Its continued existence depends on how well it is maintained and how efficiently it is managed.

Navigation is thus both a complex craft and a subtle art, it requires training, experience and an acute awareness of one's

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own limitations and the limitations of those with whom one interacts. A navigator is first and foremost a reader and an interpreter: as the reader of the sea, the skies, the landmarks, the reader of the movement of the craft, he or she is also an interpreter of a multitude of languages and other forms of expression in his or her negotiations with people. Navigation, therefore, is a multifaceted challenge.

Driven by our future projects, we are all in motion. Individually or in small crews, we constantly negotiate our courses, changing headings when necessary, and constantly learning. Still, the longer we sail the liquid expanse of our ever-changing reality, the more palpable our realization of our common condition becomes. Struggling, loving, worrying, joying, mourning, celebrating—we may live in different forecastles, but we really sail the same ship: a multilingual crew of navigators, more and more aware of the fact that we merely *seem* to be worlds apart. Eliminate the 'I' through learning and empathy—and the rest is negotiation of the shared space.

And negotiate we must: of course, *vivere non est necesse*, but with us, or without us, the world/word will go on. Navigators ourselves, as teachers and thinkers we have a rare opportunity to train others in hope that the ship of humankind does not turn out to be the *Ship of Fools* or the *Pequod*, and that we do not end up in *The Raft of the Medusa*. We know that jumping ship is only possible when the ship has made port. Living our worrisome lives towards death, our final haven is always too far for us to consider any alternative to sailing on; responding to the universal thump that life democratically gives us, we may choose to follow Melville and negotiate the universal squeeze of the hand instead. Because *navigare necesse est*.

Quod erat demonstrandum.

Paweł Jędrzejko
RIAS Associate Editor

INTRODUCTION

*Whatever whenever wherever has happened
is written on the water of Babel.
W. Szymborska¹*

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The 6th World Congress of the International American Studies Association, 'Oceans Apart: In Search of New Wor(l)ds', in August 2013 attracted scholars from all over the world to Szczecin, a Polish harbor city with a long multicultural, multinational, and multilingual history. Offering their multidisciplinary perspectives, the participants answered the call of Paweł Jędrzejko (the initiator and organizer) for debate on 'the transoceanic dynamics of history'. This publication is a collection of papers presented at the conference; the first volume centered on literary topics, and the present one takes a broader, cultural angle, with articles from the world of politics, literature, education, and sociology.

The waters of the oceans that wash the shores of our continents keep us apart, forming the blue bands separating 'us' from 'them'. But, at the same time, they also move restless and anxious travelers across, enabling contacts inspired by curiosity of the difference and provoking different ways of handling it. The oceans manage the difference in an admirable way. They humbly embrace various waters flowing into them from distant places, smoothly accommodating variety. Through their patient moves, they soften the sharp edges of the objects embraced.

¹ from the poem 'Water' by Wisława Szymborska, translated from Polish by Magnus J. Kryński

The present volume contains articles on transcending values, ideas, disciplines, cultures, or political divisions. The consecutive sections group them around different management of differences: overcoming, strengthening, recognizing or creating them. Navigating and understanding America's differences is a difficult task; the oceans can offer a good practice.

In the opening essay of the present volume, Patrick Imbert attracts our attention to the idea of overcoming differences by focusing on the transpacific travel of the immigrant Piscine from India to Canada in Yann Martel's novel *Life of Pi*, which allows him to revisit the dynamic of exclusion, the idea of nation and place, and to recognize alterity in a perspective emphasizing transculturalism and multiculturalism. The author attempts to juxtapose and compare the trans-multi-interdisciplinary and trans-multi-intercultural perspectives so as to establish links between the trans, the multi, and the inter in the context of the legitimacy of symbolic/geographic displacements because, in his view, they are linked to the Americas and globalization. In a kin vein, Tomomi Nakagawa takes a trans-disciplinary approach to elaborate on the scientific thought of Lafcadio Hearn and his interpretation of Japanese art. Mátyás Bánhegyi and Judit Nagy deal with the notion of overcoming cultural differences in their essay 'A Transatlantic Transfer of Cultural Values: Constructing a Canada-Related Cultural Reader Series for the Secondary English Classroom in Central Europe'. The authors stress the significance of facilitating cultural discourse and cross-cultural learning via the cultural reader series and discuss the theoretical background of their project as well as the activities leading up to the preparation and compilation of the completed volumes.

Strengthening the differences appears to be one of the focal points for Edgardo Medeiros da Silva, whose essay 'Theme and Subject Matter in Francis Parkman's *The Old Régime in Canada*' examines the failure of France to establish the basis of a well-regulated political community in North America in the context of the Anglo-French rivalry for the control of this continent. Relying on Francis Parkman's historical narrative, the author analyzes the relations between two colonies—New France and New England—and sheds some light upon their political culture. In the subsequent essay,

entitled 'Zones of Discomfort in US Latino Politics: When Sharing a Sea Does Not Suffice', Virginia R. Dominguez addresses the questions of diaspora and nation-ness, exploring the fundamental differences between Puerto Rican and Cuban-American engagement with the United States. The author is interested in finding the reasons why some US Latino groups manage to incorporate themselves into the US society while others still refuse to perceive the United States as their homeland.

The theme of recognition of differences is raised in the volume by María Luz Arroyo Vázquez, whose main concern is the empowerment of American women during the Great Depression era. The author attempts to show that women appointed to relevant government positions in the years 1933–1945 not only played a key role in the development of Roosevelt administration; their voices reverberated and inspired women in other countries, especially in Spain. Finally, Lei Zhang in her essay 'The Cultural Logic of America's Pivot to the Asia-Pacific' examines the cultural logic of the current US foreign policy toward Asia-Pacific, stating that it is inextricable from the Imperialist Imaginary, American Orientalism, and American Sublime. Taking a closer look at the transpacific project promoted by the US—the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement—Lei Zhang discusses the US hegemonic vision and free-trade imperialism, which may emphasize the emergence of further political/cultural differences between the East and the West.

Oceans apart but connected by various waterways, the authors of the articles collected in the present volume expose and discuss the selected differences describing some aspects of life in America. And though these can only refer to a small sample of issues, their universality enhances the understanding of the whole. The Polish Nobel Prize winner in literature (1996), Wisława Szymborska, expressed the feeling in her poem 'Water', quoted in the opening:

A drop of water fell on my hand,
 Blood-let from the Ganges and the Nile,
 On my index finger the Caspian Sea is open
 and the Pacific meekly joins the Rudawa,

The drops of water, however small they seem with the perspective of the ocean, are, after all its constituting elements. And though

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their comprehensive and exhaustive study can never be completed, the fragmental analysis makes an important contribution to the field, leaving space for ideas that ‘wait to be named’ in other articles, presentations, conferences and places; in an endless search for the new wor(l)ds:

There are not enough mouths to utter
all your fleeting names, O water.
I would have to name you in all tongues,
pronouncing all the vowels at once
while also keeping silent—for the sake of the lake
that waits to be named
and doesn’t exist on this earth, just as the star
reflected in it is not in heaven.
[...]
How light is all this in the raindrop.
How gently the world touches me.
Whatever, whenever, wherever has happened
Is written down on the waters of Babel.

Sonia Caputa and Anna Gonerko-Frej

THE TRANSPACIFIC TRAVEL FROM INDIA TO CANADA

in *Life of Pi* by Yann Martel
and Its Link to Transculturality and Transdisciplinarity

1. METHODOLOGICAL NATIONALISM

The choice of staying within the confines of a discipline or traversing beyond its limits is demonstrative of certain scientific positions but also of decisions and desires that are based either on valorization of an orthodox and normalized discourse or on a junction of concepts or discourses that entail reflexive continuous actions in relation to alterity. This is what Carlos Sandoval García invokes in his criticism of *nacionalismo metodológico*, which made a lot of researchers neglect the implications of multiple relationships and full-scale influences of encountering alterity (Sandoval García, 2007, xv). This is what Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller insist on when speaking about ‘the iron cage of nationalized states that confined and limited our own analytical capacities’ (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002: 302). They go on by showing that ‘Almost no thought was given to why boundaries of the container society are drawn as they are and what consequences flow from this methodological limitation of the analytical horizon—thus removing trans-border connections and processes from the picture’ (307). Remembering these thinkers and reading a novel like *Life of Pi* by Yann Martel will help us see the connection between disciplinarity and culture, because the relationship between Pi, the main character in *Life of Pi*, and the tiger, who share a raft in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, will allow us to deconstruct traditional conceptions of disciplines and their linkage with a particular conception

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of the nation and of the relationship between alterities. It will also lead us to reconsider any conception of American Studies based on nationalism by concentrating on an analysis emphasizing theoretical reflections focused more on anthropological consideration than on sociological ones. The Americas were historically enclosed in dualism and in legitimated processes of exclusion. Nowadays, they call for theories that can take on the complexity of transcultural relationships in their multiple dimensions and networks, which are constantly changing. Does this mean that theories and the example chosen here from the novel *Life of Pi* by Yann Martel lead to utopian thinking? Not in our perspective, because the particularity of the Americas is that it has attracted people from all over the planet and continues to attract them. It is simultaneously a real territory and a dream territory and therefore a territory that covers the globe. As Oscar Wilde suggested, a map of the world that would not include a utopia would be of no interest since it would have left out the only country where humanity constantly ends up. So, the Americas are both a place where one pragmatically fulfills a concept of self and a place of utopia. What we are going to study is the difference between a utopia of closure and homogeneity, that is, a nationalist state, and that of openness and attraction towards alterity.

2. DISCIPLINARITY

Disciplinarity contains a small number of concepts and units that are formalizable according to different logical, mathematical, or syntaxico-discursive procedures that allow for the invention of a field of study. However, Montuori reminds us that ‘disciplinary fragmentation is not just a *response* to knowledge, it actually *frames* knowledge [...] *disciplinary fragmentation creates blind spots by framing the world in a discipline-driven way that actually prevents certain subjects from being “seen”*’ (Montuori, 2008: xv)—subjects, in particular, that have been changing their way of life depending on their migration and their encounters with different people and cultures. It is this type of relationality that Michel Espagne has in mind when he states that Franz Boas studies the Amerindians from the point of view of ‘transferring objects,

myths and languages rather than from the angle of a vertical classification occupied with origins' ('transferts d'objets, des mythes et des langues plutôt que sous l'angle d'une classification verticale renvoyant à des origines') (Espagne, 2004: 66). This perspective leads to a vision that is not linked to universal and essentialized forms but to a history of forgotten encounters. This is what we observe in examining the Nantudi lace of the natives of Paraguay, considered the authentic expression of a *savoir-faire* that defines their identity. The Nantudi lace production techniques originated with the Moors, who passed on their knowledge in Spain; the conquistadors then transferred this knowledge to certain natives in the forests of Paraguay. The Moors and the Spanish have forgotten the techniques. Thus, different conclusions about essentialized identity or the image of the self in networks have been proposed following disciplinary and transdisciplinary perspectives. On the one hand, we see the authentic identity pertaining to pure origins. On the other, we observe relational identities in the context of forgotten transfers. As Michel Espagne stipulates, 'We can talk of a certain Marranism brought up to the level of historiographic category' ('on pourrait parler d'un marranisme élevé au rang de catégorie historiographique') (Espagne, 2004: 66). As Marcos Aguinis emphasizes in his novel *La Gesta del Marrano* and as Afef Benessaïeh mentions (in her comments about Ortiz and transculturation.), just like the case of the Spanish Jews converted to Catholicism, the impact of cultural accumulations are shared as much among those who live the acculturation as among those in the host society.

3. INTERDISCIPLINARITY

Michael Finkenthal defines interdisciplinarity as 'the correct use of concepts belonging to one discipline in another' (Finkenthal, 2008: 90). According to this definition (and contrary to more static ones), by reducing the concept to mere transfer of certain terminologies from one discipline to another, we go further than merely establishing bridges between two disciplines; we move toward transdisciplinary. These concepts are used in the context of two disciplines, in a practical rather than a metaphoric sense. The latter sense consists of concepts transformed into

jargons that are useful for a group or in an aestheticized rhetoric, where the borrowing discipline remains confined within its limited functions and fails to generate new knowledge issued from an effective comparative reflection. The interdisciplinarity is in this sense closer to the concept of interculturality¹, which often relies upon establishing temporary bridges between cultures in order to understand the other but also to better understand oneself (and forgetting the other), as the known cliché goes.

4. MULTIDISCIPLINARITY, PLURAL MONOCULTURALISM, AND ESSENTIALIST BUREAUCRATIC MULTICULTURALISM

Multidisciplinarity for Basarab Nicolescu ‘concerns studying a research topic not in just one discipline but in several at the same time’ (Nicolescu, 2008: 2). Nicolescu uses the example of art history, of Giotto for example, who can be studied through the history of religions, the history of Europe, or that of geometry. We can also add the chemistry of the pigments if we want to distinguish a real Giotto from a fake one. However, all these disciplines remain dependent on the main discipline, art history. We can then see an affinity between multidisciplinarity as defined by Nicolescu and the concept of plural monoculturalism defined by the governor of Canada (1935–1940), Lord Tweedsmuir (Imbert, 2009: 15–66). We can also see an affinity between multidisciplinarity and the first-degree multiculturalism criticized by Neil Bisson-dath in *Selling Illusions* (1994), where separate entities—ethnic groups—are gathered in a dominant element, in the way that Canada is controlled by people of British origin. However, according to Wolfgang Welsch, plural monoculturalism, or bureaucratic

1 This position should however not be confused with interculturalism, which is a Québécois position where the acknowledgement of the other is paired with a requirement to integrate the Québécois values, notably that of learning the French language. Interculturalism is thus differentiated from the first-degree multiculturalism that promotes a juxtaposition of cultures. See in this regard the article by Afef Benessaïeh and Patrick Imbert, ‘De Bouchard-Taylor à l’UNESCO: ambivalences interculturelles et clarifications transculturelles’ (with Afef Benessaïeh) in *Canadian Studies: The State of Art/Études canadiennes : question de recherche* (Klaus-Dieter Ertler, Stewart Gill, Susan Hodgett, Patrick James eds.), *Canadiana* 10, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 2011, pp. 393–413.

multiculturalism, is based on a fundamental problem: 'the presupposition of cultures as homogeneous islands or enclosed spheres' (Welsch 1994/1995: 19). This presupposition approaches the concept of multidisciplinary, according to which disciplines are understood on the basis of their procedures without interpreting it.

Stephen Kline, however, perceives multidisciplinary differently. He defines multidisciplinary as the study of the ways in which one can compare the disciplines and the validity of these disciplines without forgetting the method of generating results in the disciplines of our interest. Multidisciplinary helps 'disciplinary experts better understand the connection of their own field to the whole of human knowledge' (Kline, 1998: 3). According to Kline, we live in the anguish of not being able to perceive human knowledge as a whole even if we participate in a global interconnected brain (Lévy, 2007). We can then follow Kline in saying that, in practice, multidisciplinary helps contextualize research and produce comparisons that, in the complexity of contemporary relations, can lead, as Michael Finkenthal suggests, to emerging properties. For Kline, multidisciplinary entails the sort of reflection that is based on comparison and that leads to a certain distance from the *a priori* relations that govern one discourse or one discipline.

We can then confirm that Kline's definition draws close to the concept of a multiculturalism that emphasizes encounters and gives priority to the study of influence between groups or individuals, which in turn leads to an emergence of properties that are realized in a new context. This can be seen in the comments made by Sabrina, a new Algerian immigrant in Montreal. Her desire is to realize the potentials that had to be repressed in other contexts: 'Sabrina says that in the company where she worked in Alger, there were only two unveiled women. "The second one too has come to Montreal!" She has serious concerns in seeing veiled women here. "I haven't come all the way here to live what I lived down there." ('Sabrina raconte que dans l'entreprise où elle travaillait à Alger, elles n'étaient que deux femmes à ne pas porter le voile. "La deuxième est aussi rendue ici, à Montréal !" Elle se pose de sérieuses questions quand elle voit des femmes

voilées ici. “Je n’ai pas fait 6000 km pour vivre comme là-bas”) (Elkouri, 2009: 3). This is also Neil Bissoondath’s wish in *Selling Illusions*, whose objective is to set in motion transformative dynamics because the encounter linked to emerging propertieess leads to new processes of legitimizing the codes and the limits of systems that govern the socio-economic-cultural relations of different groups.

5. TRANSDISCIPLINARITY AND RELATIONAL MULTICULTURALISM

Transdisciplinarity corresponds to a ‘harmony between inner being and outer knowledge’ (Nicolescu, 2008: 2) regarding the relation between the outer world of the object and the inner world of the subject, which leads to a third terminology: a triangulation combining the two entities. Transdisciplinarity proposes going beyond the dualism of the individual/object that exists in traditional science. It is imperative to understand that observation, in certain contexts, radically modifies the position of the observed element, a position that cannot be exactly measured but can only be established in terms of probabilities. This scientific position where the undetermined and the probabilities are combined is of great use in the humanities, particularly when it comes to transforming relations between alterities. This is the main reason that an increasing number of researchers avoid thinking in terms of dualism and static perspectives and aim at managing complex power relationships. Relational multiculturalism, or transculturalism, suggests going beyond the dualism of individual/society, as proposed by Will Kymlicka (Kymlicka, 1995). As an example of multiculturalism, the minority Francophone of Canada is raised with the collective values defended by the group in order for the Francophone individual to be able to assert him/herself against the majority Anglophone. The important thing then is to asymmetrically assert the rights for external protection of the group and the individuals against the majority and the rights of internal protection of the individual against the minority group, assuring him/her the right to leave the group if he/she desires.

The multicultural politics, whose defining principles are rejection of dualism and invention of asymmetric regulations

(considered inequitable in certain centralized countries where equality and difference cannot be combined), succeed in setting in motion a dynamic in which the Francophone minority can compete with the Anglophone majority without being caught in a relation of dominance, as criticized by Homi Bhabha and symbolized by his famous expression of *not-quite* (Bhabha, 1994). The individual can then have access to the socioeconomic position available to members of the majority, that is to say, the individual can have access to power, for he/she is like many Francophones in Canada, usually bilingual in a place where the mono-nationality thinking that prefers the often non-bilingual Anglophones is no longer privileged. This is nowadays more so because, in the context of glocalization, the knowledge of several languages in addition to English is important if one aims at efficiently competing against others. In the new global context, the dualist antagonism within the national territory is redefined. This asymmetrical relational multiculturalism allows, up to a certain point, minorities to find their place effectively in a pluralist context. This is what has been highlighted by La cité collégiale, the Francophone technical college of Ottawa: 'FRENCH speaking students BILINGUAL employees' (*Ottawa Business Journal*, 2000: 11).

What is envisioned in this case are the relations to the other as invented by subjects who, surely enough, construct the other in their own image but who are themselves, as Frederick Barth mentions, multiple subjects, constructed by others in cycles of accumulated retroactions that lead to conceiving the other as being in the self and the self as being in the other, according to the point of view of Emmanuel Lévinas (Lévinas, 1961). Relational multiculturalism in this sense rests on dynamics similar to transculturality.

6. TRANSDISCIPLINARITY AND TRANSCULTURALITY

6.1. TRANSDISCIPLINARITY

'Transdisciplinarity concerns that which is at once between the disciplines, across the different disciplines, and beyond all disciplines' (Nicolescu, 2008: 4). Its objective is to understand the contemporary world in need of a unity of knowledge (64).

Transdisciplinarity concerns dynamics corresponding to the simultaneous manifestation of different levels of reality (67). We should first explain what we mean by the world's need of a unity of knowledge. If it signifies recycling the dream of a unity in reaction to the profound anguish of facing the natural chaos of the world that needs to be controlled through access to an all-encompassing unity, we are right to think that Nicolescu is caught in dualism and illusion. However, we think that the objective of transdisciplinarity does not aim at generating a unity of knowledge. Its starting point, on the contrary, is diversity (which is what distinguishes it from the kind of multiculturalism that assumes an essentialized identity to begin with) in order to reach new diversities in a non-ending dynamics of recontextualization. The disciplinary combinations could indeed lead to new disciplines in the sense of Gregory Bateson, who proposes a reading of all informative functions as a system of difference that creates differences: 'A "bit" of information is definable as a difference which makes a difference' (Bateson, 1972: 75). Is not a discipline an informative system controlled by special procedures, neither the all-encompassing syntheses nor a unity in transdisciplinarity but rather a constant production of the new, through-combined differences establishing original connections and producing something different? The production of differences from differences is then only an example of indefinitely renewing dynamics that can be understood through a metalanguage capable of managing the ever more complex operations in a continuum going from molecular interactions to elaborate symbolic systems.

As for the levels of Reality, Nicolescu defines them as follows: 'I designate an ensemble of systems that are invariant under certain laws: for example quantum entities are subordinate to quantum laws, which depart radically from the laws of the physical world' (Nicolescu, 1966: 4). What this signifies is that, where there is an important discrepancy in comprehension of fundamental concepts, like that of causality for example, the levels of Reality are different. But what does Reality signify for Nicolescu? 'By Reality (with a capital 'R'), we intend first of all to designate that which resists our experiences, representa-

tions, descriptions, images or even mathematical formulations' (Nicolescu, 2008: 4).

Transdisciplinarity that goes beyond disciplines concerns the capacity of reaching beyond the classic logic of exclusive third defined by the axiom of identity: A is A, that of non-contradiction; A is not not-A; and that of exclusive third, there exists no third term T that is at the same time A and not-A. Transdisciplinarity, on the contrary, attempts to reach a level of Reality, T, that is at the same time both A and not-A. We should keep in mind that Nicolescu is influenced by the logic of Lupasco, who specifies that if A is actualized in a predominant way, not-A is potentialized in a non-predominant way as well and vice versa, without having one or the other disappeared (Lupasco, 1947). As Brenner points out about Nicolescu,

the T-state resolves the contradiction at another level of reality. His now "classic" example is the unification in the quanton T of the apparently contradictory elements of particle A and wave non-A. In contrast to the Hegelian triad, the three terms here coexist at the same moment of time. The logic of the included middle does not abolish that of the excluded middle, which remains valid for simple, consistent situations. (Brenner, 2008: 158)

6.2. TRANSCULTURALITY

Transculturality leads to a rereading and a recontextualization of perspectives. First, the belief that there is an origin. To believe in an origin is to believe in a primordial unity of a consensual Edenic world that is to be found again and that defines the group in its particularity, while the others are different and often considered antagonists in the wrong. In other words, transculturality is an opening to future through a present that aims at creating practical personal and institutional relationships that lead to different people having effective, positive influences on each other. Transculturality is expressed as a place of encounter that in the Americas can be understood as a promise. Transculturality is not linked to a world view dominated by the established culture that is itself linked to an institution, a church or a nation-state that projects a stereotypical identity on people. It is a performative act of language that creates relations that are less conflictive, more attentive, and more based on listening to others (Austin, 1962).

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Speaking of transculturality is negotiating a dialogical relationship as an act that, just like enunciating the words 'I love you', creates a real and new situation where the concerned parties are modified by the linguistic act. In the contemporary context, transculturality seduces. The important thing in this seduction, other than the development of new situations, is the promise of more seduction as a desired, positive, and renewed experience. A fictional example is the character François/Frank in Ferron's novel, *La Nuit*, which takes place in Montreal. The character is at the same time Buddhist, communist, and bank manager in his day-to-day private, professional, and economic life. These different images of the self make him a creative and effective character in different milieus at the same time that he does not appear as transparent in any of them, that is to say, as defined by an essentialized identity caught in stereotypical behaviors.

A number of contemporary researchers study these transcultural perspectives. Among them, Ulrich Beck mentions Louis Schein's study of the diaspora of 25 million Hmong people scattered on the planet:

The surprising result of this study is that the expected opposition between national and transnational was not only not confirmed; rather the USA and China are using the transnationality of this Asian diaspora culture to redefine their own nationalities. I want to draw attention to a pernicious zero-sum logic (Imbert, 2013a) that portrays transnationality and the 'nation-state' as mutually exclusive and as locked in competition for pragmatic primacy. (Beck, 2006: 63)

The belief in zero-sum game, where one's loss is the other's gain, is the basis for perspectives that are closed to both transdisciplinarity and transculturality (Imbert, 2013a). Ulrich Beck further proposes a transnational nationalism where an ethnic, historicized identity could have an active role in national, transnational, and cosmopolitan domains and whose possibility relies upon a decoupling of the state and the nation.

7. TRANSDISCIPLINARITY AND TRANSCULTURALITY IN TRANSACTION:
YANN MARTEL'S *LIFE OF PI*

Now let us examine how all of this can be presented in a post-modern/postcolonial novel manifesting contemporary relational

dynamics corresponding to a legitimation of geographical and symbolic displacements. Yann Martel's *Life of Pi* (2001) is the story of Piscine Patel, a young man whose parents own a zoo in India and want to emigrate to Canada. While Piscine wishes to be Buddhist, Christian, and Muslim all at the same time, he observes the territorial instinct of animals that are confined within their small territories that separate them from each other as the humans are separated by national borders symbolized by different colors and marked by black lines in atlases. Piscine's family decides to take some of their animals with them to Canada on a boat that sinks in the middle of the ocean. Piscine ends up on a raft with a tiger, a monkey, a hyena, and a zebra, all of them soon to be devoured by the tiger.

What should Piscine do to survive the tiger and the ocean? He should use his transdisciplinary knowledge, combining different levels of Reality linked to ethnology, anthropology, and history. The levels of the Reality that confront him are the following: on the part of the tiger, there is the behavior of dominance, as Henri Laborit explains in his study where the dominant eats first and takes the females in his possession while the others are content with the left-overs (Laborit, 1976). So the dominant entity eats the species that come his way, as we see the tiger eats the zebra on the raft. What Piscine has to do now is to make himself appear more dominant to the tiger and then function effectively according to the level of Reality A of the territorial tiger. But Piscine also knows another level of Reality, that of mimesis of appropriation explained by René Girard, according to which hominization and assertion of self as an individual subject ends in a violent competition connected to the fight of all against all so as to obtain the object of desire, which is determined by the one that occupies the position of the model (Girard, 2008). The latter shows to the others the object of desire—money or spirituality, depending on the kind of society one wants to invent—and, above all, the power to indicate what is desirable, what should be done and what should not, or, in other words, a homogenous social order. This other level of Reality not-A is based on the democratic struggle of all against all, who all want to control a finite amount of wealth, as is also the wealth

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in level A, that of dominance. However, Piscine knows another level of Reality, T, where the violence of domination (A), as well as the violence stemming from the mimesis of appropriation (not-A), is domesticated by a logic that is no longer dualist but ternary. This is the logic of the knowledge-based society that can create an infinite amount of wealth, because new knowledge can always be produced. This knowledge-based society is different from the territorial-based society where the wealth is always finite. This logic of the knowledge-based society operates simultaneously with the other levels, A and not-A, on the raft shared by Piscine and the tiger. These levels of Realities depend in turn on the Reality, that is to say, on that which resists our experiences and our representations, as Nicollescu explains. These experiences, René Girard insists, are based on the sacrificial violence connected to an otherness transformed into a scapegoat, excluded and condemned to death, a death that becomes an undeniable² point of reference resisting all forms of representation.

Since Piscine has no immediate way of killing the tiger, his survival on the raft depends, on one hand, on convincing the tiger that he is the dominant, and on the other hand, on combining the level of Reality A, marked by dominance, with that of not-A, which is the mimetic appropriative violence based on the dualism of self/other that can lead Piscine to kill the tiger the first chance he gets. But Piscine goes rather to another level, T; having observed the zoo as a child as well as the reactions of the religious orthodoxies living according to the rules of the mimesis of appropriation (whence his wish to be Muslim, Christian and Buddhist all at the same time) have taught him to live a life linked to the knowledge-based society and to create new wealth and knowledge from mixing cultures. Hence, he modifies the logic of domination by feeding the tiger, which is not consistent with the behavior of the dominant that only leaves what he cannot eat. Piscine divides the narrow space of the raft into two, because the tiger keeps his logic and lives according to A. He neither seeks to kill the tiger nor to leave

2 Many authoritarian states try to deny this death through the use of words like 'desaparecidos' (disappeared persons).

it behind on the floating island they both explore. He then modifies the appropriative mimetic logic of not-A that necessitates the elimination of the rival-model. One of the reasons invoked is that, in order to survive hundreds of days without losing his sanity, he needs an interlocutor, even if it means living with the a radical other who can destroy him, either as the dominant (based on the level of Reality of an ethnological reading of the text) or as symbol of murderous, appropriative mimetic nationalism, illustrated by the zoo (in the level of Reality of an anthropologic-historic reading of the text). Piscine combines A and not-A to create the level of Reality T that rejects the dualist stasis of A/not-A. He then lives the hyper-dynamism of an open space symbolized by the ocean, the new global frontier that recycles, in the liquid, the frontier of the Americas, this historical paradox of a territory open to an infinite amount of wealth. Piscine is then engaged in a transdisciplinary level of Reality that involves ethnology, anthropology, and the semio-pragmatism of knowledge-based societies that manage their territorial relationships in an effective and non-exclusive manner, that is to say, according to a transcultural perspective.

8. LEVELS OF REALITY AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

We read that the tiger disappears as soon as they arrive in Mexico without leaving any trace or without even turning back to give a last look to Piscine, who has fed him fish during their trip. The social capital managed by the changes in the level of Reality and defined as 'help[ing] people to advance their interests by co-operating with others' (*Social Capital Outcomes of Adult Learning and Literacy Initiatives*, 2010: 2), a logic that is temporarily created on the raft, relies upon a *bridging* relationship for Piscine, that is to say, a relationship with beings from different backgrounds and pasts, and a *linking* one of hierarchy for the tiger. The cause and consequence relations are therefore different for each one of them.

Coincidence of being gathered on the raft has remained incomprehensible for the tiger while it has become significant for Piscine, entailing particular cause and consequence relations in his transdisciplinary approach that has led him to directly

live a transcultural practice in his everyday life with the radical otherness of the tiger. This experience has taught him, arriving in Toronto, to live a life of dynamic transactions in different networks producing social capital 'for a purpose maintained by supportive and productive interactions' (Nicolescu, 2008: 19).

Piscine has reached a principle of relativity that Nicolescu explains as follows: 'no level of Reality constitutes a privileged place from which one is able to understand all the other levels of Reality' (Nicolescu, 2008: 5). That is what Piscine notices when the Japanese insurance agents visit him in the hospital in Mexico to obtain information about the shipwreck. Piscine gives an account of his adventure with the tiger that cannot be understood by the representatives of the insurance company who are used to bureaucratic, factual, and plausible stories. He then gives another account of the story, this time with human actors, more in line with the expectation of the employees. He knows how to adapt to the perspective of the Japanese culture as well as a bureaucratic culture that demands a true story. Piscine asks, 'You want words that reflect reality?... Words that do not contradict reality? [...] That will confirm that you already know' (Martel, 2001: 365). He refers to a privileged rhetorical/national/positivist place of managing significations that makes use of the stereotype of mimesis of appropriation to give a victim-based reading of a text, or as Girard puts it, a mimetic appropriative reading, where the message of Jesus saying love the other as you love yourself and the level at which it is propagated is not understood. Hence, Piscine tells his new story, that of his mother and the chef on the raft, and then gives the account of how, according to an acceptable logic based on mimesis of appropriation, they have all killed each other. He relates how the object of desire, the knife with which Piscine kills the chef, is taken from the hands of the chef, the model, the supplier of food: 'The knife was all along in plain view on the bench' (357). Nonetheless, after the Japanese representatives admit to not being able to determine which of the two stories, the unrealistic animal one or the more historic and official story, is true and which is fictional, they confess to having preferred the story with animals: 'The story with animals is the better story'. To which Piscine

replies: 'Thank you. And so it goes with God' (352). The Japanese bureaucrats do not have the necessary capacity of reflection to distance themselves from dualism and reach another level, T, that includes both A and not-A. They are 'a-T', contrary to Piscine, who is conscious of what is sacred and of the force of the new in the New World, carrying the promise of a new and better life based upon the recognition of otherness in a series of multicultural processes.

This access to a metareality that escapes dualism sees the day in contemporary scientific theories and is quite different from traditional positivism, as Fritjof Capra elaborates in *The Tao of Physics* and as we see it in Alicia Rivero's work, 'Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle in Contemporary Spanish American Fiction' (Rivero, 2005: 252–266). This access is also observable in the hippy movements that turn to oriental philosophies as is the case with Alan Watts in *The Way of Zen*. It opens to a new consciousness that surpasses all state institutionalisation of religious orthodoxies.

9. THE AMERICAS OF COINCIDENCES: ENCOUNTER OF INDEPENDENT CAUSES

In this parabola of glocalization, legitimacy of displacements, and call of the Americas that is *Life of Pi*, Piscine demonstrates the link between transdisciplinarity and transculturality. These perspectives open access to diversity in a planet that requires complex networks that can domesticate violence through reflection on the possibility of living with the other by adapting to different contexts³. These different levels overturn the relationship between fiction and reality, because the reality of one can be the fiction of the other, as we see with the Japanese insurance agents and in magic realism works such as *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel García Márquez. In this novel, García Márquez accentuates the absurdity and delirium of the realities of dictators that lead to murders, torture, and genocides

3 We see this perspective in numerous advertisements in the Americas where the population is invited to interpret images and texts in their own way or to invent multiple scenarios. Patrick Imbert, *Trajectoires culturelles transaméricaines*, Ottawa, Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2004, p. 233–250.

for such absurd reasons as not submitting to the total dominance of the dictator. We see another example of that in Augusto Roa Bastos' *Yo el supremo*. The Reality is what resists representations constructed by the group that has educated us. In the case of the magical realist writers, as well as with Yann Martel, what resists is the undeniable fact that people were living and now they are dead. The causes of shipwreck remain unclear or multiple, and the causes for the fortuitous encounter between Piscine, the zebra, the monkey, the hyena, and the tiger on the raft are still more incomprehensible. This coincidence manifests the meeting of independent causes. It is this meeting of independent causes, of incommensurable pasts, that gathers the people in Americas in adjacent spaces not yet impacted by long histories like those of Europe. From then on, since the relation of cause and consequence does not constitute the basis for the structure of shared narratives, as specialists like Greimas explain, a new narrative is to be invented to make sense of this encounter. That is what Piscine does by proposing two narratives, the story of a successful encounter between two levels of realities and the story of a founding murder, the level of Reality corresponding to non-A of mimesis of appropriation. It is the story with exclusive and mimetic appropriative violence that corresponds to the historical canons of nation-states of the planet, and it is this dynamic of exclusion that Piscine Patel rejects.

Let us not forget that this coincidence in adjacency, symbol of the invention of the Americas, is also in line with the dynamic of glocalisation. In fact, in the contemporary context that is no longer connected to the invention of nations in the Americas, as it was in the nineteenth century when the dualism of barbarism/civilisation was dominant (see Sarmiento, 1986). Rather, it is the progressive invention of networking and a planetary brain; as Pierre Lévy states, historicism, the basis of research from a nation-state perspective, is ineffective for producing significations (Lévy, 2007: 115-175). In other words, the transdisciplinarity/transculturality created in *Life of Pi* links the invention of the Americas to its planetary influence in a parabolic fiction. The Japanese consulate in Pico Iyer's *The Global Soul* underscores

this point: 'America's great and lasting significance is its existence in the mind' (Iyer, 2000: 229). The Americas and North America in particular, are, for the planet, the dream of being better. They are the utopia to be realized in South America, as we see in writings of the magical realist writers such as Gabriel García Márquez, Isabel Allende, and Laura Esquivel. In this coincidence of the encounter between Piscine and the tiger, the world and the self are reorganized in a scientific, fictional, and emotive productivity taking place at the level of T that includes both A and non-A. This level allows for the production of new significations, themselves producing new significations through an infinite interpretance, in the Peircian sense of the term (Peirce, 1982), which in turn allows for a temporary and effective life with the other in inclusion and creativity.

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CONCLUSION

*'The mere fact of living is the ultimate happiness'.
(Le simple fait de vivre est le bonheur ultime'.)
Pierre Lévy, Le feu libérateur, Paris, Arléa, 2006, p. 255.*

Transnationalism, derived from transculturalism, is defined by Janet Paterson as something that implies:

a process according to which the formation of identities, traditionally confined within the political and geographical borders stretch beyond the national borders to produce new identities. There is a break away from certain narrow identity discourses in favour of rupture, heterogeneity and movement. (un processus selon lequel des formations identitaires traditionnellement circonscrites par des frontières politiques et géographiques vont au-delà des frontières nationales pour produire de nouvelles formations identitaires. Il y a une mise à distance d'un certain discours identitaire restreint au profit de l'éclatement, de l'hétérogénéité et de la mouvance.) (Paterson, 2009: 15)

Paterson specifies that, contrary to the migrant subject, the transnational subject 'rejects the notion of a formed identity based on criteria of race and place of origin to privilege a complex and fluid identity that is often multicultural and outside of the frames of memories' ('rejette la notion d'une identité formée à partir des critères de race ou de lieu d'origine au profit

d'une identité complexe, mouvante souvent multiculturelle et hors de l'enclos des souvenirs') (16). As Frederick Barth suggests, there is no original homogeneity or purity, but only relations (Barth, 1969). Identity is therefore an unstable syncretism of different images of the self produced in relation to the other.

What is important then, as Ying Chen points out, is that 'my true country is where I become what I want to become' ('Mon véritable pays est là où je deviens ce que je veux être') (Chen, 2004: 12), which implies the development of potentials including new images of the self. In this dissociation from what some call identity linked to the origin, chameleoning is positive and has nothing to do with the dualist opposition between appearance and authenticity. Chameleoning is the desire to recreate oneself, to be reborn in the New World, as Yvon Rivard writes in *Le Siècle de Jeanne*: 'The New World is probably not possible unless we are able to perceive both the beginning and the end of the world at the same time. And to do so what better exercise [...] than to see [...] the immobile center of all movement, the hub of the wheel' ('Le Nouveau Monde n'était peut-être possible que si nous arrivions à percevoir à la fois et en même temps le début et la fin du monde, et pour cela quel meilleur exercice [...] que de voir [...] le centre immobile de tout mouvement, le moyeu de la roue') (Rivard, 2005: 348). Chameleoning is the metaphorical expression of transculturality along with hybridization, as the Canadian Métis Doucette suggests: 'The Métis Nation is really what Canada wants to be [...] We're multilingual. We're multicultural—we're based on blending. We're a symbol of where Canada is trying to go' (Abley, 2009: 66)⁴. This chameleoning is expressed with an ironic tone in Douglas Coupland's *The Gum Thief*:

Speaking of biology, I think cloning is great. I don't understand why churchy people get so upset about it. God made the originals, and cloning is only making photocopies. Big woo. And how can people get upset about evolution? Someone had to start the ball rolling; it's only natural to try to figure out the mechanics of *how*

4 See also what is more precisely stated: 'In many parts of Latin America, by contrast, mestizos make up a majority of the population---and enjoy much higher prestige than *indios*' (Abley, 2009: 66).

it got rolling. Relax! One theory doesn't exclude the other. (Coupland, 2007: 7)

Bethany thus asserts that life is not a zero-sum game, that the logic of the excluded third is no longer effective in our world, even if the territorial logic of the excluded third is validated in the case of the division of planet in finite territorial resources that are named countries.

The creation of the world by God then does not contradict the theory of evolution as the orthodox creationist and evolutionist like to believe. Chameleoning, in Coupland's way or in Martel's and his character Piscine's, joins the idea of transdisciplinarity and transculturality whose consequence, that is to say important signification, is to lead to production of new knowledge in the ever growing complexity of human cultural and economic relations. In a nutshell, according to Piscine, escaping the methodological nationalism that forces everyone in predetermined boxes and homogenous masses, just like the narrow territory of a zoo given to animals, leads to the prevention of a reactivation of the victimizing process. Escaping the boxes also leads to an exploration of unforeseen encounters in a calm and active spirituality, while sharing the territory and knowledge through a constant dialogue and a permanent adjustment where everyone can have a place and invent his/her own story with others. This is in keeping with the dynamic of the Americas. They are constantly producing new stories about the continent and the world. In the 19th century, these stories were based on the dualistic paradigm barbarity/civilization. Now they are linked to multiple fluxes valorizing encounters and transculturality (Imbert, 2014). The Americas are in progress and in process. They are relational rather than territorial, which explains their capacity to generate flows of information and research based on world networks rather than on national affinities⁵ conflating nationality and scholarly research.

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5 However, one should note that this transnational turn is contested by many Native American theoreticians. See: Robert Warrior, 'Native American Scholarship and the Transnational Turn', *Cultural Studies Review*, Volume 15, Number 2, September 2009, p. 119-130.

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THE SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT OF LAFCADIO HEARN:

A Case of Interpreting Japanese Art

INTRODUCTION

It seems almost 'natural' for most critics to classify Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904) as an expert in literature simply because he wrote many works categorized into the literary field. His artistic aspiration in literature is often emphasized by his commentators. For example, in the preface to Hearn's biography, Elizabeth Stevenson described that he had written works of 'the real pleasure of art' (Stevenson, 1961: xvi). Similarly, in a more recent biography, Paul Murray observes that Hearn was 'in the grip of an artistic imperative' (Murray, 1993: 16). Earlier commentators would express a parallel view; e.g., in his dissertation completed in 1940, Ray McKinley Lawless writes that in Hearn's view, literary texts should be 'something durable, must be written, rewritten, and polished until the thing attempted approaches perfection' (Lawless, 2001: 79). In brief, the common denominator of these critical attitudes is the idea of Hearn as a man of literature, a consensus that may have overshadowed the true complexity of his work.

Hearn wrote many texts that are difficult to categorize simply as literature. For example, in some of his writings he would resort to the findings of science. Scientific thought, based on Spencerian evolutionism, is visible in his studies on two Japanese religions, Buddhism and Shintoism, and—as one of his earliest biographers, Nina Kennard, observes—it is worth remembering that since his first encounter with the philosopher's work in 1885, Hearn had

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been his faithful follower for the rest of his life, attempting to 'harmonize Shintoism and Buddhism with the philosophy propounded by his high-priest, Herbert Spencer' (Kennard, 1912: 138-139, 143). Later, in the 1960s, Beongcheon Yu, who has written the most comprehensive study of Hearn's works to-date, tried to comprehend the interrelation between Buddhism and evolutionism in Hearn's thought. '[I]n Hearn's mind this pair had undergone a sort of dialectical development for two decades—always, though sometimes vaguely, connected with the question of science and faith' (Yu, 1964: 243). More recently, Carl Dawson and Paul Murray have referred to Hearn's scientific approach toward Japanese religions, especially toward Buddhism (Dawson, 1992: 140-41; Murray, 1993: 148-49). Furthermore, Jackson Lears has referred to Hearn's 'Nirvana' as an example of the interpretation of Buddhism through the lens of Darwinism (Lears, 1994: 176-77). Overall, thus far, academic recognition of the scientific orientation of Hearn's thought has been mostly limited to his interpretations Buddhism and Shintoism.

Taking the critical condition into consideration, this article argues that Hearn's scientific thought has also been applied to another field: Japanese art. It is certain that, during Hearn's lifetime, the meanings of terms such as 'science' and 'scientific' had far broader range than today. According to the editors of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, science is 'based on knowledge about the world, especially based on examining, testing, and proving facts'. However, around the turn of the twentieth century, the semantic field of the term was not identical to that we acknowledge today; it would cover fields such as religion, literature and even (cultural) anthropology, i.e. areas classified today as representing Arts and Humanities, and often construed in opposition to strict sciences. The uncomfortable gap suggested here could be identified as an outcome of our familiar educational system based on professionalization effected along the lines of strict disciplinary distinctions. In Japan, due to the division of individuals (and programs) into 'literary-types' and 'science-types', a division which organizes one's academic development and professional life from high school onwards, most people are forced to function within the framework of strict

academic divisions, whose influence has been so overwhelming that not a few people have come to regard these divisions as 'universal'. However, the flourishing of professionalization of disciplines in such a form is neither universal nor permanent. It is only one paradigmatic framework peculiar to the present time. Therefore, it seems reasonable to argue that the consensus founded on such a paradigm has contributed to Hearn being classified predominantly as a man of letters. However, his thought and works do not lend themselves to being limited in terms of their scope by the label of 'literature'. Today, it seems obvious that authorship, which has come to customarily be perceived as literary, may be studied not only through a single perspective based on disciplinary distinctions, but also, sometimes much more productively, through the trans-disciplinary lens.

This article is organized as follows: the first part focuses on the rise and diffusion of scientific thought and cases of its wider application, mainly in the Gilded Age United States, during Hearn's lifetime in order to demonstrate that the diffusion of scientific thought in the Gilded Age could be interpreted as proto-trans-disciplinary. The first part also addresses the rise of disciplinary professionalization during the same era. The rapid development of science and the birth of professionalism should not be regarded as separate processes; on the contrary, the phenomena under study should be considered as two sides of the same coin.

Drawing upon the discussion presented in the first part, the second part of the article addresses Hearn's use of scientific thought for the interpretation of Japanese art looking mainly at his two works: 'Of the Eternal Feminine' (included in his second book on Japan, *Out of the East*, 1895) and 'About Faces in Japanese Art' published in his fourth book, *Gleanings in Buddha Fields*, 1897). When considering Japanese art's peculiar expression, Hearn especially pays attention to its abstraction, which means simplification of an object drawn by a Japanese artist. He applied scientific thought, including an anthropological approach, to enhance his comprehension of art's meaning.

Finally, the third part of this article deals with subsequent impacts of Hearn's approach to art in light of two case studies: Kakuzo Okakura (1862–1913) and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959),

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both of whom transgress the invisible, yet important border separating arts and sciences in their work. My hope is that this article will stimulate a discussion on the recognition of academic soundness of trans-disciplinary points of view both in Japan and world-wide.

1. THE RISE AND DIFFUSION OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT IN THE GILDED AGE AND PROGRESSIVE ERA US SOCIETY AND CULTURE: HEARN'S LIFETIME

The Gilded Age and the early Progressive Era United States, during which Hearn published prolifically, witnessed the expansion of the application of evolutionism in a number of spheres of intellectual life, which, interestingly, did not always energize positions of fatalistic gloom. For instance, a rather clear hint of optimism is apparent in the following article posted in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1898, which aptly shows its author's trust in science:

I think [...] the statement is justified which I made at the beginning of this paper, that it is to science we must look for the thoughts which, in the nineteenth century, have dominated and fructified all other thinking. The illumination of the century has proceeded from that source, and the light that has been shed especially by the study of nature has been carried into every nook and corner of human history and human life. But the consequences of the general scientific attitude toward nature which is characteristic of this century have been twofold. Not only has the scientific method furnished a philosophy of nature and of human life, but, by the great increase in man's knowledge of natural law to which it has led, it has resulted in endless inventions, and these, in turn, have changed the face of the world. (Low, 1898: 156)

In the above excerpt, the author suggests that the impact of science has penetrated outside scientific fields. His vision makes one notice the arbitrariness of the academic divisions which seem 'natural' in the Japanese intellectual culture of today. As another example, American engineer Robert H. Thurston (1839-1903) contributed an article titled 'The Scientific Basis of Belief' for the *North American Review* in August 1891. In this article, Thurston maintains that '[s]cientific truths can never conflict with moral or religious truths. There can be no conflict between religion and science; though there has often been

discordance between scientific men and theologians' (Thurston, 1891: 186). Within the frames of strict disciplinary divisions characteristic for the model typical for contemporary Japan, a number of intellectuals could possibly find the concept of such 'fusion' between religion and science hard to rationalize. However, such a vision was hardly unusual for people living in the Gilded Age United States. According to Jackson Lears, after the eighteenth century, religion and science began to fuse through the rise of the Enlightenment (Lears, 2003: 56–62). For example, the thought of Henry Ward Beecher (1813–87), who was one of the most prominent Congregationalist clergymen in the United States, testifies to the dialog between science and faith. While enjoying his ecclesiastical fame, Beecher was at the same time an ardent advocate of Darwinism (Lears, 1994: 7; Tweed, 2000: 114, 135; Werth, 2010: xxix–xxx, 30–33, 62, 167–68, 230–31, 259–62, 290–95).¹ John Fiske (1840–1905) optimistically proposed the possibility that Christianity and Darwinism do not have to be comprehended as mutually exclusive (Tweed, 2000: 135; Werth, 2010: 111–12). In brief, some intellectuals believed that it would be possible for them to unite scientific proof with religious belief seamlessly. Consequently, it is appropriate to understand that the word 'science' used to have a broader meaning than it does currently. At the time, the term 'science', as Lears suggests, was recognized not as specialized knowledge or 'systematic philosophy', but, as 'a cultural tendency' shared widely by contemporary intellectuals (Lears, 1994: 20). More recently, Louis Menand provides a similar vision of the turn of the twentieth century in the United States. In *The Metaphysical Club*, while discussing Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. (1841–1935), Menand insists that Holmes had the ability to integrate science with religion (Menand, 2001: 26–27, 58–59). In the second part of the book, mainly dealing with William James (1842–1910), Menand states that Harvard scholars with whom he interacted found it 'perfectly possible to believe in Darwin and God at the same time' (127). In the third

¹ Henry's older sister Catherine Beecher (1800–78) also published in 1841 a monumental book about home management entitled *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, which was filled with 'a wealth of scientific information and practical advice' (Tompkins, 1986: 143–144).

part of his book, Menand point to the fact that Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914), who taught mathematics at Harvard, would consider his own discipline ‘the language not just of scientific thought, but of all thought’ (156), thus further contributing to the growth of ‘transdisciplinary’ perception of strict sciences and humanities at the time. Moreover, according to Warren I. Susman, Peirce thought that proper scientific pursuit would lead us to ‘a glorious aesthetic experience’ (Susman, 2003: 71). In summary, for historians of our age to understand the intentions of the intellectuals of Gilded Age America, it is indispensable to adopt a trans-disciplinary point of view despite, or perhaps against, the norms of our own academic discourse.

In the late nineteenth-century United States, the anthropological approach began to establish its academic position as ‘science’, too. In an article posted to *The Atlantic* in 1898, a geologist William John McGee (1853–1912) overviewed seven academic fields (astrology, physics, meteorology, psychology, geology, biology, and finally, anthropology) that had developed remarkably throughout the nineteenth century in the United States. According to him, anthropology could secure a foothold of science corresponding to the prevalence of evolutionism (McGee, 1898: 318–19).

As a result, scientific anthropology based on evolutionism gained larger influence in the late nineteenth century. In the final chapter of her book *The Literate Eye*, to find some continuity between modernism and Victorianism, Rachel Teukolsky discusses the relationship between the criticism of Roger Fry (1866–1934), who was curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1906, and Clive Bell (1881–1964), an English critic and member of the Bloomsbury Group, in light of the research carried out by anthropologists in the beginning of early twentieth century. Teukolsky maintains that Fry and Bell, who are famous for their praise of post-impressionists, partially inherited the anthropological framework based on the scientific thought of the previous era. In her consideration of Bell’s criticism of ‘primitive art’, Teukolsky argues that he intended to extract the common and universal underlying ‘the primitive arts of many cultures’ regardless of their geographical or cultural

difference (Teukolsky, 2009: 211–12). She also examines Fry's reflections upon the African cave artworks and evaluates them using the methodological tools of scientific anthropology that regarded the West as the center of civilization (214–19). It is worth observing that their critical efforts reflect the idea of generalizing a universal formula on the basis of experimental data, which is, essentially, the *modus operandi* of strict and experimental sciences. Accordingly, the procedure of seeking to determine a common denominator of art on the basis of the analyses of abstract, 'primitive' artworks, can be understood as a manifestation of the tendencies in science, prevalent around the turn of the twentieth century.

Elements of methodologies developed in strict and experimental sciences, which would often—and quite successfully—be adopted by specialists in the fields that in today's Japan would be considered 'non-scientific', have penetrated into other, non-academic areas of daily American life. To understand the process, it is necessary to examine processes related to professionalization as it developed in the United States. The diffusion of scientific discourse and professionalization are interlinked. The entire trust in science, characteristically recurring as a motif in modern art, is, in a sense, the product of professionalization itself, especially the professionalization of the middle classes. In the late nineteenth-century United States, the middle class became increasingly influential as modernization gained momentum after the Civil War. According to Robert H. Wiebe, the elusive concept of the middle class can be described as follows:

Covering too wide a range to form a tightly knit group, it divided into two broad categories. One included those with strong professional aspirations in such fields as medicine, law, economics, administration, social work, and architecture. The second comprised specialists in business, in labor, and in agriculture awakening both to their distinctiveness and to their ties with similar people in the same occupation. (Wiebe, 1967: 112)

The rush to establish state and private universities indirectly helped promote the professionalization of society at the national

level (Trachtenberg, 2007: 63–64).² At the same time, older universities gradually followed the same path by reforming their curricula to adjust them to the era of specialization and professionalization (Goodman, 2011: 89). Charles William Eliot (1834–1926), president of the Harvard University from 1869 to 1909, contributed an essay titled ‘The New Education’ to *The Atlantic*, in which he advanced the idea of curriculum reform in higher education (Eliot, 1869: 203–20, 358–67). During his long presidency at Harvard, Eliot reformed its curricula based not on liberal arts but on practicality (Goodman, 2011: 89–90). The prototype of the modern higher-education system based on the professionalization principle, which seems to be ‘natural’ in Japan today, can be traced back to the late nineteenth-century United States. Alan Trachtenberg aptly summarizes the period’s new social conditions under professional management:

The schools, the professional societies, the new roles of responsibility within corporate hierarchies, fostered a new quality of mind and outlook: disciplined, systematic, administrative. Trained to combine the findings of formal science with economic, legal, and logistical considerations, the new engineers brought into industry an apparently detached objective, and highly specialized approach to solving problems. (Trachtenberg, 2007: 64)

To illustrate the trend of professional management redefining its role, Carolyn Mervin provided the example of the beginnings of the construction of the electric power grid in the postbellum United States. She emphasizes the fact that professionals in the field of electrical engineering were white, male, and middle class. These individuals would create professional positions for themselves, quoting a multitude of texts published in periodicals of the time to justify the logic of such jobs (Mervin, 1988: 9–62). This was not a case unique to electrical engineering; art appreciation, central to this essay, became professionalized in the same way (Lears, 1994: 187–88). Under the energetic but exclusive management of university graduates, the whole

² Massachusetts Institute of Technology was established in 1865 and Johns Hopkins University in 1876 as the first graduate universities. Moreover, many land grant universities, most of which focused on science, were established after the Civil War.

of US society came to gradually be organized and systematized into professional categories.

Not coincidentally, between the onset of the Reconstruction and the end of World War One the dominant trend in the American aesthetics of the period, realism, emerged on the philosophical substrate of American Pragmatism, represented chiefly by such thinkers as William James, Charles Sanders Peirce, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead. The transformation of the realist/pragmatist visions of the world into the determinist worldview of naturalism would largely be a function of the increase of the popularity of Darwinism, Spencerianism, Marxism and the birth of Freudianism at the turn of the century. Like the belles-lettres, newspapers would also reflect the ongoing transformations. According to Michael Schudson, newspapers gradually became fact-based media rather than speculative ones; under the strong influence of Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) most journalists came to be more ‘scientific’ than ever before (Schudson, 1978: 72).

Reporters in the 1890s saw themselves, in part, as scientists uncovering the economic and political facts of industrial life more boldly, more clearly, and more ‘scientifically’ than anyone before. This was part of ‘the broader Progressive drive to found political reform on ‘facts’. (71)

These fact-based attitudes shared among journalists can be understood as a manifestation of the realist turn. Moreover, according to Robert Wiebe, in the late nineteenth century the United States government gradually shifted its policy from idealism to realism. Wiebe maintains that contemporary realistic bureaucrats began to rely on mechanical data or calculations to make their opinions objective. It seems important that this shift occurred during the culmination of social Darwinism. This transformation was driven by a newly emerged fundamental trust in science; ‘[b]ureaucratic thought [...] made “science” practically synonymous with “scientific method”’ (Wiebe, 1967: 147).

Therefore, progressive reform can be regarded as the reflection of the idealized vision of the emergent middle class. As mentioned before, a growingly significant proportion of the middle class were managers and professionals with advanced, univer-

sity level education. According to Paul Boyer, Lears, Susman, and Wiebe, with their criticism of contemporary social conditions, progressives prompted the establishment of systems based on professional and scientific knowledge (Boyer, 1992: 278–79; Lears, 2009: 299–300, 327; Susman, 2003: xxii; Wiebe, 1967: 168). For instance, Lears and Menand refer to the case of Hull House, one of the well-known foundations in the social reform movement. At first it was a kind of ‘educational institution’; however, the involvement of Florence Kelly (1859–1932), who graduated from Cornell University and studied overseas in Switzerland, transformed Hull House to ‘a center of reform advocacy and sociological investigation’ (Lears, 1994: 79–80; Menand, 2001: 308–309).

Furthermore, the practice of the anticipation of the future events with reference to statistical/calculation-based models began in this era. Trachtenberg points out the emerging importance of anticipatory modeling and calculations by professionals:

Calculations of economy and of science developed into professional processes with their own skills and rules, but in the end their effects were felt in the changing relations between human labor and machines, in the steady encroachment of mechanization on the forms of work, of everyday life, and social transactions throughout America. (Trachtenberg, 2007: 63)

People began to recognize calculation founded upon scientific and economical basis as more rational and persuasive than intuitive predictions based on the experience that would not apply to the new sociocultural, political and economic configuration of the western world of the turn of the century. According to Wiebe, Americans of the time tended to be attracted to numerical largeness. Businessmen as well as people engaged in religion, architecture, and even literature were enchanted with numeric proofs. Wiebe interpreted this tendency as rooted in contemporary anxieties arising from living in uncertain social conditions (Wiebe, 1967: 40–43). However, trust in numbers was supported by the emerging professionals, who for their part ardently advocated scientific thought. In other words, their ascendancy triggered the increase of dependence on numerical data, that is to say, numerical abstraction.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, at the onset of modern progressivism, professionals' social influence increased more than ever. During this time, academic disciplinary divides and requirements concerning professional classification became more pronounced. Wiebe, after defining the new middle class, enumerates some careers that experienced further professionalization along the 'modern' lines: doctors, lawyers, teachers, journalists, and social workers (Wiebe, 1967: 111–132). William Leach discusses the curriculum reform at universities in the United States, which gradually became more practical in the 1920s than at the turn of the century. For example, New York University established the School of Retailing to train teachers who were going to 'teach retailing in the city stores and high schools' by offering focused instruction in the areas of 'distribution and management, textiles, color and design, store organization, and business ethics'. Harvard University, under Charles Eliot's leadership, founded its Master of Business Administration course in 1908, and the Harvard Bureau of Business Branch three years later (Leach, 1993: 155–163; Lears, 2009: 297). As these two examples suggest, progressivism marks the large-scale beginning of social reform based on management by university-educated professionals (Levine, 1988: 195–200; Wiebe, 1967: 118–119). The educational reforms suggested above reflect progressive vision founded on scientific thought. Consequently, both the increasing trust in science and the development of professionalization were interdependent processes in the United States in the late nineteenth century.

The necessarily brief overview of the processes responsible for the transformation of the intellectual culture in the Gilded Age United States allows one to understand the sociocultural background of Lafcadio Hearn's position as an author. To summarize our observation, we may refer to the observations by Lawrence W. Levine who demonstrates that the overall cultural change brought about the fragmentation of professional knowledge into discrete fields (Levine, 1988: 207–219, 228). Such fragmentation was further promoted by the reform of higher education departing from liberal arts and moving in the direction of specialization; this led to vertical divisions in most academic fields, much like the evolutionary trees used in biology. Furthermore,

the fragmentation of academic disciplines, adopted by many cultures and often considered 'universal' in some intellectual traditions of the world today, still causes problems in contexts, in which phenomena once classified within the frames of strict disciplinary fields need to be reconsidered with the view to doing justice to the historical realities from before the onset of professionalization. The trans-disciplinary point of view, 'natural' to Guided Age America, returned to the center of the western academic stage as a valid perspective in the latter part of the 20th century. If phenomena or individuals under study had been conditioned by a culture yet uncompartmentalized into strict disciplines, the prioritization of monodisciplinary perspectives will effectively preclude an acknowledgment of the impacts of such individuals or phenomena outside of the speciality. Though specialization has brought considerable benefits, scholars and non-academics trained by them in some intellectual traditions have become too accustomed to taking such conceptual and existential categories for ultimate truths. The era when Hearn lived and worked was only the beginning of the process of professionalization of the disciplines; it is thus necessary to reconsider the academic disciplines of our time, because it is not always a sufficient framework to investigate the intellectual legacy of our past.

2. HEARN'S USE OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT TO INTERPRET JAPANESE ART

Hearn, as has been pointed out in the introduction, wrote many kinds of works that do not conform to the strict categorization of literature developed by the rise of professionalization. He chose diverse topics. Among them, Spencerian evolutionary science, whose prevalence was decisive and overwhelming around the turn of the twentieth century, comes to the fore as an important and frequent theme in his works. In Hearn's lifetime, as has been demonstrated earlier, the scope of terms such as 'science' or 'scientific' were far broader than today. Taking this idea into consideration, this article will henceforth focus upon the study of Hearn's application of scientific thought to his interpretation of Japanese art. Utilizing some of the scientific

theories of his day, he is able to offer a complex, sophisticated interpretation of Japanese art.

This section concentrates specifically on two of Hearn's works regarding Japanese art: 'Of the Eternal Feminine' and 'About Faces on Japanese Art'. However, before considering them, it is necessary to mention his earlier works. According to one biographer, Hearn's first encounter with Japanese artwork is traceable to his visit to the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, held in New Orleans in late 1884 (Kennard, 1912: 138). Following his arrival in Japan in 1890, Hearn offers his interpretation of Japanese art in 'Of a Dancing Girl' in his first two-volume book, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894). It is a document dedicated to dancing girls (*geisha*), which begins with a detailed description concerning their backgrounds: their lives, performance and education. Later in the work, referring to an old 'custom' of Japanese young artists who travelled 'on foot through various parts of the empire in order to see and sketch the most celebrated scenery', Hearn discusses the difference in artistic expression between Japanese art and Western art (Hearn, 1894: II 534). Hearn argues that, unlike Western painters who exclusively depend on 'clear-cut realities', Japanese painters mainly depend on their own 'recollections' and 'sensations' (II 535). Even though Impressionism would gradually become more influential in the West, Hearn realized that most painters of the time would produce realistic works, which is why Western audiences in the late nineteenth century would be accustomed to seeing realistic paintings (Teukolsky, 2009: 208–209). Criticizing Western realism as dull, he praises the 'suggestiveness' of Japanese painters (Hearn, 1894: II 534). This idea is suggested in Hearn's 'Stone Buddha', published in the collection titled *Out of the East*, where he discusses the absence of shadow in Japanese printings. At the same time, he criticizes the indiscriminate adoption of Western realism by the Japanese artists. For him, Japanese printers seem to have grasped the nature of art much more than their Western contemporaries (Hearn, 1895: 157–163).

Hearn's fundamental appreciation of Japanese art would bring him to compare Japanese artworks with those

of the West in 'Of the Eternal Feminine'.³ He opens his discussion with the description of his Japanese students' disinterest in Western artistic expressions and offers the following interpretation to their position:

[A]ll such sweeping criticisms seem to me due to a very imperfect recognition of the fact that Japanese thought and sentiment have been evolved out of ancestral habits, customs, ethics, beliefs, directly the opposite of our own in some cases, and in all cases strangely different. Acting on such psychological material, modern scientific education cannot but accentuate and develop race differences. (Hearn, 1895: 86–87)

Hearn's search for Japanese 'ancestral habits, customs, ethics [and] beliefs' would produce a significant collection of materials for his writings that would come into existence later in the Japanese period of his life. His method of research reminds one of the transformations that Bill Brown posits to have affected anthropology in the 1890s. According to Brown, in the 1890s, anthropology became more 'regionalized' and based on 'the environmental reconstruction' of 'person, place, and thing into an absorbing drama, supposedly bringing a local culture to life' (Brown, 2003: 88, 92). In brief, the anthropological approach began to advance from theory to participation. All of Hearn's objects of study listed above were intangible; therefore, it was necessary for him to not only construct *some* theoretical framework, but also to participate in the culture while doing his field research. His writings became documents that were quite different from the standard research on non-European cultures of the time. Throughout his years in Japan, Hearn's endeavors were in fact, field work. Its results, however, have proven to be more influential after Hearn's death when they affected the directions of Franz Boas' (1858–1942) anthropological approach. Especially, bearing in mind that the entire body work Hearn produced during his time in Japan narrates the 'drama' of Japanese peoples' customs.

Hearn's fieldwork on Japanese race and culture finally came to fruition in his posthumous book titled *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (1904), which is largely founded on his field

3 Beongcheon Yu discusses in detail this work to explore Hearn's 'aesthetic speculation' (Yu, 1964: 205–221).

work and his immediate experience of Japan. His fourteen years of research in Japan led Hearn to an important conclusion: the Japanese in Meiji Japan were a regulated society, whose individual members' traits would be subsumed making them thus, effectively, behaviorally indistinguishable. In one chapter of *Japan*, providing a number of examples of excessive regulation in Japanese society, Hearn explains its influence on the country's population as follows: 'The tendency of such regulation was necessarily to suppress all mental and moral differentiation, to numb personality, to establish one uniform and unchanging type of character; and such was the actual result' (Hearn, 1904: 180). Moreover, in another chapter considering the etiquette of the Edo Period (1603–1867), he evaluates its social conditioning:

Only a society under extraordinary regulation and regimentation,—a society in which all self-assertion was repressed, and self-sacrifice made a universal obligation,—a society in which personality was clipped like a hedge, permitted to bud and bloom from within, never from without,—in short, only a society founded upon ancestor-worship, could have produced it. (362)

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It is worth emphasizing that, in the quotation above, Hearn attributes the repression of 'all self-assertion' among the Japanese to their long-cherished ancestor-worship. Therefore, a reflection upon the meaning of ancestor-worship was central to him. In some sense, his work in Japan was largely propelled by his need to understand this phenomenon. 'Of the Eternal Feminine', which can be recognized as one of the important progress reports for Hearn's 'dissertation', *Japan*, includes his reflections on ancestor-worship (Yu, 1964: 195). In this work, through his comparison of the psychological difference between the Japanese and the Westerners, Hearn explores the meaning of the emotional suppression characterizing the Japanese, who have substantially held on to ancestor-worship even after the rapid modernization of the Meiji era. At the same time, the Westerners have gradually marginalized the importance of the ancestor-worship (the traces of which could be claimed to have survived in some pre-Christian rites) with the onset of Christianity and arguably abolished it altogether as a result of processes of modernization and scientific development. Through this comparison, based

on the presence or absence of ancestor-worship, Hearn attempts to explain the reason for the cultural rift responsible for the lack of intercultural understanding.

In the first half of 'Of the Eternal Feminine', Hearn compares the difference in Western and Japanese cultural patterns along anthropological lines. With the potential for misunderstanding in mind, he explores the meaning of Japanese disinterest in Western love romances. According to Hearn, in Japan, '[a]ffection must, in every time and space, be subordinated to duty' (Hearn, 1895: 100). Then he explains to Western readers the Japanese customs concerning affection. For example, in Japan, private issues should not be discussed in public; marriages are decided not by couples themselves but by both sets of parents. To provide an example, he mentions an episode from the story of Shuntokumar, in which the protagonist of the story, after a long separation with his beloved, expresses his joy by merely tapping his lover's shoulder at their reunion (93-103). On the whole, for Hearn, the Japanese hardly express their affection and passion, keeping them under strict control. In contrast to the Japanese, Westerners express these feelings more directly.

Taking this cultural difference into consideration, Hearn discusses the subject of the ideal feminine beauty in the West employing scientific perspective. According to Hearn, this ideal, contributing to developments in art in the West, has entered the next phase of its transformation with the introduction of 'the new philosophy of evolution' (Hearn, 1895: 111-12). What is important in this argument is his attempt to associate the development of the ideal of beauty with that of evolutionary theory. With its aid, the search for the feminine ideal could be further accelerated:

Even from the beginning it is probable that the perception of human beauty has been the main source of all our aesthetic sensibility. Possibly we owe to it likewise our idea of proportion; our exaggerated appreciation of regularity; our fondness for parallels, curves, and all geometrical symmetries. And in the long process of our aesthetic evolution, the ideal of woman has at last become for us an aesthetic abstraction. (112-113)

Hearn lists many characteristics relevant to the Western ideal of femininity, such as 'proportion, regularity, parallels, curves,

and symmetries', all of which are notions loaned from science, especially geometry. Moreover, he admits that the ultimate beauty is the 'abstraction', which is equal to the simplification or reduction of redundancy with reference to the concepts he lists above. At least for Hearn, the process of abstraction inherently hinges on scientific thought.

In the next chapter of his book Hearn applies a scientific lens to the interpretation of the expression of Japanese art by referencing two examples: flowers and insects. Concerning floral paintings, he states as follows:

An English or German flower painting, the result of months of trained labour, and valued at several hundred pounds, would certainly not compare as a nature study, in the higher sense, with a Japanese flower painting executed in twenty brush strokes, and worth perhaps five sen. The former would represent at best but an ineffectual and painful effort to imitate a massing of colours. The latter would prove perfect memory of certain flower shapes instantaneously flung upon paper, without any model to aid, and show, not the recollection of any individual blossom, but the perfect realisation of a general law of form expression, perfectly mastered, with all its moods, tenses, and inflections. (Hearn, 1895: 118-119)

For Hearn, the 'English or German flower painting' is realistic and detailed work, which inevitably requires close observation and a long period of time for completion. Hearn contrast it with floral painting by a Japanese artist, which is performed with cursory brushwork and which, therefore, it is more abstract (i.e., simplified) than its Western counterpart. It is hardly as accurate as Western realistic paintings and it chiefly depends on its author's subjective memory/recollection rather than on the actual shape of the model.

It is remarkable that it is this abstraction that enables Japanese paintings to express 'the perfect realization of a general law of form expression'. In the West, an author draws an image of one particular model and the work could be its faithful mimetic reproduction. In this sense, it may be claimed to be both arbitrary and subjective. In contrast, a Japanese painting, which depends not on one particular model but on the author's subjectiveness based on memory, might be understood as more objective and universal. As Hearn suggests in one of his texts, as his experience of Japan became richer, he came to believe that

the self was a composite of countless souls (Hearn, 1897: 91). Because of this understanding, subjective memory can become objective; therefore, the simplified and abstract expression adopted in Japanese paintings includes universality parallel to that of the rules of grammar, determining the recognition 'moods, tenses, and inflections'.⁴ Here, Eastern art comes to gain the quality of the abstract, like the feminine abstract ideal of the West. It could be said that ancestor-worship, which has long contributed to the formation of the cultural characteristics of the Japanese, may have also (indirectly) contributed to the development of Japanese artistic abstraction, that is to say, to the formation of what could be paradoxically dubbed 'repressive expression'. The argument presented above allows one to observe that while acknowledging the cultural difference in artistic expression, Hearn attempts to present the rift between the two traditions by reference to science, which has been the most significant promoter of the Western civilization since antiquity. His interpretation of Japanese art actually conforms to the Western point of view and reiterates it, thereby confirming the validity of the claim.

To further examine the development of Hearn's of recognition of Japanese art, it is necessary to consider his text 'About Faces in Japanese Art' from the collection *Gleanings in Buddha Fields*. In this work, Hearn studies facial expressions appearing in *ukiyo*e pictures. The study shows the development of both Hearn's comparativist instrumentarium and the scientific coloring of his reflection. As to the former, Hearn attempts to understand Japanese art through what he would claim to be its racial characteristics. In the first place, he applauds an adventurous presentation made by an English art critic, who claims that Japanese art subordinates particularity and individuality to generality, and resolves that the Japanese depend on their own, unique aesthetic sensibility (Hearn, 1897: 97, 101). Hearn completely agrees

4 Walter L. Adamson explains in detail Wassily Kandinsky's struggle to find a 'grammar of painting' in the early twentieth century. Hearn's words here duplicate such idea (Adamson, 2007: 151-157). There is one more thing worth remarking; here Hearn attempts to interpret Japanese art with the criterion of universalism, which is far closer to the art connoisseurship argued already in the previous chapter.

with this idea, and, in his final chapter, concludes that Japanese art has reflected 'the sense of life made harmonious by social order and by self-suppression' (121). What is to be stressed here is that it is only in 'About Faces in Japanese Art' that Hearn overtly associates the emotional repression characterizing the Japanese with their abstract artistic expression.

As to the relationship between artistic abstractedness and communal regulation, anthropologists have accumulated interesting interpretations. According to Sally Price, some anthropologists have interpreted abstract art produced by the natives of Africa and Oceania as the manifestation of the absence of 'individuality', conceptually replaced with 'community' (Price, 2001: 60–61). Abstraction, which is equal to the elimination of excessive decoration, can also be regarded as the 'repression of expression' as it is apparent in the field of art. For Hearn, however, abstraction seems to be one of the variables among the racial characteristics of the peoples under study. For Hearn, as well as for some of the anthropologists quoted by Price, artistic expression appears to faithfully reflect the social conditioning of the artist.

Besides the advancement of his anthropological approach, Hearn makes remarkable progress in his scientific interpretation of Japanese art. Before introducing his main subject, Hearn again explains the aesthetics underlying the Japanese representation of insects and flowers, which he had formerly analyzed in his essay 'Of the Eternal Feminine'. He restates here that Japanese painters do not draw individual motifs, but present what could be called more general types. Hearn summarizes these cases as follows:

A very minute detail is rarely brought out except when the instant recognition of the type is aided by the recognition of the detail; as, for example, when a ray of light happens to fall upon the joint of a cricket's leg, or to reverberate from the mail of a dragonfly in a double-colored metallic flash. So likewise in painting a flower, the artist does not depict a particular, but a typical flower: he shows the morphological law of the species, or to speak symbolically, nature's thought behind the form. The results of this method may astonish even scientific men. (Hearn, 1897: 108)

For Hearn, insects and flowers reduced to the 'general type' represent 'the morphological law of species' so well that the painting could leave a scientist at awe. A little further in his text, Hearn

refers to a comment by Alfred Russell Wallace (1823–1913), whom he regards as ‘one of the greatest living naturalists’ (Hearn, 1897: 109). Wallace reflects that in Japanese sketches of plants, Japanese masters draw their objects in a ‘most scientific’ manner (Hearn, 1897: 109). Having made this reference, Hearn returns to the main line of his argument, focusing upon the reasons underlying the success in the Japanese expression in light of the scientific proof. As noted before, he thinks that, while the detail is eliminated in most Japanese paintings, ‘the general character has been more aptly expressed’ (109). Even though Hearn may seem to have revisited the concept of abstract generality developed in ‘Of the Eternal Feminine’, one thing is apparently different; in this work, Hearn’s trust in scientific thought is far greater than in his previous works.

From the fourth chapter onwards, Hearn focuses primarily on the studies of ‘faces in Japanese art’, specifically faces of abstraction appearing in *ukiyo-e*. Hearn classifies facial expression in *ukiyo-e* into four types: ‘youths’, ‘female figures’, ‘maturer [sic] types’, and ‘old age’ (Hearn, 1897: 110–112). He summarizes a general tendency in works created by *ukiyo-e* artists as follows:

The Ukiyo-ye artist drew actualities, but not repellent or meaningless actualities; proving his rank even more by his refusal than by his choice of subjects. He looked for dominant laws of contrast and color, for the general character of nature’s combinations, for the order of the beautiful as it was and is. Otherwise his art was in no sense aspirational; it was the art of the larger comprehension of things as they are. Thus he was rightly a realist, notwithstanding that his realism appears only in the study of constants, generalities, types. And as expressing the synthesis of common fact, the systematization of natural law, this Japanese art by its method scientific in the true sense. (115–116)

This is the climax of Hearn’s scientific reflection on Japanese art. He uses the term ‘realist’ for seemingly nonrealist *ukiyo-e* artists, not for realistic Western artists. Moreover, he tries to understand the abstraction expressed in *ukiyo-e* as ‘scientific’ with the use of such words as ‘synthesis’ and ‘systematization’. Soon thereafter, he refers to Herbert Spencer, whose work had methodologically inspired his own scientific thought, to understand *ukiyo-e* more profoundly (Hearn, 1897: 116).

Bearing this in mind, one is hardly surprised that, as one of the pioneers of the scientific approach to the interpretation of art, Hearn

never denies the importance of the detail in artistic expression completely. Rather, as already stated, he claims that the best art always has the 'minuteness of detail', and refers to Greek art, which he deems as one of his ideals (Hearn, 1897: 114). He declares that Greek art and *ukiyo*e share one central characteristic:

Where the scientific and the aspirational extremes of art touch, one may expect to find some universal aesthetic truth recognized by both [the higher art and aspirational art]. They agree in their impersonality; they refuse to individualize. And the lesson of the very highest art that ever existed suggests the true reason for this common refusal. (116)

Beongcheon Yu, quoting one of Hearn's lectures in Tokyo Imperial University, maintains that '[a]rtistic creation must [...] be the artist's conscious impersonalization of the natural and the personal', and that artists can make personal affairs 'become universal' (Yu, 1964: 149). According to Yu, artists whom Hearn recognized as supreme have the capacity to remove individualization from individual cases and thus are able to attain 'universality'. Yu's critical viewpoint can be applied to Hearn's interpretation of both, eastern and western, artistic formulas. In Hearn's view, however, the way to attain this universality is different in both cases. On the one hand, Hearn sees the universality of prominent Greek artists in the super-mundaneness of their art, or, in other words, in their capacity to transcend the mundane. On the other hand, the universality of *ukiyo*e works depends upon 'refusal', i.e., their reduction/abstraction of the detail. Moreover, Hearn sees that the meaning of the latter can be understood with the aid of contemporary scientific theory. His scientific reflection on artistic abstraction, reduction, and simplification in the study of Eastern art forms largely unknown to the Westerners of the time seems to have sifted through to the innovation in painting that ensued soon after Hearn's death in 1904.

3. THE 'AFTERLIFE' OF HEARN'S SCIENTIFIC REFLECTION ON ART: A NEW BEGINNING

Generally, modernism has been recognized as a definite reaction against the excessive rationality of the Progressive Era, to which Jackson Lears and other critics have referred (Lears, 2003: 273–319). This idea appears to be fundamentally correct; however, as Teukol-

sky suggests, in the case of England, modernism seems to inherit a rational point of view from the antecedent aesthetic and intellectual formation. It may be argued that most modernists may be claimed to have inherited something important from their predecessors: an element of scientific reflection may be detected in the intellectual substrate of their aesthetics. As pointed out in the first half of the present article, in the United States between the Gilded Age and the onset of the Progressive Era, the trust in professionalized disciplinary divisions and confidence in science increased on an unprecedented scale. Modernism could therefore be regarded as a twofold movement.

To illustrate this duality, this article will briefly focus on two cases of texts written immediately after Hearn's death in 1904. The first case is the case of *The Book of Tea* written in 1906 by the Japanese art critic Kakuzo Okakura. As soon as the book begins, Okakura refers to Teism's 'worship of the Imperfect' (Okakura, 1964: 1). In the book he applauds Teism's imperfectitude, its 'regular irregularity', and the 'relativity' of Zen Buddhism (27, 31, 34). Throughout this book, Okakura criticizes traditional Western criteria of beauty such as symmetry or perfection, which for centuries would define the standards of western artistic expression. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to analyze Okakura's book in greater detail, it is worth mentioning that he elevates Hearn as a 'chivalrous pen' (4), which might arguably be related to Hearn's praise for the irrational 'irregularity' of a Japanese garden, as suggested in 'Of the Eternal Feminine' (Hearn: 1897, 123). Furthermore, he seems to follow in Hearn's footsteps by adopting evolutionism as his elementary argumentative framework with reference to which the critic attempts to explain the development of Teism in Japan. Finally, it is impossible not to notice that in the beginning chapter of *The Book of Tea*, Okakura combines the terminology of arts and science proposing the concept of 'moral geometry' (Okakura, 1964: 1), thus effectively crossing the boundaries of professionalized disciplinary fields.

The second case is that of 'The Japanese Print' written in 1912 by famous American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, who attempts to look at Japanese prints (*ukiyoes*) through the prism of science. For him, they become 'a lesson especially valuable to the West' (Wright, 2008: 66). Wright defines this Japanese art as 'thoroughly

structural' and emphasizes the importance of geometry (and mathematics in general) within its form (66–67). Moreover, like Hearn, after he relates the geometrical character of Japanese art to linguistics (referring to 'grammar' or 'syntax'), he insists that 'stringent simplification by elimination of the insignificant and a consequent emphasis of reality', i.e., abstraction, is the aesthetic principle of this form of Japanese art (66–68). In brief, for Wright, Japanese prints have their own 'scientific' structure (69): explaining aesthetic principles of the *ukiyoes*, he finds them as 'immutable as those of elementary physics' (72). Simultaneously, while suggesting the scientific order underlying Japanese art, Wright makes a passionate effort to explain its 'simplified' beauty using terms like 'intrinsic poetry' and the 'poet', which relate far closer to the intuitive, irrational, characteristics of arts rather than sciences (68, 71). Along with the knowledge of the arts, in Wright's view, the knowledge of science is necessary for a deeper interpretation of the aesthetics of the unfamiliar art of the East.

From these cases, one important critical question emerges: how can one relate Okakura's and Wright's premodern discourses concerning art to (high) modernism that flourished after World War One? Responding to this question, one could argue that Okakura and Wright, who shared both irrational and rational points of view upon artistic expression, foreshadowed the birth of the principles of modernist criticism, and, in some small scale, they may have provided some inspiration for the following generation. Ultimately, modernism includes two antithetical aspects: a backlash against, and confidence in, scientific rationalism.

CONCLUSION

The dramatic social transformations of the Gilded Age United States was never irrelevant to Hearn's works. Shaped by his time, he attempts to explain the unique characteristics of Japanese artistic expression resorting to the discourse of scientific thought, thus transgressing strict disciplinary thresholds. Of course, this is not to argue that Hearn was one of the leading figures of the Western modernist movement. All this article can do is to draw the reader's attention to his input in the shaping of modernism. However, to observe that, it is necessary to reconsider one's own

position, especially if one's worldview has been formed by an academic culture based on professionalization and intradisciplinary regime. The conclusion, therefore, is dual. On the one hand, it is not only through his trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific experience, but also through his trans-disciplinary works, that Hearn offers us significant clues as to why the pros and cons of professionalization should be reconsidered. On the other hand, adopting a monodisciplinary position excludes the possibility of appreciating the multidimensionality of the vision of the author-thinker, who himself would not hesitate to venture into the territories of other disciplines, and who therefore could not be pigeonholed merely as a writer. In his own search of new wor(l)ds, Hearn reminds us, seekers of the same, of the dangers of professionalization, simultaneously stressing the necessity of professionalism in observing methodological regimes.

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A TRANSATLANTIC TRANSFER OF CULTURAL VALUES:

A Canada-Related Cultural Reader for the Secondary English Classroom in Central Europe

1 INTRODUCTION

The creation of the English-language *Canadian Cultural Reader Series* (henceforth *Series* for short) presented in this study was a response to some of the problems raised by Hungarian and German practicing university and secondary school teachers engaged in teaching about Canadian culture.¹ Based on the analysis of these problems, the editors concluded that most cultural readers with Canadian content available in the Central European region have been prepared exclusively for students at a quite advanced stage of language proficiency and/or require solid and canonized (thus not necessarily current and student-centered enough) background knowledge of Canadian culture.² It has also

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1 The editors started collecting practicing teachers' observations on teaching Canadian culture at a Hungarian Oxford University Press event in 2005. The readers were developed in response to more than six years of continuous dialogue with practicing teachers and teacher trainees the editors encountered at Hungarian and international teacher training events organized by Oxford University Press, Macmillan Hungary, Hungarian universities and colleges, the Hungarian Ministry of Education, Pädagogische Hochschule (Vienna, Austria), Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien (Germany), the Central European Association of Canadian Studies, and Rheinland-Pfalz Provincial Educational Authority. Altogether approximately 500 people engaged in the professional conversation.

2 Among those consulted, Sauvé and Sauvé's *Gateway to Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997) and Donner et al.'s *Cultural Relations* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001) were the most widely used secondary-level publica-

been inferred that most cultural readers cannot be used at several levels of language proficiency or at non-curricular school events such as thematic school days, as the texts and activities contained in these publications do not lend themselves to such a multi-level approach. The existing readers mostly contain topics so complex that they can be used effectively only if the vocabulary and the information necessary for understanding the context of the cultural themes in question are pre-taught, which makes both the teaching and the learning process arduous and quite inefficient. Furthermore, most readers contain mainly texts conveying cultural information but lack the accompanying activities that could activate and enhance students' knowledge. Last but not least, the existing readers do not necessarily conform to all school curricula either in language or content input.

To combat the above shortcomings, our intention was to create readers that: 1) could be used concurrently at numerous levels of language proficiency, 2) could be used in teaching students exhibiting diverse levels of Canada-related background knowledge, 3) focus on prominent and up-to-date Canada-related cultural topics, 4) present complicated and specialized topics in an easy-to-process manner while preserving the complexity of the topics discussed, 5) could incorporate priority topics published by the Canadian government, 6) suit the most current methodological principles, and 7) contain exercises and activities facilitating the achievement of language and culture-related teaching aims. Focusing on teachers' and students' use of the readers, the study examines to what extent the above aims have been realized with the help of the *Series*.³

tions to cover Canadian culture in the secondary English classroom, whereas some teachers also worked with excerpts from Kenneth G. Pryke and Walter C. Soderlund's *Profiles of Canada* (Toronto: CSPI, 2003). For Canadian Natives, Olive Patricia Dickason's *Canada's First Nations* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Morrison and Wilson's *Native Peoples* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2004) seemed the most popular as well as *The Learning Circle* series published by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. This is no way to say that the aforementioned publications do not make wonderful teaching materials in other educational contexts. The findings anyhow also reflect the high prestige that Oxford University Press publications enjoy in Hungary.

3 The *Series* is currently composed of two student's books entitled *Canadian-*

In order to contextualize the two readers constituting the *Series*, the study first discusses language teaching and culture-related theories incorporated in the design of the readers. Then, it describes the activities leading up to the preparation of the readers and the accompanying teacher's notes. This is followed by the introduction and discussion of the priority topics mentioned above and an analysis of the readers with respect to the above seven aims.

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Apart from culture and language teaching theories, two fundamental theoretical cornerstones have been observed in the design of the *Series*: one is concerned with the definition of culture and the other with the editors' intention to assist cultural discourse and cross-cultural learning. For the preparation of the *Series*, culture has been defined in line with Brown's approach, which claims that culture is in fact a way of life presentable to students (Brown, 2007: 58). Brown's concept of culture as 'a way of life presentable to students' implies that culture is highly abstract. In our interpretation, such abstract notions can only be made accessible to students pedagogically through concrete objects and examples. This gradual introduction of culture as a concept—pedagogically building on the concrete to approach the abstract—makes use of tangible cultural products and cultural practices.⁴ The applicability of this gradual introduction and presentation-based pedagogical approach is also supported by Hall's concept of culture, which claims that the explicit manifestations of culture to which we can relate only constitute the tip of the iceberg of a culture and that the motives, the underlying concepts and the tacit values associated with such culture, remain underwater and sometimes unseen (Hall, 1966).

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German-Hungarian Cultural Reader and *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*. Each publication is made complete with a teacher's notes. The readers and accompanying teacher's notes are available for download at: <http://www.kre.hu/btk/index.php/nemzetkoezi-kapcsolatok.html>.

⁴ See Ricoeur's *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* on religious cultural practices (Forth Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976).

The *Series* aims to expose these very ‘underwater features’ by making them presentable for students.

The notion of culture adopted and the pedagogical approach featured in the *Series* also rely on Hofstede’s notion of ‘peeling the onion of culture’ (Hofstede, 2010). Students are exposed to the different levels of culture (symbols, heroes, rituals, and values) gradually through what Hofstede calls cultural practice (in other words, tangible cultural products and practices). Based on this, the *Series* aims to depict numerous aspects of culture from a variety of angles and does so in a way that students are able to comprehend the information contained in the *Series* both culturally and linguistically—moving, within each unit or topic, from less to more abstract levels of culture. Furthermore, on a more general scale, the *Series* has also been designed and is seen as a teaching device facilitating cultural discourse and cross-cultural learning in the context of classroom use, as advocated by Berrell and Gloet (Berrell and Gloet, 1999: 13).

In addition to the theoretical cornerstones, several culture and language teaching theories have been incorporated in the *Series*, the interconnectedness of which is also underscored by Kramersch, who believes that ‘culture and language are inseparable and constitute one single universe’ (Kramersch, 1991: 217). The culture and language teaching theories used for producing the *Series* are surveyed below: first, culture teaching theories are addressed, followed by the description of language teaching theories of relevance in the case of the cultural readers.

In the *Series*, Gochenour and Janeway’s model of culture learning was observed, which advocates the gradual involvement of students in culture-related issues (Gochenour and Janeway, 1993: 7). Therefore, the *Series* is constructed in a way that each unit begins with some observation of culture and moves towards genuine communication about culture. This guarantees students’ step-by-step introduction to the cultural issues discussed. The *Series* also facilitates the formation of what Gay terms cultural responsiveness: the ability to understand, sympathize with and manage other cultures (Gay, 2002: 106). Therefore, as a point of departure, the *Series* builds on students’ own culture and their prior experiences with other cultures.

The *Series* aims to empower learners to more deeply understand their own and others' cultures, the sameness and separateness of linguistic identities (Kramsch, 1998: 82), and to be open to cultures in general. To facilitate this, the *Series* uses Seelye's theory on the development of cross-cultural communication skills, which strives to enable students to realize that behaviors are culturally conditioned, and aids learners in combating generalizations about cultures and in showing empathy towards other cultures (Seelye, 1988: 21). This is supported by the wide variety of cultural input the *Series* offers. Cultural openness is further reinforced through discussions about culture and cultural exchange, for which the communicative approach to language teaching, in accordance with Lange's observations, provides ample space and learning opportunities (Lange, 2003: 281).

Connecting culture and language, Damen believes that language is both the means of communication and the mediator of cultural codes and rules (Damen, 2003: 73). This seems to suggest that language can be effectively exploited both for communicative purposes and for educating about culture, which tenet was also observed when designing the *Series*. Furthermore, in their discussion of the features of modern language teaching, Byram and Morgan as well as Hinkel claim that language education is culture-based in its approach, i.e. language instruction cannot effectively take place without teaching about culture (Byram and Morgan, 1994: 6–8; Hinkel, 2000: 1–2). With reference to this, the teacher's role as a source of cultural knowledge is underscored by Prodrômou, who maintains that language teachers should also possess cultural information and should disclose it to their students (Prodrômou, 1992: 44). Relying on these premises, the *Series* is meant to function as an instrument of popularizing the use of culture in the context of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) among both teachers and students.

In an attempt to incorporate the most current trends in EFL instruction, the *Series* uses the following methodological and pedagogical approaches. The communicative approach to language teaching is exploited in line with Howatt's and Brumfit's concepts: the *Series* creates communicative contexts where the exchange of relevant information comes as a natural process in the speech

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situations created in the classroom (Howatt, 1984: 331; Brumfit, 1980: 42). In addition, based on Grabbe and Stoller as well as McKay, who encourage content-based language teaching, the *Series* addresses specific knowledge contents, because each unit focuses on and explores one topic in depth (Grabbe and Stoller, 1997: 12; McKay, 2002: 86). Moreover, the *Series* is intercultural, as advocated by Jenkins, since it strongly builds on familiarizing students with different cultures and offers ample opportunities for making cultural comparisons (Jenkins, 2007: 24). Concerning the tasks printed in the readers, the *Series* features individual exercises, cooperative tasks based on Stevens', Webb's, and Slavin's approaches, and peer learning activities following Chapman and Topping through the incorporation of individual, pair and group work activities (Stevens, 2007: 95; Webb, 2007: 205; Slavin, 1990: 16, 1991: 7; Chapman, 1998: 71; Topping, 2000: 14). Neuner's concept of intercultural education, contextualized through explorative learning, is also markedly present in the *Series* primarily with a view to enhancing student motivation, as a vast number of activities require students to design and be responsible for their learning and to survey culture-related phenomena of their own choice (Neuner, 2012: 42).

3 ACTIVITIES PRECEDING THE PREPARATION OF THE *SERIES*: THE READERS' AND TEACHERS' NOTES

The compilation of the readers of the *Series* was perceived as a pioneer project, whose ultimate aim was to produce teaching materials that could potentially satisfy the seven goals mentioned in the introduction above. In the scope of the project, the following activities were carried out with respect to each volume: a) identification of priority topics for the intended audience, b) generating student involvement and participation, c) compilation and selection of raw materials for the readers, and d) editing the materials and preparing the teacher's notes.

In order to ensure that the topics included in the readers feature really up-to-date Canadian themes, the priority topics published by the Canadian government-funded International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS) were taken as a starting point. From among the topics, the editors selected those

that were deemed suitable for educational purposes. Consequently, five unifying themes promoted as priority topics by ICCS's Understanding Canada Program have been included in the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader*: 1) managing diversity; 2) democracy, law and human rights; 3) economic development and competitiveness; 4) peace and security; and 5) the environment. Apart from their educational value and up-to-dateness, these topics have been selected as they lend themselves to cultural comparison between the three cultures included in the first volume of the *Series*. Furthermore, these topics have been envisaged not only to increase students' civic participation and cultural tolerance but also to engage students' interest in culture to the greatest possible extent. Similarly, *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* is built around the following five ICCS priority topics: 1) native diversity, 2) challenges of lifestyle, 3) native identity, 4) native knowledge systems, 5) native artistic expression, and 6) native social issues. These topics have been selected as they are peculiar enough to demonstrate the uniqueness and richness of North American Aboriginal culture through EFL and, at the same time, they seem to offer feasible starting points in classroom environments for understanding the life of North American Aboriginal communities.⁵

Based on the assumption that university students (and especially teacher trainees) can contribute to the readers with novel perspectives and that their interests are more likely to reflect those of the intended target audience, and keeping in mind that Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, to which institution the authors of the study are affiliated, strongly emphasizes the involvement of students for pedagogical and academic reasons, the editors assumed that maximizing student contribution to the readers would bring numerous culture and language related benefits such as bringing the pri-

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5 The ICCS priority topics only constitute a framework or focalize possible current issues in Canadian culture and concerning Canadian Natives. As for the discussion of these issues and topics, the readers tried to remain objective by inviting students to explore diverse aspects and the complexity of the topics included. Also, the reader focuses on facts rather than opinions.

ority issues close to the target age group. Student contribution initially manifested in the identification of possible subtopics within the priority topics and concluded in selecting, compiling, and producing raw materials for the readers.⁶

The compilation and selection of student-provided raw material was one of the most challenging jobs. On the one hand, the materials finally included in the readers had to be culturally accessible for non-specialist audiences. This means that complex and culturally challenging topics had to be ‘translated’ into materials that can be understood with a relatively low level of specific cultural background knowledge or ones that are not that distant from the culture of the intended audience were included in the readers. At the same time, the materials appearing in the readers were to be not only informative but also motivating for all future users. This was ensured by choosing materials that provide stimulating insights into cultural issues, on the one hand, and are likely to generate discussions facilitating cultural exchange, on the other hand.⁷

Eventually, the text and activities in the readers were finalized through the editing phase, during which cultural content was checked for factual errors, intercultural appropriateness, and manner of presentation, and was further refined if necessary. Language errors were also eliminated, and the language included in the readers was polished to suit the language level of the envisaged target audience. Eventually, the teacher’s notes to accompany each volume of readers was prepared.⁸

In the teacher’s notes, each section, which corresponds to one unit in the student’s book, contains a detailed description of the activities in the given unit—very much like any traditional

6 During the material collection phase, students were encouraged to consult Aboriginal community websites, Aboriginal learning centres, and Native-related non-governmental organizations.

7 Relatively few sources were presented in their unabridged, original form (e.g. Native land claims) from a pedagogical consideration, as the majority of secondary school students would not understand either the linguistic or the cultural content without the necessary simplification, paraphrasing, or summary of the source text.

8 Teachers can select from the suggested activities and sources according to their pedagogical priorities. The large number of activities and several sources listed serve the purpose of reflecting objectively on the complexity and diverse points of view concerning the given issue.

task description—along with ideas on the extension and possible variations of the activities, a key as well as further teaching ideas. Given the cultural nature of the readers, the inclusion of the key provides teachers with cultural information they may not know and functions as a solid basis of reference for classroom work. On the other hand, the section on further teaching ideas almost always contains references to further readings, which extend teachers' cultural knowledge and thereby aid their preparation for classes. This section may also serve as a starting point for student projects. The description of the activities has been modeled on the descriptions printed in Maley's *Oxford Resource Books* series and contains the same headings (Maley, 2007: 13).

4 PRIORITY TOPICS

This part introduces the priority topics referenced above and discusses their complexity. It will be shown that these priority topics can be broken down into tangible everyday aspects, which are easily accessible for both teachers and students.

The first priority issue for the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* called *managing diversity* may encapsulate, as potential topics, famous people from all areas of life, as well as simple to more complex cultural symbols, ranging from flags to the text of the respective national anthems, multicultural events, musical and sports icons, etc. Even more intricately 'translatable', the topic *democracy, law and human rights* can be approached from the angles of minorities, famous historical figures, or via a comparison of simple laws, regulations or taboos in different cultures. *Economic development and competitiveness* may include inventions and their inventors, the success story of a chain of stores or a business, famous brands and well-known products, tourism and various aspects of entertainment. *Peace and security*, a seemingly difficult subject both language- and topic-wise, offers the chance to discuss disaster response or famous military conflicts in the present and in the past. Finally, the last priority topic, *the environment* can include fauna, flora, natural parks, ecotourism, and nature in arts as easy-to-talk-about and popular subject areas.

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As for the second volume entitled *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*, the priority issues *native diversity* and *challenges of lifestyle* allow for everyday aspects of native life to be examined such as food, housing, health, and inventions, just as culture areas offer a wide variety of tangible subjects to discuss. *Native identity*, however complex it may seem at first sight, may include symbols, historical events, and heroes, whereas the topic *native knowledge systems* provides an opportunity to talk about myths, beliefs, and totem poles. *Native artistic expression* can incorporate legends, poems, short stories and actually anything from textile arts through prints to inukshuks. Finally, *native social issues* can also cover a wide range of subjects including reserves, successful native businesses, and initiatives as well as environmental issues.

As the above examples demonstrate, it is possible to ‘translate’ these seemingly complex priority topics into more easily digestible sub-segments, which are also available for students at lower levels of English proficiency. It is in fact through this approach that students less advanced in English can potentially be provided with rich and diverse cultural input through being exposed to numerous aspects of Canadian culture. On the other hand, students at a higher level of English will also greatly benefit from their exposure to the above issues and will be able to engage in more in-depth and detailed exploration of culture. All this diverse information will eventually form a cultural image in students’ minds and create a colorful mosaic of the cultures discussed.

5 ANALYSIS OF THE READERS

As pointed out in the introduction, the *Series* was designed with the above seven goals in mind as a response to the most common shortcomings of Canada-related cultural readers. Below, with respect to students’ and teachers’ use of the *Series*, the realization of the above seven goals is analyzed in the case of the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* and *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*, respectively.

As far as our first goal is concerned, that is, to be able to use the readers at numerous levels of English proficiency, most of the units in the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* presuppose a pre-intermediate (B1) level of English knowledge on the part of the language learner, but the exercises and activities presented in the *Reader* facilitate and invite linguistic contribution also beyond this level. For example, Unit 2, which features famous people from all walks of life, can be used as a starting point for students to create their own descriptions or oral presentations about celebrated persons, incorporating various levels of vocabulary and grammatical structures. Similarly, the information compiled by students can also be arranged into puzzles and guessing games matching students' own language proficiency. In the majority of the cases, the 'extension' section of the accompanying teacher's notes provides information on how to adapt the activities included in a given unit to different levels of language production.

Also, the collection of images and illustrations printed in the readers make it possible for the teacher to address certain topics at lower levels of English proficiency. For example, in the same unit, the fields of activity represented by the famous people could provide an opportunity to discuss the names of jobs, which is most likely to be addressed at elementary (A2) level.

The units in the volume *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* range from elementary (A2) to upper-intermediate/ advanced (C1) as for their target level, but here again all lower-level language input texts included in the *Reader* carry the potential for use at higher levels of English proficiency. For example, Unit 1, which centers on the six main culture areas, offers the opportunity to discover these at various depths depending, among other things, on the language skills of the students. Apart from the 'extension' section offering several possible further tasks, the 'further information' section of the teacher's notes provides links to facilitate a guided search-for-information task in the case of students with a pre-intermediate (B1) or inter-

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mediate (B2) level of English, whereas students at advanced and proficiency levels (C1-C2) can be asked to complete their research on their own.

With very few exceptions, the topics and activities in the two readers keep this organizing principle in mind, rendering the two publications suitable for classroom use at various levels of English proficiency. The readers can also be used in extracurricular pedagogical situations (e.g. language camps or school contests) involving mixed ability or mixed language proficiency student groups, where the proposed activities and their extensions can be carried out in line with the abilities, skills, and language proficiency of the given students.

5.2 USING THE READERS WITH STUDENTS EXHIBITING DIVERSE LEVELS OF CANADA-RELATED BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE

In today's Information Age, it is most likely that any group of students will possess diverse levels of Canada-related background knowledge. As foreseen during the design of the readers that certain student groups may have some background knowledge on Canada concerning many of the aspects covered in the two readers, most activities build on harnessing and eliciting students' potential Canada-related knowledge. For example, Unit 3 in the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* deals with holidays and festivals, where the introductory anagram section (anagrams of festivals) can be tackled without any prior preparation in the case of students who are familiar with these holidays. Students who have less extensive knowledge about the topic but still exhibit some degree of familiarity can do the subsequent matching exercise (matching the description of festivals with their names) on their own, once the names of the different holidays and festivals have been discussed. Finally, those students who have no familiarity with the topic can be provided with some information concerning both the names of, and the main ideas behind these holidays, and then they can do the matching in order to check if they have understood the information correctly. Again, the 'further information' section of the teacher's notes may prove useful in offering suggestions

on how to use the activity with students at different levels of cultural knowledge on Canada.

Similarly, Unit 6 on Aboriginal foods in the volume *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* (see Appendix 1) can be done as a class competition by individuals or student pairs once the students are familiar with the information presented. For those students who are unfamiliar with the topic, the pictures are perhaps the best starting point, through which they can be familiarized with the target vocabulary included in the unit. Then they can proceed to the text describing some Aboriginal foods. This way all students are able to do the activity at their own specific levels without relying on their prior knowledge of Canada.

With respect to gearing the two publications to the needs of students exhibiting diverse levels of Canada-related background knowledge, it can be stated in general that the idea behind the design of the units is that the activities in the readers can be done without any preparation with students knowledgeable about Canada, building on, or checking students' prior knowledge. Alternatively, for a target group with no knowledge about Canadian topics, the units can be covered after the teacher has carefully introduced the Canada-related information in the given unit. As teachers themselves may not be familiar with some of the information, terms, or concepts included in the readers, the 'key' and the 'further information' sections of the teacher's notes contain the background information vital for teaching the given unit. This also enables both the student and the teacher to maximally benefit from covering the given topic.

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5.3 FOCUS ON PROMINENT AND UP-TO-DATE CANADA-RELATED CULTURAL TOPICS

The focalization of prominent and up-to-date Canada-related cultural topics in the two readers is ensured by the very fact that they were prepared by taking the latest available guidelines and priority issues published by the Canadian government into consideration.⁹ In addition, young Canadians were also con-

⁹ Such guidelines are published by the Canadian government through the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and ICCS. Following these guidelines was

sulted at the selection of the actual ideas for the sub-segments of the topics included, which helped guarantee that the cultural content incorporated in the readers would engage the interest of the target age group of secondary schoolers. Finally, practicing Canadian teachers, including a Native professor, advised on the context of the current Canadian cultural discourse with a goal of promoting the inclusion of topical issues. All the above factors were taken into account concerning the selection of topics and sub-segments finally included in the readers.

In addition to ensuring topicality, consultation and advice of the above kind also manifest in a few special units. Thus, the volume *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* quite uniquely tackles practical aspects of multiculturalism (Unit 3), brands and companies (Units 12 and 14), Canadian contribution to 1956 (Unit 18), and environmental art (Unit 28). Focusing on current aspects of Native peoples in Canada, *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* has chapters devoted to important social issues, such as natural resources, land claims, or Native successes in business (Chapters 31–36), which all count as novel features in a course book on Canadian Natives targeted at Central European secondary school audiences.

It must be stressed that even more traditional cultural topics are approached in novel ways in the two readers. For example, Unit 1 in the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* addresses national symbols through inviting students to compare the first stanza of the respective national anthems, which activity is followed by a flag history-related grouping activity, a guided gap-fill on the emblematic Canadian animal, the beaver, and finally, a discussion of images symbolizing various aspects of Canadian culture. The often puzzle-like and thus more challenging manner of presentation shows even these still topical but altogether not entirely new issues in a more attractive light.

Moreover, in *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*, even ‘classical’ topics such as Aboriginal history accom-

a pedagogical rather than a cultural concern on the part of the editors as the topics addressed by ICCS fit in well with the national curriculum in Hungary and with the provincial curricula in Germany. Also, the vocabulary of these modern, topical issues also addressed by the above curricula is rarely covered in a regular course book.

modate numerous recent events and incidents. For example, Unit 10, entitled 'Aboriginal Historical Figures', contains Paul Okalik and Elijah Harper, whose names can be associated with events taking place in the 1990s. Similarly, Unit 12, entitled 'Chapters from Canadian Aboriginal History', has a passage on the 1990 Oka crisis.

It can therefore be concluded that the readers offer recent topical themes for discussion and exploration. This approach is likely to generate continued student interest in all Canadian topics.

5.4 PRESENTING COMPLICATED AND SPECIALIZED TOPICS IN AN EASY-TO-PROCESS MANNER WHILE PRESERVING THE COMPLEXITY OF THE TOPICS DISCUSSED

The easy-to-process presentation of complicated and specialized topics, while retaining their complexity, is realized in the following way. First, university students taking part in the project were requested to identify and suggest possible subtopics within the priority topics which they would deem suitable for elaboration for the target age group. At the same time, it was checked whether these subtopics were in line with the Hungarian national and the German state curricula. These two principles were meticulously applied to each and every priority topic. For example, the priority topic *economic development and competitiveness* was translated into inventions, brands, actual products, famous companies, tourist attractions, wellness spas, and television for unit themes in the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader*. The topic *native social issues* contained in *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* was transformed into units on relocation, reserves, success stories, land claims, resource management, and environmental issues.

In these units, the complexity of the topic is preserved through a multidimensional manner of presentation: each unit introduces the selected cultural aspect using concrete examples and invites students to do their own topic-related research. Thus, students' understanding of the given topic is enhanced through concretization and personalization, both being efficient methods of bringing abstract and complex issues closer to the target audience by offering less complicated insights. To provide an even

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more concrete example of this, Unit 34 of the *native social issues* priority topic discussed in *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* (see Appendix 2) features land claims and is built in the following way: first, some simple background information is given introducing the target vocabulary items necessary for students to understand the topic. Next, students are invited to play a board game, which simulates the situations those natives potentially faced who wanted to regain their land. Once students have finished playing the game, they are invited to share their feelings about the experience they have gained during the activity, which serves as a perfect starting point for discussions about the intricacy of this issue. Then, in activity 2, students conduct their own research concerning successful examples of settled land claims. As this example demonstrates, the unit presents the issue of land claims in a multidimensional manner just as it makes use of concretization and personalization, thereby bringing the discussed topic closer to students.

Consequently, it can be claimed that complex issues are addressed from numerous angles in a way that the presentation and discussion of these topics do not result in simplification but rather facilitate the exploration of the complexity of the issues discussed.

5.5 INCORPORATING PRIORITY TOPICS

PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

As far as the incorporation of the above-mentioned priority topics published by the Canadian government is concerned, Figures 1 and 2 below show how the two readers focalize and accommodate a selection of Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development and ICCS topics. In both figures, the priority topics are printed in bold, while the reader units belonging to the individual topics appear under the bold headings and also feature the unit number. Figure 1 below displays the units of the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* arranged under the priority topics.

Managing Diversity

1. National Symbols
2. Famous People
3. Holidays and Festivals
15. Tourist Attractions
16. Wellness Spas
17. Television

Peace and Security

4. Education
5. Music
6. Sports
18. The '56ers
19. Engagement in Afghanistan
20. Terrorism

Democracy, Law and Human Rights

7. Human Rights
21. Disaster Response: Aid for Haiti

The Environment

8. Minorities
9. Religion
10. Famous Historical Figures
22. Famous Natural Parks
23. Wildlife Conservation
24. Endangered Species

Economic Development and Competitiveness

11. Inventions
12. Brands
13. A Sweet Tooth
14. World Famous Companies
25. Global Warming
26. Ecotourism
27. Landscape Painting
28. Environmental Art

Figure 1: The units of the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* arranged under priority topics

As for the selection of the priority topics of this *Reader*, the choice fell on those issues that lend themselves for cultural comparison among the three cultures and have been envisaged not only to engage students' interest but also to increase their civic participation and cultural tolerance. Figure 2 below shows the priority topics and units of *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*.

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Native Diversity

1. Culture Areas
2. Algonquian Quiz
3. People of the Arctic: The Inuit
4. Safe Travel to Nunavut
5. Iqaluit

Challenges of Lifestyle

6. Aboriginal Foods
7. Aboriginal Homes
8. Indigenous Healing Practices
9. Aboriginal People and Their Diverse Talents

Native Identity

10. Aboriginal Historical Figures
11. Aboriginal Heroes
12. Chapters from Canadian Aboriginal History
13. Fur Trade
14. Aboriginal Inventions
15. Aboriginal Identity

Native Knowledge Systems

16. Inuit Beliefs
17. Aboriginal Religious Culture
18. Totem Animals and Their Symbolism
19. Totem Poles
20. Totem Poles: Colours and Significance
21. Why and How to Make a Totem Pole?
22. Inuit Hunting Magic
23. Christianity Meets Native Religions
24. Inuit Mythical Figures

Native Artistic Expression

25. Legends
26. The Raven and the First Men
27. Shanadithit—A Poem
28. The Red Couch
29. Inuit Stone Carvings
30. Inuit Art

Native Social Issues

31. From Grise Fiord to Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
32. Aboriginal Reserves
33. Success Stories
34. Native Land Claims
35. Natives and Natural Resources
36. Indigenous People and the Environment: The Inuit

Figure 2: The units of *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* arranged under priority topics

As for *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*, the featured priority topics have been chosen because they boast of aspects peculiar enough to demonstrate the peculiarities and versatility of North American Aboriginal cultures through EFL for the sake of developing cultural responsiveness. On the other hand, these priority topics also seem to be feasible starting points in classroom environments for understanding the life of North American Aboriginal communities.

As Figures 1 and 2 also reveal, the priority topics chosen for elaboration could not always be explored in the same depths. This resulted in a somewhat disproportionate distribution of the aspects presented in the two volumes, especially in the case of *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*. Nevertheless, both volumes are arranged around priority topics propagated by the Canadian government.

5.6 BUILDING ON THE MOST CURRENT METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

Both readers have been written using the latest methodological and pedagogical methods. The presented units are communicative, content-based, and intercultural in their approach and are predominantly characterized by the presence of tasks facilitating individual, cooperative, and peer learning.

Both readers are communicative since they create situations where the exchange of information is presented in a natural way in the framework of content-oriented units. Typically, information gap activities appear in numerous units of the two readers. For example, Unit 5 of the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* contains three gapped texts on a Canadian, German, and Hungarian musician, respectively. Once students have filled in the gaps in their own texts working in pairs, they are encouraged to share the content of the passage they have worked on with peers, who have read the other two texts. Or, take the board game presented in Unit 34 of *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* (see Appendix 2) as another example that also needs a constant exchange of information on instructions ('roll the dice', 'it is your turn', etc.) and a joint interpretation of the texts in the squares of the land claims

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game board. This can only be effected through successful communication, for which a natural situation is created.

Both teacher's notes contain further ideas as to how an activity in the given unit can be extended into a task further facilitating information exchange (e.g. questionnaires to go with reading comprehension tasks, etc.). As an example, one can mention the question sheets presented in the teacher's notes to go with 'Holidays and Festivals' (*Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader*, Unit 3) or the 'Aboriginal Inventions' comprehension question set (*A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*, Unit 14; see Appendix 3), where the successful completion of the tasks presupposes genuine communication.

The task types included in the readers (gap-filling; true or false statements; matching and pairing activities; multiple choice; ranking; skimming; scanning; information sharing; finding similarities and differences between ideas, cultures, etc.; searching for specific information in written texts; project work; oral discussion tasks requesting students' own intellectual contribution; activities requiring creative language use; reading and discussing literary pieces) can easily be used in communicative classroom settings. Discussions during activities, the checking of correct answers, the explanations to go with the activities, and the presentation of related background information can all be performed in a communicative manner.

The readers are considered intercultural since they introduce students to and familiarize them with various aspects of Canadian culture and provide opportunities for making cultural comparisons. In fact, most units in the *Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader* draw parallels between selected aspects of the three cultures, such as music, sports, or television. The volume on Canadian Natives, on the other hand, provokes comparison through presenting a culture very different in almost every aspect from that of the target audience: a clear example of this is Aboriginal diet (Unit 6 in *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*; see Appendix 1).

Concerning tasks, the readers feature individual, cooperative, and peer learning activities through the incorporation of individual, pair, and group work tasks and open-ended activities. In fact,

both readers present units which can be covered in a number of ways: the same tasks can be covered using any of the above work forms building on and facilitating individual or group achievements, respectively. Moreover, these options with reference to tasks suitable for such approaches are also pointed out in the 'variation' section of the teacher's notes. To furnish concrete examples, creating the description on Bell Canada or designing a commercial for a company product can also happen in any of the work forms listed above, disregarding the actual instructions of Activities 3 and 4 (*Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader*, Unit 14). Equally, the matching activity in Unit 17 on 'Aboriginal Religious Culture' in *A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada* can be done individually, in pairs, and also in small groups as a contest.

It can be concluded that the activities in the readers are constructed in the framework of the communicative, content-based, and intercultural approaches and take the shape of individual, cooperative, and peer learning tasks. This allows for numerous uses of the same activities: depending on the actual group in which the readers are used and the teacher's preferred approach in the given group, the activities can take different forms and can be tailored to the actual students' needs.

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5.7 INCORPORATING EXERCISES AND ACTIVITIES FACILITATING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE RELATED TEACHING AIMS

Finally, as for exercises and activities facilitating the achievement of language and culture related aims, it can be stated that, as a result of conscious and systematic planning, every activity in the readers serves the multiple purpose of teaching both language and culture. The designed materials combine actual knowledge contents on various aspects of Canadian culture and some general language use related focus (lexis, grammar, etc.), with the latter feature mirroring any regular EFL course book. In addition, the included tasks ensure integrated skills language practice, where several skills are used and practiced concurrently. Moreover, many of the activities in the readers build on the modern language learner's active use of the Inter-

net, thereby offering students the opportunity to enhance their knowledge both language and culture-wise.

Let us now demonstrate these characteristics on two respective units entitled 'A Sweet Tooth' (*Canadian-German-Hungarian Cultural Reader*, Unit 13) and 'People of the Arctic: The Inuit' (*A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada*, Unit 3). The first activity of 'A Sweet Tooth' compares typical sweet treats and their producers in Canada, Germany, and Hungary while teaching some basic enterprise and product-history related vocabulary. Activity 2 elaborates on vocabulary connected to sweets through same-brand products. Activity 3 explores the language and style of commercials through working with Canadian icon Tim Horton's as cultural input, and, also using the same icon, Activity 4 is a good opportunity to practice the vocabulary of nutritional facts. As for the task types, all four activities can foster individual, pair, or group work and can accommodate internet-based research tasks (e.g. collecting the names of sweets, looking up different Tim Horton's products for the commercial, etc). In this unit, the cultural input serves as a theme and framework for the language input, and the activities can successfully be completed only if both the language and the cultural inputs are used effectively.

Similarly, apart from the cultural information included in the unit entitled 'People of the Arctic: The Inuit', the activities in this unit can be used to achieve numerous teaching aims including exam practice (describing pictures), practicing the language used for creating definitions and providing definitions of words (Activity 1), working on text cohesion (Activity 2), and using English focusing on both grammar and collocations (Activity 3). Again, all activities can be carried out if students are able to actively use both the language and the culture input for the successful completion of learning tasks in various forms of student-to-student interaction.

As the above description shows, activities in the readers feature both language and culture related teaching aims, which meaningfully complement each other and mutually reinforce each other's effectiveness. All in all, based on the analysis of the activi-

ties presented above, it can thus be concluded that the readers successfully realize the seven goals prompting their creation.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The study first outlined the most common shortcomings associated with currently existing cultural readers focusing on Canadian culture and available in the Central European region from the point of view of the practicing teacher. After identifying these shortcomings, the study put forward seven professional aims, through which the *Series* wished to combat these problems. The study then continued with an insight into language and culture teaching theories used in the design of the *Series*. Subsequently, the activities leading up to the preparation of the readers and the accompanying teacher's notes were detailed. The study concluded with an analysis of the readers, which explored to what extent the above seven aims have been achieved.

The analysis showed that the *Series* can be used at numerous levels of language proficiency and that it is suitable for use with students possessing diverse levels of Canada-related background knowledge. Furthermore, it is concluded that the *Series* focuses on prominent and up-to-date Canada-related cultural topics and presents complicated and specialized topics in an easy-to-process manner concurrently preserving the complexity of the topics discussed. It is also claimed that the *Series* incorporates priority topics published by the Canadian government for ensuring topical content and that it uses the most current methodological approaches for the presentation of activities that promote the achievement of language and culture related aims.

With the help of the analysis, it has thus been demonstrated that the *Series* successfully combats the shortcomings associated with former Canadian culture related publications available in the Central European region. Additionally, the *Series* may create added value in the sense that the readers themselves, their description, the depiction of the project itself, and the methods of goal-setting as well as the analysis of these goals may serve as both a starting point and an example for those experts who

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wish to develop and create similar cultural readers. On a final note, as the arguments presented above seem to confirm, the *Series* constitutes teaching materials that promote the transatlantic transfer of cultural values and cultural studies in general.

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Appendix 1

A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada

6. ABORIGINAL FOODS

Activity 1

Fill in the sentences about Aboriginal diet with a suitable word from the box.

• blueberries • maple tree • spruce tree • fiddlehead • man-o-mi •
• buffalo • salmon • muktuk • maple sugar •

1. This delicious plant has been harvested and prepared as a vegetable by First Nations. It is a rich source of Omega 3, iron and fiber. This plant is the _____ (1).
2. Aboriginal peoples in Ontario and Quebec have picked _____ (2) in August for generations.
3. Aboriginal peoples from the Prairies used _____ (3) for many different purposes: from meat, clothing and tepees to containers and cord.
4. A traditional food that remains popular among the Inuit is _____ (4). It provides vitamin C, and it is made from the skin and outer blubber of a whale.
5. North American Aboriginals created a sticky chewing gum by cutting the bark of _____ (5).
6. _____ (6), a fish with pink flesh abounds in British Columbia.
7. Wild rice is known as _____ (7) to the Ojibwa. This is a grain which Aboriginals used to harvest from a canoe.
8. The _____ (8) is one of the symbols of Canada. In early spring, _____ (9) is made from its sap.

Can you guess which of the above foods can be seen in the pictures?



A.



B.



E.



C.



D.



F.

*Wor(l)ds Apart –
Navigating Differences*

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Appendix 2

A Cultural Reader on Aboriginal Perspectives in Canada

34. NATIVE LAND

1 The travelling commissioner has come with scrip buyers, who offer you some cash for your scrip. Move back one square.

2 The travelling commissioner has left this area and will return only in a month's time. You miss a turn.

3 If you sign the scrip, you also accept that you will no longer be an Aboriginal. Find the commissioner on square 3.

4 You cannot talk to the commissioner. You need to find an interpreter. You miss a turn.

5 The travelling commissioner is nowhere to be found. Keep on looking for him. You miss a turn.

6 You have to apply for a scrip (i.e. a certificate entitling you to hold land), and have to have it registered with a travelling commissioner.

7 Finally, you can find the commissioner and sign the papers.

8 You have to go to a Dominion Land Office and have your land registered on the basis of the scrip. Go to square 11.

The Land Office is very far and the weather conditions are not so favourable, so you can't set off. You miss a turn.

The journey looks quite difficult and there are many people who want to buy your scrip. You become hesitant. Move to square 8.

START

Activity 1

In the late 19th century, the Canadian government wanted to integrate Natives, encouraging them to settle, work the land and live as farmers. As the Natives did not have individual property, they were offered the scrip system to provide them with land. The procedure consisted of three steps: first, one had to get a scrip to claim land as an Aboriginal; next, the individual had to go to the Dominion Land Office in person to convert the scrip into land and to register the land; and, as a last step, the person would get his/her piece of land.

This in reality was more difficult than it seems at first glance. To give you an idea, here is a game for you to play.

Rules

Each of you should have a figurine or a counter and should place it on the **START** square. You must set an order of turns each of you is going to follow. Each player should roll the dice and step on the appropriate square and act according to the text in the square. The winner is the one who gets to the **FINISH** square first.

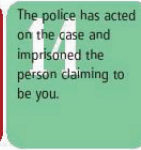
CLAIMS



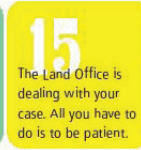
You finally get to the Land Office and learn there that somebody else has already signed the documents in your name which give you land for the scrip. Go to square 13.



You miss the issue to the police. Go immediately to square 18.



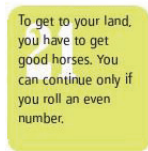
The police has acted on the case and imprisoned the person claiming to be you.



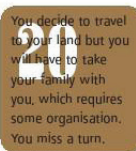
The Land Office is dealing with your case. All you have to do is to be patient.



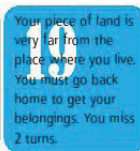
The Land Office is processing your papers. Calm down.



To get to your land, you have to get good horses. You can continue only if you roll an even number.



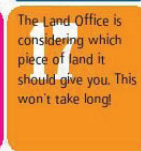
You decide to travel to your land but you will have to take your family with you, which requires some organisation. You miss a turn.



Your piece of land is very far from the place where you live. You must go back home to get your belongings. You miss 2 turns.



The Land Office has decided to finally give you a piece of land.



The Land Office is considering which piece of land it should give you. This won't take long!



Finally you have arrived at your land. Step forward one square.



Activity 2

The Canadian government has successfully settled many individual and comprehensive land claims recently. Choose one such project from the list, and answer the questions on the project sheet.

1. The Skeetchestn, British Columbia
2. The Keeseekoowenin, Manitoba
3. Crespieul Reserve, Quebec
4. The English River Land Claim Agreement, Saskatchewan

Appendix 3

14. Aboriginal Inventions

Description

Time: 45 minutes.

Level: intermediate (B1).

Skills: reading, speaking, writing.

Activity: The aim of the activity is to familiarize students with Canadian Aboriginal inventions, and through this, to demonstrate their resourcefulness and the fact that white settlers could also learn from Aboriginals so their encounter facilitated a real cultural exchange rather than a one-way Western World knowledge transfer.

Preparation: Photocopy the worksheet and the question cards.

Procedure: For Activity 1/A, divide students into two large groups (A and B) and give them Text A or B and the corresponding question sheet. Give them 5 minutes to read their text, and put/project the unknown words on the board along with a short English definition for each item. Then pair students up from the two large groups and tell them to help their partner find the answer to their questions. As a follow-up, students should write a full-sentence answer to go with their questions in their exercise books.

For Activity 1/B, ask students to browse the web for other Aboriginal inventions in the computer lab. Set a time limit (15 minutes) and ask each group to report on their findings.

Extension/variation: Activity 1/B can be homework, too. If students do not have enough practice in using the web, you can give them the pdf file detailed in the “further information” section, and ask them to match the invention and the image. After checking, everyone should choose a single invention to look up. The findings could be summarized in a short paragraph or presented orally.

Questions to go with Text A

1. What did Native North Americans use to make chewing gum?
2. How did the European settlers learn about it?
3. How long was spruce gum in use?
4. What replaced it?
5. How popular are chewing gums now?

Questions to go with text B

1. What kind of sport is lacrosse?
2. Is it a special sport in Canada?
3. Who played the game first and with what purpose?
4. Is it a safe game?
5. What makes a good lacrosse player?

THEME AND SUBJECT MATTER

In Francis Parkman's *The Old Régime in Canada*

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the failure of France to establish the basis of a well-regulated political community in North America as conveyed by the American historian Francis Parkman in Part Four of his *History of France and England in North America*, entitled *The Old Régime in Canada* (1874). Parkman's choice of theme and subject matter for his *History* points to differences between the English and French settlements, which portray, as has been suggested, 'the struggle between France and England as a heroic contest between rival civilizations with wilderness as a modifying force' (Jacobs, 2001: 582). This struggle and these differences reflect a deep-seated cultural and political bias against colonial France on the part of New England historians that stretch as far back as Joseph Dennie's *Portfolio* and Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). It is my contention that Part Four of Parkman's *History*, informed by the 'Teutonic germ' commonly associated with the historiography of New England's nineteenth-century Romantic or literary historians, provides us with an account of the colonization of New France which sheds some light on the colonial beginnings of New England as well. Not infrequently, in fact, Parkman's historical narrative on New France is juxtaposed with that of New England, one providing a sort of backdrop for the cultural and political make-up of the other.

The son of a Unitarian minister, Francis Parkman (1823–1893) was born in Boston, Massachusetts. A graduate of Harvard, he completed

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the requirements for a law degree in 1845, but never practiced law. In 1846, he went on an expedition to the West along the Oregon Trail as far as Fort Laramie, Wyoming, which was to be hugely important for him in terms of his writing. It allowed him an insight into the seventeenth-century Iroquois, which he was able to use in the construction of his narrative, *Oregon Trail: Sketches of Prairie and Rocky Mountain Life* (1849) and *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851). In *History of France and England in North America until 1763* (7 volumes, 1865–1892), regarded as Parkman's major historical work, he details the colonization and administration of New France by the French from the late fifteenth to mid-eighteenth century. Part Four, the focus of my paper, is structured around three major sections: 'The Feudal Chiefs of Arcadia', 'Canada, A Mission', and 'The Colony and the King', respectively, each one subdivided into a total of twenty-four chapters. These numbered chapters correspond to a particular period of time and a general title, followed in turn by the standard subheadings found in works of this nature, detailing each of the major topics discussed in the chapter in question.¹ The timeframe covered by Parkman's *The Old Régime* stretches from 1497, with the arrival of the first French explorers in Acadia, to 1763, the year the English formally took over the control of the territory, a period of precisely two hundred sixty-six years.

Over the past thirty years, criticism on Francis Parkman has been varied and wide-ranging, most it dating to the 1980s. Wilbur R. Jacobs, who taught at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and David Levin, who taught at the University of Virginia until his retirement in 1992, are central figures in the body of critical works devoted to Parkman. Jacobs, who published regularly on Parkman until his death in 1998, edited Parkman's correspondence, *The Letters of Francis Parkman* (2 volumes, 1960), and developed a body of critical work on this historian that includes a significant number

1 I have used the 1898 edition of Francis Parkman's works published by George N. Morang (Toronto), which was based on the one by John Wilson and Son (Cambridge), with copyrights by Little, Brown, and Company (1897). Parkman introduced a note to his revised edition of 1893 where he writes that he has added chapters on the 'rival claimants to Acadia—La Tour and D'Aulnay', as well a few other details of lesser importance, due to an absence of materials on those subjects.

of essays and monographs on such matters as the literary devices used by Parkman and the latter's interest in the natural world. In 1991, he brought out *Francis Parkman, Historian as Hero: The Formative Years*, where he argues that Parkman projected himself on the historical figures he describes in his texts. Levin's seminal work *History as Romantic Art—Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman* (1959, reprinted in 1995) is still a highly useful monograph on the overall themes which 'gentleman-historians' such as Parkman dealt with in their narratives. Howard Doughty's *Francis Parkman* (1962, reprinted, 1983) is a somewhat eulogistic biography of Parkman written by a non-historian, but it remains a comprehensive study of Parkman's writings and ideas, covering the whole of his literary production, from his historical works to his essays and articles for periodical publications, such as the *North American Review* and Boston's *Advertiser*. A thorough analysis of the themes and methods used by the Romantic historians, and particularly insightful on account of the stylistic contrasts it draws between them, can be found in Richard Vitzhum's *The American Compromise* (1974). The publication of Parkman's complete works in the Library of America Series, *France and England in North America* (2 volumes, 1983), edited by David Levin, and *The Oregon Trail and The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1991), edited by William R. Taylor, have been highly instrumental in keeping Parkman alive among scholars and the general reading public to this day.

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PART ONE: ROMANTIC HISTORY

The name of Francis Parkman is usually grouped together with a set of American historians often labeled as Romantic historians, literary historians, or gentlemen-amateur historians, among which we find William Hickling Prescott,² George Bancroft,³ and Wil-

2 William Hickling Prescott (1796–1859) was born in Salem, Massachusetts. A graduate of Harvard, he published *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, of Spain* (1838), *The Conquest of Mexico* (1843), *The Conquest of Peru* (1847), and *History of the Reign of Philip II* (3 volumes, 1855–1858), left incomplete.

3 George Bancroft (1800–1891) was born in Worcester, Massachusetts. A graduate of Harvard, he studied at Heidelberg, Göttingen, and Berlin. He published *History of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the end of the Revolutionary War* (1834–1874), in ten volumes

liam Lothrop Motley.⁴ Active throughout most of the nineteenth century, they are labeled as such for obvious reasons, but, above all, so as not to be confused with the late nineteenth-century, professional or 'scientific historians', individuals such as Herbert Baxter Adams (1850–1901),⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner (1861–1932),⁶ and J. Franklin Jameson (1859–1937),⁷ associated with the newer universities of Johns Hopkins, Clark, and Chicago. The worldview we find in the historical narratives of the Romantic or literary historians is one informed by their social and economic backgrounds: they were men of means, who could afford to acquire original manuscripts, hire research assistants and copyists to do the more laborious part of their work, and travel to capital cities in order to gain access to official documents in governmental archives. They could write history independently, without having to rely on it for their own (and their families') sustenance.

The strength of New England's intellectual tradition, stemming from its Puritan roots, can be seen in the historical narratives of these gentleman-amateur historians, whether in Prescott's histories surrounding the unification of the kingdom of Spain by Ferdinand

(a six-volume abridged version of it came out in 1876) and *The History of the Formation of the Constitution of the US* (1882).

4 John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877) was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts. Also a graduate of Harvard, he studied in Göttingen, from 1832 to 1838. His best-known historical works were *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (3 volumes, 1856), *History of the United Netherlands* (4 volumes, 1860–1867), and *The Life and Death of Barneveld* (1874).

5 Herbert Baxter Adams taught at the department of history and political science at the Johns Hopkins University from 1876 to 1901. His major writings include *The Germanic Origin of the New England Towns*, *Saxon Tithing-Men in America*, *Norman Constables in America*, and *Methods of Historical Study*.

6 A professor of history at Wisconsin (1890–1910) and later at Harvard (1911–1924), Frederick Jackson Turner is best-known for his 'Frontier Thesis', which he put forth in a paper entitled 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History' (1893), read before the American Historical Association in Chicago, during the city's 1893 World Columbian Exposition.

7 J. Franklin Jameson was the first managing editor of the *American Historical Review*. In 1905, he became the director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. His best-known work is *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (1926).

of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, in Bancroft's depiction of the political origins of the United States, in Motley's description of the beginnings of the Dutch Republic, or in Parkman's characterization of the French occupation of Canada, more precisely the territory which is now Quebec. Brought up under the strictures of Protestantism, in its Congregationalist or Unitarian form, the gentlemen-amateur historians belonged to the educated elites of New England. They attended Harvard College with their minds set on a legal or religious career and their historical fact-based narratives (it is common to differentiate among different genres of historical narratives—fictional, fact-based, hybrid), reflecting the values and interests of the dominant classes in the country at the time with respect to what constituted good art, literature or history. Ideologically conservative, they were raised on a stable set of republican principles and ideals that can be traced back to the political origins of the country. They were initially supporters of the Federalist Party, then of its successor, the Whig Party, and finally, in post-Civil America, of Lincoln's Republicans, the exception being George Bancroft, who always showed a preference for the Jacksonian Democrats (it was a commonly-held view that each page of his *History* voted for the Democratic Party).

For them, the writing of history was an art, to be put side-by-side with literature. They felt that the writing of history required creativity and imagination, which meant that they considered themselves to be artists as well as judges of what constituted good historiographical work. Peter Novick observes in his book *That Noble Dream—The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (1999) that Romantic historians wrote because they had some urgent message to communicate to their reading public, preferring 'to tell' rather than 'to show' (Novick, 1999: 45–46). These historians lacked the objectivity and distance from the subject matter one associates with a 'scientific' analysis of historical facts, which means that not infrequently the neutral voice which must characterize historical discourse is missing. The slow-moving action and universal themes of Romantic historians imply that their histories run for many, many pages, resulting in works with a large number of volumes, with a sort of 'novelistic quality' to them. Although they were primarily interested in political and constitutional matters, we find in their narratives the kind of love for nature that we

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associate with fiction writers of this period, two of their favorite authors being the historical romancers Sir Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper. Their narratives include, therefore, elaborate descriptions of scenery and landscape, as well as setting, an essential element of their depictions of the past. Just like the historians Gibbon, Michelet, Tocqueville, and Carlyle, they were read for 'literary pleasure', in the words of Richard J. Evans (Evans, 1999: 60).

In the construction of his narrative on New France, Parkman followed the methodological precepts of nineteenth-century German historiography, as laid down by Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886),⁸ who had maintained that the primary goal of the historian was to provide a version of history as it really was or happened (*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*), having argued for the use of documentary evidence and philological methods in history in conjunction with a critical attitude towards primary sources. In the preface to *The Old Régime*, Parkman writes that he employed all the documents he could lay his hands upon, letters, dispatches, memorials, and official records from government and religious archives on both sides of the Atlantic. With a certain degree of sarcasm, he alludes to the massive amount of information available to the historian interested in the colonial beginnings of New France, remarking that '[t]he pen was always busy in this outpost of the old monarchy' (Parkman, 1898: x). He also details the kind of primary materials he used to compose his narrative, 'letters, dispatches, and memorials', as well as the records of the Superior Council of Quebec and the documents in the civil and ecclesiastical archives of Canada (x). Again there is sarcasm when he writes that this voluminous documentation exists because '[t]he king and the minister demanded to know everything' (x); moreover, he adds, these documents managed survive 'the perils of revolution and the incendiary torch of the Commune' (x), the latter comment an obvious reference to New Englanders' dislike for radical forms of political activity such as Jacobinism. In the preface to Part Four of his *History*, Parkman also states unequivocally the thesis of his work: 'This volume attempts to show by what methods it [the monarchical administration of France] strove to make good

8 This German historian, regarded as the father of modern historical scholarship, exerted a tremendous influence on American scholars and universities throughout the nineteenth century.

its hold, why it achieved a certain kind of success, and why it failed at last' (x). And he continues: the aim of the first volume is 'to examine the political and social machine', whereas that of the volume that follows is to see 'the machine in action' (xii). He also clearly asserts his claim to historical objectivity at the beginning of his narrative: 'With the help of a system of classified notes, I have collated the evidence of the various writers, and set down without reserve all the results of the examination, whether favorable or unfavorable' (xi).

In line with the precepts of good Romantic historiography, Parkman also follows stylistic convention in his narrative on *The Old Régime*, paying attention to character, scene, and incident, three of the prerequisites of good fictional writing. In his description of Louis XIV's court at Fontainebleau, Parkman's literary style is particularly noticeable, namely the attention to detail, the fast pace of the narrative, and the copious use of adjectives, as the following quotation suggests:

Leave Canada behind; cross the sea, and stand, on an evening in June, by the edge of the forest of Fontainebleau. Beyond the broad gardens, above the long ranges of moonlit trees, rise the walls and pinnacles of the vast chateau, – a shrine of history, the gorgeous monument of lines of vanished kings, haunted with memories of Capet, Valois, and Bourbon. There was little thought of the past at Fontainebleau in June, 1661. The present was too dazzling and too intoxicating; the future, too radiant with hope and promise. It was the morning of a new reign; the sun of Louis XIV was rising in splendor, and the rank and beauty of France were gathered to pay it homage .

And Parkman continues in the same register, adding to his text a reference to the source of his inspiration, the painting of Louis XIV by Philippe de Champagne:

A youthful court, a youthful king; a pomp and magnificence such as Europe had never seen; a delirium of ambition, pleasure, and love, – all this wrought in many a young heart an enchantment destined to be cruelly broken. [...] Here was Anne of Austria, the King's mother, and Marie Thérèse, his tender and jealous queen; his brother, the Duke of Orleans, with his bride of sixteen, Henriette of England; and his favorite, that vicious butterfly of the court, the Count de Guiche. Here, too, were the humbled chiefs of the civil war, Beaufort and Condé, obsequious before their triumphant master. Louis XIV, the centre of all eyes, in the flush of health and vigor, and the pride of new-fledged royalty,

stood, as he still stands on the canvas of Philippe de Champagne, attired in a splendor which would have been effeminate but for the stately port of the youth who wore it. (229–30)

Literary historians tended to focus on representative men and their personalities so as to reveal the better how human experience manifested itself. Great men made history, and their decisions reflected their personalities. David Levin points out in his seminal work *History as Romantic Art—Motley, Prescott, Parkman and Bancroft* (1959, 1995) that it became a sort of convention for literary historians to include in their narratives sketches of their heroes, often based on contemporary portraits, the idea being these could indeed reveal the character or personality of the individual in question (Levin, 1995: 13). Consequently, physical attributes and character delineation feature prominently in the narratives of the Romantic historians. In *The Old Régime*, for instance, Parkman draws for his readers illuminating portraits of Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle⁹ and Jean Talon,¹⁰ the individuals chosen by the central government in Paris to put into place ‘the great experiment’ of building a colony for France under a system of ‘paternal royalty’. The portrait of Talon, the colony’s intendant, is particularly detailed in this respect as we can gather from this excerpt:

His appearance did him no justice. The regular contour of his oval face, about which fell to his shoulders a cataract of curls, natural or supposititious; the smooth lines of his well-formed features, brows delicately arched, and a mouth more suggestive of feminine sensibility than

9 Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle (1626–1698), who was the Governor General of New France from 1665 to 1672, introduced improvements in the judicial system of the colony. He carried out an aggressive war against the Iroquois but succeeded in sorting out many of the conflicts that existed among the different Indian tribes in Acadia.

10 Jean Talon, Count d’Orsainville (1626–1694), was the first Intendant of New France to actually reside in the colony (Louis Robert was Intendant from 1663 to 1665, but never came to New France). Appointed by Louis XIV and his minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, as the Intendant of Justice, Public Order, and Finances in Canada, Acadia, and Newfoundland, Talon served for two terms: 1665–1668 and 1669–1672. He was instrumental in promoting emigration to the colony, including more than 1,000 women known as the *filles du roi*—the king’s daughters.

of masculine force—would certainly have misled the disciple of Lavater. (Parkman, 1898: 268)

PART TWO: THEME AND SUBJECT MATTER

The themes and subject matter of America's nineteenth-century Romantic historians were grandiose and all-encompassing, national origins and myths featuring prominently in their narratives. In their own way, they all contributed to the construction of a national history for the territories and peoples covered in their narratives and, of course, to a feeling of nationalism. As Evans has pointed out, their search for 'master narratives' capable of explaining the whole process of historical change are today avoided altogether, contemporary historians favoring 'structural histories', that is to say, thematic narratives of more limited scope and content, like Ferdinand Braudel's *Mediterranean* or Stephen Therrstrom's *The Other Bostonians* (Evans, 1999: 130). In the case of *History of France and England in North America*, there is no doubt that Parkman wishes to highlight in his narrative the nature of the confrontation which enveloped the forces of liberty and democracy, on the one hand, *vis-à-vis* those of absolutism and/or authoritarianism (or freedom *versus* oppression), on the other, which England and France embody respectively in the way they went about the settlement of their North American territories.¹¹ In line with an eighteenth-century Whig interpretation of history, Parkman still saw politics as a struggle between the forces of liberty and constitutionalism, associated with the Whigs, and the forces of absolutism and royal prerogative, connected with the Tories (Evans, 1999: 28). The contrast he draws between what informed the foundation of the New England colonies as opposed to those of New France, most notably the personal qualities of the settlers themselves, are particularly evident in the following passage:

Whence arose this difference, and other differences equally striking, between the rival colonies? It is easy to ascribe them to a difference of political and religious institutions; but the explanation does not cover the ground. The institutions of New England were utterly inapplicable

11 Some of the titles of the chapters are themselves self-explanatory as to the overarching theme of *The Old Régime*: 'Royal Intervention' (XIII), 'Paternal Government' (XV), 'Canadian Feudalism' (XVIII), and 'Canadian Absolutism' (XXIV).

to the population of New France, and the attempt to apply them would have wrought nothing but mischief. There are no political panaceas, except in the imagination of political quacks. To each degree and each variety of public development there are corresponding institutions, best answering the public needs; and what is meat to one is poison to another. Freedom is for those who are fit for it; the rest will lose it, or turn it to corruption. Church and State were right in exercising authority over a people which had not learned the first rudiments of self-government. Their fault was not that they exercised authority, but that they exercised too much of it, and, instead of weaning the child to go alone, kept him in perpetual leading-strings, making him, if possible, more and more dependent, and less and less fit for freedom. (Parkman, 1898: 463)

Still under the influence of Jacksonism, Parkman's *The Old Régime* evidences, in line with his New England, upper-class Puritan upbringing, a distrust of mass Democracy, excessive materialism, and demagoguery. His criticism of French colonial officials and settlers driven by the material gains obtained from the lucrative fur trade reflects a social bias against the acquisitive urge of some citizens to the detriment of the social and political well-being of the community as a whole. He seems to imply in his narrative that, by concentrating on their material progress, the settlers of New France were neglecting an aspect of their communal lives which the colonists of New England had privileged to very significant extent, namely, literacy. Literacy, whose primary function among New England settlers had been at first of a religious nature (to allow the general population to read the sacred texts), took on a whole new significance later, that of creating an educated citizenry capable of carrying out with efficacy political and administrative tasks. New France officials did not seem to have dispensed the same kind of attention to the education of their population, although a college to train individuals for the priesthood, *the Séminaire de Québec*, had been set up by the Jesuits in New France as early as 1663.

New England's 'patrician' historians, Parkman included, saw themselves as the last in line of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. They believed that the political system that had been put in place by the Founding Founders was none other than a continuation of the democratic practices that had begun in the forests of Germany centuries before, then carried by the Anglo-Saxons to the shores of England, and later

on transplanted on to the North American continent.¹² As Anglo-Americans, they subscribed to the existence of a 'Teutonic germ' in American society which they themselves embodied, dismissing the Norman contribution to the formation of the cultural and political make-up of the English people throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the passage below, Parkman's contrast between Germanic and Celt tribes is quite telling as an example of the overt cultural biases held by the gentlemen-amateur historians towards Latin peoples, as regards their propensity to think emotionally rather than rationally, to act and behave in unpractical ways, and inability to reach consensuses for the common good:

The Germanic race, and especially the Anglo-Saxon branch of it, is peculiarly masculine, and, therefore, peculiarly fitted for self-government. It submits its action habitually to the guidance of reason, and has the judicial faculty of seeing both sides of a question. The French Celt is cast in a different mould. He sees the end distinctly, and reasons about it with an admirable clearness; but his own impulses and passions continually turn him away from it. Opposition excites him; he is impatient of delay, is impelled always to extremes, and does not readily sacrifice a present inclination to an ultimate good. He delights in abstractions and generalizations, cuts loose from unpleasing facts, and roams through an ocean of desires and theories. (Parkman, 1898: 465)

This theory of a Teutonic germ responsible for the shaping of America's body politic and institutions was first called into ques-

12 In the *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, for instance, on the early history of Castile and Aragon, Prescott does not fail to point out the 'liberal principles of government' brought by the Visigoths to the Iberian Peninsula, who, in his view, shared with their Teutonic brothers 'the germ of some of those institutions which, with other nations, and under happier auspices, have formed the basis of a well-regulated constitutional liberty' (Prescott, 1841: 3). The same is true of Motley, who, in *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* also alludes to this Teutonic germ, writing that the Dutch Revolution, the English Revolution, and the American Revolution had all been part one chain of events: 'To all who speak the English language, the history of the agony through which the Republic of Holland was ushered into life must have peculiar interest, for it is a portion of the records of the Anglo-Saxon race—essentially the same, whether in Friesland, England, or Massachusetts' (Motley, 1856: iv).

tion by Frederick Jackson Turner's¹³ 'frontier thesis', which added a new dimension to the understanding of the nation's political and territorial development, and then by scholars such as Herbert Croly and Charles A. Beard, who drew the attention of American historians to the economic and social implications behind some of the principles with which the country's founding documents had been imbued.¹⁴

Parkman opens his Preface to *The Old Régime* with a quotation from Alexis de Tocqueville's *L'ancien régime et la révolution* (1856) on the subject of the administration of New France, which points to the kind of political biases to which I have alluded above and which informs the whole narrative: 'The physiognomy of a government can best be judged in its colonies, for there its characteristic traits usually appear larger and more distinct. When I wish to judge of the spirit and the faults of the administration of Louis XIV, I must go to Canada. Its deformity is there seen as through a microscope' (Parkman, 1898: ix). Again and again, in the text under analysis, this historian contrasts the character of the settlers of New England with that of the settlers of New France, insisting on the natural inclination and experience of the former in conducting the affairs of the community and on how that defined the political make-up of the New England colonies, as this excerpt attests:

In the building up of colonies, England succeeded and France failed. The cause lies chiefly in the vast advantage drawn by England from the historical training of her people in habits of reflection, forecast, industry, and self-reliance—a training which enabled them to adopt and maintain an invigorating system of self-rule, totally inapplicable to their rivals .

And he continues:

Under the hard and repellent surface of New England society lay the true foundations of a stable freedom—conscience, reflection, faith, patience, and public spirit. The cement of common interests, hopes, and duties

¹³ Turner had been a student of Herbert Baxter Adams, one of the above-mentioned professional historians, who taught him at Johns Hopkins in the 1880s.

¹⁴ Their most influential works were, in the case of Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913), and with respect to Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (1909).

compacted the whole people like a rock of conglomerate; while the people of New France remained in a state of political segregation, like a basket of pebbles held together by the enclosure that surrounds them .

Parkman clearly saw the French and English political systems as rivals, the former having replaced the latter for its intrinsic superiority, but he does not fail to recognize those cases in which extremes do indeed meet. In a visibly presentist reading of history, he writes in the preface to *The Old Régime*: 'The political system which has fallen, and the antagonistic system which has prevailed, seem, at first sight, to offer nothing but contrasts; yet out of the tomb of Canadian absolutism come voices not without suggestion even to us. Extremes meet, and Autocracy and Democracy often touch hands, at least in their vices' (Parkman, 1898: ix-x). In chapter XVIII, for instance, he details the characteristics of Canadian feudalism, writing that with one difference it was simply an extension of French feudalism in North America. The settlers were entirely at the mercy of the King, as nothing could be changed without an order from the monarch:

A decree of the King, an edict of the council, or an ordinance of the intendant, might at any moment change old conditions, impose new ones, interfere between the lord of the manor and his grantees, and modify or annul his bargains, past or present. He was never sure whether or not the government would let him alone; and against its most arbitrary intervention he had no remedy. (309)

Parkman holds, in effect, that the system was totally unpredictable with the rights of individuals, be they noblemen or not in any way protected. This contrasts clearly with the history of the English colonies prior to the 1776 Revolution, which had been left more or less alone to run their affairs and without much interference from the Parliament in Westminster, with American colonists in no way doubting their rights as Englishmen. In the case of New France, the authority of the King over his colony was absolute and undivided, serving, in Parkman's words, 'a double end—to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy, and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers' (Parkman, 1898: 305). It was a 'well-meaning despotism', according to him, whereby the *censitaire* had obligations towards his *seignior* which included

payments in money, kind or both, but these payments were not very high, neither regularly enforced on the *habitants*, as Canadian noble families, Parkman adds, were destitute, practically beggars, though full of 'pride and sloth' (319).

As Howard Doughty points out in connection with *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* that Parkman's narratives are infused with contrasting formulations of two competing cultures, that of the French and that of the English, creating binary oppositions between Feudalism and Democracy, Popery and Protestantism, the sword and the ploughshare, war and adventure versus trade and industry, monopoly as opposed to free enterprise (Doughty, 1983: 179). Doughty labels as 'counterexperiment' the dissimilarities between the colonization of New France and that New England (251), identifying a triad of ideas in Parkman which explains the success of the New England settlements: 'Libertarianism, laissez faire, and the Puritan gospel of mundane works [...]' (251-2). Parkman, he adds, was 'steeped [...] in the Puritan-individualist ethos of personal accountability' and contrary to English settlers, those of New France, in his view, were accountable not to themselves, but to a higher entity, the centralized authority of the King of France (264).

Common to all the Romantic historians, Parkman included, was the idea that human progress, which they thought could be traced in the history of nations, was a sort of line that ran, if you looked at the globe, invariably from east to west and from north to south. Politically, this progress had been associated to a change from autocratic to democratic regimes, from absolutism to democracy (the idea that Feudalism and Royal Absolutism are archaic forms of government is implicit in *The Old Régime*, as the title itself suggests), but as far as religion was concerned it was closely tied to Christianity. It was a line of evolution that, as David Levin has pointed out, ran from Roman Catholicism to the Reformation and Protestantism and from the latter to Bostonian Unitarians, with Roman Catholics, Amerindians, Moors, and Jews being regarded for the most part as anti-progressive forces (Parkman, 1898: 126). Although religion informed the foundation of New England and New France, the outcomes were unmistakably different. In this passage from the final paragraph of *The Old Régime*, the superiority of English Protestantism, which Parkman associates with the material

progress of its society and with the individual freedom enjoyed by citizens in general, is evident.¹⁵

This English conquest was the grand crisis of Canadian history. It was the beginning of a new life. With England came Protestantism, and the Canadian Church grew purer and better in the presence of an adverse faith. Material growth; an increased mental activity; an education, real though fenced and guarded; a warm and genuine patriotism—all date from the peace of 1763. (467–68)

One of the arguments put forth by Parkman for the divergent political paths chosen by the colonies of New England and New France has to do with the exclusion of the Huguenots from the settlement of Acadia. The Company of New France, created by Cardinal Richelieu to regulate the administrative affairs of the colony, excluded the French Protestants from the settlements along the St. Lawrence River, as well as the Franciscan Récollets, rivals of the Jesuits. Parkman suggests that if Louis XIV had allowed the Huguenots to immigrate to New France, freer, more industrious and independent communities would have emerged along the St. Lawrence River, similar to those that had developed in the Massachusetts Bay area. For him, this was a major flaw in the colonization of New France, as the Huguenots, excluded from a process that was solely in the hands of the Jesuits, were associated with a more entrepreneurial spirit and stronger work ethic (and how much of this idea is a reflection of Gilded Age thinking is an open question). All of this would have translated, Parkman observes especially in his narratives *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1867) and *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (1869), into material growth and progress for the men and women of New France. Parkman's anti-clericalism against the Jesuits and Catholic priests in general was quite strong (and recurrently against the Puritans of New England as well), not infrequently noting that their power

15 At the end of the Seven Years' War, or the French and Indian War, as it is often referred to on the North American continent, the Bourbons lost New France to Great Britain, as well as Spanish Florida, some Caribbean islands and Senegal. The terms of the agreement were set in The Treaty of Paris, also known as the Peace of Paris, signed on February 10, 1763, by the kingdoms of Great Britain, France, and Spain.

and influence had been left unchecked by the authorities. In *Montcalm and Wolf* (1884), for instance, referring to François Xavier de Laval (1623–1708), who was to become the first bishop of Quebec, Parkman observes: ‘The Jesuits, adepts in human nature, had made a sagacious choice when they put forward this conscientious, zealous, dogged, and pugnacious priest to fight their battles’ (quoted in Doughty, 1983: 342).

Superstition, fanaticism, and religious belief were all anathema to rationalists like Parkman, who, along with other literary historians, liked to contrast, in the words of Novick, ‘Protestant virtue with Catholic vice, as well as Anglo-Saxon liberty with Latin absolutism’ (Novick, 1999: 46). The Catholic clergy was an obvious target of literary historians for its supposedly licentious behavior and corrupt morals, the priestcraft being precisely, as Levin also puts it, ‘the most unnatural, non-libertarian, non-Teutonic subject’ (Levin, 1995: 92). Parkman’s criticism of religious institutions in New France extended to the subject of education, entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, who are strongly criticized not only for their shortcomings as educators but also for their co-responsibility in maintaining the political *status quo* in the colony. The following passage is to that effect:

All education was controlled by priests or nuns. The ablest teachers in Canada were the Jesuits. Their college of Quebec was three years older than Harvard. We hear at an early date of public disputations by the pupils, after the pattern of those tournaments of barren logic which preceded the reign of inductive reason in Europe, and of which the archetype is to be found in the scholastic duels of the Sorbonne. The boys were sometimes permitted to act certain approved dramatic pieces of a religious character, like the *Sage Visionnaire*. On one occasion they were allowed to play the Cid of Corneille, which, though remarkable as a literary work, contained nothing threatening to orthodoxy. They were taught a little Latin, a little rhetoric, and a little logic; but against all that might rouse the faculties to independent action, the Canadian schools prudently closed their doors. There was then no rival population, of a different origin and a different faith, to compel competition in the race of intelligence and knowledge. The Church stood sole mistress of the field. Under the old regime the real object of education in Canada was a religious and, in far less degree, a political one. The true purpose of the schools was: first, to make priests; and, secondly, to make obedient servants of the Church and the King. All the rest was extraneous and of slight account. (425–26)

It should not be forgotten, however, as has been suggested, that although the Catholic and the Protestant clergy had different interpretations of 'the tenets of the One True Faith', 'they stood united in their scorn for native religious beliefs' (Nobles, 1997: 29).

A believer in the 'manifest destiny' of the United States as nation, Parkman shows biased attitudes in his historical narratives towards Native Americans, who are often depicted as being treacherous, irresolute, and controlled by the senses rather than by reason. As Stephen Tonsor has noted, rather than seeing the Indian as embodying the image of the noble, though uncivilized, human being, 'Parkman found the Indian to be savage, cruel, capricious and incapable of rational thought' (Tonsor, 1983: 249). He saw no problem in the displacement of the Indian populations from their territories, considered as simply a victory of civilization over barbarism. Parkman is particularly critical, for instance, of Indian superstition, as we can infer from this passage in connection with Jesuit attempts at proselytizing the native populations:

There was a beastly superstition prevalent among the Hurons, the Iroquois, and other tribes. It consisted of a 'medicine' or mystic feast, in which it was essential that the guests should devour everything set before them, however inordinate in quantity, unless absolved from duty by the person in whose behalf the solemnity was ordained—he, on his part, taking no share in the banquet. So grave was the obligation, and so strenuously did the guests fulfill it, that even their ostrich digestion was sometimes ruined past redemption by the excess of this benevolent gluttony. These *festins a manger tout* had been frequently denounced as diabolical by the Jesuits, during their mission among the Hurons; but now, with a pliancy of conscience as excusable in this case as in any other, they resolved to set aside their scruples, although, judged from their point of view, they were exceedingly well founded. (Parkman, 1898: 90–91)

The narratives of the Romantic or literary historians are of an exceptionalist nature, American institutions and political practices being praised for their unrivalled qualities. Parkman is no exception in this respect, as we have been trying to demonstrate. A historian in whose narratives the exceptionalist quality of the American political nation is particularly noticeable is George Bancroft. Though admitting in his *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent* (1848) that the progress of the country had occurred

under the banner of 'a favoring Providence', he observes that the 'germ' of American institutions, namely the desire for freedom and popular sovereignty, can be found in the early history of the country. He writes that the United States was the first nation 'in the practice and the defense of the equal rights of man', a nation where 'the sovereignty of the people' was undisputed (Bancroft, 1838: 1). When Parkman posits in his text *Liberty and Providence versus Absolutism / Royal Prerogative and Jesuitical Fanaticism*, he is writing in the literary vein of Bancroft, therefore. The following passage from the opening pages of his historical narrative is particularly telling, not just for being tendentious and biased, something of particular interest to us historiographically, but because it condenses the moral creed, the political rhetoric, and the historical myths that have been perpetuated throughout US history from Parkman's days to the so-called consensus historians of the 1850s and early 1860s.¹⁶

The United States of America constitute an essential portion of a great political system, embracing all the civilized nations of the earth. At a period when the force of moral opinion is rapidly increasing, they have the precedence in the practice and the defence of the equal rights of man. The sovereignty of the people is here a conceded axiom, and the laws, established upon that basis, are cherished with faithful patriotism. While the nations of Europe aspire after change, our constitution engages the fond admiration of the people, by which it has been established. [...] Our government, by its organization, is necessarily identified with the interests of the people, and relies exclusively on their attachment for its durability and support. Even the enemies of the state, if there are any among us, have liberty to express their opinions undisturbed; and are safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat their errors. (Parkman, 1898: 1-2)

Parkman shares with the historian Henry Adams, author of *History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson*

¹⁶ Henry Steele Commager, Louis Hartz, and Daniel Boorstin are the names that come immediately to mind. Their most influential books were: Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (1950), Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955), and Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans—The National Experience* (1965). It should not be forgotten, however, that the Progressive historians of the early twentieth century had already questioned this vision of American history.

and James Madison (1889–91), and a transitional figure between the above-mentioned Romantic historians of the earlier part of the nineteenth century and the ‘professional’ historians of the latter part of the century, the idea that the colonization of the North American continent had represented an extension of European civilization in the New World. Parkman, though, as John Higham has noted in his book *History–Professional Scholarship in America* (1989), always showed a particular preference for ‘exploring the common experience of the great mass of the American people’, unlike Adams, who chose the proximity of the corridors of power (Higham, 1989: 155). Precisely what separates these two historians, Wayne Fields, in an essay entitled ‘The American Adams’, observes: ‘If Francis Parkman (1823–93) wrote history in which heroes occupy center stage, generate the energy which drives history, Adams regarded heroes as harder to come by, forcing history, for the most part, to get along with them’ (Fields, 1991: 202).

In *The Old Régime* Parkman shows a keen interest in social matters in New France.¹⁷ He goes to great lengths to describe Canadian society in its various aspects, thus providing a social backdrop to his narrative (this was not uncommon for nineteenth-century historians; Thomas Macaulay (1800–1859) and J. R. Green (1837–1883), for example, included detailed information on the state of English society in separate chapters of their narratives). But, again, Parkman’s account of the settlement of New France contrasts strongly with that of the English colonies. He writes, for instance, that the French Crown worked hard to encourage emigration to the colony, drawing on the best elements from different parts of the country, even though these were mostly uneducated peasants with little or no money. Furthermore, Parkman notes that the officers who had served in the colony were given incentives to remain in the territory, including tracts of land, a ‘military colonization’ which, in his view, marked indelibly the character of the Canadian people (Parkman, 1898: 279). Women had to be imported to the colony from different parts of France and from different socioeconomic backgrounds, some of whom were of ill-repute (280).

17 The titles of the following chapters of *The Old Régime* indicate their social subject matter: ‘Marriage and Population’ (XVI), ‘The New Home’ (XVII), ‘Trade and Industry’ (XX), and ‘Morals and Manners’ (XXIII).

Rhetorically, Parkman asks why, despite such generous policies encouraging people to emigrate and to have children, the population of Canada never grew much (estimated to be approximately 25,000 at the time). The answer, according to him, was because 'it was mainly an immigration of single men and single women' rather than families already constituted, which would have provided a much better background upon which to build stable communities (Parkman, 1898: 291). Moreover, the whole process was directed by the King himself: 'The new settler was found by the King, sent over by the King, and supplied by the king with a wife, a farm, and sometimes with a house. Well did Louis XIV earn the title of Father of New France' (291). For Parkman, this excessive centralization of policy was counterproductive, suggesting that this fact made Canadian settlers less entrepreneurial, less educated, and quite possibly less democratic in their political aspirations. Where was room for the kind of rugged individualism and self-reliance that had characterized the settlement of the US, traditionally associated with profit in the South and religious feeling in the North?

This excessive interference in the life of the colony by the royal government in Paris extended to the economy as well. True, the settlers could engage in trade or commerce, but those activities were limited in scope, as Parkman remarks, so much so that 'exposed to such vicissitudes from the intervention of intendants, ministers, and councils, [...] at times it [the domestic trade] was almost banished' (Parkman, 1898: 322). To make his point, Parkman describes one of the most interesting 'characters' in his historical narrative, the 'roving *gentilhomme*', the untitled noblemen who engaged in trade, the Western fur-trade that is, in times of peace and were 'a menace and a terror to the neighbouring English colonist', in these terms:

On the Great Lakes, in the wastes of the Northwest, on the Mississippi and the plains beyond, we find the roving *gentilhomme*, chief of a gang of bush-rangers, often his own *habitants* –sometimes proscribed by the government, sometimes leagued in contraband traffic with its highest officials; a hardy vidette of civilization, tracing unknown streams, piercing unknown forests, trading, fighting, negotiating, and building forts. (323)

'Saint-Castin, Du Lhut, La Darantaye, La Salle, La Mothe-Cadillac, Iberville, Bienville, La Vérendrye, are names that stand conspicuous on the page of half-savage romance that refreshes the hard and practical annals of American colonization', Parkman adds (323). The lazy and unindustrious *gentilhommes*, the sons of nobles who lacked a regular occupation and resorted to robbery and banditry, contrast markedly with the 'hard and practical' colonists to the South.¹⁸ They were a threat to the civilized communities of New England, where the descendants of the Puritan settlers—educated, industrious, morally upright and with a sense of mission—were busy putting together a model of social and political organization that the rest of the world could only but replicate. They lacked, as has been observed, the economic principles of free trade, free enterprise, and industry, some of the natural principles that Romantic historians wished to communicate to society at large (Levin, 1995: 41).

Nevertheless, there were a few examples of success among the class of *gentilhommes*. Charles Le Moyne of Montreal, who managed to increase his estate substantially and pass it on to his descendants, is one such example. He represented a new generation of successful Canadians, described by Parkman in these terms:

The beggared noble of the early time became a sturdy country gentleman—poor, but not wretched; ignorant of books, except possibly a few scraps of rusty Latin picked up in a Jesuit school; hardy as the hardiest woodsman, yet never forgetting his quality of *gentilhomme*; scrupulously wearing its badge, the sword, and copying as well as he could the fashions of the court, which glowed on his vision across the sea in all the effulgence of Versailles, and beamed with reflected ray from the Château of Quebec. He was at home among his tenants, at home among the Indians,

18 Parkman quotes Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, Marquis de Denonville (1637–1710), Governor General of New France from 1685 to 1689, who in one of his letters to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, dated November 13, 1685, warns him of this real danger in Canadian society: 'Above all things, Monseigneur, permit me to say that the nobles of this new country are everything that is most beggarly, and that to increase their number is to increase the number of do-nothings. A new country requires hard workers, who will handle the axe and mattock. The sons of our councillors are no more industrious than the nobles; and their only resource is to take to the woods, trade a little with the Indians, and, for the most part, fall into the disorders of which I have had the honor to inform you' (320).

and never more at home than when, a gun in his hand and a crucifix on his breast, he took the war-path with a crew of painted savages and Frenchmen almost as wild, and pounced like a lynx from the forest on some lonely farm or outlying hamlet of New England. How New England hated him, let her records tell. The reddest blood-streaks on her old annals mark the track of the Canadian *gentilhomme*. (Parkman, 1898: 325)

CONCLUSION

If, in the words of Parkman, there are no political panaceas, meaning political and administrative schema that can be readily applied to individuals and communities with guaranteed success, what is there for states or nations to go by? Unquestionably, for Parkman, it is the character of the people that determines the success of a colony, not the institutions put in place, not the geography or the climate of the territory, not even the natural or material resources available. Thus, for him the failure of New France to organize itself politically and socially could only be ascribed to the lack of a model in French Canada similar to the one that had been implemented over time in the New England colonies by its settlers. The English colonization around Massachusetts Bay, with its industrious, well-educated, and politically-savvy settlers, elicited for Parkman a paradigm of social and political organization that was freer, more democratic, less controlling, undoubtedly lacking in the settlement of Canada by the French. And it was the French defeat at the end of the Seven Years' War that brought to the colony this much more desirable paradigm of social and political organization, which one can extrapolate was Parkman's vision for America/the Americas, unequivocally stated in the closing paragraph of his *The Old Régime*:

England imposed by the sword on reluctant Canada the boon of rational and ordered liberty. Through centuries of striving she had advanced from stage to stage of progress, deliberate and calm—never breaking with her past, but making each fresh gain the base of a new success—enlarging popular liberties while bating nothing of that height and force of individual development which is the brain and heart of civilization; and now, through a hard-earned victory, she taught the conquered colony to share the blessings she had won. A happier calamity never befell a people than the conquest of Canada by the British arms. (Parkman, 1898: 467–68)

The history of the Americas has been forged amidst much violence and distrust, mutual disrespect, and indifference. The study of the accounts of nineteenth-century historians, whether centered on New England, New France, or New Spain, for that matter, allow us to continue the process of mapping out the entire body of narrative discourses produced by Europeans and Anglo-Europeans about the New World. By contrasting them with those of the 'conquered', whether in the form of their orally transmitted accounts or written texts, a finer and more detailed picture of the Americas will emerge, less blurred and consequently less prone to misinterpretation. The juxtaposition of narratives such as Parkman's *The Old Régime* with those by French, Spanish, and even Portuguese historians of the time, which is beyond the scope of this paper, may yield some interesting results, permitting a process of cultural cross-referencing and comparison as old as Christopher Columbus' first descriptions of the New World.

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It is my contention that Romantic historians and their accounts have been dismissed by successive generations of scholars as romanticized and fictionalized narratives because they have been judged by parameters of historical objectivity that they were never supposed to have, often compounded by presentist interpretations of their texts. It is my belief they should be analyzed on the basis of the historical parameters of the day, namely the Rankean precepts of historical rigorosity to which all of them subscribed and which can be found in the opening paragraphs of their narratives. This is to say that they must be read not only for their use of documentary evidence, but also for their literary value, their vivification of the past, and their conveyance of a reality that is as distant from ours as from those who first read them. Had these accounts not been written our historical record would certainly be poorer. This should not be understood as acquiescence and acceptance of their Eurocentric worldview but rather as an opportunity to bring to light the diversity of voices to be heard in connection with Europe's colonial past, whether in the Americas or in other parts of the world.

Although this study corroborates previous ones in that it points out that New England historians were informed by a cultural and political bias against the French and Latin peoples, in general, that stemmed

from the Reformation, it is hoped that it may have also shed some light on some of their differences, which in the case of Parkman is associated with the social Darwinist thought that characterized the period in question, as expressed in his *Anglo-Saxonism*. As has been noted, although the conquest of North America was not as 'spectacular' as those of Mexico and Peru (Doughty, 1983: 161), one must continue the process of examining the shared pasts of those who now inhabit the Americas, bridging the gaps that still separate them, so as to, hopefully, reconcile them with their past. The fact that Parkman was denied an honorary degree by the University of Laval in 1878, amid much controversy, only to be granted a few years later by its English-language equivalent, McGill University, is testimony to the need to bridge these gaps and to efface eventual cultural barriers that may still persist in the Americas.

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‘ZONES OF DISCOMFORT’ IN US LATINO POLITICS: When Sharing a Sea Does Not Suffice

Ethnic, national, and racial classifications all involve assertions of difference, but they also all involve fundamental assertions of sameness (within the categories thereby created), so it is, therefore, not surprising to see mention of Latinos in the US today implying unity and sameness (or at least great similarity).¹ Some readers, like some minority rights activists in the US, might prefer it that way, hoping that a perception of sameness will lead to collective action and that collective action based on a shared social identity has a better chance of subverting discrimination, exclusion, and prejudice in the society where Latinos are a numerical, social, cultural, economic, and political minority. And yet to perpetuate

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1 Over the years many people—both scholars and non-scholars—have come to anticipate certain things as characteristic of the Latino presence in the US (either from media coverage or political analysis). Many concentrate on the large population of at least partial Mexican family origin, sometimes called Chicanos, Mexican Americans, La Raza, or even *mexicanos*. But US Latino life and politics is far more complex in terms of citizenship, residence status, looks, ancestry, region of origin, geographic location, attitude toward the US, and overall political participation in the US. My point here is not that there are minorities within a minority in the United States, though there are, and we should not concentrate on a demographic majority within the official Latino minority and assume that we understand US Latino life and challenges. My point is that we experience discomfort—intellectual, emotional, and even conceptual—when different questions are asked about US Latinos *in* the United States *and* US Latinos and the United States. This especially happens when locations beyond our conceptual comfort zones are privileged.

that view of sameness is to underwrite a conception of the United States that ignores important, consequential, and experienced differences that may have more to say about the host country, the sending countries, political citizenship, cultural citizenship, histories of race and racialization, and alternative (perhaps competing) modes of engagement and belonging.² To stress sameness, then, is to enable the possibility of a certain kind of collective action but also to partake of a hegemonic view that treats all 'Latinos' as a 'race' that is neither 'white' nor 'black' and neither 'Asian' nor 'Native American'. The fact that 'racial' position in the US is key to their categorization is central to this phenomenon, and this may be widely understood both among lay people and scholars of the US. However, this matter of 'race' is more complex and not just a matter of external imposition.

The fact that the 'racial' position of Latinos in the US is a key to their engagement with the United States is less understood, yet equally central. In earlier stages of this work, I expected to stress changes in residential and voting patterns in Florida that make the 'Latino' population of the State of Florida not necessarily Republican Party members or supporters nor necessarily socially and fiscally conservative.³ Yet I found myself instead studying large-scale statistical surveys comparing Cuban

2 The official US White House website, accessed on December 1, 2013, says the following regarding the 1977 Directive No. 15, which standardized US racial and ethnic classifications: 'In 1977, OMB issued the Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting that are set forth in Statistical Policy Directive No. 15. The standards in this Directive have been used for almost two decades throughout the Federal government for recordkeeping, collection, and presentation of data on race and Hispanic origin. The standards have been used in two decennial censuses and in surveys of the population, data collections necessary for meeting statutory requirements associated with civil rights monitoring and enforcement, and in other administrative program reporting'.

3 Florida has long been known as home to a large Cuban American population, which sees itself as in exile, as opposed to the Castro regime in Cuba and, by extension, to any and all Communist and Marxist regimes. In the context of US politics, this has meant that the Cuban American population in Florida has long preferred the US Republican Party (which they see as more reliably anti-Communist) over the US Democratic Party. Since the great majority of Latin American-origin residents of the US, including Puerto Ricans, side with the US Democratic Party, I obviously ex-

Americans with Puerto Ricans and other Latin American people in the US and asking increasingly how they relate to (or engage with) the United States. During the process I came to realize that the most striking discovery of all is that more Cubans than Puerto Ricans in the US consider the United States home, even though Puerto Ricans have been US citizens since 1917, when the US Congress granted US citizenship to all Puerto Ricans on the island as well as the US mainland (the Jones-Shafroth Act, commonly known as The Jones Act, enacted March 2, 1917).⁴ The fact that Cubans moved to the US as exiles or refugees (and some, but not many, as legal immigrants) may mean that there is some measure of gratitude to the US playing a role here; however, it can also easily mean that they still want to see Cuba as their real homeland. Most of all, it means that they did not enter the US as US citizens, unlike Puerto Ricans moving from the island of Puerto Rico to the US mainland. This is an astonishing difference that warrants, indeed commands, our attention and demands an explanation. How could a population that has legally been *American* for nearly a century not see the US as its home or homeland, whereas a population that entered the US much more recently and without US citizenship is coming to see the US as its home and homeland to a far greater degree? Both are Latino, but that clearly does not entail the same engagement with the US, the same sense of belonging to the US, or the same form of incorporation into the United States.

One way of addressing this is to focus on comfort zones, what they enable, and what they disable. This is just as true of scholars as it is of everyday people. Consider, for example, asking what it is

pected the entry of large numbers of Puerto Ricans into the mix in Florida to result in changes in voting.

⁴ Here is how the legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com explains it: 'In 1917 Congress passed the Jones Act, which gave US citizenship to all Puerto Rican residents. 39 Stat. 951, 48 U.S.C.A. section 731. Also known as the 'Organic Act', the Jones Act sought to distinguish Puerto Rico from the Philippines and Hawaii. The Philippines was already being groomed for independence, while Hawaii was being groomed for statehood. Through the Jones Act, Congress chose a third, less well-defined status for Puerto Rico as an 'unincorporated territory' of the United States, which means that the benefits and protections offered by the US Constitution are not fully applicable to Puerto Rico. No current US territories, including Puerto Rico, were deemed incorporated as of mid-2003'.

that we are comfortable *seeing*, and, specifically, what it is that we are so comfortable seeing and thinking that it is hard for any of us to step outside our 'comfort zones' and contemplate a phenomenon differently. One answer is that many people (both scholars and non-scholars) are comfortable seeing the US as made up of people who are not of Latin American background. Of course, this 'comfortable' perception (or conception) ignores the fact that about one-sixth of the population of the US is of Latin American background (both recent and not at all recent) and that very large numbers of them are US citizens and have been from birth. An alternative perception (and conception) that is also common is that the US includes large numbers of people of Latin American background but that they reside primarily in Texas, California, or the southwestern part of the US and are recent migrants (many of them undocumented workers). While it is true that Texas, California, New Mexico, and Arizona have millions of residents whose ancestors hail from various parts of Mexico, Mesoamerica, or, as my former colleague (at the University of California at Santa Cruz) Olga Nájera-Ramírez likes to put it, 'the Greater Mexico', that perception of the US overlooks the large Latino presence on the east coast of the country and the very different makeup and politics they represent.

I call these the *mistaken expectations* that very commonly exist (even among students and experts on the US and Latin America) regarding US Latino groups, relations, and expectations. And I want to call attention to differences that exist, differences that are not minor, and differences that tend to have serious consequences for how US Latino groups do and do not incorporate themselves into US society. As I hope this article makes clear, it is not just useful but also imperative to contemplate expectations of closeness and the mistakes that result when closeness is expected but distance is experienced.

LOCATION AND ITS PERCEPTION

In this work, then, I look at the southeast coast of the United States and not the central, western, or southwestern parts of the country. I examine expectations of who lives in Florida, what their relationship to the US is, and what their sense of diaspora

and nation-ness are.⁵ Typical and long-standing perceptions place Cubans in southern Florida and Puerto Ricans in the New York metropolitan area. Likewise, typical and long-standing expectations are that the two populations differ significantly in their US voting patterns, general political perspectives, and overall US political party membership. Puerto Ricans are thought to vote overwhelmingly for Democratic Party candidates in the US and to be liberal or progressive (if not outright leftist), whereas Cubans (whether naturalized as US citizens or just articulating their public support) are thought to endorse Republican Party candidates in the US, espouse socially and politically conservative views on both domestic and foreign policy, and to stand out among the Latino populations in the US which, like most recent immigrant groups, tend to vote for US Democratic Party candidates. Both of these expectations are partly grounded in demonstrable facts, but they also greatly oversimplify the contemporary residential and political life of Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the United States.

Consider the following headline from late January of 2012: 'Florida Latino Vote Pits Cuban-American Republicans Against Puerto Rican Democrats'. The headline comes from blogger/journalist Carlos Harrison, writing for the 'Latino Politics' section of *The Huffington Post*. Part of the headline seems familiar, even expected—e.g., that Cuban Americans would be identified as Republicans and that Puerto Ricans would be identified as Democrats. I also think that the sense of contrast or opposition implied by the word 'pitting' further corresponds to common expectations of Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans in the US (if they have knowledge of the East Coast of the US), namely that Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans are very different.

But it is worth noticing that the headline is about *Florida's* Latino vote and is not just about Cubans or Cuban Americans

5 As I mentioned earlier, Florida has long been known as home to a large Cuban American population, and any study of the Cuban American presence in the US needs to include Florida. The east coast of the US is also where the large group of Puerto Ricans lives (outside the island of Puerto Rico). Many people in the US and observers outside of the US tend to concentrate on the US population of Mexican background, but that is not the population of Latin American origin that lives on the heavily populated East Coast of the US.

in Florida. In fact, it is specifically about Puerto Ricans—indeed about Puerto Rican Democrats—as *part of* the Florida Latino vote. At first I wondered who the author was, thinking it might be a younger or academically based Cuban American in southern Florida interested in the latinization of Dade County (the county that includes Miami) and the fact that, over the past couple of decades, many Latin Americans living in Dade County are neither Cuban-born nor of Cuban parentage. The fact that I assumed this, or wondered about it, is telling. I continue to sense a kind of widespread collective self-absorption on the part of many Cuban Americans in southern Florida; to notice an article relating Cuban Americans in Florida to any other Latin American-origin group (Puerto Ricans included) seemed surprising. Hence, I initially thought that a younger or not-quite-hegemonic Cuban American in southern Florida had written the article.

I was partly right, and this reflects important aspects of the phenomenon. Carlos Harrison, the author of this long article for ‘Latino Politics’ in *The Huffington Post*, is Panamanian-born but also a long-time resident of Miami. His online profile identifies him as ‘having covered local, national and international events from Miami for more than 20 years, and in New York as the deputy managing editor of *People en Espanol*’. It adds that ‘he also worked in television most recently as a national and international correspondent for the Fox News Channel’. My translation is that he can have some distance from hegemonic discourse in the Dade County Spanish-language world but must remain attentive to it.

Some of the facts he offers, nonetheless, are useful and revealing here. They are certainly worth our attention.

1. Harrison begins with a simple fact that we need to note, and not simply have the US Republican Party, the US Democratic Party, and the Cuban-origin population of southern Florida. He writes, ‘For Republicans, it used to be a sure thing: Come to Florida. Collect the Hispanic vote. Move on. That’s because the Hispanic vote used to mean, for the most part, the Cuban-American vote. Not anymore’.

2. The evidence is there, too, and it is not really disputable. Harrison adds, 'The area in the state with the highest concentration of Hispanic voters clearly demonstrates the challenges facing the Republican Party. Over the last four years (2008–2012) in Miami-Dade County, home to most of the state's Cuban-Americans and most of its Republican Hispanics, the GOP's registration numbers actually decreased by 5,880. The number of registered Democrats, meanwhile, increased by 9,260'.

3. According to Susan McManus, political analyst at the University of South Florida, 'The South Florida vote is still solidly Cuban Republicans, but there is the emergence now of other Latin and South American groups who are a little bit more democratic [...] And younger Cubans, depending on the issue, can also vote Democratic'.

4. McManus adds, 'It's just as complicated in Central Florida, across what used to be a solidly conservative section of the state, right under Mickey Mouse's ears: half of the state's Puerto Ricans live between Orlando and Tampa, numbering almost 400,000 in 2008'.

5. Both McManus and Harrison add, correctly in my view, something that typically surprises observers and students of the US, even of Latino politics and life in the United States and yet in retrospect probably should not, namely that: '[...] even they [a reference to the state's Puerto Rican population] don't all fall neatly into the Democratic line. "They tend to lean Democratic, depending on how long they've been in the country, and where they've come from', McManus said. "If they come straight from the island', she is quoted as saying, 'they tend to be more of a swing vote. If they come via New York or the Northeast, and come down to Florida that way, they tend to be heavily Democratic'".

Carlos Harrison added:

The differences stood out starkly in the last presidential election [that is, the US presidential election of 2008]. President Barack Obama won 57 percent of Florida's Hispanic vote, while 42 percent went to Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.). The margin was even greater among non-Cuban-Ameri-

can Latinos. Obama won their support by a nearly 2-to-1 margin, finishing with 65 percent to McCain's 33 percent. He couldn't win the Cuban-American vote, though. McCain won 53 percent to Obama's 47 percent.

REVISITING LOCATION

Let me then revisit the question of location and the nature of the difference between Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. Some people may think of differences in population size, class background, or timing of the entry of these groupings into the US. Some might even wonder if the notion of diaspora applies to one of those Caribbean-origin groups or even to both. These thoughts are useful, but the facts no longer match the expectations people had for so long, and this includes the matter of location.

Many observers, students, and scholars of the US (including many students of immigration and minority populations) have come to associate Cuban Americans with Florida and Puerto Ricans with the island of Puerto Rico or the New York/New Jersey metropolitan area. These associations are not simply imagined. They have long been aided by media coverage and political analysis. Many expect Cubans in the US (and certainly in Florida) tend to be Cuba-oriented, anti-Castro, and more supportive of US Republicans than US Democrats, believing that US Republicans have been more unambiguously anti-Communist than US Democrats. And many expect US Cubans to want to have allies in the US but not to see the United States as home. Likewise, many who know that Puerto Ricans have been in the New York metropolitan area for decades see Puerto Ricans as a kind of minority population in the United States. This is especially so if they also know that the US Congress granted all Puerto Ricans US citizenship nearly a century ago and that this means that they do not need visas to enter the US mainland. To them, Puerto Ricans are part of US society just as much as African Americans are part of US society; to not see them as part of the fabric of US society is to partake of an unacceptable and totally Eurocentric view of 'American' society. In sum, it is apparently easier to view the Cuban population in the US (and certainly in Florida) as temporary sojourners uninterested

in seeing the US as home and to see the Puerto Rican population on the US mainland as a racial minority immigrant group living and working in the United States.

Much, however, is elided in those perceptions and occluded in unfortunate ways. I noted as early as the mid-1970s (and into the 1980s and beyond) that the Cuban-origin population in the US is really quite split, geographically and not just ideologically (cf. Dominguez, 1975; Dominguez and Dominguez, 1981). For quite some years—indeed, decades—several hundred thousand people of Cuban birth or parentage have lived outside southern Florida or even outside Florida altogether. This is not news, but it does not seem to make it often to the highly visible and influential media or even outside immigration and ethnic studies circles. Statistics included by Harrison are that the US is ‘home to approximately 1,786,000 Cuban immigrants’ but that only 784,000 live in Miami (Harrison, 2012). In other words, more than one million Cuban immigrants live outside Miami. Even if one were to include all those in Florida (the August 2006 Pew Hispanic Center Report claimed it was 990,000), one would still have to notice that several hundred thousand Cuban-origin people live elsewhere in the United States (somewhere between 500,000 and 800,000 depending on whom you count). That number exceeds the total number of Hondurans, Ecuadorians, and Peruvians living in the United States (and resembles the number of Dominicans who live in New York).

Perhaps more shockingly, the total number of Cuban-origin people living outside of Florida approximates the total number of Puerto Ricans living in the New York/New Jersey area, again in part depending on whom one counts (especially given the growing numbers of US-born people of Cuban or Puerto Rican origin living within the fifty states). Reportedly there are 1,192,000 ‘Puerto Ricans’ in the New York/New Jersey area and only 130,000 ‘Cubans’ in the same overall area. What if one thought of this differently and much more in terms of how immigrant/migrant communities have tended to be at the voting booth and in their public and private political acts? The fact is that the farther away those Cuban Americans are from southern Florida the more they tend to vote Democratic. US Senator

Bob Menendez is an excellent example, with parents who emigrated from Cuba in the early 1950s during the Batista regime and lived in the New York metro area, not southern Florida. The Puerto Rican population in the New York-New Jersey area tends to vote heavily Democratic when it votes, but there are outliers (and not just on the island of Puerto Rico). Consider, for example, 45-year-old US Congressman Raúl Labrador, born in Carolina, Puerto Rico, who moved to Las Vegas, Nevada, early in his teenage years, converted to the Church of Latter Day Saints (that is, joined the Mormon community) while living in Las Vegas, and went on to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree at Brigham Young University before studying law at the University of Washington. Congressman Labrador represents Idaho in the US House of Representatives and is a member not of the Democratic Party but, rather, of the Republican Party.

To say that there are no differences at all between Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans (on the US mainland) would be quite misleading, of course, but it is important to note that perceptions that lie in our 'comfort zones' leave much to be desired. As a whole, it remains true that the Cuban-origin population is older, has more years of formal schooling, has a higher rate of home ownership, and has a higher average household income than all other Hispanic/Latino groups in the United States, including Puerto Ricans. There is a specific history here worth remembering. It is well-known that the earlier waves of exile out of Castro's Cuba overrepresented Cuba's upper and upper-middle classes, precisely those sectors of the Cuban population with the greatest access to formal schooling, the professions, capital, and white privilege. It is also, however, well known that later waves of Cuban entry into the US during these decades under Fidel or Raúl Castro represented a broader range of Cuba's socioeconomic classes and came to include working class Cubans as well. So, some of these Pew Report statistics are not totally surprising. One can easily anticipate professional Cubans pushing their children and grandchildren to acquire higher education in the US and enter the professional ranks themselves, and one can imagine those Cubans who arrived in the US in the early 1960s having more years to achieve home ownership and pull

themselves and their immediate families out of blue collar jobs and occupations than more recent immigrants. But not everything found in the large Pew Report can be so simply explained.

According to this Pew Report (2006), the median age of Cubans in the United States is 41 whereas the median age of all the other Hispanic/Latino groups in the US is 27. If this is an indicator of health, then it is an indicator of middle-class and upper-middle-class conditions affecting many more US Cubans than the Cubans who entered the US in the early 1960s, bringing with them high socioeconomic standards of living. The higher median age might also reflect a lower birth rate than in other Hispanic/Latino groups in the US, itself arguably a marker of higher socioeconomic class participation than other Hispanic/Latino groups in the US.

According to the Pew Report, all of the following are also true:

1. The median household income for Cubans is \$38,000, higher than for other Hispanics (\$36,000) but lower than for non-Hispanic whites (\$48,000).
2. About 61% of Cubans own their home, compared to fewer than half of all other Hispanics (47%).
3. One out of four (25%) Cubans aged 25 and older has graduated from a four-year college or university, more than double the rate among other Hispanics (12%) but lower than among non-Hispanic whites in the same age group (30%).
4. Poverty rates among Cubans are generally lower than among other Hispanics, with some notable exceptions. About 13% of Cubans under 18 are classified as living below the officially determined poverty line, less than half the rate for other Hispanics (27%).

The Pew Hispanic Center's 2006 National Survey of Latinos asked respondents whether they consider the United States or their country of origin to be their real homeland. More than half (52%) of Cubans said they considered the US their real homeland. This was significantly higher than the percentage of US Latinos who self-identified as Mexicans (36%), the percentage of US

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Latinos who self-identified as Central and South Americans (35%), and the percentage of US Latinos who self-identified as Puerto Ricans (33%)—the latter US citizens by birth.

RACIALIZATION AND ITS LIKELY EFFECTS

Here I contemplate one of those ‘zones of discomfort’ to which I alluded earlier: racialization, as perceived by and attributed in both Puerto Rico and Cuba and in the contemporary United States as their current home base. Racialization plays a big role and deserves a closer look. By now, about 60% of Cubans in the United States are US citizens, a figure that is more than double the rate for other US Latino/Hispanic-identified groups (other than Puerto Ricans) and that is even higher than the percentage of non-Hispanic foreign-born whites (56%), according to the 2006 Pew Report. Yet longevity in the country matters. According to the report, ‘About nine out of every 10 Cubans who arrived before 1990 are U.S. citizens. Among those who arrived between 1980 and 1990, 60% are citizens and among those who arrived after 1990 18% are citizens’

It is well known that US government policies early during the Castro years favored the acceptance of Cubans fleeing Castro’s Cuba. The ensuing Cuban Refugee Act of 1966 made it far easier for those leaving Cuba and wanting to enter the United States to do so legally than for so many other people from elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere (except for Puerto Ricans). It is also quite true that the US government has for many years (although not without its ‘hiccups’) made it easier for Cubans to live legally in the United States than for many other Latin Americans (see also Perez, 2003, and Perez-Stable, 2010).⁶ –*Yet it is clear that citizen-*

6 See a February 12, 2013, article by journalist Juan O. Tamayo in The Miami Herald/El Nuevo Herald titled ‘Politicians call for revision of Cuban Adjustment Act: Reforms in Cuba’s migration law plus a review of US immigration policy are prompting calls for a new look at how Cubans are admitted to the United States’. The continued concern with a Communist Cuba is evident in what Tamayo reports. It also summarizes important ways that Cubans seeking entry into the US after Castro’s takeover of Cuba on January 1, 1959, benefited from special US government treatment. ‘The CAA’, Tamayo writes, ‘which was approved in 1966, was designed to normalize the status of about 123,000 Cubans who had

ship alone does not lead to a sense of homeland or attachment to the US as homeland, as scholars recently writing about 'cultural citizenship' (such as Aihwa Ong) and 'transnationalism' (such as Nina Glick Schiller and Thomas Faist) know or would readily understand, even when they did not already have the statistics I just included. Well worth long reflection is the fact that only 33% of Puerto Rican respondents in the 2006 National Survey of Latinos replied that they consider the United States their real homeland (versus 52% of Cubans surveyed).

One might say that Puerto Ricans have a viable alternative (that is, the island of Puerto Rico) and that Cuban-origin people in the United States do not have such an alternative under the current political regime, but that, too, oversimplifies important matters. Puerto Rico, after all, is not an independent country, and its pro-independence supporters rarely get more than a few percentage points in Puerto Rico-wide referendums about the status of Puerto Rico relative to the United States. Moreover, all Puerto Ricans on the island have had US citizenship since 1917, so it is unclear what it means to think of Puerto Rico as an alternative when it does not entail an alternative legal citizenship. And then there are emotional attachments that provide alternatives, and these apply both to Cubans and to Puerto Ricans.

Allow me to illustrate this with a very personal example. I have a grandmother who died at the age of 97 in 1996. She had been born the first month after the Spanish colonial administration left Cuba in 1899, and she was quite proud of that. She might have loved Spanish zarzuelas but she was also (and normally) rather suspicious of everything that reminded her of the Spanish empire. She adored an uncle I never came to know myself but to whom she affectionately referred as 'Tio Pedro'—Pedro Betancourt—a man who fought for Cuba's independence in the 1890s, was a member of the Cuban Constitutional Assembly, became

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fled Fidel Castro's revolution and been "paroled" into the United States but were in immigration limbo. Well over 1 million Cubans have now obtained US residency under the law, officially named the Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act'. <http://www.miamiherald.com/2013/02/12/3230733/politicians-call-for-revision.html#storylink=cpy>

a Senator early in the twentieth century, and was governor of the Cuban province of Matanzas before he became disillusioned with Cuban politics by the 1920s. All of this mattered greatly to her and, even though she eventually left Cuba in 1961, she could never agree to renouncing her Cuban citizenship and acquiring any other citizenship. She ended up living in the US as a legal resident from 1961 till her death in 1996 (a total of 35 years) without acquiring US citizenship. This was not because the US government prevented her from doing so but because she refused to relinquish her Cuban citizenship (even if the Cuban government did nothing to recognize her Cuban citizenship or extend her any benefits of citizenship).

This is, of course, just one example, but it is an example that reminds me (and urges me to remind all readers) that there are plenty of alternatives for Cubans living in the US, both in terms of legal status and in terms of attitude toward the US (cf. Dominguez, 2001). The rest of my family made a different choice, but hers was just as important and just as viable. Puerto Ricans, of course, also have choices, especially with regard to feelings or proclamations regarding home and homeland (cf. Davila, 2008; Duany, 2001; Godreau, 2006; Grosfoguel, 2003; Santiago-Valles, 1994). Rarely does someone try to relinquish his or her US citizenship in a public way aimed to challenge that 1917 unilateral granting of US citizenship, but there have been cases. Of course, Puerto Ricans who move to a different country and obtain the citizenship of that country may be doing a less public version of renunciation.

What I argue is significant and different between the two populations is racial ascription, self-perception, and experience with and within the United States. As I already noted, there was a noticeable class difference in who came to the US in the early-mid-sixties, and it greatly overrepresented the upper and middle classes in Cuba with greatly privileged whiteness and European-ness (or its close approximation) (cf. Garcia, 1997; Perez, 2003; Prieto, 2009). But later arrivals have come from more representative sectors of Cuban society, and these resemble more sectors of Puerto Rican society on the island (cf. de la Fuente, 2000; Ferrer, 1999; Scott, 2008). 'Race', as we all no doubt

know by now (from multiple scholarly and scientific sources), is not a biological or genealogical fact in itself but, instead, something experienced within societal systems of classification with privileges and disabilities that may or may not travel across societal borders. *I want to suggest here that there is continued evidence of Cubans in the United States believing that they fit better into US society than most other people of Latin American origin (except possibly Argentineans and Uruguayans), in part because they see themselves as white, believe they have a better chance than other Latinos of being accepted as white, and fight for that ascription on many fronts.*

There are many signs of that, but it is interesting also to see how this shows up in the 2006 Pew survey of US Hispanics/Latinos and in other large-scale surveys of US Cubans. Consider the following:

1. Cubans are far more likely than other Latinos/Hispanics to identify themselves as white when asked about their 'race'. In the 2004 Census data, about 86% of Cubans said they were white, compared with 60% of Mexicans, 53% of other Central and South Americans and 50% of Puerto Ricans.

2. In the Census data, one-third or more of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos/Hispanics chose 'some other race' when answering this question. But among Cubans, only 8% chose 'some other race'.

3. Hispanics who identify themselves as white have higher levels of education and income than those who choose 'some other race'.

The Pew Hispanic Center 2006 report said the findings suggest that Hispanics/Latinos see race as a measure of belonging and 'whiteness' as a measure of inclusion, or perceived inclusion. This points to a certain perception of US society that seems widespread among US Cubans. It is one that privileges 'whiteness', not unlike the Cuba they left behind, but it is also one that equates 'white' with American or at least with the sector of US society they want to join. There is little doubt that the European/African orientation of the kind of export-oriented African slave

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labor plantation economy that Cuba was for so long (and certainly from the late eighteenth century until abolition of slavery in 1886) plays a role here. But it is important to note that this orientation fits in well with US racialism, which has also long seen the US as European with a minority African-origin population or as European and African populations making up the fundamentally American sectors of US society.

It is also important to note that some element of this phenomenon has shown itself in evidence in many of the US censuses of Puerto Rico in the twentieth century. Increasingly over the past century, US censuses and surveys showed a steady increase in the reported 'white' population of Puerto Rico, from 61.8% in 1899 to 65.5% in 1910, 73% in 1920, 74.3% in 1930, 76.5% in 1940, 79.7% in 1950, and 80.5% in 2000.⁷ And yet the mainland Puerto Rican respondents were far less willing to self-identify as 'white', presumably a product of the color hierarchy that remains in place in Puerto Rico itself and that has led to a differential exodus of working class Puerto Ricans to the US mainland.

The only ill-fitting demographic concerning US Cubans shows up in queries about language use and, if my argument about the conflation of 'whiteness' and 'Americanization' among US Cubans is correct, it may be the one thing keeping Cuban Americans largely and actively within the 'Latino'/'Hispanic' realm by choice. If we stop to think about it, without widespread use of Spanish in public and private, why would so many Cubans be (or allow themselves to be or be seen as) Latinos or Hispanics, given the combination of 'white' self-identification and growing identification of the US as home? But there is that matter of language and of continued use of Spanish in public and private in southern Florida.

The statistics from the 2006 Pew survey are telling:

7 US Bureau of the Census reports are the primary source here (with reports in 1913, 1921, 1932, 1943, and 1953). Another source is a very interesting paper by Mara Loveman and Jeronimo Muniz available online titled 'How Puerto Rico Became White: An Analysis of Racial Statistics in the 1910 and 1920 Censuses'. It was prepared for presentation at the Center for Demography and Ecology of the University of Wisconsin-Madison on February 7, 2006. It notes that the 2000 percentage makes Puerto Rico at least officially more 'white' than mainland USA.

A. Among those 18 and older, about 89% of Cubans speak a language other than English at home, a higher rate than among Hispanics/Latinos in general (80%).

B. Among native-born Cubans, almost two-thirds (64%) speak a language other than English at home.

C. About 12% of Cubans under 18 (i.e. about one in eight) speak English less than very well, compared with 20% among other Hispanics/Latinos.

D. Among Cubans 18 and older, 49% speak English less than very well, slightly higher than among other Hispanics/Latinos (46%).

E. About 40% of foreign-born Cubans under 18 speak English less than very well, a higher rate than among other Hispanics/Latinos (20%).

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Clearly speaking Spanish in whole or in part differentiates many Cuban Americans from other people in the US, even when most see themselves as part of the 'white' population of the United States.

ZONE OF DISCOMFORT

Especially noteworthy, based on research results I have examined in this article, are the following observations: (a) that a significant difference still exists between Puerto Rican and Cuban American engagement with the US but that it is not really explained by length of legal belonging to the United States, (b) that much of the difference between Puerto Rican and Cuban American engagement with the US concerns racialization (both in the Caribbean and in these populations' engagement with the US), and (c) that it may be most productive now and in the future to concentrate on the surprises, what I have elsewhere (Dominguez, 2012) recently called the 'zones of discomfort', rather than our 'comfort zones' as students, scholars, and academics. The most provocative point that results from this exploration is the idea that the Cuban experience of exile (with Cubans long perceiving themselves to be an exile

community waiting to return to Cuba after the end of the Castro regime) has led to more Cubans becoming Americans than expected (or perhaps more than desired by the older and most anti-Castro segment of the population in south Florida). And, at the other end, the Puerto Rican experience of colonial, neocolonial, and mainland US life seems almost diametrically opposed, with the 1917 Act turning all Puerto Ricans into US citizens (whether on the island or the US mainland) but not leading most Puerto Ricans to identify the US as home.

Consider, then, some possible 'conclusions' to the findings and analysis presented here:

- The Cuban diaspora has made more Cubans into Americans (i.e. into part of US society) than the 1917 Jones Act made Puerto Ricans into Americans, even when a large portion of the Cuban diaspora has long seen itself as exiled and at least purports to want to return to Cuba once the Castro regime is no longer in place, and even though Puerto Ricans have been US citizens since 1917 and Cubans have not.
- Cuban Americans have turned the United States into their home, despite the continued blatant and still expected anti-Castro rhetoric of southern Florida that suggests that they are temporary sojourners in the US more than 50 years after Castro's Revolution toppled the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.
- Perceived racial status has mattered at least as much as, or perhaps even more than, legal status at entry in the process of Cuban American 'Americanization'.
- Cuban American success in the US is at best *ambiguously* related to their 'Latinidad', to their being grouped or classified as 'Latinos' or 'Hispanics' in the US, and all signs are that they know it.

'Americanization' then looks interestingly different here, and the factors at play more highlighted than if we were really focusing on the large Mexican-origin population that constitutes the numerical majority of the US Latino population. While some scholars may prefer to adopt the concept of 'cultural citizenship' to address non-legal notions of citizenship that differ from legal

statutes and disabilities, 'cultural citizenship' does not suffice here either. 'Cultural citizenship' does not take sufficient account of what it means for some to have legal citizenship but racialized minority status and for others to distance themselves by affiliating themselves with a racially dominant sector of the population.

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THE EMPOWERMENT OF AMERICAN WOMEN

During The Great Depression in Comparative Perspective

American women made significant progress in the political and public spheres during the Great Depression in the United States. This was especially evident in the Roosevelt era, a period in which women not only reached key posts in the administration but also, through supporting the advancement of other women too, managed to acquire a new dignity and social status.¹

Women were appointed to relevant government positions and played key roles in the development of the Roosevelt Administration, mainly during the New Deal.² Roosevelt himself and his federal government fostered these expanded roles for women who worked as heads of Federal agencies, as political advisers, in the New Deal's relief programs, etc. Behind these appointments, one has to highlight the support and influence of relevant women such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, Mary Bethune, and Molly Dewson, just to mention some of the most inspiring figures of this era. Women worked in two main areas: Democratic Party politics and social welfare. As Susan Ware points out, there was 'a network of professional contact

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1 We would like to acknowledge the Spanish Ministry of Science and Technological Innovation for its support of the research Project HAR2009-13284: 'Construcción y comunicación de identidades en la historia de las relaciones internacionales: dimensiones culturales de las relaciones entre España y los Estados Unidos'.

2 The New Deal was the new policy adopted by the Roosevelt Administration. It was more than a political program; it was a symbol and a powerful idea with supporters and detractors.

and personal friendship that linked the women in top New Deal positions' (Ware, 1985: 459).

The aim of this article is to explore the influence that some of these significant women had across other countries, giving as an example the Spanish case and focusing attention on the kind of news that was conveyed by the Spanish press.

Roosevelt's four terms in office (1933–1945) were a clear example of a time when women participated actively in public life. In the 1930s, American women were incorporated in a progressive way into the professional world. Economic independence played a key role. According to Jane Morse:

[u]ltimately, it was economics, rather than politics, that changed women's roles in American society and created greater momentum for the women's rights movement. As many families moved from farms to cities, the economic role of women diminished. But the Great Depression, which began with the October 1929 stock market crash, compelled more women to seek paid work outside the home in order to aid their families. (Morse, 2007)

However, women suffered from wage discrimination, not only in private enterprise but it also in the Federal Government, as can be seen, for example, in women earning the daily wage of three dollars in comparison to the five dollars that men received in projects of the Works Progress Administration (WPA)³ (McElvaine, 1993: 183).

This trend of women incorporated into the labor market increased during the Second World War, which 'catapulted up to 38 percent of American women into the workforce to fill the labor shortage left by men serving as soldiers' (Morse, 2007). As it happened during the 1930s, it was not on equal terms because, with some exceptions, the salary which women received was lower than that of men. In addition, women were

3 The WPA gave a wide range of social benefits to the unemployed and undertook the construction of public works, building bridges, tunnels, highways, and other works of public interest, which provided infrastructure to cities such as New York during the New Deal. However, as Michael E. Parrish points out, the WPA did not receive sufficient funds from Congress to give work to the number of unemployed in the 1930s, and the workers of the WPA could only count on having a job for a year (Parrish, 1992: 349).

also more affected by unemployment, periodic unemployment, and redundancies (Ware, 1982: 199–201).

After the Second World War, returning soldiers displaced many women who would potentially have been able to reenter 'the workforce with the economic expansion of the late 1950s and the 1960s. In addition, as women's contributions to their family's economic well-being grew, they found that discrimination increasingly frustrated their efforts to advance in the workplace' (Morse, 2007).

The period of the greatest participation of women in the field of politics in the Roosevelt's administration was that of the first and second New Deal, because although they continued to work in the government during the war, the New Deal was crucial for their progress in the political sphere.

The New Deal is divided by many authors into two periods, the first from 1933 to 1935 and the second from 1935 to 1938. The first period is identified with recovery and relief, in order to immediately relieve the suffering of the most defenseless social sectors in the economic depression and to simultaneously increase prices in the agriculture and industry sectors. The second period of the New Deal, on the other hand, emphasized the need to reform, increase purchasing power, introduce social security, and create benefits for small business and workers (Rauch, 1944: V).

In summary, this article tries to acknowledge and pay tribute to those women who proved their talent and self-worth, were deeply committed to promoting social reforms, and participated actively in politics and social welfare legislation during Roosevelt's New Deal.

PROFESSIONALS AND STIMULATORS OF EXCEPTION

During the Great Depression, remarkable figures promoted the active participation of women in American political and social life. One of those key women was Eleanor Roosevelt (1886–1962) who, apart from facilitating access to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt also worked tirelessly to persuade her husband and the directors of various government departments to hire highly qualified women (Roosevelt, 1992: 132; Martin et al., 1997: 844).

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Eleanor was an influential woman who possessed the ability to be heard when she gave a piece of advice either when protesting against a fact or pressing to claim justice. According to Eric Foner, Eleanor was able to transform the role of First Lady without formal responsibilities into a basis for political action (Foner, 2005: 834). In the Spanish press, in general, she is often described as a strong woman as one may notice in the example below, which includes a description that Doris Kearns Goodwin makes of Eleanor Roosevelt:

It was the first wife of a President who starred in press conferences, who spoke at the National Convention of a political party, she wrote a column for a newspaper chain—135 newspapers published six times a week—and she was a radio commentator [...] and thus became ‘the woman with most influence of our time’, in the words of Raymond Clapper. (Goodwin, 1994: 16)

Eleanor was not a conventional woman for her time because she was able to develop her full potential. In this sense, one may highlight the support of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. According to Doris Kearns Goodwin:

Franklin was an instrument through which Eleanor was able to develop the most rare qualities [...] She was able to reach thousands of people, influence the life of a nation and, at the same time, reach out to people to develop their skills and passions. From an overall point of view, both used for mutual enrichment and to the national good. (27)

Another key outstanding figure responsible for the expansion of the role of women in the political sphere during the New Deal was Mary Williams Dewson (commonly known as Molly Dewson) (1874–1964), who was considered a great counselor and who was the director of the Women’s Division of the Democratic Committee throughout the 1930s. Dewson worked as secretary of the National Association of Consumer Research from 1925 until 1931, when she became president of the New York Consumer Association.

One of the most important posts of Dewson was her collaboration in the electoral campaigns of the Democratic candidates. She helped Al Smith in the electoral race for the Presidency of the United States in 1928 and participated actively in the govern-

ment campaign of Roosevelt in 1930 as well as in the presidential campaigns of 1932, 1936, and 1940. She became part of the Roosevelt trust team members during the New Deal, which allowed her to incorporate women into public life.

Dewson's work in the government was linked with the close friendship she had with Eleanor Roosevelt, who was one of her most faithful allies. Both collaborated on joint plans to help women, organizing women within the Democratic Party and creating the female section of the Democratic National Committee. According to historian Susan Ware, Dewson accepted the job because she wanted to keep her friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt and because she hated to stay on the sidelines (Ware, 1987: 183).

The choice of Dewson as head of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee not only gave her satisfaction to be part of Roosevelt's team but also provided an institutional base to search for and provide employment to female workers. Dewson placed some women in senior government positions. For example, it is thought that she was the one who secured the position of Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor. Susan Ware points out that such an appointment was one of the most important political goals for Dewson. It also demonstrated that Roosevelt took seriously the contribution of women to the political power sphere, as he was willing to trust women to take roles that would involve responsibility and power without precedents (Ware, 1987: 176-177).

It was a great challenge to get employment in the various agencies of the New Deal, and Dewson from the Women's Division had to fight for every job. In fact, despite Dewson's efforts in promoting women in the political arena, it should be clarified that women's employment was concentrated in certain sectors, such as the WPA.

Dewson had an important role in the appointment of women qualified for mid-range bureaucratic positions, i.e., women qualified to work as social workers and others who were employed as staff in some government organizations. This was achieved through personal and institutional relations that she had established. Dewson took advantage of the support from key allies like Roosevelt, who took her opinion into account.

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In addition, as a result of election campaigns, the question of women's vote acquired relevance. According to Frances Perkins, from 1932 Roosevelt became aware of the power of the female vote and took into consideration the work that Dewson carried out in election campaigns, raising the political awareness of women. As a result, in 1936, the President asked the Democratic National Committee to allocate more money to the Women's Division to carry out the electoral campaign. The high esteem Roosevelt had for the work that Dewson carried out is reflected in the following lines:

In 1932, he discovered anew the power and influence of women's vote. He was much impressed by the political activities of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee under Mary Dewson. She proved to be a remarkable organizer and campaign director. She knew the women voter as distinguished from the woman member of the local political party group. She knew that the average woman voter had intellectual curiosity and made up her mind about the basis of principles. Roosevelt, like Farley, was pleased with what she did in making the women of America politically conscious. By 1936 he was insistent that the Democratic Committee should give a generous appropriation to the Women's Division, and he backed the Division in everything it did. (Perkins, 1946: 120-121)

As the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins states in her memoirs, Molly Dewson achieved a recognition that allowed her to mobilize women so that they could have jobs in politics.

Among the charismatic African-American women who were able to participate in the American political life during the Great Depression was Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955). Bethune was not only a pioneer among women who advocated equal rights in education and employment, but she was also an activist. She was among those who realized that, to put an end to racial discrimination, they had to have access to political power. Throughout her life, Bethune pledged to improve political influence and the economic situation of African American women.

In 1924, Bethune took the helm of the National Association of Colored Women and was very active in supporting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peo-

ple.⁴ In 1935, Bethune founded the National Council of Negro Women, an association which did not just report on the activities of the African American women but favored their participation in society. In addition, this association put in contact many African American professionals to address issues of unemployment and minimum wage.

Bethune's work at the National Council of Negro Women gave her the chance to meet Roosevelt's mother, Sara Roosevelt, and Eleanor Roosevelt, with whom she maintained a close friendship and which allowed her to attend the White House and gain access to the Democratic President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Lash, 1971: 523).

In the epistolary correspondence of Bethune, one may notice the close relationship that existed between her and Roosevelt, which led her to ask for support in policies to improve the situation of the African American community. For example, in a letter addressed to President Roosevelt, she asked for assistance to find supporters who could help her with the costs of the educational and cultural institution Bethune-Cookman College. She also mentioned that she had the support of Eleanor, who had already organized a small meeting in order to bring together people interested in supporting the cause. For her part, Eleanor Roosevelt used her power to support Bethune in the black minority-related issues, to which she had already shown her empathy and her commitment in the early stage of the struggle of the Civil Rights Movement.

Bethune worked hard in the Roosevelt administration and played a decisive role in the advancement of the rights of the American black community issues. The support of Eleanor Roosevelt was crucial for Franklin D. Roosevelt to appoint Bethune as Director of African American Affairs in the National Youth Administration in 1936 and as Advisor on Minority Affairs,

4 A multi-racial and multi-religious group of social and political activists founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on February 12, 1909. 'Its mission is to ensure the political, educational, social and, economic equality of rights for all, and to eliminate radical hatred and racial discrimination'. <<http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history>> Accessed: June 20, 2013.

a position that she held until 1944 (Cook, 1999: 159–61). These positions gave her the opportunity to monitor and promote the use of African American youth and receive one of the highest wages in the civil service in comparison to other black people and to other government staff, becoming the first black person to receive the best salary from the government (McCluskey et al., 2001: 6). This was a great success; Bethune became the first African American woman to achieve a leadership position in a federal agency.

Bethune was also a prominent figure of the Black Cabinet, a cabinet formed by a group of African American advisors in the Federal Government that had the support of Eleanor Roosevelt. In reality, Bethune was the only African American woman who had a high position in the Cabinet; the leaders of the movement were part of the civil rights leaders, such as Charles H. Houston, Walter White, and A. Philip Randolph.

During the New Deal, the number of black workers tripled in the government, and Roosevelt began to suppress racial segregation in workplaces in different government agencies and hired African Americans so that they could play a role in the New Deal Government. Although the Black Cabinet did not manage to make the New Deal undertake a crusade for civil rights, it made the Federal Government become more aware of the needs of blacks.

Bethune's influence in promoting qualified African American women is illuminated in a writing of 1940 in which Bethune did not only offer her service to President Roosevelt but also asked him to use the services of qualified black women to carry out tasks of 'leadership, administrative and routine', for the type of service needed in a program of national defense (McCluskey et al., 2001: 173–4).

According to sociologist Belinda Robnett, Bethune worked tirelessly so that African Americans had the same type of facilities that whites did, although they were separated. Her efforts were often in vain, because the unemployment rate was so high during the Great Depression that it made Roosevelt slow his civil rights commitment (Robnett, 1997: 47).

In addition, the advances were uneven, especially in the South, as reflected in Mary Bethune's speech 'What does American Democracy Mean to Me?', delivered on November 23, 1939, in which she referred to the inequality of opportunities for blacks, with an emphasis on education, the impossibility to exercise the right to vote, and the lack of civil liberties. This is reflected in the following lines:

The democratic doors of equal opportunity have not been opened wide to Negroes. In the Deep South, Negro youth is offered only one-fifteenth of the educational opportunity of the average American child. The great masses of Negro workers are depressed and unprotected in the lowest levels of agriculture and domestic service, while the black workers in industry are barred from certain unions and generally assigned to the more laborious and poorly paid work. Their housing and living conditions are sordid and unhealthy. They live too often in terror of the lynch mob; are deprived too often of the Constitutional right of suffrage; and are humiliated too often by the denial of civil liberties. We do not believe that justice and common decency will allow these conditions to continue. (Bethune, 1939)

As it is clear from Bethune's words, at the end of the 1930s, the lack of equal opportunities was prevalent throughout the country, although it was more visible in the South.

In the Great Depression, one needs to highlight another relevant African American woman, Dorothy Height (1912–2010), who carried out very important social work in a very difficult period.

In 1935, the black population suffered the most unemployment in New York City. They were not allowed to work in government jobs, so a revolt began in Harlem. As a result, a biracial committee recommended hiring black professionals in the central office of the Home Relief Bureau. Height was appointed supervisor and, over time, she and her white fellows contributed to the increase of the number of black workers in the district offices. She believed that without a deliberate effort to position and promote workers of colour, little or no progress would occur (Height, 2003: 55–56).

In a few years, Height had a full agenda. In 1937, by the time she resigned from her post in Welfare Administration, she was president of the New York State Christian Youth Council and the Harlem Youth Council, and she represented the United

Christian Youth Movement in the American Youth Congress (Height, 2003: 59). Height also worked at the Harlem Youth Council, where she addressed all kinds of discrimination and, with Juanita Jackson of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, fought against lynching, organizing the United Youth Committee Against Lynching (61).

Height criticized the lack of work and decent wages affecting the African American minority. Referring to the situation that existed in New York in the autumn of 1936, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Congressman from 1945 to 1971, had conducted a survey that revealed that, of the 5,000 people who worked at 125th Street, only 93 were black, and they performed manual labor. As a result of this clear discrepancy, Adam Clayton called for action. The campaign slogan was 'don't buy where you can't work' (Height, 2003: 69). One may only imagine the frustration of Height when she referred to new program and agencies of the New Deal such as the National Recovery Administration. Height stated that people of color were still finding the least desired jobs and receiving lower wages (70).

In 1937 Height met Mary McLeod Bethune, who would be her great mentor. She went to the meeting of National Council of Negro Women with Eleanor Roosevelt, and Bethune invited her to be part of the organization which sought to improve the situation of black women in employment, wages, and education.

Dorothy Height also complained about the discrimination faced by black women who worked in the armed forces because, although they were qualified, they could only aspire to a position as secretaries, and white women were almost always elected to top positions (Height, 2003: 99).

Another woman who deserves to be remembered as reaching one of the most important posts of the American political sphere in Roosevelt's administration is Frances Perkins (1880-1965). When President Roosevelt appointed Perkins for the post of Secretary of Labor, she became the first female member of a US federal cabinet and held this position for twelve years, from 1933 until the end of 1945. Perkins was one of the most socially committed women in Roosevelt's administration and actively promoted social and labor legislation.

Previously, Perkins had a wide range of work experience. After graduating in social economy, she worked as executive secretary in the New York Consumers League and industrial factories of the State Investigating Commission, formed by the Senator Robert F. Wagner. In 1911, Perkins was a witness to an event that had a profound influence on her—the terrible fire that took place in the building of a factory, in the Triangle Shirtwaist Workers Building, where 150 workers lost their lives, among whom almost all were girls and young women. Perkins decided to investigate the working conditions that existed in the factories to prevent episodes as tragic as the one she witnessed.

Regarding her political career, Perkins worked for seven years in the government of Al Smith and sixteen years with Roosevelt. In 1919, Smith named her member of the Industrial Commission of the State of New York. In 1921, she became executive secretary of the Council on Immigrant Education (Council on Education of the Immigrants) and, in 1922, she was elected commissioner of the New York State Industrial Board.

At the same time that Roosevelt was Governor of New York, specifically on January 14, 1929, Perkins was again named New York State Industrial Commissioner. Roosevelt had promised to support various programs, and Frances Perkins accepted the position of commissioner, becoming the first female member of Cabinet in the State of New York (Colman, 1993: 26, 48, 50). With Al Smith, that post had a judicial character, while with Roosevelt it had a more executive nature (Perkins, 1946: 48).

When Roosevelt agreed to run for the Presidency, he thought of Perkins for the post of Secretary of Labor. She had the great support of Eleanor Roosevelt and Molly Dewson. This appointment took place on February 28, 1933, and was a precedent that caught people's attention, since the rest of the Cabinet was formed by nine men.

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, did not support the election of Frances Perkins, and the business world was clearly against it (Schindler, 1987: 343). However, Roosevelt pressed Frances Perkins to accept the position, not only because he was aware of her worth, but also because the American President believed that election would be popu-

lar among women (Ware, 1981: 46–47). Perkins' election had a considerable impact on American public opinion and the rest of the world, since it took place at a time when few women played an important role in the political sphere. Her commitment was reflected in the New Deal social legislation, since she worked on fundamental laws that sought to improve the conditions of workers, such as the Social Security Act (1935), which represented a cornerstone in Roosevelt's first presidential term (Perkins, 1946: 302) and the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), which set a minimum wage limit and maximum working hours and included the payment of overtime.

Perkins was a fighter who was determined to face new challenges. Penny Colman, the author of a biography of Frances Perkins, describes her as a woman without fear who was determined to put an end to the crisis (Colman, 1993: 2, 67).

The Spanish press applauded the appointment of US Secretary of Labor in 1933. In Spain, in the 1930s, reading the press was the most common means of getting information. The Spanish press played a very important role as a cultural institution. There were numerous factions in the Spanish press (the liberal left wing press, the conservative press, the socialist press, the communist press, and the anarchist press) that tended to defend ideas of parties that held similar ideological stances to those of their own.

The arrival of the Second Spanish Republic took place on April 14, 1931. This democratic political régime was welcomed with joy by a large part of the Spanish people and with rejection by some monarchical and right-wing groups. We can distinguish three main periods in the evolution of the governments in the Second Spanish Republic: the provisional government and Azañist Biennium (from April 14, 1931, to September 1933); the Rectifying Biennium (from November 19 to December 29, 1935); and the Popular Front (from February 16, 1936). On July 18, 1936, the Spanish Civil War started, sadly ending a period of immense democratic aspirations.

The great majority of the Spanish press during the Second Republic attentively observed the development of the democratic program adopted in the United States, reflected upon it, and related America's democratic experience to Spain. It is

remarkable to see the way in which the Spanish press reacted to the American model and referred to reforms and proposals that were taking place in the United States.

In the context of the Azañist Biennium, which was a reformist period, the appointment of a woman to a post in a government cabinet in the American sphere was a big sensation in Spain, where some papers only had a picture of her and not the rest of the Ministers of State appointed by Roosevelt.⁵

This drew attention to the fact that a woman had been chosen to play this role⁶ and highlighted her efficacy and her great work in the Government of New York State, where she showed signs of her 'organizing zeal, her skill as director of an important office and the soundness of her recommendations in the field of social security and other reforms by the style'.⁷ Others described Frances Perkins as a 'woman of great mentality and long political experience'.⁸

There are allusions to the work of Frances Perkins in playing a key role in mediating the labor disputes, as shown in the Spanish newspaper *Heraldo de Madrid*.⁹ In addition, an image of Frances Perkins as a Secretary concerned with improving the level of the American worker is given.¹⁰ Curiously, sometimes, references found on the Secretary of Labor tend to be misleading for the Spanish reader, because, above all, it is said in the headlines: 'Ministro de Trabajo'; probably, if the reader does not read the text of the news,

5 'El futuro gabinete norteamericano—El presidente, míster Roosevelt, ha ultimado la lista de su Gobierno', *El Sol*. Madrid, February 26, 1933, front page.

6 'Ministra de trabajo: señorita Perkins', *ABC*. Madrid, X 1-3-1933: 36; 'La mujer en la administración Roosevelt', *La Vanguardia*. Barcelona, February 10, 1933, p. 24; 'La nueva Secretaria yanqui del Trabajo', *El Socialista*. Madrid, May 2, 1933: 3.

7 'El presidente Roosevelt, míster Roosevelt, ha ultimado la lista de su Gobierno', *El Sol*. Madrid, February 26, 1933, front page.

8 'El licenciamiento de Moley—El *Trust* de los cerebros y las potencias capitalistas', *El Liberal*. Madrid, September 1, 1933: 7.

9 'La secretaria de estado de trabajo y la huelga textil en Norteamérica', *Heraldo de Madrid*. September 4, 1934: 3.

10 'De la capacidad de compra del obrero—La crisis económica y el plan de reconstrucción nacional de los Estados Unidos—Lo que afirma aquel ministro del trabajo', *La Voz*. Madrid, September 29, 1933, front page.

he or she can infer that the person who plays this role in United States is a male,¹¹ as in Spain during the Second Republic, very few women reached a key political position.

As far as information in the Spanish press is concerned about other major appointments of women, apart from Frances Perkins, not much is known of the appointments of other women who had also reached relevant posts in Roosevelt's administration. When news appeared, it often alluded to the importance that it was a woman who was elected to such a post.¹²

CONCLUSION

The advancement of women in the American public sphere was really remarkable during the Great Depression. Reference has been made to some of the women who actively participated in the political scene and the great commitment that these influential women expressed in helping other women to join public life has been emphasized. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary Bethune, Dorothy Height, Molly Dewson, and Frances Perkins are part of that group of leading figures who have been a source of inspiration for many other women. In Spain, one may find some articles about a few of these women emphasizing the importance of the fact that American women could reach positions of great responsibility in the political and social fields. In this way, these women can be seen not only as extraordinary leaders, but even as possible models to be followed in other countries such as Spain.

11 These words, noun and adjective, refer to a male. In Spanish nouns can be masculine and feminine.

12 See 'Mrs. Blair Barrister ha sido nombrada por el Presidente Roosevelt Tesorera de los Estados Unidos. Es la primera mujer que desempeña un cargo de esta importancia', *El Debate*. Madrid, August 18, 1933, p. 3; 'La señora Bryan Owen, ministro en Dinamarca (sic.embajadora) y el Sr. Mac-Curley, alcalde de Boston, embajador en Polonia', *El Sol*. Madrid, April 13, 1933, front page.

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THE CULTURAL LOGIC of America's Pivot to the Asia-Pacific

For most of the first decade of post-9/11 era, America devoted the majority of its efforts to combating terrorism and taking large-scale military actions. However, upon Obama's election as the president of the single super power on the globe and with the receding tides of war in Iraq and Afghanistan, America has shifted its focus to the Asia-Pacific from the Middle East, signifying the end of America's first decade of foreign policy.¹

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On various occasions, the US policy makers have been expressing their priority in the Asia-Pacific. For instance, '[t]he future of politics will be decided in Asia, not Afghanistan or Iraq, and the United States will be right at the center of the action' (Clinton, 2011). On the practical level, the US commitment to the Asia-Pacific can be observed in the aspects of economy, politics, and security. In an economical aspect, America dominated the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP), a high-standard free trade agreement that particularly aims at reshaping strategically the region's economic structure and, thereby, revitalizing and enhancing its leadership. Politically, America has been sending 'the full range of our diplomatic assets', as Clinton calls it, to strengthen its relations with the traditional alliances and engage in regional multilateral institutions like Association of Southeast Asian

1 In 'Re-orienting America', Richard Haass believes that the second phase of America's foreign policy began with the 9/11 terror attacks and was followed by a decade of counter-terrorism and large-scale military commitment. See <http://www.cfr.org/politics-and-strategy/re-orienting-america/p26490>

Nations (ASEAN) forum. For security, the US has been expanding its military deployment in this region; for example, it deployed marine rotation in Darwin, Australia. It seems to be self-evident that America has accelerated its forceful steps to return to the Asia-Pacific.

However, against the above candid observation, to question whether America had been away from Asia in the past decades is not without sense, particularly given the dominant position America has assumed after the Second World War in Asia. Since 2011, the rhetoric of America's Asia policy has evolved from 'Return to the Asia-Pacific' to 'Rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific' and to 'Pivot to the Asia-Pacific', showing that America has been recalibrating its relationship with the Asia-Pacific. It had not been away but had merely paid less attention to the region in the previous decade.

More importantly, with a firmer sense of history of America's cultural relationship with Asia, one would find that the so-called 'strategic shift' might not alter as much as the historical and cultural heritage continues. The continuity of American imperialism, Orientalism, and various cultural complexes toward the Asia-Pacific deserves more attention than America's impending eastward strategic shift per se. This provides us a chance to examine the role that culture plays in the formation of the US Asia policy. As John Carlos Rowe insightfully points out:

There is no 'value' without culture; economic surplus, political power, personal identity, and social affiliation depend upon their deployment through the symbolic network we term 'culture'. Political critique is thus impossible without interpretation of this cultural matrix; analysis remains mere commentary on political particulars until it has taken into account how political practices rely on the rhetorical persuasion of culture. (Rowe, 2012: 20)

Hence, this paper particularly intends to treat the cultural 'pathology' that sheds long-standing effects on America's Asia and global policy. Speaking of the Obama administration's Asia policy, people tend to pay more attention to the verb—'return/rebalance/pivot'—than to the object, Asia-Pacific/Asia. Before discussing the pivot back strategy, the constructive-

ness of the Asia-Pacific as one region has to be acknowledged. With a careful look at 'the Asia-Pacific', one readily notices the hyphen and think of the vast diversity in terms of ethnicity, cultures, history, languages, economic developments, and political systems within this region. There exists the constructiveness of the Asia-Pacific and the arbitrariness of connecting Asia and Pacific as one region.

The constructed-ness of a region, especially the arbitrariness to connect Asia and the Pacific together as one region, has been questioned and scrutinized by several critics. Arif Dirlik has examined the unsettledness and instability of a region that is subject to human activities. Dirlik observes 'a tendency to view the region as a geographical given, a physically delineated stage, as it were, upon which human beings play out their activities' (Dirlik, 1992: 57). He also suggests, 'any definition is at best an abstract representation that seeks to contain within physical categories the spatial and temporal motions of the human activity—including the activity of conceptualization—that constitutes its reality' (58). The construction of the Asia-Pacific as a region accords with those interests of the community of Euro-American social scientists and a group of policy makers. Therefore, a region (center/periphery) is often subject to change, 'as the activity changes that constitutes the region as a region' (58). In a similarly metageographical vein, the Asia-Pacific 'is being constructed into a postcolonial, if not post-national, identity as a coherent region of teleological belonging' and 'such a user-friendly geopolitical signifier' seems essential without which a coherent region through which '*transnationalizing economy*' expanded to Asia cannot exist (Wilson, 2001: 389–390).

John Eperjesi argues that the construction often intertwines with historical conditions and powers. And 'because geographical space does not automatically fit into meaningful units' (Eperjesi, 2005: 3), he further points out the importance of the practice of representation in regard to the existence of a region. Overlooking America's construction and representation of the Asia-Pacific when analyzing Obama administration's Asia policy may evade America's consistently long dominance in the region, not only militarily, economically and politically

but also culturally and ideologically. This oversight not only leads to the failure to grasp and treat the cultural pathology of America's periodically aggressive foreign policy but also results in neglecting to recognize 'imperialism as a [historical] force from within, rather than simply being imposed from without' (Chen, 2007: 112). Therefore, it is necessary to examine America's imagery of the Asia-Pacific, which has played a facilitating role in the strategic shift to the East.

AMERICAN PACIFIC AND THE TPP

Among all the practical aspects, the TPP is considered to be an essential part of America's pivot strategy—'a key element of the Obama Administration's strategy to make US engagement in the Asia-Pacific region a top priority'.² Initiated by Chile, Singapore, New Zealand, and Brunei during the 10th Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit, its agreement within APEC architecture from the outset did not draw much attention due to the small size of the four economies combined. Yet it began to balloon since Obama declared America's participation in 2009.

'Expanding US exports to the Asia-Pacific region can contribute significantly to further job growth and economic recovery for America's working families'.³ At first glance, the TPP is expected to contribute to reaching the goal set by President Obama to double America's export. However, the persistence of the economic and market discourse in American Pacific ideology does not mean that the TPP is merely a framework that America adopts to increase its export and recover its strength from the financial crisis by taking advantage of the economic boom and market potentiality of the Asia-Pacific. In fact, the TPP is far from effective in doubling America's export and increasing job opportunities. It is estimated on the current TPP track that in 2025, apart from Vietnam (25.8%), New Zealand (5%),

2 White House Fact Sheet, November 12, 2011. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/12/fact-sheet-united-states-trans-pacific-partnership>

3 Office of the US Trade Representative, retrieved from <http://www.ustr.gov/about-us/press-office/fact-sheets/2009/december/economic-opportunities-and-the-TPP>

Korea (7.7%), and Peru (11%), the export increase of other TTP members is less than 5%. Fewer than 30,000 jobs can be created in US from 2015 to 2020.⁴

As a matter of fact, the political implications of the TPP outweigh its economic intentions.

US PTAs (with the exception of NAFTA) typically involve trade partners of only minor importance to the American economy, underlining the fact that the central drivers of US PTAs have been foreign policy and security objectives, not commercial considerations. Washington's interest in the TPP is consistent with this general pattern. (Capling and Ravenhill, 2011: 559)

More importantly, even though the post-nationalist feature emerges in the TTP, it does not diminish America's domination in this framework. With the prefix of 'trans', it emphasizes the movements and displacements of capital, labor, goods, ideas, cultures, and so forth. Compared to other regional associations like ASEAN and APEC, the TPP underplays a determined and static region with boundaries and seems more flexible, floating and open with strong dynamics within the framework. In this sense, the TPP is an invention of the boom of transnational and transpacific capitalism. 'Along with the global market and global circuits of production has merged a global order, a new logic and structure of rule—in short, a new form of sovereignty' (Hardt and Negri, 2000: xi). This new form composes 'a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule' (xii). The term 'empire', according to Hardt and Negri, differs fundamentally from 'imperialism', which fixes on the boundaries of territories and central authority.

But even though 'the United States does not, and indeed no nation-state can today, form the center of an imperialist project' (Hardt and Negri, 2000: xiii, xiv), we should not forget that it is only America with its economic, political, cultural,

4 See Table 8 on page 29 and page 44, (2011) 'The Trans-Pacific Partnership and The Asia-Pacific Integration: A Quantitative Assessment'. *East-West Center Working Papers*, Economic Series, no. 119 http://www.usitc.gov/research_and_analysis/documents/petri-plummer-zhai%20EWC%20TPP%20WP%20oct11.pdf

and military power and its global vision and imagery that can assume the privileged seat. 'In its office as a transnational state of exception, the United States exercised the power to decide whether nation-states across the planet had properly integrated within the global economic order or become "failed states"' (Pease, 2011: 11). By renewing or upgrading the old frameworks with new sets of rules 'concerning the United States' relationship to transnational markets and regulatory commissions' (11), America acts as the state of exceptions.

Therefore, it is worthwhile to track and examine the economic dimension of the formation of the Asia-Pacific. America's relation with the Asia-Pacific has been, to a considerably large extent, sustained and problematized by economic ties, particularly by trade; the economic or trade relationships contribute to the formation of the Asia-Pacific as one region ideologically which is geographically unsettled. 'The regional imaginary of the American Pacific was made up of relations of contiguity and hierarchy between places sutured by the trade table' (Eperjesi, 2005: 90). Following the trails of David Harvey⁵ and Arif Dirlik⁶ on space and geography in general and the Asia-Pacific in particular, Eperjesi argues:

The American Asiatic Association, an important node in the broader political and economic system that pushed the United States in the direction of becoming a regional hegemon, instituted a historically effective set of geographical distortions, an American Pacific Ideology. Such distortions provided the rhetorical origin of real political and economic policies and practices that were structuring the emergent region. (Eperjesi, 2005: 103)

What John Eperjesi emphasizes here is a dialectic relationship between the production of policy at an executive level and the definition/idea or distortions of the region at ideological level. While as much as the former builds up, reshapes, or/and destructs the latter, the latter is operative in the formation

5 'Spatial barriers can be reduced only through the production of particular spaces' (Eperjesi, 2005: 102).

6 'In a fundamental sense, there is no Pacific region that is an "objective" given, but only a competing set of ideational constructs that project upon a certain location on the globe the imperatives of interest, power, or vision of these historically produced relationships' (Eperjesi, 2005: 102).

of the former. More often than not, the distortions serve to justify the policies. 'The American Pacific does not name a fixed or objective place but rather a bundle of cultural, political, and economic relationships that connect the territorial United States to the areas of Asia and the Pacific' (Eperjesi, 2005: 16). That is to say, American Pacific or what the Asia-Pacific as a recognizable region means to United States is highly contingent on to what extent and in what ways the connections of the United States to Asia and the Pacific as geographical areas are needed in different periods. Just as the saying that the twenty-first century is the Asian/Pacific century that has gained its popularity, Clinton firmly asserts that 'the twenty-first century is still American century' (Clinton, 2011).

The subsequent notion that the twenty-first century is the American Asia-Pacific century singles out the importance of the Asia-Pacific to America's maintaining its privileged status in this century. There comes the necessity for America to 'play a larger and long-term role in shaping this region [the Asia-Pacific] and its future' (Obama, 2011). A subsequent redefinition of the region is therefore needed to fulfill the 'pivot to Asia-Pacific' strategy. The geographical distortions of the region can be readily observed in America's vision of the region's geography. For example, Clinton defines the region as 'stretching from the Indian subcontinent to the western shores of the Americas, the region spans two oceans—the Pacific and the Indian—that are increasingly linked by shipping and strategy' (Clinton, 2011). The pivot strategy is both predicated upon and constitutive of the American Pacific, which now stretches not only to East Asia but also to South Asia, and not only to the Pacific Ocean but also to the Indian Ocean because of 'the strategic importance of the energy resources and trade that pass through the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca before reaching the manufacturing centers of East Asia' (Manyin, et al., 2012: 5).

Moreover, since the geographical distortions associated with political and economic agendas do not form naturally and automatically into the meaningful entities that serve America's power projection, abstraction as a method of representation becomes a need. Employing language and tropes of co-prosperity

and common community development has become a repeated practice. 'It is tempting to think of the American Pacific as the historical predecessor to more recent constructions of this area under economic slogans such as *the Asia-Pacific* or *Pacific Rim*' (Eperjesi, 2005: 15). In Dirlik's words, 'it [Pacific ideology] serves to disguise as manifestations of regional cooperation and coordination relationships that are also instruments of domination and subordination' (Dirlik, 1992: 57). Rob Wilson argues that 'APEC's vision of "the Asia-Pacific" is culturally and politically naive, ignoring, bypassing or just plain suppressing the cultural complexities and historical issues within the region in order to form this new identity' (Wilson, 2001: 393). This practice continues in John Kerry's 'Remarks on 21st Century Pacific Partnership' claiming that the goal is 'to translate our strongest values into an unprecedented security, economic, and social cooperation' (Kerry, 2013).

Based upon the above analysis, the TPP can be taken as the continuity of the American Pacific ideology and America's imperialist imagery at large. The geographical distortions and the arbitrary definition that draws a diverse region into one single unity of the Asia-Pacific are common practices of America to serve the justification and implementation of its policy. The policies and executions reinforce American Pacific ideology in return. Furthermore, although the transpacific flows as part of the globalization process greatly undermine the power of the US as one nation-state with fixed boundaries, the privileged status of America allows it to adapt to such changes by making new framework with new rules that best suit the interests of its transnational capitalism and its global agendas.

ORIENTALISM RECONFIGURED IN THE PIVOT STRATEGY

Since Edward Said's *Orientalism* is mostly about binary opposition between Europe and the Middle East, the question whether the concept of Orientalism is applicable to the relationship between America and Asia is worth taking into consideration. First of all, the geographical limitation of Orientalism has been challenged. Wang Ning points out that Said's geographical limitation on Orientalism: 'as it is well known, the 'Orient', geographically

speaking, covers at least the wide areas of Asia, Africa, and Australia, but in Said's book, the boundary line stops at the Near East and Middle East' (Wang, 1997: 61). Yet in an interview with Taiwanese scholar, Shan Te-hsing, Said emphasized the 'flexibility' of 'the Orient' and took 'the Middle East' as 'an Orient' of 'the Orient'.⁷ Said does recognize that, be it the Middle East or the Far East or the Oceania, they all stand on the opposite side of the Occident, or Euro-America. In regard to American Orientalism, however, Said downplays the role of the imaginative investment and calls the American experience in the Orient 'limited' even though he is aware of Melville's and Twain's writings about the Pacific (Said, 2003: 291).⁸ Instead, he highlights the social science in American Orientalism.

Immediately after World War II, then, the Orient became, not a broad Catholic issue as it had been for centuries in Europe, but an administrative one, a matter for policy. Enter the social scientist and the new expert, on whose somewhat narrower shoulders was to fall the mantle of Orientalism. (291)

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In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said argues:

The relation between America and its Pacific or Far Eastern interlocutors—China, Japan, Korea, Indochina—is informed by racial prejudice, sudden and unprepared rushes of attention followed by enormous pressure applied thousands of miles away, geographically and intellectually distant from the lives of most Americans. (290)

However, with the rising discourse of Pacific Rim and the Pacific community, the American counterparts such as Japan, China, and the newly industrialized countries are no longer geographically and intellectually far away. The Pacific Rim discourse grants

7 See 《薩依德在台灣》台北：允晨文化實業股份有限公司Zai Taiwan, 2011: 252.

8 For instance, 'Said's rhetorical qualifications cause the reader to hesitate as well, so that the fiction of Melville's "Americanness" is effectively replaced by what Said concludes are the inherently transnational qualities of *Moby-Dick*' (See Rowe, 2012: 33). In *Reflection on Exiles and Other Essays*, Said writes, '[t]he tremendous energies of this magnificent story of hunting the White Whale spill over national, aesthetic, and historical boundaries with massive force'.

'an interpenetrating complex of interrelationships with no center' and therefore is a non-othering discourse (Connery, 1994: 32). But this does not mean that we have entered into a post-Orientalist era. On the contrary, Orientalism has become more underlying and less evident under the cover of globalization and transnational economy.

America's pivot to the Asia-Pacific is inextricable from Orientalism that prevails the America's diplomatic and strategic culture manifested through its rhetorical expressions and justifications of its policies. Compared to its influence on American foreign policy, Orientalism indeed has received very little attention from the history of American diplomacy. Such a lack of reciprocity is due to various factors that can be summarized into several criticisms of *Orientalism* on the part of diplomacy historians.

Firstly, '*Orientalism* is a sprawling book' (Rotter, 2000: 1207). By 'sprawling', Rotter means that it covers two centuries and three nations in a brief book. The book could be very simplistic. Secondly, the book lacks 'basis in sustained historical research' and the equation of fiction and works of history is at odds with tenets of historian training (1208). Thirdly, Said has a 'dubious epistemological relationship to matters of cause and effect' (1208). That is to say, linearity of history no longer exists in Said *Orientalism* and yet, 'for better or worse, most historians still believe that they are engaged in a search for reasons why things happened as they did' (1208). Last but not the least, Said's power discourse of knowledge and his subversion of the idea that Oriental is constructed are problematic to diplomacy historians because they lead to the danger of nihilism. However, on the other hand, Rotter finds himself attracted to Said's theory in the way that 'by political inclination, by admiration for a powerful and interesting mind, and by a sense that Said is speaking for people whose voices foreign relations specialists have never fully articulated' (1207).

More importantly, the absence of Orientalism in the history of American diplomacy does not mean that it is absent in America's diplomatic and strategic culture. '[Said] has had some influence on the field [...] there exist opportunities to employ his insights further' (Rotter, 2000: 1213). Rowe has recently argued that

Said's legacy to new American studies ought to be approached 'as his elaboration of key ideas for our understanding of the US as a global power deeply involved in the politics of the Middle East' (Rowe, 2012: 43, 44). Yet the flexibility of Orientalism in terms of geographical limitations and the long-standing American Pacific imagery behind invites scholars' attention to American Orientalism in US policies toward the Asia-Pacific.

Under no circumstances am I suggesting that a causal relationship exists between Orientalism and the Obama administration's foreign policies toward the Asia-Pacific. Merely applying postcolonial terminologies to America's Asia policy is in no way beneficial to the sophisticated understandings of America's relationship with Asia. Rather, Orientalism serves more as a cultural space in which 'pivot to the Asia-Pacific' is shaped and articulated. If American Orientalism does shadow the US Asia policies as it does in the Middle East, what forms or consistency does the latent Orientalism take on?

First of all, America's pivot/rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific correlates with Said's definition of Orientalism as the Occident's dealing of Orient 'by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it' (Said, 2003: 4). Such a claim can be argued against as too bold and hasty, yet to overlook American Orientalism that is potentially operative in its strategic culture and Asia policy may be unsafe. After all, having remained a dominant power in the Asia-Pacific after the World War II as well as constructing/reconstructing the region over and over again, America's vision toward Asia and the Pacific is a leader/subordinate type, which in its essence is comparable to the master/slave type formed in the British Empire and its colonies—a binary opposition.

Take the prophetic rhetoric in Hillary Clinton's 'America's Pacific Century' as an example. This declaration of America's return to the Asia-Pacific is a manifestation of America's hegemonic view as well as the ghost of Orientalism. For Hillary Clinton, it seems that Asian countries are still not able to ensure their own security and stability in this Post-Cold War world, and to a considerable extent, the Asia-Pacific is constantly in the need of and has always been taking advantage of America's 'care':

Asia's remarkable economic growth over the past decade and its potential for continued growth in the future depend on the security and stability that has long been guaranteed by the US military, including more than 50,000 American servicemen and servicewomen serving in Japan and South Korea. The challenges of today's rapidly changing region—from territorial and maritime disputes to new threats to freedom of navigation to the heightened impact of natural disasters—require that the United States pursue a more geographically distributed, operationally resilient, and politically sustainable force posture. (Clinton, 2011)

Since the nations/region are not able to govern themselves, the altruistic Euro-American interventions in the forms of help and care have always been in need. There are always problems that await America to solve there.

The region is eager for our leadership and our business—perhaps more so than at any time in modern history. We are the only power with a network of strong alliances in the region, no territorial ambitions, and a long record of providing for the common good. ... I hear everywhere I go that the world still looks to the United States for leadership. (Clinton, 2011)

In doing so, America's interests in the regions can also be maintained. Robert Lieber draws the conclusion that 'for the immediate future, America's role in Asia clearly satisfies the twin criteria of regional stability and national interest' (Lieber, 2005: 175). Similarly, Hugh White also attributes the rise of Asia to America's suppressing conflicts and concludes that 'Asia's success today therefore ranks among the great achievements of the American Century' (White, 2012: 15). However, none of them have noticed that this double criteria—regional stability and national interest—are indeed satisfied at the sacrifice of the local people. For example, one of the most formal bilateral military ties between America and South Korea has been established in the name of maintaining the security of the Korean peninsula and northeast Asia. But in the newly militarized Jeju, 'protesters are concerned about the cultural and environmental impacts of the base and it is estimated that as much as 90% of the people of Gangjeong, the village in the southern part of Jeju where the base is being constructed, are currently in opposition' (Eperjesi, 2011). The traumatized areas in Korean War and the Cold War era have constantly or periodically been

suffering from America's military presence in the name of security. 'Leading local activists in the anti-base movement have been arrested while peace activists from all over the world have begun to lend their support, most notably feminist writer Gloria Steinem' (Eperjesi, 2011). Obviously, there are voices from the local stifled and unanswered. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said starts his discussion on 'Knowing the Oriental' with Balfour's speech, 'The Problem with which We Have to Deal in Egypt'.

It does not occur to Balfour, however, to let the Egyptian speak for himself, since presumably any Egyptian who would speak out is more likely to be 'the agitator [who] wishes to raise difficulties' than the good native who overlooks the 'difficulties' of foreign domination. (Said, 2003: 34)

The eulogy of America's military presence in Asia is, in its essence, no different from Balfour's justification of the British presence in Egypt. Jeju is not alone; Okinawa, Darwin, and Changi, among so many, all fall into victims in various ways such as landscape, environmental and cultural destruction, forced migration, or American troops' undisciplined behaviors. Yet such logic of the Orientalism trope held by American politicians disguises the (neo)imperialist ambitions and justifies America's aggressive engagement in Asia and the Pacific. What is even worse is that, due to the Cold War paranoia of red revolution, Cold War Orientalism has been achieving consensus from the local governments in Asia and the Pacific without undermining nation's sovereignty as it did in the colonial era. The American alliance today, chiefly the military connection, is reinforced again and again by governments such as Japan, South Korea, and Australia at the sacrifice of the local citizens.

Secondly, the construction and constant reshaping of the Asia-Pacific as one region from which America takes its geo-political advantage to be a part of the region, is always accomplished in the practice of Orientalism in the form of uniting the region with common beliefs, dreams, tropes, and slogans as a disguise of domination. 'The exercise of political, economic, and military power always depends upon the mechanisms of "culture" in the form of the creative use of language and the deployment of shared stories' (Klein, 2003: 6). The Pacific Dream,

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recently championed and articulated by US leaders like John Kerry, and the TPP, a partnership advanced by America that is far beyond a trade framework, both function as co-prosperity tropes that justify the benefits of America's engagement in Asia and the Pacific. When delivering the speech to Tokyo, John Kerry said:

We have a duty to look ahead and define a path toward progress in the Asia-Pacific. And that means making the most of this opportunity. Now you have all heard, I know—and I say this without presumption that we're proud of it—you've all heard of the American Dream. It is embodied by no one more than by Barack Obama. Now Beijing's new leader has introduced what he calls a 'China Dream'. Today I'd like to speak with you about our opportunity in this increasingly global age to design and define our dream for the Pacific region, one in which nations and people forge a partnership that shapes our shared future [...] I feel the same way about our shared principles and values, which bring us closer, closer together than we often imagine. (Kerry, 2013)

The Pacific Dream is no more than a cliché about the universal values that ought to be shared by everyone in every nation, a speech constituting a myth and fantasy which assists and justifies integrations of transnational capitalism and America's transpacific engagement and which drains away the lively injustice and unfairness partly as results of transnational capitalism and globalization. The Pacific dream, like the American dream or the Chinese dream, does purify things and make them seem innocent. But localizing such a Pacific dream will allow us to see through this mythology of partnership and co-prosperity. Take Foxconn, the Taiwanese multinational manufacturing corporation, as an example. The consistent ailing suicides of its staff in recent years in mainland China have been attributed to the pressure of enduring overwork and repeating one type of tedious operation thousands of times a day, all leading to the alienation of human beings. Of course, the absence of labor unions and the failed labor law enforcements should be blamed. However, being one of the largest OMEs of Apple, Kindle, and PlayStation, the tragedy of Foxconn in the mainland is connected with the greedy, profit-oriented transnational capitalism. One employee of Foxconn's working plant in Xinzheng, Henan province, Li Xiang, mentioned

in an interview that he had touched as many iPhones as a two-level building if piled up, but the money he made could not afford him the bricks to build one house.⁹ In short, as scholars and critics, we must remain alert to any dream or myth design that distorts the reality, remain critical to any regional unification, and always localize and contextualize such a myth in order to destruct it.

A third question concerning America's pivot/rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific in terms of Orientalism has to do with its complacency or more accurately, its sublimity of new technologies and its 'smart power'. Despite the suspicion of America's capability in implementing its strategic turn haunting around, such as its fiscal constraints and its diverting attention to other parts of world, America seems to be fully confident that 'it is all in' the Asia-Pacific. Such confidence has been built up in the long process of the construction of the American sublime that provides the rhetorical origins of America's Asia policies.

The American sublime is critically outlined in Rob Wilson's fine essay, 'Techno-Euphoria and the Discourse of the American Sublime', in which Wilson traces back to the sublime American landscape that was formed in the expansionist decades of Manifest Destiny in the nineteenth century. Wilson refigures this landscape as the contemporary American technological sublimity in a postmodern era. By reading George Bush's Patriot missiles speech during the Gulf War as 'uncanny cultural symbols of power activating a residual language of the American political unconscious', Wilson uncovers:

High technology, not nature, was used to instigate the will to global superiority at a moment when transnational reconfiguration and domestic stagnation had left many citizens wondering not only where nature had gone as a ground of value but also what was so superior about American technology or even the American economy itself.

This sense of technological superiority, ratifying a deeper cultural and moral conviction of political exceptionality at work, underwrites the grander claim of American hegemony that was

9 Arthur James Balfour served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1902 to 1905 and Foreign Secretary from 1916–1919.

ultimately propagated through this war in the Persian Gulf that 'civilized behavior can begin again' (Wilson, 1992: 219–221).

Wilson did not touch on Orientalism here, but since 'the Patriot missile functioned, beyond its military performance, as a symptom of American desire to install the sublime of its own geopolitical project in global redemption' (Wilson, 1992: 226), American techno-sublime instigates the revival of Orientalism as we see others not as they are, but as we are. As Said wrote, 'Orientalism is—and does not simply represent—a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with "our" world' (Said, 2003: 12).

How America sees itself or in its cognitive mapping of itself to the world has been imbued by a strong sublimity and registers confidence or overconfidence. The exaltation of Patriot missile by George Bush in the Gulf War registers a techno-sublime that puts its power projection as a form of global redemption, and such a techno-sublime has been reinforced through two wars America fought in the new century. 'The most high-profile and concrete elements of the Administration's announced "rebalancing" toward the Asia-Pacific have come in the military realm' (Manyin, et al., 2012: 10). Obama has publicly said that 'reductions in US defense spending will—I repeat, will not—come at the expense of the Asia Pacific' (Obama, 2011). The coming deployment of Sea-Based X-Band Radar in Japan and Southeast Asia as a new and advanced part of US anti-missile defense system in Asia; the proliferated use of drones such like the Global Hawks that keep every corner in the world under its surveillance; and advanced aircraft carriers, various types of combat planes, warships, nuclear powered submarines all symbolize the American techno-sublime and provide the base of the confident rhetoric that America is bound to lead by resorting to high technology. As Clinton says:

Our military is by far the strongest, and our economy is by far the largest in the world. Our workers are the most productive. Our universities are renowned the world over. So there should be no doubt that America has the capacity to secure and sustain our global leadership in this century as we did in the last. (Clinton, 2011)

To summarize, America's pivot/rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific does not go beyond the model of Orientalism, since it is both a distortion and construction of an inferior other or others that wait for the US to be there and assume a leadership role. In a postnational, postmodern, and late capitalist era, Orientalism still lingers. There are those resistance voices that need to be heard, the myth that needs to be destructed, and the binary opposition—superiority/inferiority, leader/subordinate—that needs to be interrogated.

AMERICA'S CHINA-LITERACY AS SELF-IMAGINATION

Although under various circumstances US policy makers have expressed that the pivot/rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific is not aimed to contain China, there are concerns from China and observations abroad that the current US Asia policy intends to isolate and contain the rising power. Responding to Panetta's denial of the fact that the pivot is targeting at China, Richard Armitage, former US Deputy Secretary of State said, '[w]hen the administration says it's not about China, it's *all* about China. China knows this'.¹⁰ The first Australian ambassador to the People's Republic of China, Stephen Fitzgerald, says that 'the decision to "pivot" Australia into the re-invigorated US military alliance strategy in the Pacific was a decision about China, not just about America' (Fitzgerald, 2013: 46). Indeed the political rhetoric is one thing while how such policy is executed is another.

Moreover, how China responds to this pivot strategy matters. 'The media and some Asian observers chose to see all these steps as part of a blueprint for American containment, constraining, or a pushback against rising China' (Lieberthal, 2012: 3). Lieberthal considers such a containment rhetoric as 'wrong' but 'powerful'. It is so powerful that it provokes China to consolidate its domestic power by appeasing to hardliners, instigating the nationalism and stepping up with more assertive diplomatic measures. In his summary, Lieberthal emphasizes the necessity to 'manage the rhetoric and actions behind this strategy' (11).

¹⁰ See http://news.ifeng.com/society/2/detail_2013_11/03/30911891_0.shtml

Surely whether America's pivot/rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific is targeting China or not is debatable both in theory and in practice. But what I am concerned with here is the rhetoric of containment itself and China's reception of and responses to such a discourse.

The discourse of containment has a great deal to do with the perennial China threat literature in America's China literacy, whereas China's reception and response is be associated with China's American literacy biased by the nationalist inclination and the Cold War burdens on both intellectual and public levels.

'The policy one country adopts towards another can affect its perceptions but the converse is also true, in other words that images can influence policy' (Mackerras, 2013: 1). Pan further links the theory and idea with practice and foreign policy by arguing that China threat as a paradigm, not only justifying U.S. policies but also prescribing them. It is widely held that the rise of China is one vital factor driving America's pivot/rebalancing towards the Asia-Pacific. In the congressional report drafted by seven specialists of Asian affairs entitled 'Pivot to the Pacific? Obama Administration's "Rebalancing" Toward Asia', China accounts for such a large part of the report that subtitles related to China appear in every section of this report.¹¹ According to the authors of the report, 'for many observers, it is thus only prudent that the United States gives more emphasis to the Asia-Pacific. A failure to do so could invite other regional powers, particularly China, to the region in ways that are not necessarily in US interests' (Manyin, et al., 2012: 7). The China threat discourse easily finds its usage in justifying America's pivot to Asia. The assertiveness in China's claiming its sovereignty and endeavoring to solve disputes with its neighbors under the principle of 'shelving differences and seeking joint development' is amplified and distorted to the point that China is seeking regional or even global hegemony, so much so that America has a good excuse to project its power to Asia as a pacifier, balancer, or a protector to its alliance.

¹¹ Quoted directly from Justin Logan's 'America's Pivot: One Big Contradiction', January 25, 2013. <http://thediplomat.com/2013/01/25/contradictions-at-the-heart-of-the-pivot/>

Thus, Hillary Clinton could say that 'the region is eager for our leadership' and 'I hear everywhere I go that the world still looks to the United States for leadership'. It not only justifies America's pivot to Asia but also prescribes the practice. It would be naive to say that the rotation of US marines in Darwin, the deployment of Sea-based X-band radar in Japan, and the expansion of partnership with India, Indonesia, New Zealand, and Vietnam apart from traditional alliances are not driven by the China threat paradigm behind. Tracing back to history, it is noticeable that America has been constantly in need of enemies from the former Soviet Union to terrorism so that its military-industrial complex can be satisfied and fulfilled. Otherwise, 'the high-level military spending would be difficult to justify' (Pan, 2012: 85).

Predicated upon Said's Orientalism, Pan deconstructs the China threat paradigm, an important part of western representations of 'China reality' and reveals that the China threat is more of the Euro-American self-imagination than about China itself, corresponding to that Orientalism has less to do with the Oriental than with Occidental. "'The China threat" bears the stamp of Western fears' (Pan, 2012: 44). 'Taking global hegemony in general and dominance in Asia in particular as part and parcel of American self-identity, one would "naturally" treat China's regional influence as a threat' (45). The decade of relative ignorance of the Asia-Pacific by America due to its engagement with anti-terrorism in the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars and China's rising economic and political influence plus its military modernization certainly make the US feel unsafe about its status. The US has needed to reclaim its leadership by demonstrating that it is not in decline through a package of comprehensive policies, under which the China threat is a strong prop. A much deeper reason why America is seeking its enemy can be explained by the fact that the formation and sustenance of one's identity relies upon its imagination of its opponent.

While I cannot deny the fact that China is a growing power with increasing military budget and provocative foreign policies in recent years, I deem that the China threat is more of America's self-imagination than about the China's reality itself. Obama's administration has appropriated the rise of China as an effective

way to pivot to Asia. As I have observed, America's China literacy has not only been distorted by its self-imagination but also limited by the over-reliance on the cold numbers and figures, such as the size of gross domestic product (GDP) and military budget of western China observers. This corresponds to what Edward Said refers to as reliance on social science rather than imagination after World War II. For example, Hugh White's newly published book *The China Choice: Why America Should Share Power* is predicated upon the causal relation between China's rise and China's rivalry with the US in the Asia-Pacific. As White argues, China challenges America's role in the world in a way fundamentally different:

China raises these questions because, in one fundamental way, it is different from any country America has ever dealt with: it is richer and more powerful. Within a few years China is set to have larger economy than America, becoming the first country to do so since America overtook Britain in the 1880s. (White, 2012: 3)

Experts or observers of China in international relations like to focus on statistics, yet this can be superficial. For one thing, those seemingly indifferent figures, like the size of GDP, the military budgets, trade favorable balance, and foreign exchange reserve may support their argument that China is rising in an unprecedentedly fast pace in the world. But being selective in the use of figures, they may deliberately or unconsciously ignore some other figures that offset those positive figures, like the GDP per person, the productive rate of each Chinese worker, or the education level of its citizens. The scholars' selectiveness may be attributed to their self-fulfilling China threat theory 'especially insofar as "area studies" have had close relations with state sponsorship, both intellectual and economic, since their beginning' (Rowe, 2012: 84). Such a selectiveness may also lead the ignorance of the diversity in terms of opinions on almost every issue within Mainland China; China is no longer a nation in which opinions can be censured into a single one, even though the Communist government may have been trying hard to enforce this.

Scholars in social science tend to ignore or give less attention to knowledge in humanity, particularly in what one calls

meta-observations, or the observation of observations. Apart from China's GDP size and growth or military budget, the rich cultural textures, the historical burden of being occupied and invaded for over a century, the social discontent aroused by the large income gap, the environmental problems, the new immigration wave abroad, and other aspects have to be considered when trying to conclude that China is rising and that its rise will lead to hegemony or rivalry with America. Unfortunately, for so many years, China observers in the West, especially in America, who uphold the China threat theory have been dwelling upon the hard and cold facts of social science mainly in the aspects of economy and imprisoning themselves within the imagination without making much progress. Being detached from the Chinese reality, they can hardly reach sound conclusions about China but only those conclusions that support the China threat prophecy.

Based upon the above analysis, the Obama administration's pivot to Asia is not something new or unprecedented but rather a projection of the mixture of its tradition of imperialism and leftover American Orientalism against the backdrop of global capitalization and the contingent rise of Asia, especially China. By critically examining the cultural logic behind America's periodical engagement in Asia, we might find that America's Asia policy is more about itself than about Asia. As Americanists, we need to have a healthy skepticism toward America's high-profile engagement in Asia. I will draw a temporarily optimistic conclusion here by referring to what Edward Said comments on the aftermath of *Orientalism*,

I shall conclude briefly by saying that although the animosities and inequities still exist from which my interest in Orientalism as a cultural and political phenomenon began, there is now at least a general acceptance that these represent not an eternal order but a historical experience whose end, or at least partial abatement, may be at hand. Looking back at it from the distance afforded by fifteen eventful years and the availability of a massive new interpretive and scholarly enterprise to reduce the effects of imperialist shackles on thought and human relations, *Orientalism* at least had the merit of enlisting itself openly in the struggle, which continues of course in 'West' and 'East' together. (Said, 1993: 354)

That said, as new Americanists, we break the boundaries among disciplines as well as those among nations in American studies, endeavoring to end the historical experience, or at least, abase its influence by discovering, analyzing and critiquing it in an ongoing way.

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ABSTRACTS AND NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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**The Transpacific Travel from India to Canada
in *Life of Pi* by Yann Martel
and its link to Transculturality and Transdisciplinarity**

The goal is to see how the transpacific travel of the immigrant Piscine from India to Canada in the best seller and Booker Prize novel *Life of Pi* allows us to revisit the dynamic of exclusion, and the idea of nation and place as well as to recognize alterity in perspectives emphasizing more transculturalism than multiculturalism. This anthropo-thematic analysis will lead us to a theoretical perspective based upon the comparison between trans-multi-interdisciplinary and trans-multi-intercultural perspectives and to establish links between the trans, the multi and the inter in the context of the legitimacy of symbolic and geographic displacements and of multiple encounters as they are linked to the Americas.

Patrick Imbert studied semiotics and literature at the University of Ottawa, and obtained his Ph.D. in 1974. He started his academic career in 1974 as an assistant professor at McMaster University in Hamilton, Canada. In 1975, he taught at the University of Ottawa where he became a Full Professor in 1984. He was professor of the year of the Faculty of Arts 1998, and has a University Research Chair entitled: 'Canada: Social and Cultural Challenges in a Knowledge-Based Society'. He was Executive Director of the International American Studies Association (2005–2009), and became the President of the Academy of Arts and Humanities of the Royal Society of Canada in 2009 (2009–2011). He is co-founder and vice-president of the City for the Cultures of Peace. He is also director of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada funded project (2010–2013) entitled 'Établir des paradigmes opératoires pour comparer les variations discursives dans

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les Amériques menant des identités enacénées, de leur inclusion ou exclusion, aux identités transculturelles dans le contexte de la glocalisation'.

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**Scientific Thought of Lafcadio Hearn:
A Case of Interpreting Japanese Art**

The article focuses on Lafcadio Hearn's scientific thought. His absorption in Herbert Spencer is well-known; and he tries to use Spencer's theory positively in understanding Japanese culture, especially in understanding its religions, Shinto and higher (dogmatic) Buddhism. More specifically, the author concentrates on Hearn's understanding of Eastern (Japanese) art, especially in the contexts of his references to science. While Western painters attempt to paint a particular model precisely, Japanese painters tend towards deformation or abstraction, based on their own recollections of the model, which Hearn addresses in his essay 'About Faces in Japanese Art'. With the aid of 'one of the living greatest naturalists', Hearn maintains that Japanese paintings have succeeded in extracting the essence of the objects *scientifically*. He argues that both abstraction in Japanese paintings and scientific data extraction seem to share a similarity. Hearn's lifetime coincides with the heyday of modern science; reliance on scientific knowledge and proof increased dramatically, on an unprecedented scale, in his day. It is therefore possible to argue the existence of a connection between his position with respect to art and the social and cultural conditions into which he was born. Therefore, even though traditionally Hearn's works have been examined within the field of 'literature', a trans-disciplinary approach to his work seems to offer a new vista on Lafcadio Hearn's thought.

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Mátyás Bánhegyi and Judit Nagy

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**A Trans(I)atlantic Transfer of Cultural Values:
Constructing a Canada-Related Cultural Reader Series
for the Secondary English Classroom in Central Europe**

The 'Canada in the English Classroom' joint research team of the University of Colongne and Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church has been producing a cultural reader series to enhance the dissemination of up-to-date and engaging cultural information on Canada through general English language classes for the secondary school age group in Central Europe. The cultural reader series is seen as a means of facilitating cultural discourse and cross-cultural learning, also advocated in Canadian contexts by Berrell and Gloet (1999). Using Kramsch's (1991) and Damen's

(2003) theories, the readers have been devised so that more abstract and/or lesser-known Canadian cultural aspects can be brought closer to the target group through English as a foreign language. To realize this objective in an effective way in the English classroom, Gochenour and Janeway's (1993) model of culture learning has been observed, which advocates the gradual involvement of students in culture-related issues: starting from observation of culture moving towards genuine communication about culture. After introducing the cultural reader series project briefly, the paper will discuss the theoretical background behind the series and the project activities leading up to the preparation and compilation of its completed volumes. As a next step, an overview of the content of these volumes and the accompanying teacher's notes will be presented. This will be followed by a sample unit demonstration of how the series achieves the goals that research has targeted.

Mátyás Bánhegyi (PhD) is a full time adjunct professor at the Institute of English Studies of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, where he has been teaching general language practice seminars, and offers courses in Translation Studies, applied linguistics and methodology. He defended his PhD dissertation in Translation Studies in 2009. He is also an active member of the 'Canada in the English Classroom' German-Hungarian research team designing Canada-related teaching materials for secondary education.

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Edgardo Medeiros da Silva

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Theme and Subject Matter in Francis Parkman's *The Old Régime in Canada*

'There are no political panaceas, except in the imagination of political quacks'. These are the words used by the American historian Francis Parkman (1823–1893) to suggest that the English and French settlements on the North American continent had been quite different from their onset and were quite possibly bound to remain as such in years to come. His *History of France and England in North America (1865–1892)* provides us with a historical account of the colonization of New France which sheds some light on the colonial beginnings of New England as well. Like

all Romantic or literary historians of the time, Parkman had a story to tell, novelistic in style and all-encompassing in theme and subject matter, which in this particular case is as much about France's status as a colonial power as about England's. Drawing on part four of his *History*, entitled the *Old Régime in Canada* (1874), this paper examines the failure of France to establish the basis of a well-regulated political community in North America in the context of the Anglo-French rivalry for the control of that continent. It aims to determine to what extent Parkman's historical narrative on New France also gives us an insight into New England's history; what does it tell us about the political culture of both colonies? and what vision, if any, of America/of the Americas does it offer us?

Edgardo Medeiros Silva is an assistant professor of English at the School of Social and Political Sciences, Technical University of Lisbon, and a researcher with the University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies. He completed his Ph.D. in American Culture in 2007 with a doctoral thesis entitled 'The Political Jeremiad of Henry Adams'. He is the author of a number of articles and papers, including 'Self and Nation in Henry Adams's Works' (2010), 'The Powerless Diplomacy of the Abbé Correia da Serra' (2010), 'The Hidden Meaning of Literary Success: the Case of Henry Adams' (2008), 'Manifest Destiny' in Henry Adams's History of the United States (2007), 'Historical Consciousness and the Auto/Biographical in the Education of Henry Adams' (2005). His research interests include American cultural history, American political history and American historiography.

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**'Zones of Discomfort' in US Latino Politics:
When Sharing a Sea Does Not Suffice**

What is a U.S. Latino and what does US Latino politics look like? Moreover, what does space, location, and travel over sea, land, and air have to do with U.S. Latino life and politics? Over the years many people have come to anticipate certain things as characteristic of the Latino presence in the US (either from media coverage or political analysis). Many concentrate on the large population of at least partial Mexican family origin. But what happens when different questions are asked and different locations are privileged? In this paper, I look at the southeast coast of the U.S. and not the central, western, or southwestern parts of the country, and I examine expectations of who lives in Florida, what their relation to 'the US' is, and what their sense of diaspora and nationness are. Typical and long-standing associations placing Cubans in southern Florida and Puerto Ricans in the New York metropolitan area are shown here to be more problematic than expected. This paper will show (a) that a noteworthy difference still exists between Puerto Rican and Cuban-American engagement with the US but that it is full of paradoxes, (b) that

much of the difference concerns racialization, and (c) that it may be most productive now and in the future to concentrate on the surprises, what I have elsewhere (Dominguez, *American Anthropologist*, September 2012) recently called the 'zones of discomfort', rather than our 'comfort zones' as students, scholars, and academics. Among the most provocative points made reframing the issue will be the idea that the Cuban diaspora has made more Cubans into Americans than the 1917 Act made Puerto Ricans Americans.

Virginia R. Dominguez (Ph.D. 1979 Yale) is the Edward William and Jane Marr Gutgsell Professor of Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the immediate Past President of the American Anthropological Association, the Co-Founder & Consulting Director of the International Forum for US Studies (established in 1995) and the Co-Editor of its book series, 'Global Studies of the United States'. A political and legal anthropologist, she is a recent past Editor of American Ethnologist as well as author, co-author, editor, and co-editor of multiple books, including White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana and People as Subject, People as Object: Selfhood and Peoplehood in Contemporary Israel. Prior to UIUC she also taught at Duke University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the University of California at Santa Cruz, the University of Iowa, and Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest. She has also been Directrice d'Etudes at the EHESS in Paris, a Simon Professor at the University of Manchester, a Research Fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu, and a Junior Fellow at Harvard University.

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The Empowerment of American Women During The Great Depression in Comparative Perspective

This paper examines the significant progress that women made during the Great Depression and will focus its attention on the Roosevelt era, a period in which women not only reached key posts in the administration but also managed to acquire a new dignity and social status. Besides, it will try to explore the echo that some of these significant women had across other countries, giving as an example the Spanish case. Roosevelt's four terms in office (1933–1945) were a clear example of a time when women participated actively in public life. Women were appointed to relevant government positions and played key roles in the development of the Roosevelt Administration. Roosevelt himself and his federal government fostered these expanded roles for women who worked as heads of Federal agencies, as political advisers, in the New Deal's relief programs, etc. Behind these appointments, we have to highlight the support and compromise of relevant women such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, Mary Bet-

hune and Molly Dewson, just to mention some of the most inspiring figures during this era. Women worked in two main areas: Democratic Party politics and social welfare. As Susan Ware points out, there was 'a network of professional contact and personal friendship that linked the women in top New Deal positions'. In summary, this paper tries to acknowledge and pay tribute to those women, who proved their talent and self-worth and to the ones who were deeply committed with the defence of social reforms and participated actively in politics and social welfare legislation during the Roosevelt era.

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Lei Zhang

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The Cultural Logic of America's Pivot to the Asia-Pacific

The past few years have witnessed the Obama administration's rhetoric from 'return to Asia-Pacific' to 'pivoting/rebalancing toward Asia-Pacific' under which a comprehensive package of political, economic and military moves has been implemented, signifying America's endeavor to shift its focus from the Middle East to Asia-Pacific. However, the notion of 'America's Pacific Century' by Hillary Clinton and the strategy of 'America's Re-balancing toward Asia-Pacific' evade the persistently long history of America's dominance in Asia and the Pacific and America's cultural representation and construction of Asia-Pacific as one region. by reading Obama's foreign tactics toward Asia-Pacific as literature and tracing the translation of America's cultural literacy of this region into policy, this paper treats Obama's pivoting/rebalancing toward Asia-Pacific as a cultural heritage and historical continuity rather than a gravity shift in America's global strategy. That is, such political trope and actions need to be scrutinized from a historical and cultural perspective and the cultural logic behind deserves a careful examination. To do so, I would examine the hegemonic vision and free-trade imperialism, historically upheld and culturally shaped by America, in the very 'fashionable' transpacific project promoted by US-TPP (the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement) in the climate of globalization and transnational capitalism. Also, the discourse of sublimity

and American Orientalism should be evaluated in the course of America's ambitious political engagement and aggressive military deployment in this region. In conclusion, the cultural logic of the current U.S. foreign policy toward Asia-Pacific is inextricable from the Imperialist Imaginary, American Orientalism and American Sublime, all of which but not limited to, render this rebalancing strategy problematic. Rather than dealing with a rising Asia, particularly being anxious about China's threat, America needs a critical self-reflexive examination of its imperialist culture which has shaped the Asia-Pacific Other and translated into its current foreign policy toward Asia and the Pacific.

Lei Zhang is now a candidate for the master degree in English language and literature at Renmin University of China. His research interests include transnational/transpacific American studies, Asian American studies, Thomas Pynchon and Australian studies. He is also a member of Australian Studies Centre at Renmin University. His academic experiences and trips include (1) Co-presentation of the 'Power Shift from the West to the East' at Yonsei Leadership Forum Northeast Asian Network-2009, Seoul, South Korea. (2) 'America's Return to Asia-Pacific from the Perspective of Orientalism' in 23rd Annual Graduate Student Conference, Honolulu, USA. (3) 'Jack Maggs: Construction of Another Series of History through Rewriting Literary Canon' at the 13th International Conference of Australian Studies in China, Chengdu, PRC. His paper 'A Comparison between English News Captions and Chinese News Captions' was published in a core Chinese Journal Journalism Lover in 2010.

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