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Diaspora and Exile La diaspora et l'exil

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Présentation Introduction

Much international scholarship has recently centered on the notions of diaspora and exile. As a country shaped by immigration, Canada can contribute to the discussion by self-analysis and by engaging in comparative studies from an experienced, informed perspective. This issue deals with the theme of diaspora from a Canadian viewpoint, focussing on specific communities within the country. The essays coincide with recent theory in conveying a dynamic notion of diaspora as a process of constant change, constructed through remembrance and (re)creation, a process which generates an ever more complex and dialogic definition of Canadian nationality and identities.

A. B. Anderson's opening piece offers a taxonomy of various types of diaspora minorities from a global and comparative stance. Relying on the work of Esman and Armstrong, but responding to previous theorists in the social sciences, he proposes a less restrictive definition of the term *diaspora*, a definition which would include archetypal groups, based on collective persecution, together with widely scattered ethnic collectivities such as Aboriginal peoples. The essay covers issues such as the notion of homeland, imperialism and colonialism, resistance to assimilation, voluntary and compelled migration, mobilized and proletarian diasporas, and the concept of exile. The fact that almost every one of these diasporic categories find an

Ces dernières années, la recherche universitaire internationale s'est beaucoup intéressée aux notions d'exil et de diaspora. En tant que pays façonné par l'immigration, le Canada peut contribuer à ce débat, grâce à une auto-analyse et à des études comparées menées dans une perspective éclairée et enrichie par l'expérience. Le présent numéro traite du thème de la diaspora dans une perspective canadienne, en se concentrant sur certains groupes particuliers à l'intérieur du Canada. Les études qu'il contient s'accordent avec la théorie récente qui conçoit la diaspora comme une notion dynamique, un processus de changement incessant construit par le ressouvenir et la (re)création, un processus qui engendre une définition toujours plus complexe et dialogique de la nationalité et des identités canadiennes.

Le premier texte, un article de A.B. Anderson, nous offre une taxonomie des divers types de minorités en diaspora, dans une perspective mondiale et comparative. En s'appuyant sur les travaux d'Esman et Armstrong, mais en réagissant également à des théories antérieures dans le domaine des sciences sociales, il propose une définition moins étroite du terme « diaspora », une définition qui permettrait d'englober les groupes archétypaux, marqués par la persécution collective, de même que des collectivités ethniques largement disséminées, tels les peuples autochtones. Son étude porte sur des questions telles la notion de patrie, d'impérialisme et de colonialisme, de

example in Canada confirms its relevance for scholarship on the subject.

Beginning also from a critique of relevant theory, Anne-Marie Fortier uses two recent narratives on the “Italianness” of Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot), to question the usual definition of Italian-Canadians as an immigrant or ethnic (vs diasporic) group, and, more widely, the binary oppositions on which recent theories of diaspora rest. In the first narrative, “Italian officialdom” seek recognition of Cabot as the “first discoverer” of Canada, thus tying in to imperial founding myths and claiming Canada as a second homeland, but also inscribing Italians as migrants. In contrast, the poetic text by Filippo Salvatore suggests a future-oriented synthetic culture, a continuously changing identity, or a *homing desire*. Italian-Canadians, Fortier argues, construct their identity as *both* migrant and indigenous, and are *both* ethnic and diasporic communities. Using theorists such as Clifford, Gilroy and Brah, Fortier proposes a study of the links between different forms of migration, and an exploration of multilocal identities, constructed through remembrance rather than the dualities of geographical definitions.

Neal McLeod links with Anderson’s view of Aboriginal diasporic communities by arguing that indigenous peoples have been forced into a spatial and ideological diaspora within Canada, a process which he traces through the stories of his own family and community (the Cree). It is a history of

résistance à l’assimilation, de migrations volontaires et forcées, de diasporas mobilisées et prolétaires, ainsi que sur le concept de l’exil. Le fait que l’on retrouve au Canada au moins un exemple de chacune de ces catégories de mouvements de diaspora confirme la pertinence de l’expérience canadienne pour l’étude de cette question.

Partant également d’une critique de la théorie pertinente, Anne-Marie Fortier se sert de deux récits récents sur « l’Italianneté » de Giovanni Caboto (Jean Cabot) pour remettre en question la définition conventionnelle des Italo-Canadiens considérés comme groupe d’immigrants ou groupe ethnique (par opposition à un groupe de la diaspora) et, plus généralement, les oppositions binaires sur lesquelles reposent les théories récentes de la diaspora. Dans le premier récit, « les milieux italiens officiels » cherchent à faire reconnaître Cabot comme le « premier découvreur » du Canada, se rattachant ainsi aux mythes fondateurs impériaux et revendiquant le Canada comme une deuxième patrie, mais en inscrivant également les Italiens comme des migrants. Par contre, le texte poétique de Filippo Salvatore nous offre l’image d’une culture synthétique, ouverte sur l’avenir, d’une identité en évolution constante, ou encore le désir de retourner chez soi (*homing desire*). Fortier soutient que les Italo-Canadiens se construisent une identité *tant* de migrants que d’indigènes et qu’ils constituent *à la fois* des communautés ethniques et une diaspora. En s’appuyant sur les travaux de théoriciens tels Clifford, Gilroy et Brah, Fortier propose d’étudier les relations entre les

displacement and of obliteration of collective memory, closely related to 1885 and to the residential school system. The paper proposes stories as the cognitive maps of indigenous peoples, whose metaphorical discourse, different to that of European-based history or science, must be taken into account in the understanding of the history of Canada. But perhaps more crucially, stories become a means of survival through remembrance, “a coming home,” which the author also relates to processes of hybridization and of Trickster hermeneutics (Vizenor), allowing for a holistic lived experience of indigenous peoples.

Cherry Clayton’s contribution presents a relatively unusual viewpoint on diaspora and Canada: by looking at the field of postcolonial theory and its analysis of her country of origin, South Africa, from her recent perspective as a Canadian immigrant, Clayton establishes a comparative stance for theorization on postcoloniality, on South African letters, and on the Canadian position in a (post)colonial world. Her essay deals with South African and Canadian publications on a world which has suppressed apartheid but, if anything, reinforced capitalism, and underlines the questions posed by crucial topics of the nineties together with concepts such as the “diaspora of postcolonial response” to South African struggles.

The last two essays in this section deal with literary texts, and present interestingly contrasting views on mother/lands and remembrance in Jamaican and Chinese female authors. Mari Peepre explores the concept of *demonization* of the

diverses formes de migrations, ainsi que d’explorer les identités multilocales, telles qu’elles sont construites par le ressouvenir, plutôt que les dualités des définitions géographiques.

Le texte de Neal McLeod se rattache à la conception qu’Anderson se fait des communautés de la diaspora autochtone. Il y soutient que les peuples autochtones ont été condamnés à une dispersion spatiale et idéologique au sein du Canada, un processus qu’il retrace à travers les récits de l’histoire de sa propre famille et de sa propre communauté (les Cris). C’est une histoire marquée par des déplacements de population et l’oblitération de la mémoire collective, étroitement liée à la rébellion de 1885 et au système des pensionnats. L’article suggère que des récits peuvent servir de cartes géographiques cognitives des peuples autochtones et qu’on doit tenir compte de leur discours métaphorique, différent du discours scientifique ou historique d’origine européenne, pour comprendre l’histoire du Canada. Ce qui revêt une importance sans doute encore plus cruciale, c’est que ces récits deviennent un moyen de survivance par le ressouvenir, « un retour » que l’auteur met également en relation avec l’hybridisation et l’herméneutique du Trickster (Vizenor), qui ouvre la porte à une expérience holistique vécue des peuples autochtones.

La contribution de Cherry Clayton nous offre un point de vue relativement inusité sur la diaspora et le Canada : en se penchant sur le domaine de la théorie postcoloniale et son analyse de son pays d’origine, l’Afrique du Sud, dans sa perspective d’immigrante récente au

mother as a literary expression of cross-cultural tension and resistance in the writing of Sky Lee and Denise Chong. In the matrilinear sagas of these two Chinese-Canadian writers, the third-generation narrators project their fears and anger onto the figures of the grandmothers, who become icons of the homeland and the heritage culture, as well as oppressors of the silenced mothers/daughters. This third generation, by breaking the rigid filial code of silence, finally reveals the consequences of the harsh Asian acculturation in Canada, and, through a process of individuation, moves towards a different future, a freer "border zone," and a new diasporic identity.

Belén Martín Lucas focuses on a different literary genre, the short story cycle, to show how Jamaican-Canadian authors Makeda Silvera and Diane Maguire contribute to the transformation of a genre which Canadian women writers had developed to convey a particularly female and "Canadian" experience. Through cycles of stories which are set in Jamaica, the writers show childhood memories and a past mother/land to be an integral part of the identity construction of migrants, a psychic space to be taken into account in the definition of a Canadian nationality. Martín Lucas points out the links between the development of the genre and the emerging expression of multiplicity, hybridity, and constantly changing identity expressed by immigrant writers in Canada.

In addition to the articles bearing directly on "Diaspora and Exile," this issue contains three "open

Canada, Clayton définit un point de vue comparatif sur la théorisation de la postcolonialité, la littérature sud-africaine et la place du Canada dans un monde (post)colonial. Son article traite des publications sud-africaines et canadiennes dans un monde qui s'est débarrassé de l'apartheid, mais qui a également renforcé le capitalisme. Elle fait ressortir les problèmes que posent les grandes questions des années quatre-vingt-dix, de même que des concepts tels celui de « la diaspora de la réponse postcoloniale » aux luttes de l'Afrique du Sud.

Les deux derniers articles de cette section portent sur des textes littéraires et nous présentent le contraste intéressant des points de vue sur la mère/patrie et sur le souvenir que l'on retrouve chez des écrivains canadiens d'origine jamaïcaine et d'origine chinoise. Mari Peepre étudie le concept de *démonisation* de la mère considéré comme l'expression littéraire des tensions interculturelles et de la résistance dans les écrits de Sky Lee et de Denise Chong. Dans les sagas matrilineaires de ces deux écrivaines sino-canadiennes, les narratrices de la troisième génération investissent leurs craintes et leur colère dans les figures de leurs grands-mères, qui deviennent ainsi les symboles de la patrie et de la culture patrimoniales, de même que les oppresseuses des mères/filles réduites au silence. La troisième génération, en brisant ce code rigide du silence imposé aux filles, dévoile enfin les conséquences de la dure acculturation asiatique au Canada et, par un processus d'individuation, se dirige vers un autre avenir, une « zone frontalière » plus libre, et une nouvelle identité diasporique.

topic” articles. The first piece, by Pilar Cuder-Domínguez explores the interrelationship between gender and nationhood in early Canadian literature. It compares two sentimental novels written by women, a century apart, that deal with Francophone/Anglophone intermarriage. In both, the understanding of nationality is clearly gendered, although in different ways.

The second piece, by Ann Duffy, Daniel Glenday, and Norene Pupo, examines the role that seniors increasingly play as part-time workers in the Canadian economy. Seniors encounter many of the same failings of part-time work that have such other categories as married mothers and youth. However, many of them also find positive aspects, such as a sense of continuity and a social connectedness. Traditional gender differences in work experience do appear but somewhat less pronounced than in the general work force.

In the third piece, Christopher Kirkey examines the negotiations leading to a 1985 agreement on modernization of the North American Air Defence system. He traces the mixture of motives that guided American and Canadian negotiators and seeks to explain why the outcome was mutually satisfactory.

Finally, two review essays deal with the literature of ethnic communities in English Canada and Québec. Sneja Gunew finds the concepts of translation and community to be central to the diasporic experience, and she traces the diverse attitudes to these in recent texts related to Chinese, Japanese and Italian

Belén Martín Lucas se concentre sur un autre genre littéraire, le cycle de nouvelles, afin de montrer comment les écrivaines jamaïco-canadiennes Makeda Silvera et Diane Maguire ont contribué à transformer un genre que les écrivaines du Canada avaient créé pour exprimer une expérience « canadienne » spécifiquement féminine. Dans leurs cycles de nouvelles dont l’action se déroule en Jamaïque, ces écrivaines montrent que les souvenirs d’enfance et la mère/patrie du passé font partie intégrante de la construction de l’identité des migrants, un espace psychique dont on doit tenir compte pour définir une nationalité canadienne. Martín Lucas souligne les liens qui existent entre le développement d’un genre et l’émergence de l’expression de la multiplicité, de l’hybridité et d’une identité en évolution constante par des écrivains immigrants au Canada.

En plus des articles portant directement sur « la diaspora et l’exil », le présent numéro contient trois articles hors-thèmes. Le premier texte, par Pilar Cuder-Domínguez, étudie les interrelations entre le sexe et la nationalité dans les débuts de la littérature canadienne. On y compare deux romans sentimentaux écrits par des femmes, à un siècle d’intervalle, et qui traitent des unions matrimoniales entre francophones et anglophones. Dans les deux cas, la compréhension de la nationalité est clairement sexuée, quoique selon des modalités différentes.

Le deuxième article, portant les signatures d’Ann Duffy, Daniel Glenday et Norene Pupo, se penche sur le rôle que des personnes âgées jouent de plus en plus à titre de travailleurs à temps partiel à

Canadian narratives. The relationship with a past, often through stories of the mother/land, the sense (or absence) of community, and the positioning in language, are the marks of such literature, which insists on historicizing ethnic writing and on implicitly but determinedly questioning Canadian nationalism. As Gunew puts it, "the ghosts of other languages haunt the Canadian cultural landscape," and this is also apparent in the novels examined by Naïm Kattan, novels by authors of Brazilian, Chinese and Lebanese origin who live and publish in Montréal. Kattan acknowledges the relative youth of immigrant writing in Québec, and compares the approach of two first-generation writers, Kokis and Chen, to that of a second-generation immigrant, Farhoud. Kokis and Chen present elaborate metaphors of the immigrant condition, of the passage between cultures, through the figures of an artist, a mute Dominican child, and a double character who lives two lives, a past and a present one, in an unnamed space. Farhoud, for her part, gives voice to a seventy-five year old immigrant who speaks nothing but Arab, thus conveying her life-story and the dual allegiance of the immigrant "in translation."

Isabel Carrera Suarez
Associate Editor

l'intérieur de l'économie canadienne. Ces personnes âgées sont confrontées aux mêmes problèmes liés au travail à temps partiel que les travailleurs d'autres catégories, dont les mères mariées et les jeunes. Cependant, plusieurs d'entre elles reconnaissent les bons côtés de ce genre d'emploi, tels un sens de la continuité et de l'appartenance au tissu social. Les différences traditionnelles entre les sexes en milieu d'emploi ressortent également, mais elles sont un peu moins accentuées que pour l'ensemble de la main-d'œuvre active.

Dans le troisième texte, Christopher Kirkey étudie les négociations qui, en 1985, ont mené à la conclusion d'un accord sur la modernisation du Système de défense aérienne de l'Amérique du Nord. Il analyse l'ensemble des motifs qui animaient les négociateurs américains et canadiens et tente d'expliquer pourquoi le résultat final a paru mutuellement satisfaisant.

Enfin, deux essais critiques portent sur la littérature des groupes ethniques au Canada anglais et au Québec. Sneja Gunew conclut que les concepts de traduction et de communauté occupent une place centrale dans l'expérience de la diaspora et elle décrit les attitudes variées face à ces thèmes qui caractérisent des textes récents liés à des récits sino-, japo- et italo-canadiens. La relation au passé, qui s'établit souvent par l'entremise de récits de la mère/patrie, du sens (ou de l'absence) de la communauté et du positionnement dans le langage constituent les marques caractéristiques de cette littérature, qui met l'accent sur l'historicisation de l'écriture ethnique et qui remet en

question le nationalisme canadien de façon implicite, mais résolue. Comme le dit Gunew, « les fantômes d'autres langues hantent le paysage culturel canadien », et cela ressort également des romans analysés par Naïm Kattan, romans d'écrivains d'origine brésilienne, chinoise et libanaise qui vivent et publient à Montréal. Kattan reconnaît que l'écriture immigrante est relativement jeune au Québec et il compare les approches adoptées par deux écrivains de première génération, Kokis et Chen, à ceux de Farhoud, une écrivaine immigrante de la deuxième génération. Kokis et Chen construisent des métaphores complexes de la condition de l'immigrant, de la transition d'une culture à l'autre, par l'entremise des figures d'un artiste, d'un enfant dominicain muet et d'un personnage double qui mène une double vie, dans le présent et dans le passé, à l'intérieur d'un espace qui n'est pas nommé. Farhoud, pour sa part, donne la parole à un immigrant de soixante quinze ans qui ne parle que l'arabe, exprimant ainsi l'histoire de sa vie et de la double allégeance de l'immigrant « en traduction ».

Isabel Carrera Suarez
Rédactrice adjointe

Alan B. Anderson

Diaspora and Exile: A Canadian and Comparative Perspective

Abstract

This paper provides a comprehensive theoretical framework for the comparative study of ethnic minorities in a diaspora situation. After reviewing the Greek and Jewish origins of the term "diaspora," the author suggests an extensive range in ethnic minority groups which could be designated "diaspora minorities," and exemplified both within Canada and in global perspective, including: interrelated ethnic minorities in a virtual diaspora situation, scattered ethnic minorities lacking a homeland concept, minorities with a concept of a "recreated" or imagined homeland, diaspora minorities created through colonialism, immigrants and refugees, migrant labour, "mobilized" and "proletarian" diasporas, and "forced" diasporas — exiled, redistributed, enslaved, indentured.

Résumé

Cet article fournit un vaste cadre théorique destiné à une étude comparée de minorités ethniques en situation de diaspora. Après avoir examiné les racines grecques et juives du terme même de « diaspora », l'auteur suggère que l'on pourrait appliquer l'expression de « minorités en diaspora » à une vaste gamme de groupes ethniques dont on pourrait trouver des exemples tant à l'intérieur du Canada que dans une perspective mondiale, dont : des minorités ethniques interreliées en situation de diaspora virtuelle, des minorités ethniques disséminées à qui manque l'idée de patrie, des minorités animées d'une idée de patrie « recrée » ou imaginée, des minorités en diaspora créées par le colonialisme, des immigrants et des réfugiés, des travailleurs migrants, des diasporas « mobilisées » et « prolétaires » et des diasporas « forcées » — exilées, redistribuées, réduites en esclavage, transformées en main-d'œuvre engagée.

"Diaspora," a word of Greek origin, originally referred to the dispersion of the Jews from Palestine (to Egypt, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia and Persia) following the Assyrian conquests during the ninth and eighth centuries BC and more particularly to the Babylonian Captivity in the sixth century BC. The term was next applied to the Jewish exile from Palestine by the Romans during the first century AD. Subsequently the Jewish diaspora referred to a wider dispersion of Jews in later centuries, particularly into Europe. More recently, diaspora has come to refer to the dispersion of any ethnic collectivity, not just Jews.

According to Chaliand and Rageau (1997:xiii-xvii), “there is no ambiguity about the term ‘diaspora’ — ‘dispersion’ — when it is used in relation to the Jewish people. But once it is applied to other religious or ethnic groups, it becomes immediately apparent how difficult it is in many cases to find a definition that makes a clear distinction between a migration and a diaspora, or between a minority and a diaspora.” Searching for criteria which constitute, in whole or in part, “the specific fact of a diaspora,” these authors suggest that a diaspora may be defined as “the collective forced dispersion of a religious and/or ethnic group, precipitated by a disaster, often of a political nature.” A diaspora may also be defined “by the role played by collective memory, which transmits both the historical facts that precipitated the dispersion and a cultural heritage (broadly understood) — the latter often being religious.” They continue, “even more important among the factors that go to make up a diaspora is the group’s will to transmit its heritage in order to preserve its identity, whatever the degree of integration. What characterizes a diaspora, as much as its spatial dispersion, is the will to survive as a minority by transmitting a heritage.” Yet in the final analysis, time is the factor that makes it possible to assert whether a given group is or is not a diaspora; “only time decides whether a minority that meets all or some of the [above] criteria, having ensured its survival and adaptation, is a diaspora.”

As Esman (1986) has explained, “more recently the concept [of diaspora] has been generalized to refer to any population which has migrated from its country of origin and settled in a foreign land, but maintains its continuity as a community.” Thus a working definition of diaspora is “a minority ethnic group of migrant origin which maintains sentimental or material links with its land of origin.” Yet this definition excludes “migrants who take over or form a state and become its dominant element”; “groups who have severed their sentimental and economic ties with their country of origin”; as well as “ethnic groups whose minority status results not from migration but from conquest, annexation or arbitrary boundary arrangements.”

In the view of the present author, however, such narrow definitions of diaspora are neither containable nor particularly useful. Rather, this paper will expound a more extended, encompassing view of diasporas.

Armstrong (1982:206-213) considers Jews, as well as Armenians and Parsees (or Zoroastrians), to represent “archetypal diasporas” which have survived because they have maintained “persistent sacral myths, based on but not always coextensive with distinctive religions, producing an intensity of identity as an ethnic collectivity.” Similarly, Smith (1992) focusses on these very same diaspora ethnic collectivities — Jews, Armenians, Zoroastrians — in his description of “chosen people,” arguing that historical myths — common ancestry and collective romanticization of past history, but most importantly myths of ethnic election — play a significant role in ethnic survival, particularly in a diaspora situation.

Furthermore, as Fein (1993:71-75) and many other scholars (notably Kuper, 1981; Chalk and Jonassohn, 1990) have emphasized, and as we shall see in further detail later, a collective feeling of persecution — in the modern era, in the Jewish case, especially the holocaust and in the Armenian case, genocidal policies directed against them by the Turks — may serve to enhance the survival potential of diaspora minorities.

Simply put, “diaspora minorities” are widely-scattered ethnic collectivities. However, the existing literature in comparative and Canadian ethnic studies fails to clarify or differentiate between various types of diaspora minorities. Such is the central intention of the present paper. In attempting to produce a useful theoretical framework for all types of diaspora minorities (in the broadest sense), examples will be drawn both from a global perspective and from Canadian society. It may be possible, in the process, to discern a uniquely Canadian viewpoint of the international debate concerning diasporas. However, let us be cautious. Given the vast types of diaspora minorities (which we will nonetheless attempt to simplify), as well as the situations — the societal contexts — in which these minorities find themselves both internationally and within Canadian society, it is admittedly very difficult to construct a comprehensive yet concise theoretical framework to explain why certain ethnic collectivities have tended to cluster together while others have not. Doubtless, this discussion could profitably encompass a reexamination of the debate over primordialism; however, we do not have the space to accommodate this informative debate. Suffice it to recall that originally Geertz (1963) and later other scholars (including Ignatieff, 1993; Grosby, 1994; van den Berghe, 1995) have emphasized that members of ethnic groups tend to stress fundamental physical and cultural factors — assumed blood ties (reflected in race, common origin and descent), language, region, religion, customs — to which they give an overpowering and ineffable primordial quality (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:32); whereas other writers (such as Eller and Coughlin, 1993) have sharply criticized this assumption about the naturalness of racial and ethnic identification.

Writing about the relationship between diaspora minorities and their original homeland, Esman (1986) has drawn some interesting contrasts. To most migrant groups (such as Croats in Germany, Pakistanis in Kuwait, Koreans in Japan, or Haitians in the United States — or, doubtless, any of these ethnic collectivities in Canada) — the concept of “homeland” may be quite specific and unambiguous. However, depending on historical experience, the “homeland” may well be a less specific point of reference, according to Esman. Thus, the vast majority of “Africans” in Canada and throughout the Americas tend to identify with all of Black Africa, rather than “a particular territory or cultural community, due to their having been deprived by slavery of tribal solidarity and of specific historical memories.” It goes without saying, though, that the tendency of these Blacks to identify with their ultimate roots in Africa varies widely. Again, among Canadian

and diaspora Jews, there may be evidence of some identification with remote historical memories of the Land of Israel, according to Esman, but most of them lack immediate contacts with that land; they may identify sympathetically with the Israeli state (though not necessarily with Israeli politics), yet Palestine has not been their actual homeland for nearly two millennia. Esman concludes that, to diaspora communities, the homeland may be an ideological construct or myth, but no less significant to them than specific homelands to which other migrant communities relate. Indeed, much can be learned from an interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary perspective about the complexity of the concept of "homeland." Why do some ethnic collectivities even have a focus — often a reemphasis — on an "original" homeland, rather to the exclusion — or at least downplaying — of other factors, such as generations of life in a new setting, concomitant with inevitable cultural changes (as Radhakrishnan has probed in *Diasporic Mediations*, 1996)? In *Cartographies of Diaspora* (1996), British sociologist Avtar Brah further distinguishes between a desire for homeland and a "homing desire."

Moreover, the continuing linkages between diaspora minorities and homelands can be politicized; this is significant for the study of international relations. Diaspora minorities in Canada may be permitted to vote directly in elections in the original "home country" — this is the case, for example, of Greek Canadians. Or they may make substantial financial contributions to political causes "back home" — such as the relatively high Canadian Jewish financial contribution to Zionism (see, e.g. Paris, 1980; Waller, 1981; Abella and Troper, 1983), or fund-raising among Canadian Sikhs for a separate Khalistan to be carved out of India (see, e.g. Chadney, 1984; Buchignani et al., 1985; Blaise and Mukherjee, 1987), and support among Irish-Canadians either for the IRA or for the pro-British Protestant cause in Ulster, etc. Esman has concluded that "with their variable capacities, opportunities and propensities to exert influence on behalf of their domestic or external interests, diaspora communities can be regarded as interest groups and as political actors". Diaspora minorities, then, may be involved in issues that extend beyond the borders of their country of residence. "In some situations, however, the option of politicization is foreclosed for diaspora communities." Moreover, according to Esman, three factors determine the scope and intensity of diaspora activities, including those that affect international relations: the material, cultural and organizational resources available to them; the opportunity structures in the host country; and their inclination or motivation of diasporas to maintain their solidarity and exert group influence.

To these conclusions, however, it seems pertinent to add that several basic situations may be distinguished vis-a-vis the relationship of diaspora minorities to a "homeland."

First, there are interrelated minorities in a virtual diaspora situation. These may include diverse Aboriginal peoples who each most likely once

occupied a fairly well-defined territory but became more scattered, due both to migration (voluntary or compelled) out of their original territories and to forced removal and consolidation into reserves. In spite of considerable confusion over use of the term “Aboriginal,” these peoples could be said to be the ultimate, original inhabitants of lands who became, in most cases, surrounded and outnumbered by alien people — usually immigrants and their descendants — who coveted their lands and attempted to place these Aboriginals at a disadvantage through many processes: exclusion, forced removal, racial stratification, disenfranchisement (see, e.g. Manuel and Posluns, 1974; Goehring, 1993; Anderson, 1994). Examples of Aboriginal struggles abound all over the “Fourth World,” from the battle of “primitive” peoples of interior Borneo and Surinam against logging companies destroying their jungle habitat; to the indigenous people of Chiapas fighting the Mexican state; the reunification of Mayan peoples in Central America; the genocidal invasion of Amazonian Indians’ traditional territories by ranchers, farmers and miners; the resistance of the Sami (Lapps) of northern Scandinavia to hydroelectric development; the quest of Australian Aborigines for land rights; the urbanization of the Maori of New Zealand; etc. (see, e.g. ICIHI, 1987; Dyck, 1989; GAIA, 1990; Fleras and Elliott, 1992; Miller, 1993).

Indeed, the experience of all these diverse Aboriginal and “simple” populations around the world share much commonality with the issues faced by the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. Native people of Canada do not constitute a single ethnic category, but a very wide range of interrelated ethnic collectivities with their specific traditional languages and cultures. The term “First Nations” has usually been applied to Indian peoples in Canada, particularly registered, treaty and status Indians on reserves. But almost half of the registered Indians of Canada no longer reside on reserves, and the term “First Nations” — while occasionally applied to all Native people — usually does not include Metis or Inuit peoples, who together with off-reserve and non-status Indians, now constitute a large majority of Canada’s total Aboriginal population. However, to return to our main point: these are all interrelated “Native,” “Aboriginal,” or “Indigenous” peoples in a diaspora situation (within Canada and throughout North America, not to mention in a global context).

Consider these facts:

- Few specific Aboriginal peoples in Canada have a single, particular, homeland territory; most are scattered throughout many reserves and communities.
- The most populous Aboriginal peoples are also the most widespread geographically. Cree are found from Quebec westward to Alberta, Ojibwa from the Great Lakes (in Ontario) to Saskatchewan (where they are called Sauteaux), while Inuit are subdivided into many

cultural and territorial groupings and into several nationalities (Russian, American, Canadian, Greenlander).

- Some pieces of First Nations territoriality (in the form of reserves) are divided by nationality: for example, the Mohawks of Akwesasne are divided between Ontario and Quebec in Canada and New York State in the United States. Some Iroquois live on reserves in Canada, others in the United States.
- Forced removal has resulted in several cases of very distant separation: one Potawatomi reserve is in Ontario, the other in Nebraska; one Creek reservation is in North Carolina, the other in Oklahoma.

So Aboriginal peoples in Canada, North America and throughout the world constitute a classic form of diaspora. Yet it should be emphasized that this first type — interrelated minorities in a virtual diaspora situation — is not restricted to Aboriginal peoples (in fact, some writers, such as Whitaker, 1972, have used the concept of a “Fourth World” in a more general sense to cover virtually all oppressed ethnic minorities, not just “Aboriginal”). A non-Aboriginal case of interrelated minorities (but not necessarily “oppressed”), for example, would be the Rhaeto-Romansh peoples of the Swiss and Italian Alps (Anderson, 1990). In the Swiss canton of Graubunden, Romansh-speakers are subdivided into six distinct linguistic groupings, each occupying their own territory: Surselvan, Sutselvan, Surmeiran, Filisur Ladin, Engiadin Ota and Engiadin Bassa Ladin. The Ladin-speaking people of Italy are concentrated in seven valleys in the Dolomites. And, further east, the quite numerous Friulian-speakers predominate in the north-eastern province of Friulia. These various Rhaeto-Romansh territories are not necessarily contiguous; most are separated by German or Italian-speaking areas. So the interrelated Romansh peoples together form a diaspora pattern. Yet in Canada, the only illustration of this particular type of diaspora, that is interrelated minorities, would be Aboriginal peoples.

A second type of relationship of a diaspora minority to a homeland occurs when ethnic minorities are completely or only scattered, in other words have no real homeland. All truly nomadic peoples would be of this sort. So, too, would be very scattered peoples who have all dispersed to the point that they have lost all sense of a homeland other than where they may have concentrated in this diaspora. Take, as a good example of the complexity of this situation, the Tatars. The various peoples who call themselves “Tatar” (Volga Tatars, Crimean Tatars, etc.) are not particularly closely related to one another ethnically or linguistically (Comrie, 1981:44); they are more distantly related to all Turkic peoples, and even further to the Altaic ethnolinguistic family which includes an immense diversity of Asian peoples. Therefore, the only concept of “homelands” that these Tatars have is to their immediate diaspora

concentration (e.g. the Volga Tatar republic, Crimea, etc.) rather than, say, Central Asia. Actually, for Crimean Tatars, this homeland concept becomes even more complicated, as most of them were exiled from Crimea during the Stalin era and only quite recently permitted to return to their ancestral homeland, which they regard as Crimea (actually established as a diaspora concentration for these particular Tatars, not an original place of origin for all Tatars).

Turning back to Canada, such a situation cannot clearly be established in this country, except perhaps historically for nomadic Metis and Aboriginals, the descendants of whom have all become essentially sedentary. Yet their eventual concentration in widely scattered settlements could, perhaps, be compared Tatar concentrations.

Alternatively, some diaspora minorities now have an historically, and usually geographically, distant homeland. Some good examples are found in Europe: Gypsies — perhaps one of the best examples of a diaspora minority (although they still do not conform strictly to all of the specifications listed by Chaliand and Rageau) — are variously estimated between eight to fifteen million in total. They are very widely scattered throughout Europe; proportionately, they are most numerous in the Balkans (as many as three million), Hungary and East Central Europe (another estimated 1.4 million), Spain (up to one million) and France (some three hundred thousand)(estimates from Fraser, 1995; Crowe, 1996; Chaliand and Rageau, 1997). They acquired their name in Egypt (at least Europeans believed them to be Egyptians), however they are not Egyptian; scholars have traced their ultimate linguistic and cultural affinities to India, particularly Rajasthan. Another example might be the Buddhist Kalmyks, who have their own autonomous state within European Russia yet who trace their origins to Mongolia. Or again, the Vlachs, traditionally shepherds scattered throughout the Balkans and who are most evident in the Pindus Mountains of Greece; they speak a Rumanian dialect, revealing their distant origin in Rumania.

Again, in searching for a possible Canadian example of this type of diaspora minority, Gypsies found their way to this country long ago and most recently (during the past year) their numbers have multiplied with the arrival of hundreds as refugees purportedly escaping persecution and racism in the Czech Republic. And, of course, examples may be found again among some Aboriginal peoples: on the one hand, the Sioux/Dacotah who resettled in Manitoba and Saskatchewan during the late nineteenth century had been obliged to move north from Minnesota and the Dakotas; whereas the distant linguistic affinity of the Navaho of Arizona and New Mexico is with the numerous Athapaskan-speaking peoples in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the Northwest Territories.

Still another type of relationship between a diaspora minority and a homeland is found in the case of ethnic minorities which have recreated a

homeland. The classic example would be Zionism, whereby Jews in diaspora look to Palestine (or the modern state of Israel) as their true homeland. Indeed, Canadian and American Jews have contributed substantially to Zionism (as noted above). Similarly, Armenian Canadians and Americans have tended to look toward the now independent state of Armenia (the former Armenian SSR within the Soviet Union) as their true homeland — although historical Armenia included a far larger territory extending through what is today eastern Turkey down to Cilicia on the Mediterranean coast. Some rather interesting claims to recreated or romanticized homelands are made among certain Black religious sects in North America and the Caribbean: Rastafarians and Ethiopian Orthodox look to Ethiopia as their idealized homeland, although most of these Blacks were actually of West African origin (Barrett, 1977; Nicholas, 1979; Campbell, 1987; Bisnauth, 1989); Black Moslems are Afrocentric yet ideally look to Mecca (see Washington, 1972; McCloud, 1995); while Hebrew Israelites have established utopian colonies first in West Africa, then Israel (see Ben Ammi, 1990, 1991; ben-Jochannan, 1993; HaGadol and Israel, 1993).

As Esman (1986) has mentioned, there are numerous examples of diaspora minorities which clearly have a contemporary homeland. But we could distinguish further between situations where most of an ethnic collectivity do **not** live in that homeland, versus situations where a majority **do** live in that homeland. Let us now look at each of these situations in some detail.

The former situation is clearly illustrated by Jews, and perhaps Armenians. Of thirteen to fifteen million Jews in the world, only 3.9 million make Israel their home. In fact, between a third and half of the six million Jews in the United States live in the New York City region. Elsewhere in the world, there are significant Jewish concentrations in Russia and the former Soviet Union (estimated to be over a million), France (half a million), Britain and Canada (each with a third of a million), Hungary, South Africa, Argentina. ... (Chaliand and Rageau, 1997; Sowell, 1996) Only half of the world's total estimated Armenian population (over five million) live in Armenia; of the remainder, 1.5 million live in the former Soviet Union (primarily in neighbouring Georgia and Armenia, as well as Russia); while almost another two million are found throughout the Middle East and Europe, in the United States and Canada, Argentina and Australia (Chaliand and Rageau, 1997). Consider also the Scottish and Irish diasporas: if we add up the estimated number of Canadians, Americans, Australians and New Zealanders who claim to be wholly or at least partially of Scottish or Irish descent, they would doubtless outnumber the populations of Scotland (five million) and Ireland (five million including Northern Ireland)(see Sowell, 1996 and 1998). There are an estimated twelve million Irish-Americans today (Chaliand and Rageau, 1997). In Canada, at least two million Canadians claim some Scottish origin, and

almost an equal number, Irish origin (Driedger, 1996:62). [Scottish settlement in Canada has been described in detail by such writers as Hill, 1972; Anderson, 1973; Campbell and MacLean, 1974; Reid, 1976; Bumstead, 1982; Craig, 1990; McLean, 1991; Norton, 1994; and Irish settlement by Mannion, 1974; Akenson, 1984; Elliott, 1988; Houston and Smyth, 1990.]

But among most immigrants and refugees, a majority in ethnic colonies do still live in a homeland, a “mother country” from which they or their predecessors emigrated. Incidentally, while it could be noted that the vast majority of Scots and Irish originally came to Canada directly from the British Isles, of course most Jews and Armenians did not come respectively from Israel or Armenia. Immigrants generally constitute yet another — by far the most prevalent — type of diaspora minority (although admittedly this is stretching the definition of diasporas used by Chaliand and Rageau). As Zenner (1991:7-9,11-17) has commented, Turks have now spread in quite large numbers into many West European countries (and to a far lesser extent to North America). Italians are found in large numbers in North America, France, Switzerland, Argentina, Brazil and Australia (Sowell, 1996). [Italian distribution and settlement in Canada has been detailed by Boissevain, 1970; Harney, 1978; Harney and Scarpacci, 1981; Jansen, 1981; Jansen and LaCavera, 1981; Ramirez, 1984; Taddeo and Taras, 1987.] Canada has long been, and continues to be, one of the major immigrant and refugee-receiving countries in the world. Over 97% of the total Canadian population consists of immigrants and their descendants; actual immigrants (i.e., foreign-born) comprise almost one in every five Canadians today.

Immigrants and refugees have added immeasurably to the ethnic diversity of this country; indeed, they have come to Canada from all over the world. Canada is, then, preeminently a country of diaspora minorities, in the sense that almost every immigrant-origin, ethnic collectivity in the country (that is, with the exception of Jews, Armenians, Scots and Irish noted above) would view another original country from which they or their predecessors emigrated as their historic homeland where **most** of their ethnic collectivity is still found. Thus, there are Greeks in Canada, but they view Greece not only as their original homeland but also as the home of most Greeks. [On Greek settlement in Canada, see: Chimbos, 1980; Constantinides, 1983; Ioannou, 1983.]

Esman (1986) has suggested,

nor do diasporas quickly assimilate into the receiving society. The “illusion of impermanence” has been shattered by the experience of the overwhelming majority of migrations during this century. Through a combination of preference and social exclusion, they maintain their identity and solidarity over extended periods. After three generations the Armenian community in France, though French-speaking and well-established economically, retains its

group solidarity and applauds, when it does not directly support, terrorist activities against Turkish targets. In many countries there are older diasporas and newer diasporas. Even within the same ethnic group mutual support and solidarity may be strained by tensions and conflicts between earlier and later arrivals. Along with internal cohesion, migrant groups tend to maintain links with their country of origin.

However, it may seem more accurate to counter with the more specific suggestion, on the basis of extensive research in Canadian ethnic studies, that in Canada the linkages between ethnic collectivities and original homelands can be very complex indeed. They may depend upon such considerations as the strength of ethnic community organization, the definability of ethnic cultures, the recency and continuity of immigration (for most members of the collectivity), the opportunities for return visits, the distance between Canada and country of origin and the political situation in the latter country. Moreover, refugees may view Canada — at least initially — as a temporary country of asylum rather than as a permanent new home.

The question of return migration is also pertinent. Among certain ethnic collectivities in Canada, quite a high proportion of immigrants may intend to eventually return to their country of origin (especially if they are refugees), or may come and go between these two countries any number of times and so really feel they have dual nationality, a split identity (particularly if their children are Canadian born). For example, in recent years the number of Italian-Canadians returning to Italy has actually exceeded the number of Italians immigrating to Canada. Caribbean migrants have tended to come and go between Canada and the Caribbean (see Ramcharan, 1974; Anderson, 1975; Henry, 1994). Such people redefine the meaning of diaspora in the modern age.

But there are still other types of diaspora situations to consider. Let us now turn briefly to the effect of imperialism in creating diaspora minorities (for a general discussion, see Sowell, 1998). In a typology formulated to outline various types of ethnic minorities of immigrant origin (as opposed to territorial-based, or indigenous minorities), the present author (Anderson, 1990) has distinguished between several types: first, what he called “imperial relics,” defined as the demographic remnants of imperial settlement policies representing ethnic kinship with the colonizing power, yet remaining behind after independence from colonialism. This is most obviously exemplified in the case of European settlers in independent African countries, such as French in Senegal, Italians in Eritrea, British in Zimbabwe or Portuguese in Angola. Yet this is not purely a Third World phenomenon — for example, the continuing prevalence of smaller, widely scattered ethnic minorities in the former Yugoslavia are the remnants of settlement policies introduced by the Austrian and Ottoman empires; these include ethnic Germans and Turks.

Secondly, imperial or colonial settlement policies have created ethnic settlements which are not representative of the colonizers' ethnicity, but rather of the colonizers' desire to import farmers or a rural labour force. Examples would include Czechs, Slovaks and Ruthenians who migrated from their home regions within the Austro-Hungarian Empire to resettle in the Voivodina region of Yugoslavia; or "East Indians" imported by British colonialism into Mauritius, Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), Malaysia, Burma, Fiji, Trinidad and Guyana.

Chaliand and Rageau do not consider the first type of minorities to be, strictly speaking, diaspora minorities, while they do recognize the second type (1997: xiii).

In either type, Canada has inherited immigrants who have not necessarily come to this country directly from a presumed "mother country" but indirectly. To cite some examples, clearly the vast majority of ethnic Germans who established numerous bloc settlements in the Prairie provinces did not come directly from Germany but from German colonies in Eastern Europe (see Anderson, 1983, 1990). Again, Chaliand and Rageau (1997) would question whether these Germans constitute a diaspora minority, whereas other writers, most recently Sowell (1996), seem to find this not to be a problem. Many South Asian ("East Indian") people in Canada immigrated not from India but from the Indian diaspora (as Chaliand and Rageau **do** recognize; see also Buchignani et al., 1985; Israel, 1987). And some "Caribbean" migrants arrived not directly from the West Indies but via Britain (Henry, 1994).

With reference to this last example, we are reminded that colonial or "ex-colonial" migrants may arrive in former colonizing countries (metropolises) from one-time, or remaining, colonies. Thus the population of Britain today includes very large numbers of East Indians and West Indians from former British colonies, just as the population of France includes Francophone West, North, and Central Africans, Indochinese, Lebanese, Pacific Islanders, Reunionais, Haitians, other Caribbean migrants and French Guyanese (Anderson, 1990). Perhaps in this sense diaspora could be described as post-colonial minorities.

While virtually all immigrants (with the possible exception of refugees) could have economic motivations for coming to a receiving country such as Canada, two particular types of specifically economic migrations stand out. First, "middleman minorities" have found a commercial niche in numerous countries, both developed and less developed (Zenner, 1991). Preeminently, the Chinese have historically played the most significant role in this respect not only in Canada but also globally. Today, over seventeen million ethnic Chinese live in Southeast Asia, perhaps some two million in North America (of which two-thirds of a million are in Canada), almost another two million in Latin America and the Caribbean, over 700 thousand in Europe and at least 400 thousand in Australia and the South

Pacific (Sowell, 1996; Chaliand and Rageau, 1997). Other typical, middleman minorities have included, in North America and abroad, Greeks (as well as in Western Europe, some African countries and Australia); Koreans (also in Japan), Vietnamese (also in France), Lebanese (also in West Africa, Australia, Brazil and Argentina), Japanese (also particularly in Brazil and Peru), Portuguese (also in Africa, the Caribbean and Guyana, Bermuda), etc. Among such middleman minorities, ethnic occupational and entrepreneurial specificity is quite common, especially in the earlier years of settlement; for example, in Canada, Chinese initially established restaurants and cafes throughout the country, as did Greeks, Vietnamese and to a lesser extent Lebanese, whereas Koreans focussed on convenience stores (see, e.g.: Con et al., 1982, on Chinese; Chimbos, 1980, on Greeks; Abu-Laban, 1980, Jabbras, 1984, 1987, Waugh et al., 1987, on Lebanese; Tepper, 1980 and Adelman, 1982, on Vietnamese). However, later generations may have tended to move away from these original enterprises; while there are still thousands of Chinese restaurants, today Chinese-Canadians have long since moved into a wide diversity of other enterprises.

Secondly, cheap migrant labour may be imported into industrialized states to supplement a labour shortage and thereby maintain capitalist economic expansion. The millions of “gastarbeiter” (literally: “guest workers”) in Germany and other continental West European countries provide the most striking example of this sort of diaspora (Anderson, 1991); another example would be Palestinians working in the Gulf States and several other Middle Eastern countries (Chaliand and Rageau, 1997). But given Canadian immigration regulations, normally requiring landed immigrant status before permission is granted to seek employment, a policy of “temporary” migrant labour has not been as characteristic of Canada as Europe. This is not to suggest, however, that cheap ethnic labour has not been intentionally exploited in Canada. Historically, Chinese were imported for transcontinental railway building during the 1880s; today, newer poor — especially women — immigrants are disproportionately employed as cheap labour in the “needle trades” (textile industries) and in domestic and public service sectors (Chan, 1983; Li, 1998).

As Esman (1986) has explained,

migration has been a continuous phenomenon throughout history, induced by political or religious oppression and, more frequently, by the search for improved economic opportunities. Migrations may be voluntary or compelled. The most conspicuous case of the latter was the transportation of Africans to slavery in the Americas, but the movement of contract labour ... in the nineteenth century also had many features of compulsion. Rapid population growth, uneven economic development and greatly improved transportation ... have accelerated migratory movements. New, largescale diasporas have appeared almost overnight: Turks in Germany, Jamaicans in Britain, Ghanaians in Nigeria, Indians,

Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the Gulf states, Cubans and Vietnamese in the United States. ... In every continent migrations are producing fresh diasporas and there is no reason to believe that this phenomenon will diminish in importance.

Esman's distinction between mobilized and proletarian diasporas seems particularly pertinent here. Proletarian or labour diasporas have no economic resources other than their labour, few communication skills and limited organizational experience. The great majority of migrant communities begin as proletarian diasporas. Borrowing the term from Armstrong, Esman defines mobilized diasporas as "those which bring occupational or communication skills that are needed and in short supply in an adopted country." So Esman views middleman minorities as a contemporary version of mobilized diaspora. But he further suggests that such a dichotomy (proletarian vs. mobilized diaspora) may seem too crude, and that it might be more accurate to visualize a continuum between these two types.

Let us conclude this essay by further examining the relationship between diaspora and exile. As Esman has implied, diaspora is not necessarily voluntary; it can be forced. Exile, as forced diaspora, may be closely tied to refugee crises throughout the world. Short of physical genocide, the attempted eradication of entire ethnic collectivities, another approach to rid a country of certain ethnicities is to exile, expel, or possibly "repatriate" them. On the one hand, the Canadian population historically owes much to this process in the sense that this country has received so many people who were virtually exiled by various circumstances — political, economic, social — from their countries of origin, not the least including very large numbers of Scots and Irish who were the predecessors of millions of Canadians. Canadians also include Blacks who are the descendants of slaves sent northward from the American South to freedom in Canada via the "Underground Railroad," or intending to escape increasing racism in Oklahoma (Winks, 1971; Walker, 1980; Hill, 1981; Shepard, 1997), Ukrainians escaping poverty and servitude (see, e.g.: Potrebenco, 1977; Piniuta, 1978; Lupul, 1982; Petryshyn, 1985) and countless waves of refugees from displaced persons camps in post-war Europe, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Chile, Viet Nam, Bosnia, Somalia, Kurdistan and so on (Richmond, 1994; Avery, 1995).

On the other hand, Canada has unfortunately also contributed to exile: witness the forced "repatriation" of several thousand Japanese-Canadians for years following the end of World War II, thus in effect exiling its own citizens. Many tens of thousands more were temporarily "redistributed" and prohibited from settling on the West Coast; families were divided, sometimes never to be reunited; property was confiscated, and it would take half a century before any compensation or formal apology from the Government of Canada (Adachi, 1976; Broadfoot, 1977; Sunahara, 1981).

Forced diaspora, or exile, can be a question of scale. An entire minority could be subjected to genocide and exile (as in the case of Armenians in Turkey during the 1920s). Or an ethnic group could be selectively victimized by deportation (as in the Japanese-Canadian repatriation). Or some — but not all — of a certain race or ethnicity have been exiled through the slave trade. In this latter scenario, most Afro-Canadians, whether of Caribbean or American origin, could ultimately trace their descent from that trade which brought their predecessors to the West Indies or America. Yet other (a steadily increasing number of) Afro-Canadians are more immediately from various African origins, having immigrated directly from Africa, or perhaps via Europe. It seems appropriate, then, to distinguish further between an original, forced diaspora (e.g., the African slave trade) and continuing diaspora (e.g., Blacks coming on a voluntary basis to Canada — in fact the predecessors of very few Blacks originally came to Canada as slaves). Again, it merits repetition that a great many Canadians descend from immigrants and refugees who originally came here as exiles, not simply as opportunists.

Let us now review the main theoretical points made in this paper. We have traced the historical origin of the term “diaspora,” particularly as it applied to the Jewish exile and dispersion, and noted contemporary, scholarly concern (represented in Chaliand and Rageau) that the term “diaspora” becomes ambiguous when applied to other ethnic groups, especially given the failure to distinguish between a migration and a diaspora, or between any ethnic minority and specifically a diaspora minority. In these authors’ view, the time factor, or historical context, is therefore crucial. However, we have argued for the use of a more comprehensive definition which would include archetypal diasporas (Armstrong and Smith), cases of collective persecution (e.g., the Jewish holocaust and Armenian genocide) and widely scattered ethnic collectivities. The latter perhaps — but not necessarily — may claim affiliation to an “original” homeland (which may be real and immediate, or historically and geographically distant or recreated), and could include virtual diasporas (such as an Aboriginal “Fourth World” as well as non-Aboriginal ethnic minorities). We have outlined various types of minorities created through colonialism and imperialism; these minorities may recognize both their original historical country of emigration and a receiving imperial metropole as a “mother-country.” We have further noted the resistance of immigrant ethnic minorities in receiving countries to assimilation, as well as the possibility of return migration to a country of origin. We have accepted Esman’s view of economic migrations as diasporas, evidenced in “middleman minorities” and cheap migrant labour; and, following Armstrong and Esman, we have further distinguished between voluntary and compelled migration, as well as mobilized and proletarian diasporas, and have elaborated on exile and repatriation as forced diaspora.

Hopefully, this exercise in classification has served its intended purpose to clarify the meaning of diaspora, and has provided in the process a broad range of examples of diaspora minorities both internationally and within Canada. It is instructive that, while our theoretical framework has been global and comparative, Canadian examples of most types of diaspora are readily found. Even from our very selective citation of Canadian research and writing, it could be discerned that Canadian scholars have contributed very substantially to a comprehensive understanding of diasporas, although — as we have noted — they have not attempted to provide an overarching, theoretical framework. Canada is preeminently a national society which has inherited an extraordinary ethnocultural diversity as the recipient, if not also progenitor, of diasporas.

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Anne-Marie Fortier

Calling on Giovanni: Interrogating the Nation Through Diasporic Imaginations

Abstract

The concept of diaspora has acquired a renewed currency among cultural critics, in recent years. This has led some authors to take a sceptical stance toward diaspora, the increased circulation of which has, at times, emptied the term of its political and historical density. In turn, attempts to define diaspora as a descriptive concept have led to typologies that do little to explore the links between different forms of migration and (re)settlement. In this paper, the author proposes to use diaspora as a heuristic device that favours the exploration of spaces of belonging that are multilocal and constructed through remembrance. She analyses two Italian-Canadian narratives on Giovanni Caboto to set up a number of issues related to some theoretical discourses of diaspora. She namely unpacks the logic of dualities that underpin many geographically-based definitions of diaspora — homeland and hostland; here and there; indigenouness and migration — and which support such claims that diasporas are not immigrants, or that they are not ethnic. What the narratives on Caboto reveal is, first, that these dualities are not so easy to maintain when assessed in relation to locally specific strategies of identity formation, and second, that diasporas are not always already beyond nationalist norms of identity. The terms of membership in the Canadian national body (such as colonization, or blood lines) are at once negotiated, contested, redefined and reproduced in these Italian-Canadian narratives on Caboto.

Résumé

Depuis quelques années, la notion de diaspora a cours à nouveau dans le discours des critiques de la culture. Ceci a amené certains auteurs à regarder cette notion d'un œil sceptique, soit une notion dont le retour en force aurait parfois eu pour effet de dépouiller le terme d'une partie de sa densité politique et historique. Par ailleurs, des tentatives de définition de la diaspora comme notion descriptive ont engendré des typologies qui ne contribuent guère à la mise au jour de liens entre les diverses formes de migration et de (ré)établissement des populations. Dans ce texte, l'auteure propose de se servir de la notion de diaspora comme moyen heuristique d'exploration des espaces d'appartenance polytopiques qui sont construits par le souvenir. Elle analyse deux récits narratifs italo-canadiens portant sur Giovanni Caboto, afin de dégager plusieurs problèmes relatifs à certains discours théoriques sur la diaspora. Plus précisément, elle déballe la logique des dualités qui sous-tend plusieurs des définitions « géographiques » de la diaspora — la patrie et le pays hôte; ici et là-bas; l'origine indigène et la migration — et qui soutiennent les prétentions à l'effet que les diasporas

différent des populations dites « immigrantes » ou « ethniques ». Ce que révèlent les récits narratifs sur Caboto, c'est, premièrement, que ces dualités ne sont pas faciles à maintenir lorsque l'on tente de les évaluer dans leurs rapports avec des stratégies de formation de l'identité propres aux contextes locaux et, deuxièmement, que les diasporas ne dépassent pas toujours déjà les normes nationalistes de l'identité. Les conditions d'adhésion au corps national canadien (telles la colonisation ou les liens du sang) sont à la fois négociées, remises en question, redéfinies et reproduites à l'intérieur de ces récits italo-canadiens sur Caboto.

The renewed currency, in recent years, of diaspora as a theoretical tool has surfaced in the context of contemporary migrations of peoples, capital and cultures. An important contribution of this body of work is to mediate the relationship between the constraining local and the inflated global by conceiving new forms of belonging that are linked with both local conditions of existence and multilocal ties and connections.²

The revived usage of the notion has led some critics to adopt a sceptical stance toward the concept of diaspora (Akenson; Tölölyan). Indeed, the increased circulation of the term risks rendering it nothing more than another way of speaking of cultural cosmopolitanism, thus emptying it of its political and historical density. On the other hand, attempts to draw a clear definition of the term have not offered satisfactory answers to this “problem” because they tend to conflate diaspora and identity and to trace a typology of ideal-types against which populations of migrants may be assessed in regard to the extent to which they constitute a “diaspora” (Safran; Cohen).

One of the consequences of such a typology is the tendency to polarize immigrants and ethnic groups on the one hand, and diasporas and exiles on the other (Clifford; Tölölyan). Within such theoretical discourses, diasporas are conceived as confounding territorial and essentialist nationalisms in favour of transnational subjectivities and communities, while immigrants are still seen as moving from one nationalist identification and culture (in)to another. Yet immigrant populations experience “diasporic moments” which, as Caren Kaplan pointedly argues, “could be further plumbed, rather than marginalized, for links between the historical experiences of migration and displacement.” (137) A large number of immigrant populations — not only migrant ones, as James Clifford states — share “forms of longing, memory, (dis)identification” (Clifford, 305) with displaced peoples. Similarly, displaced people inevitably deploy strategies of “dwelling” (Clifford) within their new living environment that are akin to those of immigrants.

Another outcome of the multiplication of “diasporas” is the inclination to engulf dispersed and diverse communities within culturally unified groupings: the Irish diaspora, the South Asian diaspora, the African diaspora, the Chinese diaspora, etc.³ “[W]hat theorists of the [sic] diaspora often tend to forget,” write Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, “is that

location is still an important category that influences the specific manifestations of transnational formations” (16).

More broadly, it seems that the above-mentioned limits of diaspora emerge from a logic of dualities on which a number of its present uses rest. This paper proposes to discuss the constitutive potency of the “betweenness” that James Clifford has celebrated as diaspora’s empowering paradox, and to interrogate the very terms of this betweenness: homeland and hostland, here and there, indigenoussness and migration. These dualities emerge from understandings of culture that remain deeply connected to territoriality; a nationalist conception that rests on the congruence between geography, culture and identity.⁴

By way of developing its argument, this paper analyzes two contrasting Italian-Canadian narratives on Giovanni Caboto and explores how efforts of settlement and rootings manifest themselves in locally and historically specific ways, and how they articulate with multilocal terrains of belonging. The question is how these multiple connections are rearticulated and re-membered in the process of identity formation. In short, we will explore how a lived or imagined “diasporic mode of existence” (Marienstras, 184) mediates the formation of localised cultures, identities or “communities” by examining the “diasporic imagination” of this immigrant population; that is, the terrain of belonging that spans multiple localities, territories and histories, and which is located beyond and between these multiple poles.

The example of Italian-Canadians is particularly relevant because they are most commonly defined as an immigrant *or* ethnic group.⁵ Rather than constituting one or the other, I suggest that this “cultural community,” to use the Québécois official jargon,⁶ is both ethnic and diasporic. The massive scattering of Italians from impoverished rural areas of Italy between 1860 and 1960 comprises a form of diasporization⁷ that has fostered particular kinds of diasporic imaginations in particular settings of (re)settlement. These, in turn, support diverse cultural forms, some of which are examined here.

I begin with recent manifestations of the historical narrative promoted by Italian officialdom and Italian-Canadian leaders in their project of rehabilitating Caboto as the first discoverer (sic) of Canada. The late historian Robert Harney has already produced an incisive critique of what he calls *scopritorismo*, the “hunt for the Italianità of warriors, priests and explorers of Italian descent serving New France.” (41) Harney examines this particular identity project as a search for symbolic figures to support claims of a glorious Italian-Canadian past; one which acquires political potency in the context of multicultural Canada. By casting the official Italian discourse of history against Filippo Salvatore’s poetic narrative addressed to Caboto — examined in the second part of this essay — we perceive that particular historical or cultural figures may be the site of

competing definitions within the Italian “community.” Indeed, Salvatore’s poem questions the very significance of Giovanni Caboto for the recovery of a positive Italian self-identity. In short, Caboto serves as a vignette to set up a number of issues related to the critical and creative potency of diaspora as constitutive of identity formation. Hence the concluding section reviews the analysis of each narrative to further develop my argument about the limits and possibilities of diaspora. What these narratives reveal is that memory, rather than territory, are the principle grounds of identity formation.

From John to Giovanni I: Claims of Indigenoussness

Since 1925, Italian officialdom in Canada has sought to restore the “real” identity of John Cabot, that is the Venetian Giovanni Caboto, and to have him recognised as the “first discoverer” of Canada.⁸ The most recent manifestation was in 1997, year of the 500th anniversary of Caboto’s voyage to the shores of what is today Cape Breton Island. To mark the quincentenary, a commemorative stamp was issued simultaneously in Canada and Italy. Under the image of his sailing vessel, Cabot/to is remembered in three languages: “Cabot’s voyage – Le voyage de Cabot – Il viaggio di Caboto.” In Montreal, the Italian parish Madonna della Difesa, situated in Little Italy, paid tribute to *Giovanni Caboto, scopritore del Canada* (Giovanni Caboto, discoverer of Canada) in the booklet printed for its annual procession. The biographical note reads as follows:

Giovanni Caboto
1497-1997

On June 24 1497, The Matthew, under the command of Giovanni Caboto, arrived to Cape Breton from Bristol. From this day, this land was no longer neglected but discovered, explored, inhabited and today is part of Canada.

There is no doubt that Giovanni Caboto was the first true discoverer of Canada.

For these reasons, we of Italian origin proudly celebrate the quincentenary of the arrival on Canadian land of the first great navigator Giovanni Caboto and we do not feel strangers in this big and beautiful country: Canada.

As the above text illustrates, the obsession with who travelled here first still frames the ways in which some Italians create a place for themselves as an “auxiliary founding people” (Harney, 40). Their repeated efforts to have Caboto officially recognized within the Canadian historical landscape — to the point of attempting to have Caboto Day declared a Canadian holiday (56) — are entangled with the founding myths of the Canadian nation, which constitute a “crucial site in which the terms of ‘membership’ in the national ‘body’ are contested, policed, and ultimately re-defined” (Lowe, 3-4). The contested meanings around the “true” identity of Giovanni and,

more importantly, that of the European state in whose name he travelled and laid claims to the “discovered” land (he planted both the British and Venetian flags), testifies not only to the inherent malleability of the past, but also to the very criteria upon which national membership is defined.⁹

Narratives of the “right of blood” are woven through a quest for the patriarchal pioneer that will secure claims of ethnic distinction and national belonging at once. The underlying assumption is that the past accomplishments of “great men” somehow testify to the inherent qualities of the Italian culture, of which all Italians are the natural bearers. The pronouncement of both a positive ethnic specificity and national belonging is found in a statement by an Italian-Canadian woman and member of the Montreal-Italian “leadership”:

C'est toute une fierté que je ne peux pas nier. Devant quelqu'un qui dit: "on est tous égaux ici, on a tous les mêmes droits", je dis que nous dans un sens on était là même avant les Français et les Anglais. À moi ça me fait du bien de savoir qu'on a une place, que nous ne sommes pas complètement déracinés, complètement venus d'ailleurs. On ne peut pas nous dire que nous sommes des gens arrivés, que nous n'avons pas de liens. On a contribué au fait que le Québec, que le Canada existe. Et je me sens privilégiée devant les gens qui viennent, qui vraiment n'ont aucune contribution autre que récente au développement de ce pays. Alors peut-être c'est une fierté d'être Italienne: savoir qu'on était là dès le début, on était parmi les premiers. (in Tardif et al., 35)

As this passage testifies, claims of an historical pedigree separate this woman from other, more recently arrived immigrants. The evocation of “origins” — “we were here from the beginning” — is possible thanks to the very construction of a history that “belongs” to Italians living in Canada. By the same token, this woman’s statement at once marks off the “beginnings” of modern Canada, and establishes a hierarchical system of differentiation between ethnic groups such as Italians, more recently arrived immigrants, and Native peoples.

Definitions of national belonging, in Canada and Quebec alike, are still grounded in the conflation of genealogy and geography, thus rendering displacement and geographical mobility as the antitheses of national membership. This calls forth the issue of indigenusness — that is a political claim of national membership founded on past political realities that give some historical right to actually be here¹⁰ — and its connections with notions of migration and displacement. It raises the questions of who is indigenous and what are the terms of definitions of indigenusness? How long does it take to become indigenous? The separation of “immigrant” and “ethnic” precisely ties in with the tendency to oppose displacement and indigenusness in a way that runs parallel with rootedness and uprootedness, and that reinstates the connection between settlement, rootings, territory and national belonging. The example of Caboto brings to

the fore the ways in which Italians relocate themselves as indigenous, thus positing themselves as the “indigenous other” of more recently arrived immigrants, while claiming some form of equal status in relation to English-Canadians and French-Canadians. This illustrates the extent to which immigration is often the site of struggle over definitions of nation, ethnicity and national belonging, and the ways in which these issues are played out differently in different parts of the world. What is at stake here is the neutralization of foreignness, as stated in the passage from the church booklet cited above: “we do not feel strangers in this beautiful country.” Similarly, in his preface to *Giovanni Caboto, scopritore del Canada*, Camillo Menchini dedicates his book to “all Italians in Canada, so that they no longer feel strangers in this land” (n.p.).

The principal site through which groups lay claim to some kind of Canadian “indigenosity” is colonization and conquest of the “land.” Statements that Caboto saved this land from neglect and that he was the “first discoverer of Canada” consistently invalidate claims of autochthony by Canadian “first nations,” and reworks a hierarchy of immigration through allegations of historical achievements measured in terms of the “glories” of imperialism. Such was the rationale behind an exhibition held at the David Stewart Museum on Saint Helen’s Island, in Montreal. Entitled *En Route to the New World: Caboto and the Italian Navigators on Their Journey to the Americas*,¹¹ the exhibition was funded by the museum itself, with help from the Italian Department of Foreign Affairs and the Italian Department of Culture. It was actively promoted by the Italian Cultural Institute (attached to the Italian Consulate). After some pressure from the Italian Embassy, the exhibition was moved to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, where it opened on June 23, 1998 and will remain until April 1999.

Stating that Giovanni Caboto was “the first modern explorer to set foot on North-American soil,” the exhibition was clearly aimed at celebrating the glorious past of Venetian explorers, as testified by the introductory text of Montreal’s display:

Our exhibition focuses on the role of Venetians and other Italians [sic] as they participated in the recovery of classical geographical knowledge and the diffusing of navigational and cartographic skills which contributed to the discovery of the New World and to the expansion of European dominance.

The historical narrative of Giovanni Caboto reinstates the Eurocentric and colonialist terms of membership to the Canadian nation, while it constructs a history which “belongs” to Italians and consequently validates their claims for special status, even if only symbolic, within the Canadian national “family.” At the same time, this history calls into question the mythic, pure origins of Canada’s two founding peoples, the French and the English. The recovery of these new bloodlines disturbs, indeed “contaminates,” the lines of descent drawn from

John-Cabot-the-Englishman and Jacques-Cartier-the-Frenchman downward. Claims for the status of Italians as an auxiliary founding people are steeped in genealogical tracings of Italian blood within both the Québécois and Canadian national “bodies.”

This historical reconstruction of Giovanni Caboto illustrates the diasporic imagination of some Italian-Canadians, which is at once deeply nationalist and transnational; both a process of constructing and reproducing a national culture and heritage, and a process of hybridization which, to be sure, is embedded within the European imperial past. This example illustrates how immigrants’ efforts to achieve local particularity and recognition are caught up with and defined against definitions of indigenesness (Clifford, 307) that result from the conflation of ancestry and territory, and that guarantee some claims for special status.

From John to Giovanni II: Distant Memories, Moving Cultures

An interesting paradox nonetheless surfaces from the repeated efforts to recover Caboto’s “Italianness”: the insistence on the indigenesness of Italian-Canadians by virtue of their ancestry relies heavily on a voyage. Claims of ancestry posit Caboto as the first Italian pioneer, thus by extension, the first Italian migrant to set foot in Canada. Though steeped in nationalist, imperialist and gendered orders of knowledge, these narratives continually reinstate remembrances of migration as the ground of Italo-Canadian identity. While distancing themselves from “immigrants,” these narratives also re-play the migrant “origins” of Italians in Canada.

To explore this point further, we will examine Filippo Salvatore’s “Three Poems for Giovanni Caboto” which convey an ambivalent relationship to migration and settlement, as well as to both Canada and Italy. The speaker of the poems addresses the bronze statue of Caboto erected in Caboto Square at the corner of Atwater and Sainte-Catherine Streets, near the old Forum, in Montreal. The three poems trace three movements in an emigrant’s journey — movements which contrast starkly with the immobility of the statue.

The first poem is about the emergence of an emigrant consciousness. It opens with the speaker remembering that “it didn’t take much” for him to leave Italy.

And to make me leave,
several bad crops, a sponsored
call, a visa sufficed.
It didn’t take much to raise
my arms; despair let me surmount
my love for the native land
and my last indecisions.

The emphasis on how “it took so little,” the closing line of the first poem, also stresses the tenuousness of ties to the “native land” and the

instrumentality of national allegiance. This narrative is reminiscent of the early Italian migrants' relationship to Italy. When asked whether they loved their country, Robert Foerster reports them as answering: "Italy is for us whoever gives us our bread" (22).

Salvatore further amplifies this point by casting the easy choice to leave alongside the comfortable conditions of his journey:

Giovanni, I didn't need courage,
like you, I didn't set sail
towards the unknown on an unsafe boat,
... I travelled comfortably
with a DC 8 Alitalia plane,
flew over the ocean,
closed my eyes,
dozed for a few hours and
arrived in the land of my dreams.

The speaker looks at Caboto and remarks on how their respective experiences have nothing to do with each other, thus establishing a distance between them. More importantly, this passage reads as a distortion of stories of Italian emigration, epitomized by the sacrifices of leaving one's home and settling in a new country (Fortier). Once in the land of his dreams, however, the speaker found "plenty of bread, and warm water too," but he also "discovered what it means/to be an emigrant," facing "scornful glances, a hostile/environment, an overwhelming/emptiness in my soul."

The tension between longing to belong (Probyn) on the one hand, and exclusion on the other, runs through the second poem, where the speaker finds some solace in relating to Caboto through the image of the emigrant, that person whose dual belonging is stamped down by the national forces of homogenization.

Giovanni, they erected you a monument,
but they changed your name; here
they call you John. And you
look at them from your stony
pedestal with a hardly perceivable
grin on your lips.

A character with two names, John/Giovanni symbolizes the struggles between two competing imperialisms: English cultural imperialism (Ianucci, 219) — "they changed your name" — and Italian expansionism — Giovanni grins and looks down on the English from the heights of his pedestal. The speaker queries Giovanni:

Where are you looking to?
Towards the new or the old world?
You don't answer me, of course,
you remain standing at Atwater and
keep on gazing afar.

William Boelhower suggests that this passage exemplifies the “ethnic practice of interrogation [that] refuses to reduce the order of discourse to a single meaning, a single code or cultural model and prefers instead a strategy of perspectival ambiguity” (233). Yet this perspectival ambiguity does not spontaneously come about. It grows gradually, out of experiences of migration and *trials* of identification that negotiate the different orders of discourse available to the immigrant. In the second poem, the emigrant finds momentary comfort in joining the Italian-Canadian chorus that re-processes Caboto’s journey as part of the Canadian national heritage, as well as part of Italian-Canadian belongings.

How many Italians took the boat
with you? Today we are many, so many,
and most of us are young,
young and ambitious, like you,
young and forced to emigrate, like you,
to start a new life abroad, like you.
You were the first to plant
on the barren, wave-struck reef
the Lion of St. Mark beside the Royal Jack.
Today at the top of the sky-scrapers [sic]
being built in this icy land
by so many of your fellow countrymen,
the tricolore flies
beside the maple leaf.

The repeated likening of present-day Italian immigrants with Giovanni — the iteration of “like you” — constructs a male immigrant subject, and reinstates the masculinist filiation from Caboto to his “fellow countrymen,” whose role as builders of the Canadian nation is asserted once again.

However, the speaker questions the assumptions of filiation in light of the ignorance and indifference of his “fellow countrymen” toward Caboto: “Only few of them know you.” The certainty of continuity is brought to question by considering what it means when people have forgotten: what is the meaning of historical memory if it does not relate to the daily life of those emigrants who “speak about dollars/and houses to buy while they wait/for the 79 bus at the terminal/and rub their noses”?

The distance, then, grows again. And in the third poem, where the speaker returns to visit Caboto some months later to find him still gazing afar, oblivious to the “warbles” of the couple of pigeons perched on his shoulders, the gap becomes unbridgeable. As he attempts to speak to Caboto, he finds he cannot.

I had stopped to speak to you,
Giovanni, but I could not manage;
you are only a bronze statue
amongst freshly planted geraniums
and maple trees newly covered
with a light-green mantle;

you are a symbol. The life
of your memory is as ethereal for me
as this early morning-sun,
as my lucidity ...
People continue to come out [of the Métro],
become a crowd that
snakes me up, clogs me, carries me away.

The narrator's momentary alliance with Italian collective recollections, and his subsequent disconcerted realization that Caboto is just a statue, questions the ethnic project behind the remembrances of past glories. If, as William Boelhower suggests, "remembering itself is the ethnic project" (240), remembering, then, produces the very ethnicity that is said to be *expressed* by the recovery of the past. It follows that memories, indeed histories, are plural and subject to constant reprocessing. Salvatore's move away from Giovanni signals the refusal to further engage with it as a figure of identity, indeed, as the father of the Italian presence in Canada.

His disengagement is additionally marked by the presence of "an old drunkard" who appears at the end of the second poem, and who is still there when the speaker revisits the statue in the third poem. The old man is the French-speaking other — who "gives me a shake and mumbles/ in his whisky-stinking mouth, maudit" — and the loyal companion of Giovanni. His presence, his gesture of shaking the speaker is a concrete manifestation of the "scornful glances" encountered earlier. A reminder of "what it means/to be an emigrant." This is a strange encounter between the emigrant who can no longer relate to Giovanni, and a French-Canadian who has somehow appropriated the square where the statue stands. It is the drunkard, rather than the Italian immigrant, who seems to have made Caboto Square his "base," his "territory." His drunkenness, in addition, signals the decline of Caboto as a figure of collective identification.

The poems end with uncertainty: the concluding image of the narrator being taken away by a wave-like movement of the crowd suggests an opening toward an indeterminate future. The distancing from some Italian memories in order to "go with the flow," as it were, is what Salvatore views as the necessary step for the formation of a new cultural field that is no longer confined to, as he puts it in a interview with Fulvio Caccia, "une vision ethnique" (Caccia, 159). A new culture that emerges from the synthesis of two poles of reference, Italy and Canada, is where an increasing number of Italian-Canadians feel at home (158).

Unlike Italian officialdom in Canada, Salvatore's identity project is ongoing, always changing, subject to the movements of crowds or changes in the wind — "A stranger blow of the breeze/gives me the goose-flesh/and swells up my shirt." Salvatore writes of an identity outside the conflation of history, territory and culture in one single timespace; it is rather an identity which lives through the multiple histories, cultures and memories that circulate around him, and which he continually re-combines in his own

process of re-inventing himself. A number of entangled tensions weave through Salvatore's three poems and gradually move beyond the injunctions of national memory that dictate allegiance to and pride in the heroics of men from the past. By throwing open the meaning of memory, Salvatore challenges the question of legitimacy, of the right to belong by virtue of some historical past.

Revisiting the Space(s) of Diaspora

The quest for the ethnic patriarchal pioneer — which Salvatore gradually leaves behind — is part and parcel of a longing to belong that is provisionally solved by a reprocessing of the origins of the Italian presence in Canada. This cultural reprocessing is at once multilocal and grounded in the very history of migration, and also constitutes a way of rooting Italians in Canadian territory. Against the assumed isomorphism of diaspora cultures, the reconfigurations of home, origins and indigenesness invite us to interrogate the different ways in which migrant populations negotiate a place for themselves in relation to the place of residence. Using these examples, I propose to revisit the three dualities introduced earlier which often underpin definitions of diaspora: homeland and hostland; here and there; indigenesness and migration. I conclude with a suggestion that other ways of thinking about diaspora might prove more fruitful in thinking about the connections, rather than the differences, between different forms of migration (namely between immigrants/ethnics and diasporas).

Concerning the opposition between homeland and hostland, Avtar Brah makes a useful distinction between “homing desire” and “desire for the homeland” as a way of capturing the problematic of “home” and “belonging.” Brah introduces this differentiation because, she argues, “not all diasporas sustain an ideology of ‘return’” (180). Indeed, many attempts to define diaspora have positioned the desire for the homeland as its central, if not sole, defining feature (Safran; Cohen; Conner; Tölölyan). In this context, Brah's distinction is pertinent for it draws our attention to how claims for “home” may vary. The recent Italian historical narrative constructed around the figure of Caboto is about staking a claim to this land as belonging to Italians. It is about making Canada a second Italian homeland; it is about a desire for *a* homeland created by merging *the* homeland (Italy) with the new land of residence (Canada). This construction, in turn, results from a reconfiguration of the origins of Canada and its conflation with the voyage of an “ancestor” of present day Italian-Canadians. Salvatore's narrative, in contrast, may be expressive of a homing desire, that is the desire to feel at home, without necessarily making a place his own. Indeed, in the conclusion of his three poems, his home appears to be diffuse, nowhere and everywhere at once. His poetic text emphasises the continual reconstruction of identity.

The reconstruction of the historical presence of Italians in Canada undoubtedly testifies to the malleability of the past and, more importantly, to the ways in which national belonging and origins may be contested. The narratives examined here operate from the standpoint of different relationships to home, in which Italy and Canada as “homeland” or “hostland” are redefined if not blurred. It is precisely this kind of “entangled tension” that supports Clifford’s appraisal of diaspora as the grounds for destabilizing nationalisms. National narratives, based on common origins and gathered “peoples,” cannot easily accommodate groups that maintain important allegiances and connections with another “homelands” or with communities dispersed elsewhere. The “empowering paradox of diaspora,” Clifford suggests, consists of challenging nationalism’s contentions about the congruence of territory and culture: “dwelling *here* assumes a solidarity and connection *there*. But *there* is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation” (332; emphasis original).

What the recovery of Giovanni Caboto reveals, however, is that the allegiance which Italians are trying to demonstrate is allegiance to Canada while making it a (second) Italian homeland. Hence questions arise as to where or what is “there”? Is it necessarily *not* “here”? Is it necessarily non-nationalist? Positing connections “elsewhere” as a central defining feature of diaspora populations amounts to reproducing a nationalist contention that presumes or even indeed that naturalises people’s allegiance to an *other* place. Diasporas are always expected to maintain ties, emotional and practical, with their “land” or “culture of origin” (Tölölyan; Safran). So, too, are immigrants; until, that is, they gradually integrate into the “host” society. The ambiguous distinction between immigrant and diaspora is further discussed below. At this stage, I would point out that the very nationalism Clifford seeks to discomfit with diaspora is reinstated within his theoretical discourse: the duality between here and there reinstates territory and geography as the key defining principles in definitions of diasporic subjects and cultures. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests that such contentions may result from definitions of diaspora predicated on forced displacement, which “still [assume] the primacy of an earlier placement” (342). By establishing the defining moment of diaspora in its inception — the trauma of displacement — it is easy to reduce diaspora to its (dis)connection with a clearly bounded timespace, the “homeland.”

In contrast, running through the appeals to Giovanni are processes of re-membering — whether formalised as History or recounted as living memories — that continually displace territorial borders and redefine the confines of “home.” Indeed, in the narratives discussed here, memory acts as the key vector through which spatiality is reconfigured. This is precisely what Paul Gilroy insists upon in his conception of diaspora: memory, rather than territory, is the principal ground of identity formation in diaspora cultures (1994; 1993). Re-membering not only defeats the idea that the

homeland is a constant and sole object of longing, but it is also tied to the very (re)construction of the identity of places, in this case, to the reconstruction of the identity of Canada. More locally, the calls to rename the Cabot Trail to become the Caboto Trail (Harney, 53), or the renaming of Caboto Square in Montreal in 1955 (52), consist of rendering an Italian identity to particular places, of investing them with an Italian memory. The acts of re-membering speak of an enduring presence and “roots” it within local territory. Speaking of migrant identity-formation as a practice of re-membering places, disturbs fixed notions of spatiality and territory.

As stated earlier, the repeated appeals to Caboto’s voyage paradoxically reinstate the migrant origins of Italians. The interesting twist of Salvatore’s poems is that the speaker leaves the fixed and stayed figure behind to “go with the flow,” to “return,” ultimately, to his migranhood and make it his living ground. To be sure, many would not contest the migrant origins of Italians, and would even add the insipid declaration that “we are all immigrants” in order to suggest a kind of pseudo-equality between the “founding peoples” and “cultural communities” in Canada. Camillo Menchini joins this chorus in the preface of his book, where he asserts that Natives, too, are immigrants, having migrated here through the Bering Strait in pre-Christian times. In so doing, Menchini adds an extra layer to his invalidation of autochthonous claims.

Far from wanting to defer to this proposition, my point is rather that claims of indigenoussness are tied in with the migrant origins of the Italian presence in Canada. This brings us to the third duality: indigenoussness and migration.

In her book on diasporas and identities, Avtar Brah introduces the notion of “diaspora space,” a social and political space that

is “inhabited” not only by diasporic subjects but equally by those who are constructed and represented as “indigenous.” As such, the concept of diaspora space foregrounds the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of “staying put.” (16)

This diaspora space is inhabited by subjects deemed separate and distinct: the diasporic and indigenous. As suggested earlier, who is indigenous, when and for whom remains uncertain and inherently variable. Indeed, the polarization of diaspora/dispersion and indigenoussness/staying-put becomes problematic when assessed in relation to the Italian-Canadian project of recovery and its deployment within a revised history of Canada’s colonization. The construction of the Italian presence as *both* migrant and indigenous potentially disables the opposition between the terms. Moreover, it raises the issue of the significance of establishing connections to a land as a means of acquiring membership in the national body. In other words, indigenoussness is woven with notions of “staying put,” of “roots.”

Although some theorists suggest that we are in a transnational era which undermines any concern with roots, migrants are constantly negotiating

their positions between nations, between “where they’re from,” “where they’re at” (Gilroy, 1991) and “where they’re going,” and, in the process, create identities that serve as momentary points of suture to stabilise the flow. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett pointedly observes, “staying put, which having been assumed as normative for so long, no longer seems to require explanation” (342). Clearly, both narratives examined here are about seeking ways to “settle”; rooting the Italian presence in Canada by tracing it back 500 years.

Interrogating migrant belongings, then, involves unpacking the social dynamics of rootings and routings, to paraphrase Paul Gilroy (1995; 1993) as grounds of collective identity. The Italian narratives on Giovanni Caboto speak of the ongoing attempts to create a place for Italians within the Canadian symbolic order. Routes and roots are deeply entangled here; they are not merely two intersecting but distinct vectors. The nuance is perhaps thin, but it bears important implications in our understanding of diaspora as a space of mediation and tension between multiple poles of identification, which people with different experiences of migration and (re)settlement have in common.

At the outset of this essay, it was suggested that multilocal ties and spaces of belonging are not the sole prerogative of diaspora subjects; that rather than seeking to distinguish between different migrant subjects, links between them could be explored in order to unearth the ways in which the longing to belong may be predicated on, and constrained by, similar principles. To cite Clifford once again:

Diasporas are not exactly immigrant communities. The latter could be seen as temporary, a site where the canonical three generations struggled through a hard transition to ethnic American status. (311)

This assimilation narrative has never worked, he continues, for African Americans, or for “peoples of color” immigrating to Europe. It has developed in reference to the experience of white European immigrants who gradually integrated “as ethnic ‘whites’ in multicultural America” (329n8). In his view, what diasporic populations do that immigrant populations do not is to break down the minority/majority structure where a number of “minorities” have defined themselves in ethnically absolutist ways (329n7). Clifford thus suggests a line of continuum from immigrant to white ethnic American status, excluding, by the same token, “ethnic groups” from his conceptual definition of diaspora. Khachig Tölölyan is even more explicit in his distinction between the “ethnic and the diasporic” (16). His argument is worth quoting at length for it raises a number of important issues.

[A]n ethnic community differs from diaspora by the extent to which the latter’s commitment to maintain connections with its homeland and its kin communities in other states is absent, weak,

at best intermittent, and manifested by individuals rather than the community as a whole. For example, Italian-Americans can be classified as ethnics. Their self-identification manifests itself materially in fragmentary culinary, musical, religio-festive and linguistic practices and rituals, many observed only on very special occasions: parades are organized, flags are flown, decals are displayed ... But they are highly unlikely to act in consistently organized ways to develop an agenda for self-identification in the political or cultural realm, either in the hostland or across national boundaries. Organized protest against stereotypic representations of the Mafia in films is one of the few real but very intermittent efforts that Italian-American ethnics have undertaken in recent decades on behalf of their cultural and political representation. (16-17)

Tölölyan's argument is founded on three premises: first, that "consistently organized protest" is the sole measure of a people's commitment to self-identification and to the assertion of cultural specificity. Yet such practices also seem to concern ethnicity and ethnic boundaries. Moreover, how he defines "weak" connections with the homeland remains unclear. Likewise, what separates "weak" ethnic ties to "strong" diasporic ones is equally obscure. Underpinning Tölölyan's argument is a hierarchy between a "strong" ethnic identity, expressed in mobilized action, and other forms of identification, imagined or symbolic, viewed as expressive of lesser, weaker identities. This view echoes a tendency that has developed in ethnic studies, exemplified in Herbert Gans' notion of "symbolic ethnicity," or Morton Weinfeld's "affective ethnicity."

Secondly, Tölölyan raises the important question of representation. Who is speaking for whom in the "organized protests for self-identification"? For whom is the homeland an important site of connections? And in what way? Multiple meanings are undoubtedly invested in the yearly parades Italians attend, but these are, to some extent, cultural manifestations of a diasporic mode of existence through which "traditions" are continually reprocessed. Likewise, how can we qualify the ways in which many "second" or "third" generation Italians speak of Italy as "home"? Is this not partly an expression of a diasporic imagination that spans multiple places at once?

Thirdly, both Tölölyan and Clifford seem to accept that immigration is summed up by the worn out assumption of a linear process of integration, acculturation and assimilation, whereby immigrants are seen as sliding into the "host culture," acquiescing to the demands of an industrial society, rather than actively shaping and negotiating their immediate circumstances to fit their various needs and projects. An interesting contrast emerges between Clifford's emphasis on the "absolutist" tendencies of white ethnic minorities and Tölölyan's insistence on their "weak" attempts at cultural representation. But both suggest that immigrants or ethnics are somehow at the lower end of the hierarchical scale of migranhood, and diasporas at the

top end. Viewed in this way, diaspora remains a deeply modern notion. Caren Kaplan neatly sums up this point:

The modes of displacement that come to be attached to the figure of immigrant, therefore, are counter to those most valued by Euro-American modernism ... neither political refugee nor exiled artist, the immigrant, in such a mystified and unified characterization, cannot participate in the terms of Euro-American modernism and cannot be recuperated or professionalized in terms of cultural production. In this sense, just as the tourist forms the antithesis to the exile in Euro-American modernism, so, too, does the immigrant. (110)

What needs to be called into question, then, is the conception of immigration as an end in itself. Rather than replacing the term, it might be cast in dialogue, or expanded as a form of migration that includes imagined or material diasporic spaces of belonging. Diaspora as a heuristic device, not as a descriptive concept, has cleared a space to explore processes of identity formation without reinstating identity as a founding principle, while problematizing the issues of origins, roots and blood lines. This bears important implications for our understanding of how immigrant populations, and their descendants, inhabit the Canadian social, political and geographical landscape. It potentially disturbs the ways in which notions of locality, ethnicity and nation have thus far operated within political as well as theoretical discourses. To put it simply, as a new form of belonging, diaspora questions the metonymic connections between space, identity and culture; as such, it offers possibilities of relocating identity in connection with the broader historical conditions — local and multilocal — that surround its formation.

Notes

1. I wish to thank David Leahy whose comments on a first draft of this paper have been most useful. I am also grateful to the two anonymous assessors, particularly "Assessor A" whose close reading and detailed suggestions have allowed me to considerably improve this paper. I take full responsibility, however, for any shortcomings in the arguments developed here.
2. I am thinking more specifically of the works of cultural critics such as Clifford; Radhakrishnan; Brah; Gilroy; Lavie and Swedenburg; Cohen; Chow. Other writings on bordercultures (Anzaldúa; Lavie; Gómez-Peña) and transnationalism (Basch et al.; Lowe; Bhatt; Ong and Peletz) also offer interesting avenues for exploring new forms of social life in the contemporary world. To be sure, the links between diaspora, transnationalism and bordercultures are numerous, but for the purpose of this paper, I maintain an analytical distinction between them and limit my discussion to the notion of diaspora.
3. Such a critique of diaspora has been developed by Grewal and Kaplan, and by Khan. Empirical studies of locally-specific diasporic cultures can be found in Jacobson; Lavie and Swedenburg; van der Veer.
4. It is worth noting that I do not include the work of Paul Gilroy among the texts I critically discuss here. Gilroy is commonly identified as a key precursor in the

re-circulation of diaspora within cultural criticism. In spite of this, however, few have taken on board Gilroy's critique of modernity and of nationalist conceptions of culture that cannot be dissociated from his conception of diaspora. I have argued elsewhere on the ways in which Gilroy's work avoids some of the traps discussed here precisely by considering the centrality of memory, rather than territory, in definitions of diaspora (see Fortier).

5. The distinction between immigrant and ethnic is itself ambiguous; I shall return to this point in the concluding section of this paper.
6. I do not use the Canadian phrase "cultural minority" because Italians occupy an ambivalent position of minority/majority within Canadian social and political life. My analysis of narratives on Giovanni Caboto will hopefully highlight this ambivalence.
7. The distinction between scattering and displacement may be useful to differentiate two types of diasporization. This distinction has been used at different times in Jewish history, including the present day, where diaspora, in Hebrew, means scattered, and is different from the word *Galut*, which means exile. (Tölölyan, 11; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 343n5)
8. Agitation began in the years preceding the celebrations for the 400th anniversary of Jacques Cartier's first voyage to the Canadian coasts. For an account of the emergence of the propaganda and of the debates that opposed the Italian élite and, alternately, the French-Canadian and the English-Canadian élites, see Roberto Perin's article.
9. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore other forms of representation of the explorer, but it is worth noting that in the summer of 1997, the province of Newfoundland held a series of events around John Cabot. The ways in which these celebrations related to Newfoundland's own historical particularity within Canada would be worth scrutinizing. Also, Amerindians contested the celebrations of what is to them a figure of colonization, while Italian-Canadians made sure that the Venetian origins of Caboto were acknowledged. Hence multiple layers of meanings were at play and recognised in various ways throughout the events marking the anniversary.
10. This is distinct from the claims of "autochtony," founded on the "natural" right to a land on the grounds that those who claim autochtony were never anywhere else (Boyarin and Boyarin, 715).
11. 17 September 1997 - mid-June 1998. Other Venetian explorers honored in the exhibition include Amerigo Vespucci, Cristoforo Columbus, Giovanni da Verrazano, and cartographer Vincenzo Coronelli.

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Neal McLeod

“Coming Home Through Stories”

Abstract

Canada is often seen as the destination for people in exile from their homelands. However, the Indigenous peoples within Canada have been forced into exile in two overlapping senses: (I) spatial and (II) ideological. Through the imposition of an alien order, we have been forced from our lands and also, through such things as residential schools, been taken away from our collective memory into an “internal exile.” By engaging in Trickster hermeneutics (to use Gerald Vizenor’s term), we move towards an ideal of Native Studies—namely self-description on our own terms. It is through our collective memories, found in our stories, through our self-description, that we can come “home” to ourselves and the wisdom holding the vibrations of eternity.

Résumé

Le Canada est souvent perçu comme la destination de gens exilés de leur patrie. Toutefois, les peuples autochtones du Canada ont souvent été contraints à l’exil dans deux sens qui se recoupent : (I) exil spatial et (II) exil idéologique. L’imposition d’un ordre étranger nous a chassés de nos terres, tandis que d’autres institutions, telles les pensionnats, nous privaient de notre mémoire collective, en nous condamnant à un « exil intérieur ». En nous engageant dans un exercice d’herméneutique du Trickster (Trickster hermeneutics, une expression empruntée à Gerald Vizenor), nous nous dirigeons vers un idéal des Études autochtones, soit une auto-description dont nous aurons nous-mêmes fixé les modalités. C’est par nos souvenirs collectifs, retrouvés dans les récits qui émergent de l’auto-description, que nous pouvons rentrer «chez nous», en nous rendant présents à nous-mêmes et à la sagesse qui contient les vibrations de l’éternité.

“To be home” means to dwell within the landscape of familiar, collective memories, as opposed to being in exile. “Being home” means to be a nation, to have access to land, to be able to raise your own children and to have political control. It involves a collective sense of dignity. In a post-colonial situation, by subverting the stories of the colonizer, one is able to reassert one’s narratives. A collective memory emerges from a specific location, spatially and temporally, and includes such things as a relationship to land, songs, ceremonies, language and stories.

In contrast to “being home,” diaspora is the process of being alienated from the collective memory of one’s people. jmPQn` (the Cree) have been forced into diaspora in two overlapping senses: (I) spatial and (II) ideological. Canada has often been the land where people come from the world over to avoid persecution and oppression in their homelands. However, this article contends that Indigenous people in Canada have also been placed into a state of exile and diaspora within this very country.

Often, when one group is colonized by another, the stronger party tries to impose a new ideology upon the weaker group (often Indigenous) and to alienate this group from their land. Here, the removal of an Indigenous group from their land is defined as *spatial diaspora*, and the alienation from one’s stories, *ideological diaspora*. Undoubtedly, spatial diaspora and ideological diaspora are interrelated. Both aspects of diaspora, by our definition, emerge from a colonial presence.

This paper concentrates on jmAPQn` (the Cree). These are my people. I will draw upon my historicity and recount stories from my family to articulate diaspora as experienced by jmAPQn` (the Cree). This is undoubtedly a personal approach which may be contrasted to “objective, detached” scholarship. The “lived” experience approach that I propose avoids the methodological distortions of other approaches. A “lived” experience approach is documented in Julie Cruikshank’s *Life Lived like a Story* (Cruikshank 1991).

Through “lived” stories, a collective memory emerges. The texts in Cruikshank (1991) illustrate the manner in which people lived their lives through stories. One of her informants, Angela Sidney noted: “Well, I’ve tried to live my life right, just like a story” (Cruikshank 1991: 146). Indigenous stories are cognitive maps which Indigenous people use to try to understand their place in a world beset by change, but a world where some still hold on to the quintessential elements of Indigenous Being (world view). Instead of a linear narrative pattern, peppered with dates and places, Cruikshank, in her fieldwork, encountered a metaphorical, narrative language.

Old women told the stories for didactic purposes. The stories provided the tellers and listeners with a cognitive map which allowed the participants to negotiate their way through the world. The stories included in this paper attempt to do the same. Stories help maintain an Indigenous consciousness by providing a sense of place in the world to a people confronting the forces of colonialism. Without stories and language, a people loses its way of bestowing meaning upon the world. Once stories are lost, the process is no longer one of diaspora, but rather cultural genocide and the silence of eternity.

Language, the nuances of words and sounds, and the interconnections between concepts, ground jmAPanAn° (Creeness). Stories, the vehicle of a national sense of consciousness, are vibrations of eternal echoes. Stories

ground us in foreverness, in the unending expanse of reality and Being through a collective memory which layers historical “lived” experience. To tell a story is to link, in the moments of telling, the past to the present and the present to the past. From this ongoing dialectic emerges the possibility of a future.

Stories are manifestations of a collective memory and have the potential to transform. While Hans-Georg Gadamer speaks of art, his remarks could undoubtedly be applied to narratives:

The “subject” of the experience of art, that which remains and endures, is not the subjectivity of the person who experiences it, but the work itself (Gadamer 1975: 92).

The work has a reality beyond the individual. The work sets out an interpretive horizon which gives the subject space to “play” (Gadamer 1975: 92-119). In determining the difference between *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*, Gadamer stresses that people are not blindly determined by reality, but rather constantly recreate themselves. Gadamer describes the human being as “pure self-representation” and the process of self-description as a “constantly self-renewing play” (Gadamer 1975: 94). Through the indeterminacy of play, *jmAP!* (Cree) consciousness emerges.

I tell *jmAP!* (Cree) stories of diaspora because I feel that Indigenous stories are too often ignored. This is not to say that they have not been included in academic discussions, as Cruikshank’s work is one notable exception. All too often, however, academic writings centering on the history and collective experience of Canada ignore the “lived” narratives of Indigenous people. The stories of Indigenous people should be told within the parameters of Indigenous paradigms which allows for an understanding of Indigenous life-worlds. The process of telling stories, within Indigenous paradigms, is a way of resisting colonization and of trying to find location and discursive space in the face of diaspora.

Generally speaking, diaspora is construed as the expulsion of one group of people from their homeland. For instance, Jewish people speak of their diaspora. Until 1948, many Jews lived in transplanted communities throughout the world and lacked a homeland of their own. Another example of a people in diaspora would be the Irish, who after being colonized by the English, were alienated from their land, many of them fleeing to the United States. This paper calls this sort of diaspora *spatial diaspora*.

Diaspora involves the removal of Indigenous people from their land. Politically, ideologically and economically, Indigenous groups are often overwhelmed by larger groups (usually nation states). One could call this state of affairs the colonization of Indigenous Being (of Indigenous world view and life-world). It imposes a new, colonial order and a new way of making sense of the world. The effects of this exile, this diaspora, are devastating upon Indigenous people, and create a condition of alienation

both in our hearts (ideological diaspora) and in our physical alienation from the land (physical diaspora). Exile involves moving away from the familiar toward a new set of circumstances.

George Lamming, a man from the West Indies who lived in England, writes about the process of exile:

We are made to feel a sense of exile by our inadequacy and our irrelevance of function in a society whose past we can't alter, and whose future is beyond us (Lamming 1995: 12).

To be in exile, at least on one level, is to live a disjointed life. In this state, the discourse and the physical reality surrounding this discourse are imposed upon the people cast into diaspora (exile). Yet, the person in exile has no control over this imposed national discourse and corresponding material reality. To live in exile, to live in diaspora, is to take up the difficult task of keeping one's dignity, one's story, despite the onslaught of a colonial power.

The colonial relationship between jmAPQn` (the Cree) and the British involves the colonial disruption of Indigenous Being and a shift in discursive space (ideological diaspora) and in the corresponding material reality (spatial diaspora). With the decline of the fur trade in the later part of the nineteenth century, jmAPQn` (the Cree) were no longer seen as useful, but rather as an obstacle to British expansionism.

In the 1870s, the British Crown began to extend its influence into Western Canada through a treaty process. The British entered a treaty process with the Indigenous people early on in their occupation of Eastern Canada. However, the numbered Treaties in the West made between 1871 and 1876 were more substantial than the earlier friendship Treaties concluded in the East. The numbered Treaties in the West covered large parts of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Many jmAPQn` (Cree), along with members of other tribal groups, accepted the treaty as their best chance of collective survival. The Treaty Six area, where most of the stories in this paper originate, covers much of central Saskatchewan and Alberta. When Treaty Six was being negotiated, the buffalo were vanishing and food was becoming scarce. The Treaty promised help for jmAPQn` (the Cree) in the form of a transitional economy of agriculture.

In the period following the treaties (1878-1885) all of the major jmAPQn` (Cree) chiefs on the Canadian prairies had entered treaties. HUmArK^D (Little Pine) took a treaty in 1879 and H^DEmA Y^DRn (Mistahi Maskwa), in 1882. By this time, jmAPQn` (the Cree) were starving, and the buffalo, the life blood of jmAPQn` (the Cree), had vanished from the land. The diaspora was an alienation and a removal from the land. jmAP! (Cree) life-world foundations were under siege, and the ability to perpetuate jmAPanAn^e (Creeness) was seriously undermined. The treaties and the incursions of Europeans upon the Plains transformed the land. A new,

colonial order had been imposed. My great grandfather, NrNrNG^D (Kôkôcîs), spoke of how the buffalo used to crash into the land to drown themselves. It was as though the land had been polluted by the new order.

It is my contention that a spatial diaspora occurred first, followed by an ideological diaspora. Frizzly Bear, an elder from AnmgR^e NIRmAR^e (Wihecêkan Lake) in Saskatchewan, described the spatial sense of diaspora as prophesied by the old people: “You won’t be able to stop anywhere on your journeys because there will be a steel rope everywhere” (Frizzly Bear 1976). The steel rope would cut the land into different sections with a grid imposed upon the landscape. Bear noted that he thought that the “steel rope ... is the wire they use for fencing” (Frizzly Bear 1976). Through the process of “fencing” the land, jmPQn’ (the Cree) were marginalized. The prophecy that Frizzly Bear spoke of came true, as many Indian people were taken off the land. The first sense of diaspora (spatial) had thus occurred.

However, despite an encroaching colonial presence, certain leaders resisted the impending diaspora (in both senses of the word as I have defined it). Some of the strongest leaders of this resistance were H^DEmA Y^DRn (Mistahi Maskwa/Big Bear), HU^mArK^D (Little Pine) and WPNW’ (Piapot). Stories of resistance to the new, colonial order are many. One story of Indigenous resistance to colonial power was told to JyNi# (my grandfather) by an elder in Saskatchewan:

One of the Queen’s representatives had come to negotiate with the Indians. His aides treated him very grandly and even had a chair for him to sit on. A cloth was spread on the ground and several bags of money were placed on it. The representative explained through an interpreter how many bags of money the Queen had sent. [A Chief] was told this and said: “Tell the Queen’s representative to empty the money and fill the bags with dirt. Tell him to take the bags back to England to the Queen. She has paid for that much land” (McLeod 1975: 6).

The story depicts irony in the encounter of two world views. In this story, the chief, RQnmRe^D (Kawahkatos/Lean Man), questioned the imposition of the treaty in the context of his own world view and his concept of the land. The story is reminiscent of a Trickster encounter to use Vizenor’s terminology (Vizenor 1994). The Trickster treaty story is about transforming assumptions.

RQnmRe^D (Kawahkatos) lived within the rubric of oral consciousness, whereas the treaty commissioner understood the world through the rubric of written consciousness. They approached the treaty process through seemingly incommensurate world views. The oral mode of consciousness differs significantly from the written one. jmPQn’ (the Cree) saw their memory encoded in the earth around them. Robert Bear, from Little Pine reserve in Saskatchewan, noted the importance of the earth within the framework of oral consciousness:

The Bible we were given is nature itself, but the white man was given a book. When it rains, their Bible is spoiled, it becomes wet and is destroyed, but our Bible is here forever—the earth, hills, lakes of nature and growth (Robert Bear 1976).

The encoded memory of jmPQn` (the Cree) was also found in ceremonial life imbued with metaphorical thinking.

Another humorous resistance story exists of the Treaties. Unfortunately, the storyteller was not recorded when it was transcribed:

So I'm going to tell a story about this woman who was kind of spry. She knew five dollars wasn't enough [amount of Treaty annuity—[N.M.]] So she got this notion to get herself pregnant as she'd get paid in advance. She put a pillow under her skirt; so she walked up the paymaster. When he saw her he said: "So you're pregnant. Then we'll have to pay you an extra five dollars in advance." When she received her money she fumbled a dollar bill on to the floor, then she bent down to pick it up. Her string bust, and she had a miscarriage; her pillow fell out. So this was the end of advances on pregnant women. They have to be born before they receive \$5.00. This is the little story that I wanted to tell (*Indian Film History Project*, IH-427).

The story is a manifestation of a hermeneutical encounter between the new, colonial order and jmPQn` (the Cree). The story, while humorous, concerns resisting the imposition of the treaty and the reserve system. Although obliged to live on reserves, jmPQn` (the Cree) had the power of passive resistance. Stories, such as the ones above, in the spirit of the Trickster, seek to transform the circumstances in which the people lived.

"Trickster hermeneutics" (Vizenor 1994: 15) involves the use of humour and comprises a strategy for coping with tragic circumstances. Vizenor elaborates on the role of the Trickster: "Tricksters are the translation of creation; the trickster creates the tribes in stories, and pronounces the moment of remembrance as the trace of liberation" (Vizenor 1994: 15). The Trickster, manifested in Cree culture as NAnNimfNT^M (Wisâkêcâhk), is more of a process than an actual entity. The Trickster represents an ongoing process, mirroring in fact the process of oral consciousness and oral culture.

My uncle, Burton Vandall, told me yet another Trickster treaty story. At treaty payment time, people would borrow kids from other families. They would walk up to the paymaster handing out treaty annuity payments over and over again. Everyone would take turns using the same kids. Eventually, the paymaster caught on and started to paint a mark on the faces of the kids once they got their first and "final" payments.

In the spirit of Trickster hermeneutics, one of my grandfathers, Big John, took elements of the colonial presence and transformed them to subvert them. He was a successful farmer on the Sandy Lake reserve in Saskatchewan. He taught my great-grandfather NrNrNG^D (Peter Vandall)

how to farm. In addition to being a successful farmer, and despite the difficulties many Indigenous farmers faced during this transitional time, Big John was also a photographer and even took pictures of white farmers in the area around his reserve. My aunt, Maria Campbell, told me that he even had a darkroom in his basement. He had a Bible in Cree syllabics which he read regularly. I have handled this book myself many times. While he adopted a hybridized form of Christianity and elements of modern technology such as the camera, he still was a Cree. In the face of colonial pressure, one can struggle to retain an Indigenous identity through a process of “hybridization” (Bhabba 1995: 35). The narratives of the colonizer can be subverted through a shifting of interpretative reality and space.

JNTNW^e (my great-grandfather) told stories about “survivance” (Vizenor’s term, Vizenor 1994: 1-44). He would tell stories for hours sometimes. I still remember his presence as it came out through the stories. I still remember how his voice sounded. I still remember the smell of Copenhagen snuff. Most of all, I remember his laugh.

“Dad,” I asked, “How come JNTNW^e (my great-grandfather/Peter Vandall) was a good farmer?” My dad thought and then said, “He was a good farmer, because of Big John. He was a photographer, that man,” my dad said, “That man would get someone to translate for him as he took photographs.” My great-grandfather used to tell stories of Big John, a NY:RHR^M (“where it went wrong”/The Northwest Resistance of 1885) and other things, as a way of bridging the eternity of the past and the forever expanse of the future to the infinity of the moment. His stories were about surviving and remembering. Part of surviving is remembrance. When you remember, you know your place in creation.

Thus, through the stories told and the actions on which they were originally based, one is able to transform the colonial encounter. Homi Bhabba described the condition of the colonial narratives:

... [t]he colonial discourse has reached [the] point [that] the presence of power is revealed as something other than its rulers of recognition assert (Bhabba 1995: 35).

This process of hybridization, parallel to Vizenor’s notion of Trickster hermeneutics, is an attempt to link the narratives of Indigenous culture to the new, imposed narratives, and the material circumstances surrounding these narratives, which makes the Indigenous lived experience more holistic. The process asserts our tribal identities and allows us the possibility of coming home. However, this “home” will be forever transformed both in a spatial and ideological sense.

Despite the efforts of jmPQn` (the Cree) to resist the colonial presence, the events of 1885 strengthened the colonial grip on jmPQn^{PNF} (Cree territory). Because of frustration with the government, and starvation, events culminated in violence in 1885. Different armed conflicts, at

Frenchman's Butte, Cutknife Hill and Batoche for example, broke out between the Indigenous people and the Canadians. In speaking of 1885, Edward Ahenakew, a Cree clergyman and sometime political activist, mentioned the "scars [that] remain in our relationship with the white man" (Ahenakew 1995: 71). After the troubles, the Canadians exercised their domination of the new region, and they were able to impose the new, colonial order with markedly less resistance. The Cree word for all of the events of 1885 is a NY:RHR^M, "where it went wrong." a NY:RHR^M represents the culmination of spatial diaspora.

I would like to share one diaspora story about the troubled times of 1885. NrNrNG^D (my great-grandfather/Peter Vandall) told this story at umr# (my grandmother's) funeral. It is also recorded in *The Stories of the House People*. NrNrNG^D opens the story:

It was told to me by a man from the United States — friends of ours had fled there at the time of a NY:RHR^M — and this one was my uncle, he had come back a few years ago (Vandall 1987: 65).

Through the storytelling, his uncle came home from the exile caused by a NY:RHR^M. He had managed, through stories and their humour, to preserve his dignity as a jmAP! (Cree) person. Furthermore, it is through these stories that these people attempted to find a way home. NrNrNG^D spent the whole day with this uncle of his. NrNrNG^D spent the whole day listening to his stories. NrNrNG^D said that his uncle said, "I do not have much to give you, but I will give this story, my nephew."

The story is about a man who went fishing. This man liked to drink and was sipping whiskey while he was fishing. He needed bait and saw a snake with a frog in its mouth. The man took the frog out of the snake's mouth, but felt pity for the snake. The man knew that the snake was as hungry as he. This man, after having taken the frog, gave the snake some whiskey in exchange. The snake, after a while, came back with another frog to trade for a drink.

This uncle of JNTNW^e (my great grandfather) had fled during the troubled times. He was forced into exile because he had made a stand for his rights and dignity. The story was given to NrNrNG^D and was an important story in his repertoire. The story speaks of being generous and of having pity on those with less power.

After the troubled times of 1885, the spatial exile of being pushed on reserves, and in some cases, a diaspora which forced some to flee across the border to the United States, the ideological exile of jmAPQn` quickened.

In *Voices of the Plains Cree*, Edward Ahenakew created the semi-autobiographical character of Old Man FNP# (Kiyâm) to describe the ideological exile imposed upon him. The events of his life weighed him down. His attempt to overcome exile, and to find his way home, seemed to

end in failure. He compares himself to the *jmAPQn`* (Cree) who lived a life of freedom:

The one brings to its song something of the wide expanse of the sky, the voice of the wind, the sound of waters; the other’s song can only be the song of captivity, of the bars that limit freedom, and that pain that is in the heart. So it is with my spirit, which may try to soar, but falls again to the dullness of common things ... (Ahenakew 1995: 72).

Old Man FNP# feels imprisoned by time and space after a NY:RHR^M which signaled the end of freedom for Indigenous people in Western Canada.

The process of diaspora involves both physical and spiritual enclosurement. It is the move away from the familiar towards a new, alien “space.” This new “space” or order attempts to transform and mutate preexisting narratives and social structures. It was not only those like Old Man FNP# who were imprisoned and forced into diaspora, but also those subjected to the residential school system.

Ideological diaspora was the internalization of being taken off the land. A central manifestation of this occurred through the residential school system. The residential school system was established as way of “educating” Indigenous people. There were several schools set up in Western Canada and operated by various churches. Children were taken away from their homes and their communities. Instead of being taught by the old people in the traditional context, children were raised in an alien environment which stripped them of their dignity. It was a process of cultural genocide and spiritual exile. Once removed from their homes, in both an ideological and spatial sense, many children never came “home.” Instead, they spent their lives ensnared by alcoholism and other destructive behaviours.

In her poignant paper entitled “Disempowerment of First North American Native Peoples and Empowerment through their Writings,” Jeanette Armstrong writes:

Our children for generations, were seized from our communities and homes and placed in indoctrination camps until our language, our religion, our customs, our values, and our societal structures almost disappeared. This was the residential school experience (Armstrong 1998: 239).

The schools disrupted the transmission of language and stories.

In the 1930s, JyNi# (my grandfather) went to residential school on the Gordon’s reserve, north of Regina, Saskatchewan. At first, he was happy to go. A friend of his, Edward Burns, even remembered him clapping his hands in anticipation (Regnier 1997: 4). He was anxious to see the world

beyond the borders of the reserve. However, his experience of the school was far from what he expected.

He came back and told his father, Abel McLeod, what was going on in the school: the beatings, children naked and the hunger. JyNi# remembers taking pity on a young boy (Regnier 1997: 6). This boy would cry because he was homesick. JyNi# tried his best to take care of this little boy.

The authorities came for JyNi# a second time. JNTNW^e (my great grandfather/Abel McLeod) did not want his son to go back. But, he was told by the Mounties that they would arrest him if he resisted their actions. Abel McLeod, JNTNW^e (my great-grandfather), was very active in the political struggle of the Indigenous people in Saskatchewan. An amendment to the Indian Act of 1927 made it illegal for Indians to collect money to fight to protect treaty rights. However, in 1932, he went with John B. Tootoosis and five others from Saskatchewan to Ottawa to fight for Indigenous rights.

The Mounties knew that JNTNW^e (my great-grandfather) was a man of influence in the community and that an arrest would be difficult as the people supported him. He told the Mounties, "Well, you will have to arrest me. I can't let you take my son again." However, they used force to take him. JyNi#, a boy of twelve, spent the next three nights in jail cells throughout the province as he went back to the school.

The residential school experience exemplifies the process of ideological diaspora. Alienation from the land, political pressure and the use of force were all parts of a larger effort to destroy jmAPanAn^e (Creeness). The schools solidified the bipolarization of the entities "jmAPanAn^e" (Creeness) and "Canadian." All things jmAP! (Cree) were taken as dangerous and unworthy to exist, whereas all things Canadian were exemplified and taken as prototypes. jmAPanAn^e acted as a foil which helped to create a "Canadian" identity. The schools did much to create a sense of spiritual and ideological diaspora.

It is interesting to note how the narrative I gave of JyNi#, (my grandfather) maps on to an old prophecy told by Frizzly Bear:

If you don't agree with him, he'll get up and point at you with a revolver, but he can't fire. He'll put his gun down and everything will be over. You will agree with him and what he's going to teach you is nothing that is any good for us (Frizzley Bear 1976).

These schools were the vehicles of cultural genocide with concerted attempts to destroy language and stories. This was forced exile, the separation from the security of culture and the wisdom of the Old Ones. The survivors of this school are modern day qFmGEQn` (Worthy Men). Instead of fighting in the world, they fight against the memories of these schools that linger in the landscapes of their souls.

The residential schools nearly silenced jmAP! stories forever. In “One Generation from Extinction,” Basil Johnston stresses the importance of language and stories, and their fragility:

Therein will be found the essence and the substance of tribal ideas, concepts, insights, attributes, values, beliefs, theories, notions, sentiments, and accounts of their institutions and rituals and ceremonies (Johnston 1998: 102).

Johnston comments on the effects of a potential state of diaspora, the alienation from collective memory: “With language dead and literature demeaned, ‘Indian’ institutions are beyond understanding and restoration” (Johnston 1998: 103). There are two responses to the state of diaspora: resignation or resistance.

But, our fights to survive as a people certainly go beyond the issue of residential schools. Smith Atimoyoo, one of the founders of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, spoke of the “new arrows” that people are facing today (Atimoyoo 1979: 23). Today, we have a different kind of arrow to fight for our collective existence. Here I borrow the term “wordarrows” from Gerald Vizenor (Vizenor 1978). Words are like arrows and can be shot at the narratives of the colonial power. Wordarrows have transformative power and can help Indigenous people come home. Wordarrows can help to establish a new, discursive space. Every time a story is told, every time one word of an Indigenous language is spoken, we are resisting the destruction of our collective memory.

Through stories we are able to find our place in the world. The character of Old Man FNP# struggles to find his place in the world through his stories. Edward Ahenakew writes that after failing in the white world, Old Man FNP# “reverted to the old Indian way of life, allowed his hair to grow long, and he choose to wander from house to house, reciting old legends, winning a reputation for himself as a story-teller” (Ahenakew 1995: 51). He was trying to make sense of the present from the experiences of the past.

Stories are the vehicles of cultural transmission, linking one generation to the next. They are the vehicles through which a culture survives and transmits meaning. Stories have many levels and many functions. They link the past to the present, and allow the possibility of cultural transmission and of coming home in an ideological sense. Our task today is to retrieve tribal narratives and paradigms. We must reaffirm our tribal identities in the face of the overwhelming pressure of diaspora.

As I alluded earlier, we have to assert our stories and languages if we are to survive diaspora. Despite the fact that the colonizing power, Britain, has lost influence, an attempt still continues to maintain cultural hegemony

... through canonical assumptions about literary activity and through attitudes to post-colonial literatures which identify them as isolated natural off-shots of English literature and which

therefore relegate them to marginal and subordinate positions (Aschcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1993: 7).

Within this context, jmAP! (Cree) narratives are still marginalized, existing on the periphery of Canadian consciousness. This marginalization results not only from a perception regarding canonical assumptions, but also gives primacy to European narrative paradigms over Indigenous paradigms. For instance, the use of prophecy within jmAP! (Cree) constructions of social reality seem to clash with the manner in which the mainstream culture creates meaning and narratives. All too often, academic discourse tends to create a binary opposition between myth and history. Even the manner of telling stories in the academic setting can be part of the diaspora of jmAPQn` (the Cree). The stories of academics are taken to be factual because they rely on “objective” paradigms of knowing. Often, Aboriginal narratives are taken to be substandard and subordinate to those of the mainstream Canadian society. I would suggest that the metaphorical, discursive pattern of jmAPQn` (the Cree) demands consideration for a complete phenomenological understanding of the history of Canada. Many jmAP! (Cree) diaspora stories are told within paradigms which may be antithetical to the narrative paradigms of science.

I would like to share a diaspora story which has been handed down in my family for one hundred years. It was told to my great-great mother fmfm^Dfn!, then to JyNi# (my grandfather), and then to NumNE (my father/ Jerry McLeod). I have also heard elements of the story from Clifford Sanderson and Bill Stonestand. All of these people are from the James Smith reserve.

There was a group of people from the GNR^DdsK^e (Shadow in the Water) reserve. There was a large flood on Sugar Island which is close to Birch Hills, Saskatchewan. Many people died during this flood. One woman climbed up a tree with her baby. She tied a cloth around the tree and moved up the tree to escape the water. The cloth was used to hold her up there. Eventually, the flood went away, and the people left the area. Also, about eleven people from the band had been involved in the troubles at Batoche in 1885. There was too much bad feeling associated with the land there, at Sugar Island, so they left. Some of them went to camp with the people of the James Smith reserve. However, a group also went to the Sturgeon Lake reserve.

The camps were close together. Back then people took pity on each other. They shared more with each other. They had pity for their fellow jmAPQn` (Cree). That is why the people of GNR^DdsK^e (Shadow on the Water) stayed there. There was a special man who was of the GNR^DdsK^e people. His name was sRmA^e qrKi (“the son of Pêkahin”).

He died in about 1897, roughly 12 years after a NY:RHR^M (“where it went wrong”/The Northwest Resistance). My dad said that they wrapped his body up in cloths. They had a wake for him. Then, one person noticed

that sRmA^e qrKi (Pêkahin Okosisa’s/“the son of Pêkahin”) feet were starting to warm up. He told the others, and, the dead man came back to life.

sRmA^e qrKi (Pêkahin Okosisa) spoke of many things. He spoke of great fires in the northern skies. My dad also told me that there would be a great war. sRmA^e qrKi (Pêkahin Okosisa) said that families would split up more in the future. He spoke of the kind of houses that we would live in. He even foretold that people would fly in the sky. sRmA^e qrKi (Pêkahin Okosisa) saw all of these things. He also said, “My people will have good hunting near h^{PRU}! (Mêskanaw)” (a town in Saskatchewan). He lived for forty more days and then he died for good. His reserve was “surrendered” in the 1890s, but before the Christmas of 1997, a letter was received stating that the government would recognize the GNR^DdsK^c (Shadow on the Water) claim. This is the story of sRmA^e qrKi (Pêkahin Okosisa) as I have heard it and as it has been passed on to me. In a sense, the people will be “coming home” both in an ideological and spatial sense.

Throughout native North America, and indeed throughout the world, similar stories certainly exist. The previously-shared story about the crashing buffalo also forms part of this general narrative pattern. Perhaps the earliest revitalization narrative is that of the Trout (Pflüg 1997: 56-58) and Neolin (Pflüg 1997: 48-51). Another example of a revitalization narrative is the Lakota ghost dance. John S. Galbraith also documents the same sort of narrative that developed with the Xhosa in South-East Africa and the King movement among the Maori in New Zealand (Galbraith 1982: 11).

By incorporating Indigenous narratives, we can understand the perspective and world view of the participants. Raymond S. Demallie characterizes the ghost dance in the following manner: “The religion was powerful because it nurtured cultural roots that were very much alive-temporarily dormant, perhaps, but not dying” (Demallie 1982: 393). All of these stories illustrate the resilience of Indigenous cultures toward the pressures of potential Diaspora both in an ideological and a spatial sense. Like the concept of hybridity already discussed, these narratives and movements reshaped tradition:

Out of this religion collapse new beliefs, new philosophies, eventually developed that would entail a major intellectual reworking of the epistemological foundations of Lakota culture (Demallie 1982: 305).

All the stories point to the vitality of Indigenous people despite increased colonial presence. These revitalization movements could be seen as an attempt to “hybridize” the narratives of the colonizer, and the changed material circumstances, with Indigenous stories.

I remember another little story about power. I was sitting in a small-town café with my father and Edwin Tootoosis. The small café is close to my reserve. NumNE (my dad) and Edwin were telling stories in Cree for about

two hours. Everyone kept looking at us, staring at us, as though we didn't belong, as if we had no right to be there. But NumNE (my dad) and Edwin kept telling their stories. They choose to keep their dignity through language and stories, instead of letting someone passively control them.

As we walked out of the cafe and moved on to the streets, everyone in their silent way acknowledged what had happened. The feeling was familiar. The phrase "damned Indians" was heard all too often. That day, the hope of spring (Hp^DRH^e) and the breaking of the water filled the air. The rebirth of eternity, and the turning of eternity, penetrated the space around us creating a calmness.

As we walked toward our trucks in the half-filled streets, my dad told a story. A long time ago, an old man and his grandson went to town. The boy was about fourteen. They had gone to town to buy groceries. They milled about the store and collected the items that they needed. After they had filled their cart, there was a man by the door. He said to his friend, "Damn lazy Indians." The man then went up to the old man and said, "You are god-damn lazy. Why can't you just stay on the reserve where you belong?"

The taunts continued, but the old man kept calm. After they gathered their groceries, they stood outside their vehicles. The grandson asked, "yNi# (grandfather), why didn't you say something to that man who was there, who was saying those things to us?" The yNi# (grandfather) answered his grandson.

"How long were we in the store?"

"Well, we were there for five minutes."

"Yes, my grandson. We were in that store for five minutes. We had to deal with that man for five minutes. But he has to deal with himself for the rest of his life."

As I understand this story, the way to survive is not by giving into hate. Instead the way to survive is by concentrating on positive things, like retrieving stories.

Our collective memory is a living, organic entity that is always shifting. Despite our despair, despite the horrors of residential schools, despite in some cases having to flee to the United States for safety after a NY:RHR^M ("where it went wrong"/The Northwest Resistance), we will continue to exist as jmAPQn` (Cree). Through humour, through words which capture fragments of eternity, we will continue to survive. We are existential beings, dwelling, paradoxically, in our historicity. We are beings, vibrations of a shifting, collective memory. And, each generation has the responsibility of breathing new life into the stories.

I will leave you with one last story. In 1976, JyNi# (my grandfather) was chosen to be the organizer of the Treaty Six Centennial Commemorations. He traveled around the province and listened to old people. Sometimes, he took me along. At the time of the Commemorations at Onion Lake, JyNi#

(my grandfather) translated for Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw, whose father was H^DEmA Y^DRn (Mistahi Maskwa’s/Big Bear’s) head dancer:

He says, “There was this body that needed someone.” And he says, “And I guess that this was the one that was placed in this body.” He says, “I hope when I leave this body, I will leave it beautiful.” And he says, “When you see that spruce, when it is just born, and that spruce, as it grows, is beautiful. When the spruce stands up and meets you, it meets you with dignity because he has lived his life the way he was placed here.” He says, “Everyone of us is beautiful. We should leave our bodies with dignity” (John R. McLeod 1981).

I think of jmAPanAn^c (Creeness) as a large collective body. When I was born in 1970, there were so many people who knew so many beautiful things about jmAPanAn^c. As jmAPQn` (Cree) people, when we listen and tell our stories, when we listen and hear our language, we have dignity, because we are living our lives as we should. We are living our lives on our own terms. Our stories give us voice, hope and a place in the world. To tell stories is to remember. As Indigenous people, we owe it to those still unborn to remember so that they will have a “home” in the face of diaspora.

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Cherry Clayton

**Posting South African Letters
from Canada**

“Between sleep and dream,
The I am and what I am,
And who I think I am,
A river
runs for ever.”

(David Wright, “Between Sleep and Dream, After Fernando Pessoa”)

“And when we got to Rock Fort we seemed to look over
everything out to the satisfying sea” (John Figueroa,
“Growing Up in Jamaica”)

Abstract

This article considers some of the key shifts in perception affecting the relationship between post-colonial theory and South African literature and culture. Early formulations of post-colonial linear evolution were rejected in a pre-democratic culture. South African criticism resembles African traditions which value didacticism and social utility. During the nineties post-modernism had an impact on South African criticism, and a new critical picture emerged with the return of exiles and a more open debate with Africa. The critical forum became more multi-racial and old polarities were dissolved. International reception, the role of South Africa in a global context, and post-modernism have been debated during the nineties. The centrality of subjectivity, the play of cultural difference, and a recognition of local contexts are now central and are as useful in Canada as in South Africa. A recognition of interdisciplinary, comparative research and teaching may further the sensitive recognition of internal and national differences which post-colonial critique demands.

Résumé

Cet article examine certains des changements clés de la perception qui ont influé sur les liens entre la théorie postcoloniale et la littérature et la culture sud-africaines. Les premières formulations d'une évolution postcoloniale linéaire ont été rejetées dans le cadre d'une culture pré-démocratique. La critique sud-africaine ressemble à des traditions africaines qui valorisent la didactique et l'utilité sociale. Pendant les années quatre-vingt-dix, le postmodernisme a eu une incidence sur la critique sud-africaine et un nouveau paysage critique est apparu avec le retour des exilés et l'ouverture du débat avec l'Afrique. Le forum critique est devenu davantage multiracial

et les anciennes polarités ont commencé à se désintégrer. L'accueil international, le rôle de l'Afrique du Sud dans un contexte mondial et le postmodernisme ont fait l'objet de discussions au cours des années quatre-vingt-dix. La centralité de la subjectivité, le jeu des différences culturelles et la reconnaissance des contextes locaux occupent maintenant des places centrales et sont aussi utiles au Canada qu'en Afrique du Sud. Une reconnaissance de la recherche et de l'enseignement comparatifs interdisciplinaires pourrait favoriser encore davantage la reconnaissance sensible des différences internes et nationales qu'exige la critique postcoloniale.

South African “letters” have not yet been very thoroughly “posted” within the main cluster of national literatures usually grouped under the umbrella of post-colonialism. This has everything to do with the establishment of the Republic in 1961, South Africa’s expulsion from the Commonwealth and the implementation of apartheid which conferred pariah status on the country for so long. From a more highly theorized Western viewpoint, or even from other “Second World” sites (see Lawson), South African literary culture was at first seen as a significant and troubling exception to the implicit and explicit norms set up, for instance, in *The Empire Writes Back* (1989), the first compendium of post-colonial theory.¹ First phase post-colonial theory generally posited a progressive cultural drive towards an emancipated post-colonial world as the central feature of post-colonial writing, despite counter-arguments concerning the implied historical progression from colonialism to post-colonialism (McClintock).² When such studies appeared, South Africa had not yet achieved a democratic system of political representation, and some critics felt the “post” appellation was premature in a pre-democratic situation (Clayton 1991), before any “imagined community of South Africa (could) begin to approach identification with the state” (Voss, 8). Ashcroft et al. argued that racist politics in South Africa “creates a political vortex into which much of the literature of the area, both Black and white, is drawn” (Ashcroft, 27). They also assumed that the common themes of most post-colonial writing are “muted” by racial politics in South Africa (27). The troubling implication was that the literatures of other settler colonies have less to do with “race politics” (27), that South Africa has been a disquieting exception to a norm. This assumption indicates the extent to which post-colonial theory has sometimes abstracted itself from the disturbing world of the actual inequalities with which we live, created by many forms of imperialism usually coterminous with forms of racism.³ It also indicates that post-colonial theory itself, and attitudes toward theory, are determined by the cultural politics of origin. Critiques emanating from the racially oppressed in South Africa, for instance, have tended to stress the continuity of effects flowing from apartheid (Mzamane, Govinden), just as African writer Chinua Achebe has wanted to hold on to a sense of the damage and distortion flowing from colonialism in Africa and its culturally biased expression and reception in literature (Achebe 1988). The moralized view

of art, of literature as the handmaiden of social change, has been an African tradition. In this respect, South African culture has some affinities with the rest of Africa (Chapman, Sole 1997).

To change countries, as I did when immigrating from South Africa to Canada in 1991, is to recognize quite sharply and repeatedly the extent to which a past self has been socially constructed by a particular culture, and to recognize anew the deep consolations and commonalities which literature offers in reconstituting a self in another country. The literature of immigration within the colonial and post-colonial worlds has acquired a far more profound and sustaining meaning for me, as have the critical writings of diasporic intellectuals or expatriate writers. Thus I am led to a renewed investment in an experiencing self, that same self who makes a continuing commitment to feminist perspectives, while acknowledging that shifting to Canadian perspectives has made notions of identity and nation problematic and ambiguous, like language. “Rhetorical estrangement,” argues Rei Terada in a study of Derek Walcott, “can be taken for granted in all language” (7), since “writing ... substitutes figuration for presence ... and marks the site of perpetually abandoned presence” (220).

In this zone of a double abandonment, where language rushes in to fill the spaces of loss and simultaneously creates a new ambivalence, South Africa, in its incontestable and flagrant racial injustice, has always seemed to offer a kind of “limit case” for post-colonial theory. Yet, paradoxically, it offered an “affirmative case ... the one stable element in our thinking” (Bhabha, Attwell interview, 111). The current decade of post-apartheid revision has included many forms of re-assessment. In 1992, a special issue of *Current Writing* featured the intersections of post-colonial theory and South African literary culture. The problematic relationship of South African political dispensations and the gross inequities of a racially-ordered economy to international theory were discussed from the new perspectives of the nineties. There was an awareness of the colonially constructed critical establishment, the problematic domination of the critical forum by minority white voices, a post-modern theorizing of difference and self-reflexivity which did not assume that post-modernism was necessarily inimical to the element of political protest so often foregrounded in South African literature (Bethlehem). The often polarized and stagnant debate between a detached aesthetic and a call for political commitment in literature (De Kock) was thrown open to new voices and a melange of theoretical standpoints. South African critics, Kelwyn Sole later suggested, should begin to close the gap between “high” and “popular” forms, a call in South Africa that usually implies a closer understanding of the relationship between literature and oral tradition (Sole 1994). Formulations of this relationship have become increasingly sophisticated, drawing in local knowledges and research, and developing perceptions of the renewal and reworking of orality in modern texts and performances within a politicized environment (Gunner, Hofmeyr).

In Canada, with an understanding of both the South African political experience and the diasporic sense of dislocation in a northern, multicultural society, Rosemary Jolly has made the international reception of South African theatre a foil for revealing the constructedness of international post-colonial theory itself, its dangers and special investments. The controversial preface written by Derrida for an anti-apartheid art exhibition, she writes, is guilty of a “spectacular othering” of South Africa (19), and is neo-colonial in effect. Derrida invites condemnation of apartheid as an atrocity, and thus “turns the reader’s critical gaze away from American and European colonialism” (19). Derrida’s preface dates from 1983, and seems at first a Gallic rhetorical gesture towards the inevitable imbrication of political action in language. While in some ways it may seem to offend a post-Marxist desire to connect the materiality of politics to cultural expression (Bundy, 33), it does at least point out that “the stability of the Pretoria regime has been prerequisite to the political, economic and strategic equilibrium of Europe” (295). This identification of global, capitalist interdependence lays the ground for a post-apartheid insight that has some applicability across Africa: the crumbling of internal settler colonialism has not meant the withdrawal of economic control (Gikandi, 113). A relative separation of the economic and cultural spheres is potentially liberating, allowing for views of cultural agency, for people’s self-assertion and a more positive view of the creative use of the English language by those not born into it (Robertson, Ten Kortenaar).⁴

Apartheid is graphically described by Derrida as a projection of Europe’s inner contradictions, “the double-bind logic of its national and multi-national interests” (298). This has the virtue of restoring the South African political scene to a global context of colonialism and capitalism. Derrida’s preface, in 1983, raised the problem of the limits of humanist discourse and the relationship of that discourse to the denunciation of apartheid. It traverses post-modernist ground in its final collapse of chronology as it appeals to “the future of another law and another force lying beyond the totality of the present” (298). The paintings, he suggests, create a memory of the future and in their silence appeal to a justice beyond discourse. This complex invocation does anticipate post-apartheid discussions of the problematic relation of memory and forgetting in South Africa.

In a special 1995 edition of *Ariel*, which I edited, a number of different critics, South African, Canadian, and returned exiles, suggested ways of re-reading South African literature and culture in the nineties. All of them are responding to the challenge articulated by Njabulo Ndebele in 1989: “the search for ways of thinking, ways of perception, that will help to break down the closed epistemological structures of South African oppression ... to free the entire social imagination of the oppressed from the laws of perception that have characterized apartheid society” (45). Frank

Schulze-Engler argued for pluralist perspectives and civil society accountability, and showed how these spaces were being created in the fictions of Gordimer and Coetzee. Simon Lewis' reading of Cecil Rhodes and Olive Schreiner's inscriptions of Europe in Africa by way of their imposing gravesites and death rituals offered a novel conjunction of two figures previously seen as ideologically opposed. Lewis showed how they both laid claim to the land and to African identity, and naturalized European presences as African. Karen Blixen's account of her lover, Finch-Hatton's death, Lewis describes as "Imperial Gothic" (50). (This term could be appropriated for Margaret Atwood's recent novel, *Alias Grace*, though here Imperial Gothic is being ironically scrutinized and dismembered, so to speak). Lewis's reading of the sentimentality of these cultural rituals, not to mention their appropriation of the best African viewsites, is a timely reminder of the ways in which colonial viewpoints have been uncritically received as normative because of continued European hegemony in education and critical institutions. It may be too soon to rejoice in our deconstructed perspectives; Sally-Ann Murray's superb analysis of Sol Kerzner's themed resort north of Johannesburg, "The Lost City," shows how Tarzan and Rider Haggard are not yet dead, but alive and well and making millions for entrepreneurs and their shareholders. Murray reads "The Lost City" as "the repressed 'heart of darkness' of the South African urban nexus" (155), and shows how it blurs distinctions between entertainment and commodity, history and fiction (151). In a fine example of cultural studies in South Africa, she suggests that the resort stages one form of fabricated national identity and shows that colonialism was never a monolithic project. Nor will its traces ever disappear, it seems. She also argues that there are no simple ideological meanings to be read off the project. There is no single, authentic South African cultural tradition to invoke. This decentred view of identity and nation echoes the recommendations of Albie Sachs that if South African artists and writers cease to submit their imaginations to the dictates of cultural commissars they will find access to many shared South African traditions (Sachs). Murray suggests a process of reconstruction across different idioms, not all of which will be conducive to democratization. Capitalism did not disappear along with the dismantling of apartheid laws, and the new political dispensation, now perceived as the neo-liberal result of a negotiated settlement, disturbs any easy sense of a cultural millennium (Murray 1994).

In "Writing the New South Africa," a number of critics suggest, however, that a more tolerant and open atmosphere for artistic creation has emerged, whether in a rapprochement of private and public voices in poetry (De Kock), or the courageous emergence of "gay" writing, which reveals the far-reaching damage done by the workings of patriarchy and the military control of the racist order (Heyns). Heyns' article on "erotic patriarchy" raises the central question of the extent to which local conditions, and South African nationalisms, affect the critical reading of

archetypal patterns in literature and of international theory. The construction of subjectivity through colonial ideology is given an autobiographical format by Devarakshanam Govinden, who recalls her own construction as a Leavisite, and sees in her earlier romance with English literature the workings of colonialism in collusion with apartheid. Her article, which refers to Toni Morrison and V.S Naipaul, among others, begins to suggest ways of reading gender, educational construction and colonialism in other countries in the ex-Commonwealth. In Canada, too, a romance with English literature has served different ideological ends, both the remembering of ethnic heritages and the partial obscuring of Canadian political formations.⁵ Rob Gaylard's analysis of Zoe Wicomb's short stories invokes post-colonial comparisons to Jamaica Kincaid and Michelle Cliff in the shared problems of hybridized identity and writing about home from exile. Such comparative studies of gender and post-colonialism would be a useful response to Robert Robertson's request for "a recovery of the comparative approach" in post-colonial studies (7). Gender and subjectivity are also related critical categories in the work of Judith Coullie and Margaret Daymond on South African autobiographies and short stories. Coullie's work is sensitive to the African communal traditions that underpin African women's subjectivity, but also suggests that fluid forms of reciprocity and shared self-definition are evident in white South African women's autobiographical writing. This extension of genre begins to suggest the breaking down of racial categories in critical description. So, too, do Margaret Daymond's conclusions that recent reworkings of the short story show women's subjectivity having "significant public consequences" (210). Unlike earlier oppositions set up between gender and anti-racist allegiances, now it is "through their gendered selves" that these writers produce "women's vital, creative relationship to their past" (210).⁶

Dennis Walder's recent overview of *Postcolonial Literatures in English* (1998) takes South Africa as one case history precisely because it troubles "any simple notions of post-colonial literatures in English" (154). This is partly because of the intransigence of apartheid structures and thought, but also because the South African diaspora created another, outside presence, more or less politicized. The return of some exiles has led to new perspectives, such as that of Mbulelo Mzamane, who argues that democracy is only shallowly established in South Africa, that the real "writing" is in a sense deferred by the pressing problems of land claims, poverty, education and illiteracy. Like Nkosi and Ndebele, he tends to homogenize and dismiss black South African fiction as "protest fiction" and suggests that a turn to interiority will be a feature of new work (11, 18).⁷ Black South African fiction deserves more consideration and analysis than such summary dismissals allow. As Dennis Walder points out, post-apartheid South Africa may be most important for the mingling of a new sense of community values and a post-structuralist sense that the meaning of difference is unstable (156-158). Like Mzamane and Ndebele,

Walder sees the 1976 watershed of the schoolchildren's revolution as a potentially hopeful inauguration of new trends in literature and power-sharing. He singles out Gordimer's *The Conservationist* (1974) and J. M. Coetzee's *Dusklands* (1974) as marking a crisis in the "way the colonial imagination deals with the reality it perceives" (165).

One of the encouraging aspects of the lifting of cultural boycotts that accompanied the transition to democracy in South Africa has been the "greater engagement between South African and African intellectuals" (Cooper and Steyn, 7). Conferences and publications linking cultural studies, women's studies and post-colonialism have highlighted the crucial topics of the nineties: the boundary of local and imperial knowledge in interdisciplinary models; the relationship of material culture and textuality; a testing of the totalizing power of theoretical discourse against local knowledge; an applied politics of usage and context; a shifting of language, culture and subjectivity to the centre of theory and analysis; integrating the study of culture with the history of capitalism; listening to colonized voices and subjugated knowledges, and understanding forms of rupture and continuity between colonialism and post-colonialism (Cooper and Steyn; Ranger and Werbner).

These intersecting topics are as important for the study of post-colonialism in Canada, where a multicultural society, the tension between English Canada and the claims of Quebec, and multiple immigrant and ethnic histories make an understanding of and sensitivity to difference crucial. Political claims and resistance are dispersed across a number of competing sites in Canadian culture, and thus make any monolithic assertion of nation or cultural meaning impossible. The constant process of immigrant absorption and the tension between assimilation and difference gives Canadian culture its characteristic qualities. Literature in Canada plays an increasingly important role in the understanding of difference as critical focus has shifted away from relationships between settlers and landscape, and stereotypes or images of communities, to an understanding of constantly shifting differences, constructed against one another, to what Kamboureli has called "contamination" and "ambivalence" (231-2). This post-modern emphasis co-exists with calls for a more historicized post-colonialism in Canada (Bennett, McDonald).

The history of immigration in Canada has produced a diversity of critical positions within post-colonialism itself. Canadians of European origin tend to stress their ambivalence: "we occupy an ambivalent position within the postcolonial dynamic" (Brydon 1994:101). Critics in Canada with "Third World" cultural backgrounds have enacted a more complex trajectory in rejecting their own induction into Western theoretical models as universal models, and in questioning the racial exclusions of earlier feminism in North America (Mukherjee 1994, Introduction). Such critical positioning has meant a clearer recognition of, and a felt affiliation with anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa. Arun Mukherjee has argued for the recognition of

a more directly politicized, post-colonial critique and pedagogy. She suggested that it is important whether or not we believe Miriam Tlali's accounts of township life to be true, because the reception of her fictions was important in conditioning political responses to South Africa from an outside constituency (Mukherjee 1990). This sympathy with the actuality of South African resistance struggles has also been a force within some Canadian fiction, as in Lee Maracle's *Sundogs* (1992). A double metaphor, in the text and in a painting by a young First Nations girl, links the forms of solidarity created across cultures:

A solitary black woman, sweet and innocent, silhouetted over an indigenous women, also young and innocent, are in the foreground. Behind them the illusion of crowds and picket signs, with no writing on them, makes the background. Both women are rich in colour ... "What are the people doing?" "Protesting." "What are they protesting?" "Apartheid." (72-3)

This is one Canadian textual moment contributing to a "diaspora of postcolonial response" to South African political struggles in which the tropes of resistance have been mobilized and harnessed to an internal emancipatory struggle.⁸

Reading South African literature and post-colonialism from Canada allows the emergence of comparative perspectives which in turn link to a perception of "the historicity of Commonwealth literature" (Devi, 59). G. N. Devi suggests that "Commonwealth literature has been a literary period in the history of Australian or Canadian literature" (59), but the development of a "commonwealth consciousness" has "indirectly contributed to the emergence of a pan-Indian literary identity" (61). Such a consciousness creates a link with an international audience, builds cultural self-confidence and furthers resistance to "the new imperialism of literary theory" (61). Edwin Thumboo uses the Singaporean model of a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multicultural society to set literature's subversions against the questionable "universal values" of "great literature." Against the neo-colonial claim of universality he sets "the process that defines the work in terms of a particular social semiotic, one that may be quite different and even subverting of the reader's own" (66). In contrast to the post-modern notion of migrancy, Satendra Nandan argues that "the migrant was and is a non-negotiable reality of the Pacific environment" (69). Coups in Fiji, as in Nigeria, have brutalised "the developing political culture" (69). In such environments, writers can assist readers to "recognize the reality itself" (70). Post-colonial writers, Stephen Slemon has suggested, continue to find ways to write their societies, and in doing so render visible "the dynamic operations of a persisting textual hegemony in colonial and postcolonial areas" (120). Wilson Harris coins the more encouraging phrase "inner objectivity" to describe a principle that may perhaps take reader and writer through the "comedy of coincidence"

and through “cruel legacies, cruel bias” to an “impossible survival” (128-133).

Notes

1. Subsequently, two readers in Post-colonial Theory have appeared, one edited by Williams and Chrisman, (1993) and the other by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995).
2. As Donna Bennett points out: “Postcolonialism internalizes an evolutionary model; it envisions a passing through progressive stages of unfreedom to freedom and of blindness to enlightenment” (195).
3. For a canvassing of the types of racial and cultural exclusions found in constructions of Canadian literature and post-colonial theory, see Arun Mukherjee’s essay “Canadian Nationalism, Canadian Literature, and Racial Minority Literature” in *Essays on Canadian Writing* 56: 78-95.
4. Robert T. Robertson, in his introduction to *A Shaping of Connections* (1989), sees the explosion of the English language all over the world as an enlargement of the social world in which “place became more important than period” in literary study (6). Neil ten Kortenaar also stresses the ways in which communities narrate their place in the world by showing how Achebe’s *Arrow of God* “offers possibilities for collective self-definition and action” (1995: 40).
5. The Special Issue of *Essays on Canadian Writing* 57, “Writing Ethnicity,” highlights many of these ways of reading “the category of ethnicity itself as a meeting ground of often conflicting desires and investments” (Siemerling, Introduction, 2).
6. M.J. Daymond’s edition of *South African Feminisms* reveals the evolution of these debates about gender and race in South African feminism.
7. An unfortunate precedent was created by Lewis Nkosi’s wholesale dismissal of South African fiction by black writers in *Home and Exile* (1965), one reproduced by Ndebele in some of his work and also by Mzamane in “Writing the New South Africa.” All of them elide substantial differences in this body of work, as well as the contributions of women writers.
8. I owe this useful phrase to Donna Palmateer Pennee.

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Mari Peepre

**Resistance and the Demon Mother in Diaspora
Literature: Sky Lee and Denise Chong Speak Back
to the Mother/land**

Abstract

This article investigates the concept of demonization as an expression of cross-cultural tension. It shows how diaspora writers, especially female Chinese authors of post-migrant generations, can be caught in a confusing and anxiety-ridden border zone between two realities. Many of these writers appear to work out a literary expression of this conflict and confusion by demonizing the mother figure. For example, the Chinese-Canadian daughters/narrators in Sky Lee's Disappearing Moon Cafe and Denise Chong's The Concubine's Children write a revisionist history of the Chinese diaspora. They illuminate the difficulties which arose during their acculturation into Canadian society and they project some of the fear and anger they experienced back onto the mother-figure as an iconic expression of the homeland and heritage culture of their past.

Résumé

Cet article étudie le concept de démonisation, considéré comme une expression de tension interculturelle. Il montre comment des écrivaines de la diaspora, et en particulier des écrivaines chinoises des générations qui ont suivi celle de l'immigration, peuvent se retrouver prisonnières d'une zone-frontière de confusion et d'angoisse, entre deux réalités. Plusieurs de ces écrivaines semblent parvenir à donner une expression littéraire à ce conflit et à cette confusion en démonisant la figure de la mère. Par exemple, les filles/ narratrices sino-canadiennes des romans Disappearing Moon Cafe de Sky Lee et The Concubine's Children de Denise Chong écrivent une histoire révisionniste de la diaspora chinoise. Elles mettent en valeur les difficultés qui se sont posées pendant leur acculturation au sein de la société canadienne et elles projettent une partie des peurs et de la colère qu'elles ont éprouvées sur la figure de la mère, présentée comme l'expression iconique de la patrie ancestrale et du patrimoine culturel de leur passé.

Diaspora literatures provide a fruitful site for research on resistance writing, reflecting as they do the oppositions between stringently circumscribed identity and cultural hybridity. Migrants leave behind their direct contact to their homeland and heritage culture when they move out into the diaspora and settle into a new place. They enter a kind of "border zone" of double subjectivity where they are accountable to and influenced

by more than one location simultaneously — and they remain there until they have become acculturated into the host society.

The rich variety of narratives which come out of the diaspora illuminate the acculturation processes which force immigrants to adjust their worldviews, their culture, and their sense of self to the new environment. They must struggle to construct bridges which will span the geographical and social distances that they have travelled and, as Dolores de Manuel has pointed out, through their writing immigrants can “perform an act of reinscribing themselves within a new world, not merely assimilating to their environment in [North America], but rather creating for themselves a fresh mode of relation toward their present and their past, a way of seeing themselves within a new order”(39). In other words, the act of writing can help the immigrant to find a new sense of integrated identity within the diaspora. Migrant authors often articulate a “diasporic consciousness” in their writing, one which Rey Chow has defined as “an intellectualization of the existential condition of dispersal from the homeland.”¹

Some recurring themes and patterns emerge from diaspora writings as they describe the complex experience of leaving home and arriving in a new place. These range from the deep psychic pain of what Edward Said has called the “unhealable rift” (357) between the two locations and conditions on the one hand, and the manifold forms of “healing, of taking new root, and of finding new possibilities for growth” that these immigrants encounter on the other (de Manuel 39).

This article will focus more on the specific situation of the Asian diaspora in Canada² and will hypothesize a special “discourse of the border zone” which is sparked by the often turbulent acculturation processes and identity shifts which these immigrants have undergone. Asian diaspora writers have written about the loneliness and alienation of the displaced person, the struggle to survive in harsh circumstances, the battle to retain their heritage culture while adjusting to the strange, new host culture, and the search for tradition and roots by the partially acculturated second and third generation. Most of these works are loosely autobiographical, and mark a passage from the silence of the immigrant ghettos to the often outspoken self-examination of the partially hybridized, third-generation, post-migrant writer.

Many talented Canadian writers such as Joy Kogawa, Wayson Choy, Evelyn Lau, Kerri Sakamoto, Hiromi Goto, Larissa Lai, Fred Wah, Jasmin Ladha and Anita Ran Badami, to name but a few, have written intimate and moving portraits of diaspora life and their works will serve to underpin the general conclusions about diaspora literature in this paper which concentrates on two Chinese-Canadian writers as primary examples of how human relations and generational conflicts are exacerbated by the acculturation process. Chinese diaspora writers Sky Lee and Denise Chong are both third-generation immigrants who have turned back to retrace their

real and imagined matrilinear family histories in order to recover their sense of self and identity. Lee's *Disappearing Moon Cafe* (DMC) and Chong's *The Concubine's Children* (CC) were written in the early 1990s and record the histories of British Columbia's Chinatowns.

The post-migrant author may look back to the heritage culture with nostalgia and re-create it as an idealized past paradise, or she may reject and demonize it as a crippling yoke passed on by her immigrant ancestors. Which past is created in diaspora literature often seems to depend on where the migrant comes from as much as who she is or what she experiences in the new land.

Early Chinese immigrants to North America began their life in a very negative atmosphere. Most new arrivals were economic migrants (often indentured servants) who came to serve the need for cheap, hard-working labour on the West Coast. They were pushed out of China by poverty, political upheaval, and war, yet most of them lived in the hope of returning home again as soon as possible.³ Both Canada and the United States enacted a series of discriminatory laws which shackled the new immigrants, depriving them of their rights to land, ownership, citizenship and even normal family life, since high head taxes restricted the flow of women to the continent.⁴ It is not surprising that much of the literature arising from this particular diaspora is one of displacement, characterized by disruption, rejection, resistance and cultural ambivalence.

This essay will focus on the concept of *demonization* as a literary expression of cross-cultural tensions. It will show how these two Chinese diaspora writers are caught in a confusing, anxiety-ridden cultural border zone between two realities. On the one hand, they are pulled back in time by strong ties to their heritage culture, which has been characterized by a long tradition of racial pride and a conviction that foreigners (*fan gwei*) are all barbarians; by an extremely oppressive patriarchal rule where women were considered worthless baggage and were treated accordingly; by a deep tradition of Confucian belief and especially filiation, where obedience to the father/mother and the ancestor subsumed all individual needs and passions; and, finally, by the importance given to "face" and to the ability to "eat bitterness," to internalize grief and to remain silent in the face of trouble. On the other hand, these migrants now live in a new home in another country — and are pulled forward through the border zone toward an uncertain future by the seemingly liberal and egalitarian values, but at the same time racist and oppressive (not to mention materialistic) reality, of their North American host culture.

Many of these writers appear to work out a literary expression of their conflict and confusion by demonizing the mother figure. The daughter/narrator understands and sympathizes with the oppression and injustice under which the maternal figure (often projected onto the grandmother) struggled before and during the transition process, but she expresses little

empathy with the immigrant mother's inability to acculturate successfully into the host culture. Nor can she appreciate the mother's need for stability and security and her desire to exert control over her immediate family circle and thus to ensure the transfer of heritage mores and traditions down to the next generations.

Patricia Lin has suggested that, "The polarity between traditional Chinese and [North] American values is felt with particular keenness by [North] American-born Chinese women. Unlike their mothers, such women face conflicting demands from two opposing cultures. While [North] American-born daughters are familiar with the cultural nuances of Chinese life, their dilemmas frequently stem from having to vacillate between 'Chinese-ness' and 'American-ness'."⁵ The daughter/narrator is moving toward a new reality and identity within mainstream society and she resents the restrictions imposed upon her by her family ties and heritage culture. The resultant dissonance creates conflict between generations and the classic rejection of the mother by the maturing daughter becomes exaggerated to the point of demonization. The distress of the daughter's passage through the cultural borderlands is projected onto the mother as a symbol of a negative past with which she is not yet at peace. Sky Lee's *Disappearing Moon Cafe* and Denise Chong's *The Concubine's Children* are especially clear examples of this kind of demonization as an expression of culture conflict in the border zones. Both narratives are matrilinear histories of several generations of Chinese migrants to the West Coast of Canada. Each begins with the arrival of the grandmother (or great-grandmother) and then follows through the histories of torture, oppression and silencing which the grandmothers inflict upon their daughters. Only in the third generation of granddaughters is the burden of an unspeakable past finally cast off by the narrating voice in the form of a castigation, a demonization, of the matriarchal figure. In this way, the daughters resist and subvert the filial codes and rigid constructs of the Chinese family system of their heritage culture. The normal process of individuation from the mother figure is at the same time exaggerated and magnified to include the mother/land and mother/tongue.

The narrating daughters look back to the past in their search for an integrated, stable identity. They write a revisionist history of the Chinese diaspora from the triply oppressed perspective of the female coloured migrant. They foreground the tensions and conflicts which arose during their difficult process of acculturation into Canadian society and they project back some of the suffering and fear and anger which they and their female antecedents experienced onto the mother-figure as an iconic expression of the homeland and heritage culture of the past.

Sky Lee's *Disappearing Moon Cafe* is a rich, complex, and meticulously researched rendering of the Chinese migrant experience in British Columbia, transposed into the fictional family history of four generations of Wong women. Oppressed by the patriarchal mores of their heritage

culture, and suffering from the extreme ghetto loneliness they experienced in an early and womanless Chinatown, the first two generations of women, Mui Lan and Fong Mei, turn inward upon themselves and their families, and slowly become sour and hateful not only to each other but also to the daughters, Beatrice and Suzanne. They force their descendants to “eat bitterness” and submission and thereby create a wall of pained silence which is not breached until the fourth generation, when the narrator Kae finally breaks what she calls “the great wall of silence and invisibility we have built around us” (DMC 180). By speaking out Kae exposes and clears the festering bitterness which has warped the matrilinear line. She speaks back to her mothers, but worries about her act, saying she has “a misgiving that the telling of our history is forbidden. I have violated a secret code” (DMC 180).⁶ However, this violation frees her and allows her to declare toward the end of the novel that: “After three generations of struggle, the daughters are free” (DMC 209).

Denise Chong’s *The Concubine’s Children* purports to be an objective, true biography of her real family history, and she has the photos, artifacts, oral tales and documents to prove it. However, a deconstruction of the surface narrative soon allows the extremely subjective force of the subtext to break through, subverting the historicity of the tale but at the same time allowing a fascinating glimpse into the interdiscursivity of the text. Like most diaspora narratives, this one is located in the fluctuating spaces of the border zones where the shifting demographics, languages and populations of the diaspora intersect with the multiplicity of elements and discourses which constitute the dominant culture.

The grandmother Leong May-ying was bought as a concubine to serve the needs of her master Chan Sam and to bear him the necessary sons to carry on the family line. After two daughters mark her as a failure within their cultural traditions, she is brought to Canada, where she gives birth to yet another daughter, Hing/Winnie. May-ying also becomes embittered and warped and alternately neglects and then abuses her daughter both physically and mentally. This process continues until Hing/Winnie is silenced and subjugated to the point where only escape from Chinatown (up north to the mainly Anglo community of Prince George) can save her and her own children from the terrible effects of her childhood in the ghettos. Her daughter, Denise, grows up in the empty space outside her own traditional culture, in a border zone where she is neither one (Chinese) nor the other (Canadian).

The first generations of Chinese women migrants depicted in these novels experienced harsh lives in the diaspora. They were isolated and lonely in the ghetto, they were starved for the friendship of other women and the security of familiar landscapes and cultures, their lives consisted of never-ending work and privation and slowly these women lost their self-esteem and became warped in irreparable ways: “And Mui Lan’s nightmare was loneliness. She arrived and found only silence. ... She looked

around for women to tell her what was happening, but there were none. ... Over the years, she became bodiless, or was it soulless, and the only way she could come back was by being noisy and demanding” (DMC 26).

The narrating daughters, Kae and Denise, try to understand the loneliness and suffering of their ancestors and to appreciate the reasons for their bitterness and vengeance. For example, looking back on her great-grandmother's life, Kae says that, “Frustrated and isolated from the secluded life she understood, Mui Lan had to swallow bitterness, so she made her suffering known far and wide. I should understand that impulse to splatter pain as far away from oneself as possible; and she didn't much care whom it soiled either” (DMC 31). But neither Kae nor Denise can ever really understand or fully sympathize with their ancestors. They are haunted by a dark past which they need to expose and then put aside, and the stories they tell are about suffering and how it was passed on through the generations.

The frustration of these women becomes a smouldering rage which is forced underground into silence and only later erupts into self-destructive behaviour such as alcoholism and gambling (for May-ying) or as vengeful acts of torture and beatings of the only creatures near them who are even weaker than they: their daughters. And their vengeance is terrible. There are many vividly described incidents in both novels which leave the daughters stunned into silence and longing only for escape. For example, here is one scene from *Disappearing Moon Cafe* where Mui Lan reduces her daughter-in-law to a quivering jelly:

Tyrannized by her own helplessness, Fong Mei cowered on the floor in front of her mother-in-law and wept piteously. Mui Lan ... stared at her daughter-in-law, a sneer frozen on her mouth. ...

“Her male offspring guarantees the daughter-in-law's position in the family. You are barren and thus may not be accredited with one!” Mui Lan brought the matter of concern home with a single daggerous plunge! After this, she would no longer have to address the petrified younger woman. As far as Mui Lan was concerned, Fong Mei was a dead person. (DMC 57)

Mui Lan screams abuse at Fong Mei, escalating quickly to “a brain-bursting pitch” and calling her a “Damned, stinky she-bag!” The scene goes on at some length until:

Having no face left at all, having lost her standing as a human being, Fong Mei was left ... limp and weak as if broken ... this tirade of raging obscenities left her flaccid with fear. Snot drivelled out of her nose; tears trickled after each blink. Sobs, chokes and mucous muffled into her sleeves.

Ha! Mui Lan thought to herself, looking over the results of her exertions, satisfied with the slumped remains of her

daughter-in-law before her. That despicable pig-bitch wouldn't dare wrangle with her ... She might as well die! (DMC 57-58)

But as she lies there sobbing, Fong Mei realizes that it is not only her fear that makes her grovel — she also has a lot of rage burning in her. She broods in silence for years and feeds off this rage and then later takes her revenge on Mui Lan, after she has produced the necessary son, and then in turn drives one daughter (Suzanne) to suicide and the other daughter (Beatrice) into an impenetrable silence, a monologic state where all lines of communication between the generations are cut, but where the venom of the first matriarchal figure filters unvoiced through the generations to poison the lives of the daughters and granddaughters who follow her. Some years later, the poison erupts to the surface again and this scene between Mui Lan and Fong Mei and her daughter Beatrice takes place:

Shocked, Fong Mei could not believe what she had just done! She looked first at her mother-in-law, who was swaying and clutching onto the doorjamb, then she stared vacantly at her youngest daughter cowering and sobbing in the farthest corner. ... In front of her eyes, the image of fear on her baby's face still swam, after Fong Mei had slapped her with all her might, again and again, wanting to kill. Her beautiful Beatrice, her first-born! ... She kept striking out. Her daughter's soft, tear-streaked face, so compliant, so sweet and dumb, round and so unsuspecting. She suddenly hated it with all her heart, enough to blot it out of her life forever. (DMC 149)

Beatrice is reduced to a kind of stunned silence and only escapes her mother when she marries. Her sister Suzanne is not strong enough to escape, however, and is driven to suicide by the women in her family.

The same kinds of scenes are played out between May-ying and her daughter Hing/Winnie in *The Concubine's Children*. The pain and humiliation the mother suffered may be "eaten as bitterness," but it does not disappear: it goes underground to resurface later when this powerless woman turns on her own offspring in a kind of blind, unthinking revenge against fate. Hing is neglected, starved, beaten and tortured by her mother until she, too, is silenced:

It had begun in the days before she started school ... when she got dirty while playing. ... May-ying ... brought a bamboo handle stinging across the backs of Hing's legs. "Keep crying and I'll hit you that much harder!" ...

May-ying took out a chair and sat in it, glaring at her daughter. "Stand in front of me!" she ordered. *Wham!* A stick, a piece of kindling, came whipping across the back of one of Hing's legs. *Wham!* across the other. On her third time across each leg, some of the men nearby started to plead with her. ... Hing kept gasping and choking for air. May-ying couldn't stand it. "Cry until you die — why don't you cry until you die!" she told her, and then she walked away. (CC 116-8)

When she grows up Hing takes on the Anglo name Winnie and finally escapes from the ghetto and her mother into marriage and motherhood.

In both novels, the middle generation has been bludgeoned into silence and it is only the granddaughter who can finally give voice to the suffering of these women, by speaking back to the matriarchal ancestors who so abused and oppressed the female line. The granddaughter knows and can even sympathize with the circumstances which made her ancestress so hideous — but she cannot forgive her. As narrator, she feels compelled to break the Confucian codes of filiality and obedience to speak back to the demon-mother figure so that she can be freed to relocate her own identity. The burden of silence and repression must be lifted and the hidden venom must be released and the matrilinear history discovered, traced and related before the daughter can be freed — to become a speaking subject in the border zones she inhabits.

The narrating third-generation daughter can synthesize her family history into a meaningful narrative and in the process create a new identity which combines all the identities of all the women who preceded her. Jung wrote that, “Every woman contains her daughter within herself, and every daughter her mother and ... every woman extends backwards into her mother and forward into her daughter” (162). Kae, too, realizes that she is a part of her mother and all her female ancestors. As Kae states at one point, “... individuals must gather their identity from all the generations that touch them — past and future, no matter how slightly ... this isn’t a story of several generations, but of one individual thinking collectively” (DMC 189). Kae breaks the walls of silence within her community, even at the cost of demonizing not only her mother, but also her mother/land.

The third generation of daughters has been acculturated into the new environment: as hybridized inhabitants of one among many Canadian diasporas, they are able to move successfully through life in the mainstream. As such they illustrate the third stage of “ritual migration” first described by the anthropologist Victor Turner and later extended by Cheng Lok Chua in his description of Asian diaspora literature. According to Turner, ritual migration can often transform a society’s victim into a hero. The ritual processual structure consists of three phases: (1) *separation* from a position of security in a highly structured society; (2) *liminality* or *marginality* in a death-like state where one is stripped of “status, property, rank” and accepts “arbitrary punishment without complaint”; and (3) *agregation* or reintegration into society but ironically with a heightened status (“sacredness”) gained during the liminal stage (99).

Denise Chong is now a successful journalist and Sky Lee a nurse and author. They have status in Canadian society and can look back upon their migrant passage from a position of security as middle-class citizens. However, like many third-generation immigrants before them, they feel the need to explore their roots and to articulate the passage from “there” to

“here” and from “then” to “now.” As R. Radhakrishnan has argued, “Diasporic subjectivity is necessarily double: acknowledging the imperatives of an earlier ‘elsewhere’ in an active and critical relationship with the cultural politics of one’s present home, all within the figurality of a reciprocal displacement” (xiii).

Much migrant fiction is concerned with re-membering and re-creating the familial story line. As early as 1938, Marcus Lee Hansen established a three-generation pattern as “law” in his essay “The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant.” He suggested that, “What the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember” in his formulation of a framework which would codify the differences between successive generations of immigrants to America. According to Hansen, the second-generation immigrant forgets the cultural past in the process of becoming an American, whereas the third-generation grandson attempts to recover his ethnic past in his quest for a new identity.⁷ Many literary works have proven the truth of this generalization — one which holds true for much mainstream writing, too.

By and large, immigrant women writers tend to expend much less nostalgia over their heritage culture / homelands than do male writers, and Sky Lee and Denise Chong are no exception. As Gayle Greene has pointed out, women do not have much to be nostalgic about, “for the good old days when the grass was greener ... was also the time when women knew their place, and it is not a place to which most women want to return” (296). Greene points out that ethnic women writers feel the necessity to “differentiate nostalgia from more productive forms of memory.” The memories of women migrant writers include oppression, sexism, patriarchy and mind-numbing drudgery: where men often tend to mythologize the past, women can be less nostalgic in their recollections of heritage roots.

The heritage culture of the third-generation narrators comes into new focus as they trace their family history and, at the end of their passage, finally reconcile their past and all that it represents. Some aspects of this past must be set aside before they can become fully integrated individuals, however, and that is why so many diaspora writers tend to demonize the mother as a literary icon of the negative aspects of their migrant past.

Demonization of the mother is not an unusual occurrence in women’s writing. It has often been employed as a literary manifestation of the classic individuation process which any daughter must go through in order to separate into a mature, individual woman herself. According to Mahler’s theory of the *separation-individuation* process, the mother must be rejected to allow the daughter to grow and sometimes this process becomes a painful, even brutal one before the ties can finally be cut. Much research has been done on this subject,⁸ and it is clear that both of these novels fit the pattern, except that here the grandmother replaces a mother who has been so

completely silenced by her subjugation and filiality within Chinese culture and the privation and struggle of her immigrant life that only a third-generation, partially acculturated granddaughter can speak back to reject the dominating mother-figure.

In these cases, the individuation and rejection process also marks a concomitant turning away from the mother/land, a distancing of the subject from the heritage culture under which she grew to womanhood. This is something which the daughter must do in order to free herself to individual female selfhood outside the restricting confines of her mono-cultural, Chinatown family background. Within the Chinese ghetto, the woman was deemed inferior, and if she is to attain any self-esteem at all, the daughter must move beyond her mother's confined life-circle. Thus Sky Lee and Denise Chong throw off what they perceived to be the negative aspects of their heritage culture. At the end of their voyage into the past, both writers turn forward again to face their future as they prepare to make their own way through the cultural border zones toward individuation and reconciliation.

Denise Chong and her mother Winnie travel back to visit their relatives in China and are able finally to reconnect with their family heritage there. The shadowy past comes into focus and the hidden stories and unspoken truths emerge and can finally be set aside. Denise realizes that her grandmother had supported the entire family, both in China and in Canada, with her wages from waitressing. She begins to appreciate May-ying's hard life and sacrifices and to see past her negative characteristics to "find some nobility of purpose in the hard lives that Chan Sam and May-ying led" (CC 291). In the end, both Denise and Kae realize the truth of what Esther Mikyung Ghymn has written about two other Chinese diaspora writers, Amy Tan and Maxine Hong Kingston: "The right balance ... is achieved when the daughters realize that they are not alone in the universe; that the ties to their mothers and grandmothers will always keep them in balance; that life does not change from generation to generation despite shifts in space and time; that, in a sense, all characters are stereotypes in a universe where 'each and all are the same'" (11).

The demonization of the mother in these and many other minority/migrant novels can also be interpreted as a fictional rendering of an escape mechanism often used by victims of racial hatred and oppression. The humiliation of her subjugation eventually engenders a self-loathing which must be projected elsewhere if the victim is to survive intact. The "Canadian" daughter knows and fears the racial hatreds and discriminations of the past, and may very well resent her mother for being rejected by a community she now calls her own. Modern psychology tells us that victims often tend to react by confusing cause and effect and by transposing fear and rage into self-hatred and by further transposing this self-hatred onto other objects. Even though the narrator/daughter in these novels feels herself acculturated by the second and third generation, her skin colour and eye shape connect her closely to the heritage culture she

may have rejected by now in favour of integration. If this is the case, then Lee and Chong have created a fictional demon-mother onto whom they can project the self-hatred and fear of racism which has been part of life in the Chinese ghetto.

Racial prejudice also plays a role in the demonization of mothers in these novels. The grandmothers who immigrated to Canada at the beginning of the century entered a ghetto that was far from home and isolated from North American culture by racial pride and deep prejudice on both sides. They never intended to stay in the new country for longer than it took to gain riches from *gum san*, the “golden mountain,” after which they would return again to their ancestral villages. They brought with them from China a deep-seated prejudice which was difficult to shake. Expressions of racial arrogance and prejudice are voiced throughout both *Disappearing Moon Cafe* and *The Concubine’s Children*, especially by the first generations of immigrants. For example, Mui Lan instructs her new daughter-in-law, Fong Mei: “Here, we are living on the frontier with barbarians. We stick together. ... Living in a land with foreign devils makes it very difficult for tang people” (DMC 61). Fong Mei writes back to her sister about her arrival in Canada: “We were interrogated by white-devil immigration officers. I was terrorized. They looked so hateful and cunning. And everyone warned me of their devious trickery” (DMC 43).

These negative sentiments about White foreigners were met by even deeper racial prejudice on the part of the European Canadians who, by their dominance and power in the new land, were able to make life difficult for the Chinese migrants. Normal acculturation into North American society was made impossible by racist laws which denied the Chinese a vote, the right to own land and even the right to a normal family life since immigration was completely cut off before wives could be brought out for most of the workers.

The second generation of women in these novels (Beatrice and Hing/Winnie) have grown up under the stigma of being nothing but “worthless bags of stinking she-bones” in their heritage culture (as Sky Lee so colourfully translates from the Chinese). When they reach adulthood, they discover that the racialized host culture is not much more welcoming — if not because of their female gender then certainly because of their race and immigrant status. Both women are denied access to the University of British Columbia. Denise Chong’s mother, Winnie, has dreamt of studying medicine there and achieved top grades in her school, but she soon finds out that it is an impossible aspiration. We are told that, “she didn’t know then that the University of British Columbia had yet to admit a Chinese student, male or female, into its faculty of medicine” (CB 168). Kae’s mother, Beatrice, is denied entrance to the Faculty of Music on the grounds that her English is not good enough (and this despite the fact that she is Canadian born and educated!). As her sister later remembers, the head of the department there “couldn’t even look at Bea without hate oozing from

every pore. Pure envy and jealousy that a mere girl, and Chinese to boot, should be so gifted” (DMC 202).

It is small wonder that the third-generation immigrant daughter would wish to throw off this history of rejection and failure and to project the blame somewhere else nearby. The weight of gender and racial prejudice, combined with matriarchal oppression and silencing, has become too much to bear. It must be resisted; it must be thrown off or shifted elsewhere by the daughter if she is to survive intact. She punishes the mother who has failed to protect her from the effects of patriarchy and racism at the same time as she frees herself from the demonic aspects of her past. This act then liberates the daughter to create her own cross-cultural identity as an autonomous individual and marks one step toward the hybridization that Canadian multiculturalism has come to represent for many.

This act also frees the third generation daughter to accept her position in the cultural inter-zone. Once she is freed of the demonic aspects of her cultural baggage, she can turn back to explore her heritage with a more positive attitude. She can begin a dialogue with her history and also begin the process of building and integrating her own identity.

As mentioned earlier, Denise Chong travelled to China for the first time as an adult, when she met and came to know her relatives and family history. She returned to Canada to write the story of her family's movements between the two worlds and then demonized her grandmother as the personification of all that was negative in her heritage culture. This allowed Chong to literally lay her demons to rest and to open her mind to the positive aspects of a past that she had tended to ignore and even reject before. Her grandmother had worked hard to instill Chinese traditions and philosophy in her grandchildren, but with very little success until after her death — at which point Chong was finally willing to turn back to investigate her heritage culture as a positive, enriching and enabling force in her own life.

Sky Lee, Denise Chong and many other writers have been able to articulate the various stages and aspects of the acculturation process in the Chinese diaspora. The demonization of the mother figure is only one of many forms of resistance they have employed in their search for a new identity in the diaspora. These narratives intersect with the discourses of postcoloniality that characterize most immigrant literatures and warrant further study as examples which might help to shed light on the immigrant conundrum not only in Canada but in other parts of the world as well. Perhaps Shirley Geok-lin Lim's words to a group of students at Brown University in 1988 can be read as a positive indication of future trends:

I would like to believe that with the inexorable shift ... from a white majority nation to a multiethnic nation of minorities, the paradigm of conflict and ambivalence reflected in early Asian American texts, which finds expression in internalized alienations and in external racial discrimination and violence, will be transformed

into a productive multivalence. “Valences” speak for the abilities to integrate, combine, fuse, and synthesize different elements. Conflict is almost always a product of dualities; perhaps synergistic commonalities will be the product of pluralities of ethnic figures, a pluralism which we know is already on its way. (28-29)

Notes

1. Rey Chow offers this definition in her study *Writing Diaspora* (p. 15), referring to William Safran’s “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return,” in *Diaspora* 1.1 (Spring 1991): 87.
2. I use the term “Asian diaspora” to designate those people whose country of origin can be found within the geographical triangle formed by Japan, Indonesia and Pakistan. As Pushpa Parekh has pointed out, the use of the term “Asian” here is problematic because “the term ‘Asian diaspora’ ... tends to homogenize and unify and ultimately conflate the unique historical, political, and cultural exigencies that distinguish each of the several diverse cultures and geopolitically defined nationalities” of the region (171). Such a broad classification also serves to level critical differences such as gender, nationality and class. My study will nevertheless draw some general conclusions based upon the similarities of acculturation processes experienced by immigrants from the various regions of Asia, before turning to a closer reading of two Chinese women writers as specific case studies.
3. See Geoffrey Kain’s introduction to *Ideas of Home: Literature of Asian Migration* (p. 2) for a discussion of the “push” and “pull” factors which affected Chinese migration.
4. See for example Peter Li, *The Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1988; Anthony Chan, *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983; Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1987; Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991; Brett Melendy, *Chinese and Japanese Americans*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1984.
5. See Patricia Lin’s “Use of Media and Other Resources to Situate *The Woman Warrior*.” *Teaching Approaches to The Woman Warrior*. Ed. Shirley Geok-lin Lim. New York: MLA, 1991, p. 41.
6. It is interesting to note the connection between the author’s and the narrator’s names here: “Kae” rhymes with “Sky”, which is in turn a compilation from the author’s full name, Sharon Kun Yung Lee. Like many diaspora narratives, this is a loosely autobiographical rendering of family and ghetto history.
7. As qtd. in *Memory and Cultural Politics: New Approaches to American Ethnic Literatures*. Eds. Amritjit Singh, Joseph T. Skerrett, and Robert E. Hogan. Boston: Northeastern UP, 1996, p. 3.
8. For example, Adrienne Rich, Margaret Mahler, Jane Abrahamson, Evelyn Bassoff, Bertram Cohler, Henry Grunebaum, Nancy Friday, Marianne Hirsch and Mickey Pearlman, have all written about the mother/daughter relationship and the individuation process.

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M. Belén Martín Lucas

Psychic Spaces of Childhood: Jamaican-Canadian Short Story Cycles

Abstract

From 1971, the year when Margaret Laurence's short story cycle A Bird in the House was published, to 1991, when the first cycles by immigrant women writers came out, there have been two decades of experimentation with a new narrative form which has become characteristic of Canadian fiction in English. In the same way that the short story cycles by Canadian women in the eighties presented the process of construction of a female identity in Canada from their childhood experiences in Canada, Makeda Silvera and Dianne Maguire recuperate in theirs that portion of their identities that the single term "Canadian" leaves unacknowledged. This article on Jamaican-Canadian cycles argues that childhood memories are an integral constituent of the sense of nationality of migrants, and therefore a relevant element in the construction of any proposal of a Canadian national identity. Maguire and Silvera revise a literary genre that is characteristic of their new country, adjusting the conventions of the form and content to a new means of expression that articulates the multiplicity of their identities. Contrary to the traditional definitions of this form, based on coherence and unity, the short story cycle becomes, at their hands, a vehicle for the expression of multiplicity, hybridity and of the permanent reconfiguring of the migrant identity.

Résumé

Depuis 1971, soit l'année de la publication du cycle de nouvelles de Margaret Laurence, A Bird in the House, jusqu'en 1991, date de la parution des premiers cycles d'écrivaines immigrantes, on a expérimenté pendant deux décennies avec une nouvelle forme de narration devenue caractéristique de la littérature de fiction de langue anglaise. De la même façon que les cycles de nouvelles des écrivaines des années quatre-vingts nous présentaient le processus de construction d'une identité féminine au Canada à partir des souvenirs d'enfance de femmes qui ont grandi en ce pays, Makeda Silvera et Dianne Maguire récupèrent dans leurs propres cycles la portion de leurs identités que le terme unique « Canadiennes » ne reconnaît pas. Cet article sur les cycles jamaïco-canadiens soutient que les souvenirs d'enfance font partie intégrante du sens de la nationalité des immigrants et constituent donc un élément pertinent de la construction de toute proposition d'une identité nationale canadienne. Maguire et Silvera revoient un genre littéraire caractéristique de leur nouveau pays, en adaptant ses conventions de forme et de contenu à de nouveaux moyens d'expression qui articulent la multiplicité de leurs identités. À l'opposé des définitions traditionnelles de cette forme, fondées sur la cohérence et l'unité, le cycle de nouvelles devient, entre leurs mains, un véhicule d'expression de la multiplicité, de l'hybridité et de la reconfiguration permanente de l'identité migrante.

The metaphor of the “mosaic of cultures” has been repeatedly used in Canada to describe governmental policies that protect the diverse cultural heritage of its inhabitants. Under these policies, there is the intention to promote internationally the image of a model country where people from different origins, cultures, religions, and races live together in peaceful harmony. However, the real situation of non-British or non-French immigrants does not seem to correspond with this metaphoric image of the multicultural mosaic, especially in the case of women immigrants, and more intensely, for women of color. The cultural manifestations that oppose the official view on this point have increased notoriously in the last two decades, not only from non-white immigrant writers, but also by well established authorities in the fields of literary and cultural criticism in Canada. For example, Linda Hutcheon analyses the hypocrisy of the metaphor in “The Canadian Mosaic: ‘A Melting Pot on Ice’: The Ironies of Ethnicity and Race”, quoting a poem by Raymond Filip. Both Filip’s poem and Hutcheon’s essay articulate the irony in that hyphenated identity that is repeated generation after generation, thus denying them the full use of their Canadian nationality: “Like a citizen of the world, in exile, / Or an overseas package returned to sender, / I am nothing left to be but Canadian” (Filip, 283). This definition in negative terms (“nothing left to be”) coincides with Mavis Gallant’s definition of her national identity in the Introduction to her short story cycle *Home Truths*, arriving at a Canadian identity through the dismissal of all other possible ones: “I suppose that a Canadian is someone who has a logical reason to think he is one. My logical reason is that I have never been anything else, nor has it occurred to me that I might be” (xiii).

The problematic definition of Canadian national identity coincides with the various definitions of the short story cycle in the negative: neither a novel, nor a short story miscellany. Gerald Lynch has suggested that Canadian authors favour the cycle because of its characteristic tension between “the one and the many,” that is between the isolated story and the cycle, and also between the individual and the community. Lynch associates this tension to Canada’s colonial past and its historical debate between pairs of imperialist forces (England/France, England/the States), and its dualistic philosophical tradition, between French liberalism and English conservatism. This definition of Canada in binary terms has been recurrent along its history and has determined to a large extent the contemporary conception of Canadian nationalism as pluralistic. A coincidence in terms relating to the definition of the cycle gets even closer to referring to immigrant women writers, with their hyphenated identity, who use this hybrid, also hyphenated, narrative form: the short story cycle. From 1971, the year when Margaret Laurence’s short story cycle *A Bird in the House* was published, to 1991, when the first cycles by immigrant women writers came out, there have been two decades of experimentation with a new narrative form which has become characteristic of Canadian fiction in English. In the sixties and seventies, authors such as George Elliot, Hugh Hood, Sinclair Ross, Clark Blaise, Alden Nowlan, Ray Smith,

Alistair MacLeod, or Jack Hodgings produced an important body of collections of linked stories. However, despite the profusion of works by male authors, it was the work of two women writers that would bring international prestige to this (from then on) “Canadian” genre.

Margaret Laurence’s *A Bird in the House* (1970) and Alice Munro’s *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971) and *Who Do You Think You Are?* (1978) became models for the new literary form. While the cycles by men authors focused, in general, on the depiction of a community or region, Laurence and Munro’s cycles did more than that: they showed the growth and construction of female identities, while portraying at the same time the life of a small community. This new form of the female *Bildungsroman*, based on the sequence of fragments presenting crucial events in the life of the girl-woman protagonist, appealed to women writers who, in the eighties, were trying to articulate feminine identity in a postcolonial context that was also searching for a definition of the national self. Sandra Birdsell, Edna Alford, Katherine Govier, Elizabeth Huggan, Gertrude Story, among others, gave the Canadian short story cycle a new impulse, with narratives centering on the construction of the female self in the Canadian context. In the nineties, the form seems to be popular among women writers, who are now able to apply the form to all kinds of settings, from the urban cycle of Linda Svendsen’s *Marine Life*, to a rural Mennonite community in Saskatchewan in Rosemary Nixon’s *Mostly Country*. It is at this time, when the cycle has become an overwhelmingly feminine genre, that the first short story cycles by immigrant women writers of color appear.

In 1991 three of these cycles were published, significantly in minoritarian publishing houses devoted to ethnic and feminist writing that had emerged in response to resistance by mainstream publishers to bring out works by writers of color. This latter issue will be developed further in this article. Rachna Mara’s *Of Customs and Excise*, Makeda Silvera’s *Remembering G*, and Dianne Maguire’s *Dry Land Tourist* (both in Sister Vision Press) are collections of linked stories that participate in the postcolonial and feminist efforts to explore new narrative forms in order to subvert canonized genres and to give shape to *other* narratives of multiplicity and difference. As Canadian citizens and as artists, these women writers participate actively in the production of Canadian culture. Although their cycles do not have Canada as their setting, as in those by English-Canadian writers, they also contribute to the building up of a certain Canadian nationality. In the same way that the personal experiences of Huggan, Munro, Laurence and Birdsell have played a significant role in the construction of Canadian Literature, and while their memories of childhood have helped to form that national cultural identity, the experiences undergone by women immigrant authors and their perception of the country cannot be excluded. In his study of the Canadian short story cycle, Dieter Meindl affirms that, besides regionalism (“a sense of place and identification with its specific mode of life”), “[e]thnic and

autobiographic impulses also play a part” (18) in giving this genre its special impetus in Canada. The experiences of exile and immigration are characteristic of Canadian life and their associated feelings of isolation, loneliness, and nostalgia, present in these short story cycles by immigrant women, make them very different from those by the white women writers mentioned above, whose protagonists try to leave their pasts behind. Only those by Sandra Birdsell, collected under the title *Agassiz Stories*, deal with cultural difference and its drawbacks. As Claire Harris has pointed out, the personal situation of migrant writers influences greatly both their own textual production and, as this article tries to show, the choice of literary modes that better reflect their position in Canadian society:

In Canada, normally so open to immigrants, a blatant ethnocentricity condemns people of color to the sidelines: eternal immigrants forever poised on the verge of not belonging. This is bound to deeply affect writers and to be reflected in their work; clearly the Canada they live in is not the nation most other artists know. (115)

The short story cycle, being a hybrid form between two major narrative genres, the novel and the short story, is composed of fragments and, typically, open-ended narrations that refer back to each other in a continuous play with recurrent characters, places and symbols. The studies on this genre have traditionally used modernist texts, mainly North American, by Hemingway, Anderson, Faulkner, or Steinbeck as the basis for its definition and classifications. More recent criticism, especially from Canada and other postcolonial societies, has shifted the emphasis from modernist aesthetic ideals of art to political readings and interpretations of the characteristics of the genre.¹ Thus, Susan Ash, who analyzes cycles in English by postcolonial women writers, identifies the short story cycle as a postmodern genre, its main characteristics being recurrence, multiplicity, fragmentation, and discontinuity. Due to these characteristics, the cycle has become a suitable vehicle for expressing those experiences of the migrant communities mentioned above, such as, according to Susan Mann, isolation or fragmentation: “Because cycles consist of discreet, self-sufficient stories, they are especially well suited to handle certain subjects, including the sense of isolation or fragmentation or indeterminacy that many twentieth-century characters experience” (11). Thus, the short cycle proves a favored form for expressing, even in a text’s structure, the difficult position in between worlds that immigrant people occupy. In this sense, the genre’s form is a metaphor for the multiplicity in these women’s lives, their position between cultures, and the complex process toward self-identification.

Silvera Makeda and Dianne Maguire set their cycles in their native country, Jamaica. While Silvera’s cycle is of the *Bildungsroman* type, about a Jamaican black girl growing into adulthood, Maguire’s is of the community or place type, with a group of protagonists who conform to what

Susan Mann has called “a composite personality” (10). Their stories take us back to the times when these characters lived in Jamaica, although some of Maguire’s tales do present the views of white Canadian women who go back to the island as visitors or as “dry land tourists” (Jamaicans who pretend to be tourists). In these cycles, returning to the native land parallels the going home of female protagonists in the *Bildungsroman* cycles by Laurence, Munro or Huggan. The tension between the desire to leave home and the emotional need to return is characteristic of Canadian short story cycles. The setting of the cycle, whether it is an urban suburb in Toronto, a small town in Manitoba, or Kingston, Jamaica, is not just a physical location but also a set of social and cultural rules which restrict the protagonist’s growth, while at the same time providing her with a stable platform for departure. Gwladys Downes finds a relevant psychic dimension in space that she associates with childhood and the writer’s artistic development:

A writer’s early experience comprises two kinds of space: geographical, which means our concrete daily experience of a certain environment, however far it stretches, and psychic space, for want of a better way to characterize the images, abstract or emotionally colored, through which we build pictures of our world. (117)

This psychical space brings back into the present the writer’s past in a geographical location, “so essential to the development of a writer’s consciousness and the individual’s sense of identity” (Downes, 117). The protagonist’s return home in these stories implies a reaffirmation of her cultural heritage and a recognition of the relevance of her community’s influence in the construction of her self.

The position of these migrant women in their countries of origin is unstable and, as Maguire depicts vividly in her collection, they feel forever displaced, with no clear sense of *home*, not knowing where to place it. Neither simply Canadian, nor simply Jamaican, these women search for national categories they can identify with, for a new concept of home that might accommodate them. Displacement is a common feeling among migrant writers, even among those who may have been “assimilated” into the mainstream, since, according to Downes,

the psychic space is constantly being detached from the geographical space, is overflowing back into a dozen different countries. ... The writers themselves may be born in Canada, but a general displacement takes place in their psyche as they learn about the world. (120)

This tension between the psychical spaces of childhood and the emotional attachment to their present nationality results in a powerful creative energy that characterizes many texts by migrant writers. It is in these terms, similar to the short story cycle’s characteristic tension between the isolated story and the narrative frame of the cycle, that Gerald Lynch described the tension between “the one and the many.” Both as women and as

immigrants, these authors live in Canada in a permanent duplicity which is undoubtedly reflected in the literature they produce. As Eli Mandel has remarked, diasporic literature exists inevitably in the intersection of cultures and its texts show “a form concerned to define itself, its voice, in the dialectic of self and other and the duplicities of self-creation, transformation, and identities” (274). In this sense, the genre and literary modes employed, and the textual strategies developed for their adaptation to particular needs, are all relevant elements in the analysis of diasporic literatures.

Himani Bannerji affirms that texts by women writers from the so-called visible minorities are always incomplete, fragmented, and full of silences, due to the suppression of a portion of their identity on behalf of the dominant culture, as supported by institutions such as “the Ministry of Multiculturalism and the various containment agencies of this country all together (39). As a consequence of the pressure on visible minorities to assimilate, writers tend to define themselves and their communities in reaction to the negative portrayals in dominant culture, rather than on their own terms:

We are other than a binary arrangement of identities, even though negatively or invertedly we are caught in a racist-imperialist definition — its ideological and institutional practices. The overwhelming preoccupation with what “they say we are” and “what we are not,” our “otherization” by “them” precludes much exploration or importance of who we actually *are*. (Bannerji 39-40)

Doubly relegated from the cultural center, women writers of the diasporas revise the traditional narrative structures and explore new ones to articulate their multiple identities. Bannerji proposes the search for new forms to break traditional conventions as an empowering strategy toward a self-definition of ethnicity:

Who we are should be a historical/memorial and re-constructive excursion heralding a new content and new forms out of the very problems created by dislocation or fragmentation. . . . A whole new story has to be told, with fragments, with disruptions, and with self-conscious and critical reflections. And one has to do it right. Creating seamless narratives, engaging in exercises in dramatic plot creating, simply make cultural brokers, propagators of Orientalism and self-reificationists out of us. My attempt here has been to develop a form that is both fragmentary and coherent in that it is both creative and critical — its self-reflexivity breaking through self-reification, moving towards a fragmented whole. (40)

Although Bannerji is referring here to the form of her own article, the parallel between its structure and that of the short story cycle is clear. It is significant that the first cycles by immigrant women came out in Canada in 1991, precisely when the academia and intellectual circles in Canada were

hotly debating what writing may constitute Canadian Literature and what should be considered “ethnic literature.” I am referring here to the debate raised among writers and critics after the 1991 Governor General’s Award went to Rohinton Mistry’s *Such a Long Journey*, — a controversy highlighted in Kenneth McGoogan’s report in the February 1992 issue of *Books in Canada*, where he affirmed that “*Such a Long Journey* is not a Canadian novel” (12). McGoogan then quoted two of the most reputed and widely known Canadian author(itie)s, Rudy Wiebe and Robertson Davies, to support his argument for excluding this sort of writing from Canadian Literature:

The novelist Rudy Wiebe, a second city Albertan, spoke the pithiest sentence of 1991: “Place and history are more important than race and gender.” That from an interview published in *Prairie Bookworld*.

Also in the “pithy observation” category is an Ontarian runner-up, Robertson Davies who, in an interview with yours truly, agreed that Canada is becoming increasingly diverse as a result of immigration. “But I think the climate will tell the story,” he said. “Give anybody three generations here and they’ll be Canadian — because of the cold.” ... *Such a Long Journey* may well be the best novel written in Canada in 1991. That doesn’t make it a Canadian novel. Because in no way does that novel reflect this place, Canada. ... I’m not arguing that a Canadian novel must be set in Canada. Only that it must somehow reflect this place. (12)

Also relevant to understanding the subversion implied by the use by migrant writers of a genre critically associated with Canadian letters as is the short story cycle is the polemic raised after the Women’s Press announced new policies regarding the use of narratorial voices and themes in terms of race. The responses to this decision of the Women’s Press reopened debate within the feminist movement in Canada on appropriation and racism. The policies were denounced by Native women writers and women of color at different forums, such as the Women and Words Conference (Vancouver, 1983), the Third International Feminist Bookfair (Montreal, 1988), or the Telling It Conference (Vancouver, 1988), and debate soon expanded to Canadian intellectual spheres on the respective accusations of Censure and Racism, gradually, giving way to a general questioning of leading definitions of Canadian identity and Canadian literature.² *In Language in Her Eye* (Scheier et al.), Claire Harris and Lenore Keeshig-Tobias described how their manuscripts were rejected by mainstream publishers because they were not “Indian” enough, not “ethnographic” enough or, on the contrary, not “Canadian” enough for their supposedly mostly White audience. Lillian Allen and Makeda Silvera in *in the feminine* (Dybikowski et al.) criticize the racist policies of mainstream publishers, their ignorance of other literatures, and the difficulties women of color find to get published in Canada.³

In a context where Canadian literature was being revised and reconfigured, Jamaican-Canadian short story cycles came to challenge critical assumptions that had identified this literary form as Canadian.⁴ The cycle's hybrid nature as a form between the short story and the novel may be used metaphorically to represent hyphenated identities. As Minh-ha Trinh has suggested, "the postcolonial inheritance is that of hybridization" (13) and the short story cycle may be an excellent vehicle to present such inheritance. Hybridization is also characteristic of the language in these cycles, which alternates Standard English for the narration and Jamaican English for the dialogue. The fact that both collections provide a glossary of Jamaican English show an editorial acknowledgment that a multicultural audience will require some "translation" in order to move between the Jamaican and the Canadian contexts.

Both *Remembering G* and *Dry Land Tourist* depict communities of women and children in Jamaica that reflect family patterns particular to Afro-Jamaican society and their link to race issues. Both collections share matriarchal themes that are characteristic of Caribbean feminist fiction, such as single and surrogate motherhood, the association of the mother with the motherland, or the influential role of the grandmother. Besides their description of Jamaican life (corresponding to the psychical space of childhood of the narrators), there are also recurring references to migration and stories with Canadian characters in Jamaica and Jamaican characters in Canada, features revealing the characters' migrant condition. Silvera's cycle is formed of eleven stories and one poem, with a girl narrator/focalizer giving the cycle its character as a *Bildungsroman*. Maguire's cycle combines in its twelve stories different narrative voices and protagonists, male and female, white and black. This variety also reflects the social multiplicity of Jamaican society.

The stories in *Dry Land Tourist* can be catalogued into two main groups, and constitute two brief cycles. The first would be composed of eight stories dealing with the families of a black woman, Mattie, and her white employer, Emma, who live in the mountains near Kendal. Both families share their lives and spaces, effectively constituting a solid community beyond the social distance between employer and employee, and held together by strong emotional links. The second sub-cycle comprises four stories with the same type of protagonist: three are young white Canadian women teachers, and the last is a white Jamaican woman. Unlike the women in the other group of stories, these protagonists do not participate in any community. On the contrary, they are presented as isolated individuals who feel lonely and lack connections on the island. Their high social status, while giving them the chance to travel and some access to privilege, also restricts them to a limited social circle on the margins of the island's popular life. Their personal frustrations in their relationships with men interline with failed attempts to integrate into Jamaican life, a recurrent theme in the four stories that connects them with the other sub-group in the cycle.

Maguire's white women protagonists are closer in character to those depicted in urban cycles set in Canada by Katherine Govier and Linda Svendsen.

Maguire's Canadian women have a negative "foreign" perception of Jamaica, that a hostile land where they cannot seem to fit. Ellen, in "Dry Land Tourist," decides to leave after facing the tremendous social gap between the white and the black populations. Carol, in "Day in Court," transposes her Canadian style concept of justice to the island in order to resolve her conflict regarding a car accident. From her perspective the court of justice is a microcosm of an island where she not only feels uncomfortable but even harassed. And Gillian, in "Green Bush," at first sees the island as a promise of a new beginning in her marriage, only to find a more prosaic reality that will make her return to Canada.

As for the only white Jamaican protagonist in this sub-cycle, she acts (in "Ace of Spades") as a bridge between cultures that helps to destroy the paradisiacal image of the Caribbean sold to the Western tourists. At the end of the story she comes to acknowledge a part of Jamaican culture she had previously chosen to ignore: the African tradition of obeah and voodoo that for a large sector of the Jamaican population constitutes part of everyday life. Her final acceptance that magic could be part of her life shows cultural hybridization working in a direction opposite to the way it is most often presented (that is, the assimilation of white values by non-white migrants).

Makeda Silvera's cycle focuses exclusively on a black neighborhood in Kingston, seen through the eyes of a girl growing up then leaving home to emigrate to Canada. The narrator of all the stories is this migrant writer looking back into her childhood with nostalgia in order to recuperate the smells and tastes of her motherland. Her adult voice, however, is only heard in the last two stories and the final poem. Her description of Jamaican life is thus more restricted than in Maguire's cycle, but is also deeper and richer in detail. This cycle narrates experiences of growth common to many immigrant women in Canada, experiences with which they can identify and recognize a familiar context. The collection follows the common structure of the *Bildungsroman* cycle, with an irregular chronology of the protagonist's development and movement in different stories toward significant fragments of her childhood and adolescence.

The theme of return to the homeland is recurrent in Jamaican-Canadian cycles, as in all postcolonial cultures. The search for a place to fit in, to identify with, takes these women back to childhood, a safe time when they could feel they belonged to a family, to a neighborhood, to a *home*, in Aritha van Herk's words, "without prejudice, a home that includes habitation, family, country, sky, a refuge, an origin" (217). The homeland is, as Sneja Gunew has remarked, a mental construct:

Among many kinds of interrogation, the migrant voice can alert readers (secure in either cultural or linguistic certainties) to the

arbitrary nature of place, that the motherland or fatherland amounts to an imaginary territory perilously shored up by conventions which may melt away on close scrutiny. (17)

A good example of this interrogation can be found in Maguire's story "Dry Land Tourist," where the protagonist, Ellen, comes back "home" to Jamaica from Canada to settle down. She finds that "now there were more expatriates than Jamaicans" (10), and feels part of the former group. She then questions her own nationality, and realizes that her sense of home was an idealized construct based on childhood memories no longer corresponding with her present perception of the island. Although "she had never thought of her mother's little apartment in Victoria, British Columbia, as home" (10-11), her old childhood home in Jamaica, ruined by the passage of time, is no longer a refuge for her:

One afternoon, Ellen took a drive out to the house, to the place in Jamaica she had thought of as home during all those years away in Vancouver. The building was still there, hidden behind overgrown hibiscus bushes and uncut grass. The driveway had deep potholes, and goats wandered in past the cattle trap as if it wasn't there. There was a life of sorts going on around the empty house and she felt like an intruder. (11)

Despite her efforts to integrate because, "after all, this was supposed to be home" (14), Ellen admits she feels as foreign there as the symbolic statue of Queen Victoria in Kingston's piers. At this point she decides to go back to Canada, where she would at least be part of the majoritarian group.

In *Remembering G* the narrator's return is mental rather than physical, the sort of "mental return to the origins" that Robert Fraser has defined as the archetypal metaphor sustaining Caribbean poetry (7), realized through the concatenated association of memories of her mother, Lulu, who comes to embody the mother-land:

Mama in front of the kerosene stove cooking dinner. Mama in front of the wash tub, scrubbing board in her left hand, khaki pants clutched in her right. Mama in front of the Singer sewing machine, navy-blue-cloth-soon-to-be-school-uniform in her lap. Mama in front of the kitchen counter, turning flour and water into pastries ... patties, plantain tarts, tootes, gizzadas ... Mama on the verandah, reading Harlequins, Mama on the verandah reading the Gleaner. (79)

As is characteristic of migrant literatures, the mother and the grandmother are identified with the culture of origin, especially through the food they cook. This association between the mother and food is a recurrent motif and works as an internal linking device between the stories that build the cycle. Food, like clothes and folklore, is one of the most relevant markers of any culture, and is a distinctive element of immigrant communities everywhere. Since the kitchen has traditionally been a feminine space, the association between food and the culture of origin is

produced through the women. This space is the heart of the Jamaican household, and the locus of a good number of the stories in both cycles. The role of the black women as food provider is a dual one since, besides cooking for children, cooking is also their profession and the means to sustain the family. Lulu, in *Remembering G*, makes sweets to sell as well as cooking for the whole household; Mattie, in *Dry Land Tourist*, is the cook in Emma's farm who also bakes pastries for extra money. In the story "Baking," both women, black and white, share the kitchen space where, besides the job and the income, they share confidences. Mattie's first role on the farm was to replace Emma as cook for her children while she recovered from an abortion. The long hours shared in the kitchen create a strong link of intimacy between the two mothers, who also share the painful experience of having rejected a child, through abortion in Emma's case, or through abandonment, in the case of Mattie, and a sense of guilt: "Mattie looked at Emma for a moment before she smiled and said, 'Yes, Ma'am.' She reached out and touched her arm. 'Is alright, yuh know, Miss Emma, yuh and I know how tings stay'"(72).

During childhood, the kitchen is also a space for children, who collaborate in the production of cakes and pastries and/or in their selling. This collaboration with the mother will help to the construction of that chain of associations between the mother and the *motherland* that will endure in adult life. In the memoirs of childhood and motherland in migrant literatures, the mother's cooking is often an opening motif that triggers a "motherload" of associations or events. This narrative device is used to open Silvera's "Harbour View" where Uncle Bunny, the protagonist of this story, is introduced:

Lazy Sunday mornings we would wake up to eat Mama's fried dumplings, plantains, ackee and boil banana. Sunday evenings it would be fried chicken, rice and beans cooked up with scallion and coconut milk and a salad of tomatoes and lettuce and freshly-made carrot juice to wash it down.

Sunday mornings. I remember the smell of hot-iron comb that I used to put through Mama's hair. Mama washed her hair every Sunday morning and when it was dry I would run the hot iron through her hair to straighten it. Uncle Bunny teasing Mama about the length of her hair and I pretending that I couldn't catch the ends to run the hot iron through them, and Mama, always good-natured, would join in our joke. (73)

Although the mother/motherland identification is common to most cultures it is more intense in the Afro-Caribbean context, due to the intimate matrilineal connections between generations in black Jamaican families, the frequent absence of a father in the household, first as a remnant of slavery, and later as a consequence of emigration⁵. This absence has resulted in a social acceptance of single motherhood as the norm in black Jamaican families. Women, accustomed to raising their children without

male help, enjoy this independence and often reject marriage in order not to lose it. Both cycles analyzed here portray this aspect of the black Jamaican family structure. Mattie and Lulu are single women raising children and running households on the income from their work, and in both cases the father is absent from the house. In *Dry Land Tourist*, the reason for absence is emigration, while in Silvera's cycle the narrator's father lives in the same city, and she keeps in touch with him and his family. This man epitomizes the uncaring father, sire of many children from different mothers, who does not see paternity as a responsibility but, rather, as proof of his virility: "Papa rarely came to our avenue and he was always glad to see me. He would greet me with a big hug and boast to his customers, 'Yes man, dis is my daughter from my second marriage. Four from de first marriage and two little outside one. And dem all look like me'" (11). However, this pride in his daughter has not brought entailed economic assistance for her education and or everyday needs: "From de day dat man walk out, he never even try to find out if ah have nuff to feed you. Never ask about money fi school uniform" (11).

This detached parental figure is linked in the cycle to the Afro-Caribbean myth of Anansi, the trickster who avoids work and family responsibilities, as presented in Silvera's story "Out de Candle": "'Anancy de spider had a wife and three children. As yuh all know Anancy was a lazy man, luv to eat and sleep, his wife and children do all de work'" (40).

Although this detachment of the father from childcare is more blatant in black Jamaican culture, it is in no way exclusive to black communities. Any patriarchal culture enhances a role of detached authority for the father while leaving the nurturing functions to the mother. Maguire's stories about a white family provide material for comparing the situation of white and black women; they show common experiences but also racial and class differences. Thus, while the women and children in her stories move between kitchen and yard, the white father is always away in the yam hills. His wife takes on all responsibility for the children's needs and when she has to make a decision regarding her latest pregnancy, she cannot count on his support:

Johnny was happy when he saw the first signs. He loved the children and didn't think about the hardship. After all, he saw them fed every night and clothed every morning. How could he know how she managed that? She would take the few dollars he gave her and add her own egg money. But she couldn't stretch it for one more baby; she knew it. She had felt a familiar joy with the nausea that first day. But as she sensed the changes in her body even before they showed, so she also knew that she would have to find a way to end it. (68)

In contrast to the white women characters, the black women in the cycles are independent, both emotionally and economically, and they preserve this state from any male interference. Mattie resists falling in love with Joshua,

who uses obeah to seduce her. In Silvera's story "Remembering G" G pretends he is Lulu's husband and the narrator's father, a lie Lulu finds reprehensible: "'See here man, leave mi name alone, how yuh so wutliss. Is mi alone and God work for what I have, how yuh come into dis?' And she would walk off, not giving G a chance to defend himself" (81).

The absence of the father in the Jamaican household turns the mother into a powerful role model for their daughters. This maternal model contrasts with that in the cycles by Canadian women set in Canada, where the white mothers personify social roles their protagonist daughters want to escape. In the cycles by Birdsell, Munro, Huggan, Svendsen, or Story, a girl's identity is built by antagonism with her mother, and in many cases their relationship is even hostile. This hostility often springs from the girl's inability to acknowledge the mother's oppression within the house and society, and reconciliation only comes once the young woman has come to understand her mother has been conditioned by society's gender constructs, as in Munro's *Lives of Girls and Women* or Birdsell's *Night Travellers*.

In the Jamaican-Canadian cycles, on the contrary, the black mother is always a positive figure to whom the children feel deeply attached. They are strong, independent, women unsubjected to any male authority. From them children learn to resist oppression, both sexual and racial. When these cycles are inscribed in the Canadian context, these mothers constitute an exceptional type of woman, one well suited to articulate feminist motherhood. Their exceptionality is emphasized in the stories by their children. Thus, Vernon describes Mattie in comparison to other women: "She didn't carry grudges like so many women like her — oldish and without a man, and cooking for somebody else's family. But you knew she wouldn't stand for any nonsense when she stood over you with her big hands on her wide hips" (21). And Lulu is also special, leading an independent life on the margins of the neighborhood:

She puzzled the street, especially the women, and they didn't like it when their men friends sat on our verandah with Mama, drinking rum and talking politics. They would say, "She live on dis avenue so long and we really don't even know her," and "She not a full 'oman but half man" ... Mama didn't look like half-women [sic] half-man to me and I hated it when the women on the street whispered so. I didn't understand. It didn't puzzle me that Mama talked politics, drank white rum like a man, knitted and crocheted, tended her flowerbeds and baked the best cakes and sweets that were sold in all the shops in our neighborhood. (28)

Another consequence of the absence of the father from the Afro-Jamaican household is surrogate motherhood, with a net formed by aunts, cousins, grandmothers and women neighbors who spell the mother while she is working, or for longer periods when she migrates. Thus not only the relatives but the whole community participates in the education

and socialization of the children, giving opinions and even suggesting punishments when they misbehave, as shown in the following extract from Silvera's "No Beating Like dis One," where the girl narrator has to cope with all kinds of reprimands from the people she meets on her way home:

Soon the entire bus was taking part. "Yuh have to watch dem pickney nowadays. Dem get big before dem time," a red, freckle-faced woman offered.

Another nudged the young girl seated next to her, "Yuh hear dat? Yuh watch yuh step. Cause anyhow yuh do a ting like dat, a bruk yuh foot."

An old woman announced, "She need a good beating."

From the front a hard-faced woman was quick to add, "Yuh have to stop dem tings before dem reach higher proportion. 'Fore yuh know it, she bring in belly." They talked around me like flies swarming a plate of food.

People got off the bus, new people came on. Aunt Maggie continued her recitation and the new people on the bus took up the chorus [...] By now I was crying. The voices went on. "And look 'pon her eye. See how dem bright. Yuh can tell she bad."

More agreement. "Yes, especially when dem start fi cry, dat is sure sign of badness." Another time I hadn't cried and the public complaint was that I was dried-eyed and womanish. (13-14)

In these stories, the Afro-Jamaican community replaces the small town, the "ruling paradigm" (Kroetsch, 51) of the regionalist impulse in Canadian literature and the short story cycle in particular. The same way that small towns created by Laurence, Munro, Birdsell, Story, Nixon, and Huggan represent a set of restrictive communal values and patriarchal moral impositions limiting the growth of the girl, the community formed by the net of surrogate mothers and neighbors in a common yard takes on this role in the Jamaican context.

Among all the surrogate mothers, grandmothers play the outstanding role as head of the household. They contribute notably to the construction of cultural identity in children, and their influence will be even more remarkable for the next generation, due to the high rate of migrant women from the Caribbean. The grandmother is the axis that holds the family together, even if they are scattered around the world, even if it only exists in a family album: "I liked my grandmother's little house. I liked the sense of family spilling over from the photo albums into the tiny rooms" (Silvera, 53).

Migration is a recurrent motif in both cycles and there are frequent references to distant friends and relatives who send postcards and photographs from some metropolis. These fragmentary visions of a new country help to build up a false and idealized image of the point of destination:

I took my treasure box with its store of snapshots of my friends and family and cut-outs from magazines from its hiding place in the house bottom. There were scraps of houses, people, flowers, things I might see sometime if I ever visited Canada or any far-off place. I even had a cut-out of snow on a mountain. (Silvera, 66)

Migrant characters contribute to this idealization by hiding from their families the hardships of unemployment and discrimination so as not to add to the pain of their separation.⁶ On the other hand, migrants who do return enjoy their status as cosmopolitan travelers. This new-found prestige shows up in their ostentatious language and in their internalization of the racist ideologies of the dominant cultures, values which accentuate Jamaican pigmentocratic differences:

As the funeral day got closer, more relatives arrived from Canada, England and the United States. Most I was meeting for the first time. The first two days they were around, I couldn't stand their sweet, syrupy voices. Always going on about how big we had grown. Who we looked like, or didn't look like. Who had long hair and who had good hair. Who was lighter than who. Whose nose was straighter than whose. (Silvera, 21)

Many Jamaicans, like Joshua in *Dry Land Tourist*, decide to emigrate because of these distorted images of progress and wealth: "he really seemed to like the idea of going to Canada. He'd heard how people could get good jobs up there" (37). The contrast between his mental construct of Canada and his real experience once there brings self-deception and a sense of failure: "It seems that it took him a little while to get a job and then when he did get work, it didn't pay as much as he thought it would" (41). This contrast also shows up in the poem closing *Remembering G*, which offers a glimpse of the life of the cycle's protagonist in Canada. Here Canada is built upon a series of absences, a list of recurrent negations expressing the migrant's nostalgia for his/her childhood/motherland:

There are no balconies here.
The verandas are not as big and wide.
No wooden floor with fretwork designs.
No rain beating down on zinc floor.
No dogs running free. No cows on the loose.
Squirrels and raccoons running free.
Dogs on leash. Cats on leash. (101)

The Canadian version of the history of colonization is also retold in opposition to the version taught in the Caribbean, exposing and throwing into question the conflating ideologies of white colonizers in both spaces:

No longer shamed into remembering the date Christopher Columbus "discovered" Jamaica.

Time to forget the names of his three ships.

History class is about the “discovery” of North America by [/] Christopher Columbus.

History is Canada’s Indians on reserves.

Hudson Bay Company. (102)

The girl’s position within society in Canada also relates to her skin color, which, compared to the dominant population, is darker. In Jamaica, where pigmentocracy structures society, her European ancestry gives her a certain privileged status:

Sometimes it seemed as if all we talked about was long hair, white blood stirred with African blood and straight noses. Mama was never mentioned in these discussions. She had strong African features. I was the same coloring as my mother but with some of my father’s features, so I managed to escape some of the ridicule about skin color and African features, especially the lips and nose. (54)

However, in Canada, where everything is “white, white, white all around” (102), her skin is, by opposition, just “dark”:

School yard chats

Nigger

Darkie

Negro

Chocolate face

Nigger (102)

Her identity as a Canadian is thus built on her relationship to Jamaican, and her memories of childhood conform and determine both her perception of Canada and her own national identity.

This narrator’s experience of immigration differs greatly from that of white Jamaicans in Canada. Both Darrell and Ellen in *Dry Land Tourist* move to Canada to attend university, which widens the social abyss between them and black workers, like Joshua or illegal immigrants, like Lulu and her daughter. For Ellen, despite her wish to feel Jamaican and return to her native roots, Canada is a shelter to retreat into when she has to face violent conditions on the island. For Darrell, on the other hand, his staying in Canada is proof of his superior status: “He had bought this suit with what was left of his scholarship money. It was from a discount house, but no one need know; as long as he looked like the smart, mature man he had become while at college in Canada” (75), and “He had always felt left out, outnumbered as the only boy. Now that he was back from college, he hoped he would get some respect as the eldest, the traveller, the educated one” (77).

While integration into Canadian society is hard to virtually impossible for the so-called visible minorities, it is a faster and easier process for white immigrants who despite geographical and cultural differences, have more chances to adjust. Darrell exemplifies this kind of opportunity:

His first months in Canada had been difficult because he spoke English and was fair-skinned like the Canadians, so they expected him to know the same things they did. But he didn't know about snow and ice then or about what things were called, like the fireflies. But as he learned to speak with less of a Jamaican accent, and to bundle up for the cold, he began to forget those early humiliations. (77-78)

Conclusion

From this study of Jamaican-Canadian story cycles by women writers, we may conclude that childhood memories are integral to the migrant's sense of nationality, and therefore relevant to any proposal of a Canadian national identity. Many experiences depicted in these cycles are common to the different diasporas and recur in the contemporary fiction of postcolonial literatures. The Caribbean diaspora is an influential social group in Canada; it produces literature, journals, film and visual arts, and participates actively in the creation of Canadian multicultural art. Their experiences and perceptions of Canada as a nation cannot be ignored. Their voices are speaking louder each day, in all fields of culture.

Migrant women writers are vindicating their childhood as part of their Canadian identity. Maguire and Silvera do so through a literary genre that is characteristic of their new country, adjusting the conventions of the form and content to a new means of expression that articulates the multiplicity of their own identities. In the same way that the short story cycles by Canadian women in the eighties presented the process of construction of a female identity from their childhood experiences in Canada, Silvera and Maguire reclaim in theirs that portion of their identity that the single term "Canadian" leaves unacknowledged.

Thus, these short story cycles by immigrant women have come to question the Canadian identity that earlier canonical cycles established, and which Birdsell and Story had themselves criticized in their fiction (through their Métis and German-Canadian characters, respectively). Short story cycles by migrant writers widen the concept of Canadian literature to include the authors who, like Silvera and Maguire, contribute to the creation of a distinctive writing, one not based exclusively on that country's subject matter or physical setting. This new writing is characterized by the complexity of its emotional and psychological spaces, and by the genre that re-presents them. Contrary to the traditional use of this form, based on coherence and unity, the short story cycle becomes, in migrant hands, a vehicle for the expression of multiplicity, hybridity, and of the permanent reconfiguring of migrant identity.

Notes

1. For example, Gerald Lynch, Dieter Meindl, and Susan Ash.
2. The volume *Language in Her Eyes* (1990) includes a series of articles taking part in this debate and participating in the redefinition of Canadianness including essays by Margaret Atwood, Anne Cameron, Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, Lee Maracle, Marlene Nourbese Philip, Claire Harris and Aritha van Herk.
3. See also the volume *Telling It* (Lee et al., 1990), where these issues are also discussed within a feminist frame.
4. Although the short story cycle is a form traditionally and critically associated to European and American literatures in English, it has had a long life not only in other languages, but also in other postcolonial literatures in English, such as those from the Caribbean, India, Australia or New Zealand. Canada is the country where this genre has received special critical attention and more cycles constitute part of the canon. Critics like Gerald Lynch, W.H. New, or Dieter Meindl have provided different theories explaining the Canadian preference for this genre; however, their analyses are all based on works by white authors, and set in Canada.
5. See Olive Senior's *Working Miracles: Women's Lives in the English-Speaking Caribbean* (1991).
6. Silvera's book of interviews with Caribbean women migrants, *Silenced*, first published in 1983, offers testimony on these issues.

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Open Topic Section

Articles hors-thèmes

Pilar Cuder-Domínguez

Negotiations of Gender and Nationhood in Early Canadian Literature

Abstract

Relations between the two founding nations, the “two solitudes” of Canada, has long been considered one of the most outstanding topics in Canadian literature. Often it takes the form of a cross-cultural marriage, which metaphorically stands for the understanding of both communities within the bounds of the same nation. This is the case in the two novels under scrutiny in this essay, Frances Brooke’s The History of Emily Montague (1769), and Rosanna Leprohon’s Antoinette de Mirecourt, or Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing (1864). Although the works were written one hundred years apart, their authors shared a common purpose and the same method: they offered their readers a blueprint for the kind of nation they envisioned by means of a sentimental plot. Moreover, both are remarkable examples of the connection between literature and nationhood in that they convey the way the discourse of nationality becomes gendered and racialized.

Résumé

On considère depuis longtemps que les relations entre les deux peuples fondateurs, les « deux solitudes » du Canada, constituent l’un des thèmes prééminents de la littérature canadienne. Souvent, ce thème prendra la forme d’une union matrimoniale interculturelle, soit la représentation métaphorique de l’entente des deux communautés au sein d’un même pays. C’est précisément le cas des deux romans analysés dans le cadre de cet article, The History of Emily Montague de Frances Brooke (1769) et Antoinette de Mirecourt, or Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing de Rosanna Leprohon (1864). Bien que ces deux textes soient séparés d’un siècle, leurs auteures poursuivaient le même objectif et ont eu recours aux mêmes moyens : elles se sont servi d’un récit sentimental pour offrir à leurs lectrices un plan directeur de la sorte de pays qu’elles envisageaient. De plus, chacun de ces romans nous offre un exemple remarquable du lien qui existe entre la littérature et la nationalité, dans la mesure où ils expriment la façon dont le discours de la nationalité est sexué et racialisé.

As we hear talk daily of separation and/or partition in Canada, the relevance of parameters of nationalistic discourse to the current political climate is beyond doubt. Equally evident to an observer is the controversial ring carried by the very notion of a national literature. In the October 1997 issue of *Saturday Night*, the Toronto *Star* literary critic Philip Marchand asked

whether the works of prominent Canadian authors could bear comparison with the classics of world literature. The Montreal *Gazette* took up this question on November 8 under the headline “Are Canadians Apotheosizing Minor Novelists?” Underlying both articles is the assumption that Canadian authors have a ready-made, stable Canadian identity, and that their ranking in the context of world literature necessarily mirrors the status of the Canadian nation in the world. Both periodicals represent what has been called the “reflection theory,” which generally understands that:

[T]he unique experience of national life generates a national, collective consciousness, or in some formulations a “collective unconscious” marked by a distinctive set of values, tensions, myths, and psychological foci, that produces in turn a certain readily identifiable national character — the American cowboy or the French sophisticate, for example. This character, and the values, tensions, and myths from which it springs, is then discernible in indigenous cultural products. Thus the distinctiveness of a national literature is seen as the natural embodiment of the distinctive national character. (Corse: 1)

The worries articulated by these publications do not widely differ from the concerns of nineteenth-century Canadians, who perceived the development of a “national” literature as a fundamental step in the building of the Canadian nation. This link was asserted in Thomas D’Arcy McGee’s “Protection for Canadian Literature” (1858):

Every country, every nationality, every people, must create and foster a National Literature, if it is their wish to preserve a distinct individuality from other nations. If precautions are not taken to secure this end, the distinctive character and features of a people must disappear; they cannot survive the storms of time and the rude blasts of civil commotion. The popular mind must be trained and educated according to the physical appearances and social condition of the country; and the people who are so unfortunate as to possess no fountain from which they can procure the elixir of their existence will soon disappear from the face of the earth, or become merged in some more numerous or more powerful neighbour. (Daymond and Monkman: 43)

In our century the definition of features pertaining to a national literature has engaged the attention of critics and academics, especially after World War II and most remarkably in the 1960s and 1970s, when the debate over the canon was at its most heated.² High on the list of “Canadian” topics was the literary treatment of relations between the French and English founding nations, a theme which Hugh MacLennan’s 1945 novel defined and popularized as the “two solitudes” of Canada. Literary and national issues were so imbricated that at times critics could not help slipping between one and the other. A case in point is Roland Sutherland’s study of several contemporary novels where he put forward the idea that authors only belonged within the Canadian mainstream if they shared an “awareness of

fundamental aspects and attitudes of both language groups in Canada,” and concluded with the assertion that it made sense to confer a special political status on Quebec within a confederate system (in Edwards 1972: 8). Taking issue with Sutherland’s approach, Mary Jane Edwards, in her aptly entitled article “Essentially Canadian,” also had the “Quebec problem” in mind in its concluding remarks:

“The knife on the table”: this image summarizes the theme of English-French relations in Canada, as it is presented in Canadian fiction from its beginning to the present day. These stories recall that there is a knife, composed of real acts of violence, between English-Canadians and French-Canadians. They reveal that the knife has been used periodically to cut more wounds. ... But they also reveal that the wounds are of the kind that one member of a family inflicts on another. ... Perhaps, then, instead of wondering if we should “let Quebec go” or “free Quebec from the English,” we should examine more closely the rules of this family game which we have played as a nation for such a long time, expose them, as some Canadian writers have traditionally done, and change them, if we choose, not with a knife but with a pen. (1972: 23)

Edwards pointed out a long tradition of work dealing with the topic of the two solitudes, identifying this body not as “an emerging theme in Canadian fiction in either English or French,” but rather as one that “has been present in Canadian fiction from its beginning” (1972:10). Critical interest in this topic, however, has been scant. It would take sixteen years for another critic, Carl Murphy, to take up the subject in his analysis of nineteenth-century English-Canadian fiction.³ Following Edwards’s earlier remarks, Murphy identified the marriage metaphor (understood as “the archetypal resolution of English-French relations”) as “a feature of Canadian fiction from the beginning” (6). Unlike Edwards, however, Murphy was careful not to draw political conclusions from his literary arguments, although the end of his essay signals toward current politics when he says that these writers created and embodied in their art “a vision of Canada as a happy marriage of French and English who have freely chosen each other. In their fiction it is a union achieved after great struggle, but one that emerges stronger because of the struggle” (18-19).

In my opinion these earlier undertakings failed to analyze the necessary gendering of this metaphor.⁴ The basis for the metaphor to work, i.e., for the political reading to come into effect, is that there is compelling similarity between one woman and one people. A woman’s struggle to choose and control her fate (often in the shape of a husband) awakens associations with a people’s right to self-determination. Hence the discourse of gender becomes enmeshed with the discourse of nation.

Furthermore, the discourse of nation and the language of nationalism have traditionally been gendered. Current notions of nationhood derive from the ideas developed by German Romanticism, which insisted on the

need for the confluence of nation and state: where there is a community of people sharing a language and a cultural background, there should be a state (Corse: 7). That our nation, language, or even geography should be represented as a “mother” (“mother tongue,” “Mother Earth,” etc.) is not surprising. We almost take for granted the many ways that women “carry the burden of representation, as they are constructed as the symbolic bearers of the collectivity’s identity and honour, both personally and collectively” (Yuval-Davies: 45). Recent feminist studies of gender and nation have explored this issue, showing us how in Nazi Germany, for example, the girls and boys in the Hitler Youth movement were given gender-coded mottoes. In the language of essence and passive symbolical representation, the girls were told to “be fruitful, be pure, be German,” whereas the boys were told to “live faithfully, fight bravely, die laughing,” emphasizing their active engagement in a society where their attitude toward life and death was what marked their national identity (Koontz in Yuval-Davies: 45).

Moreover, a nation’s future seems to be linked to that of its women, a country’s policies concerning reproduction impinge on women’s lives in ways that are often difficult to predict. This is especially true when the ideological construct “nationhood” and the political entity of “statehood” do not overlap, e.g., when several communities, different in culture and sometimes in language, are forced to share the same borders. One cannot help thinking of the state-incited campaign involving the rape of Bosnian women during the civil war in former Yugoslavia and the Serbs’ desperate effort to eliminate cultural and racial differences. In contexts where racial or ethnic friction exists, each community will strengthen and police its borders, and a woman’s marriage will take on an added relevance for the whole of the group insofar as it strengthens or weakens it (Anthias and Yuval-Davies: 313-ff).

The depth of feeling that nationalism has the power to evoke even now, in our Western, postindustrial world at the end of the 20th century, should enlighten us as to the prominence of these issues in earlier times. It also explains the enduring presence of the marriage metaphor in Canadian literature, especially, as Murphy pointed out, in the nineteenth century. This essay will consider the gendering of this marriage metaphor and its relationship to nationhood. It is my contention that by focusing on the courtship period rather than on the marriage itself, the metaphor conveys the need for negotiation between peoples as much as between the sexes. This article will discuss two novels written by women and set in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest: first, *The History of Emily Montague*, published in 1769, only six years after the Treaty of Paris had confirmed that French Canada now belonged to Britain; second, *Antoinette de Mirecourt; or Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing*, published in 1864, a mere three years before Confederation. This selection will give us a new perspective on the issue of French-English relations since these novels stand at either end of a fascinating period in Canadian history, from

Conquest to Confederation. Moreover, this analysis will contradict any notion that women's domestic writing of the nineteenth century is superficial, trivial, or frivolous. What is interesting about the authors, Frances Brooke and Rosanna Mullins Leprohon, is how they took a political stance and tried to participate in the issues of their day and place, and how they shaped their writings so as to convey these positions. Both novels in effect remolded the existing social order according to their creators' ideals, and offered readers a blueprint for the kind of nation they envisioned. For their instrument, they used the sentimental plot so common to literature of the period, a vehicle that features overlapping discourses. The sentimental and the colonial scripts are handled in such a way that, while defining the status of women, the authors define the state of the nation as well.

Frances Brooke's *The History of Emily Montague*

Alleged to be the first Canadian novel, *The History of Emily Montague* is an epistolary novel comprising 228 letters written by several correspondents in Canada and in Britain. There are, in all, three pairs of lovers, and by the end of the story they are all happily living, and also happily married, back in England. Most discussion of this novel to date has attempted to read the political into the sentimental by contemplating the implications of several possible romantic liaisons proposed by the author. The focus of this essay will be on the all-pervasive patriarchal script embedded throughout the novel.⁵

Howells presented Emily Montague's epistolary structure as evidence of its "dialogism", understood not simply in the exchange of ideas and news, but also in the sense that no one set of ideas is valued above others; i.e., a "democratic" exchange of ideas underlies the novel's structure (Howells: 442). On the contrary, it is my belief that one character's views are privileged above all others: those of William Fermor, a British officer in Quebec and the writer of twelve letters that lie at the very heart of the novel.⁶ Fermor addresses himself to an unnamed Earl back in Britain and expounds his two central concerns in life, the situation in Quebec and his own marriageable daughter Arabella. That these concerns are not unrelated is hinted at in Fermor's use of the word "volatile" to describe his daughter's temper (L 159), a term which applied just as accurately to the current state of affairs in Canada. Unlike the rest of the letters, where a sentimental diction of love and emotion predominates, these are much more analytical. Fermor dissects the political situation of Quebec in a three-stage process. First of all Fermor reports the initial disposition of a colony substantially populated by colonists of French extraction (*Canadiens*), then he identifies the problems posed by the presence of new British subjects, and finally he sets forth possible resolutions for tensions between the two cultures.

Fermor's first letter opens the sequence by establishing the dichotomy of "them" vs. "us", i.e., the *Canadiens* vs. the British:

The French, in the first settling this colony, seem to have had an eye only to the conquest of *ours*; their whole system of policy seems to have been military, not commercial; or only so far commercial as was necessary to supply the wants, and by so doing to gain the friendship, of the savages, in order to make use of them against *us*. (L72; my italics)

This character's Eurocentric viewpoint reduces the New World to the struggle between France and England, the "savages" being no more than pawns in this tug-of-war.

Also, Fermor's imperialistic views find a number of "shortcomings" in French Canadians that he discusses in many of his letters. What these shortcomings amount to are those very traits making up the *Canadien* identity, their essential difference from other peoples: language (French), religion (Roman Catholicism), and system of government (absolutism). Fermor perceives these distinctions as sure signs of French inferiority, and also as so many obstacles to the potentially useful contribution of French Canadians to the common good of the Empire. The question for Fermor, is how to transform "them" into "us", how to eliminate these differences; and the key to their resolution is language. What Fermor suggests as the appropriate course of action, as Mary Jane Edwards noted (1984: 22), is to anglicize the *Canadiens*:

[T]his large acquisition of people is an invaluable treasure if managed, as I doubt not it will be, to the best advantage; if they are won by the gentle arts of persuasion, and the gradual progress of knowledge, to adopt so much of our manners as tends to make them happier in themselves, and more useful members of the society to which they belong: if with our language, which they should by every means be induced to learn, they acquire the mild genius of our religion and laws, and that spirit of industry, enterprize, and commerce, to which we owe all our greatness. (L123)

The solution to political tension is assimilation, a process that Fermor conceives of as starting with language. If only the French Canadians learned to speak English, assimilation would follow, in that they will surely perceive what for this character is obvious: the superiority of the British identity. If, on the other hand, this condition is not met, the situation in Canada may get out of hand, as Fermor believes has happened in the southern colonies, specifically in New York, where the Dutch maintain their "affection for their ancient masters" together with their distinctive language, "and still look on their English fellow-subjects as strangers and intruders" (L138).

Fermor clearly states the method through which assimilation can be achieved. He is against the use of force, since he believes it may backfire. Again, the southern colonies, and the turmoil surrounding British taxation policy in the years preceding their independence, provide his example:

Taxing them immediately after their trade is restrained, seems like drying up the source, and expecting the stream to flow. Yet too much care cannot be taken to support the majesty of government, and assert the dominion of the parent country. A good mother will consult the interest and happiness of their children, but will never suffer her authority to be disputed. An equal mixture of mildness and spirit cannot fail of bringing these mistaken people, misled by a few of violent temper and ambitious views, into a just sense of their duty. (L133)

Consequently, Fermor favors what he calls elsewhere a “soft handling” of the *Canadien* population. This does not mean that it is not a firm rule; simply that it refrains from using its more forceful instruments. His position is marked by caution, in that outright imposition may have unwanted effects, as much as by confidence in the superiority of the British Empire. What he is fostering is assimilation, conceived as the internalization of the codes of an imperial institution rather than as their external enforcement.

Fermor’s theories have a bearing as well on the sentimental discourse of *The History of Emily Montague*.⁷ His deployment of the language of parenthood in referring to the relationship between Britain and its colonies in the letters (e.g., L133, where he mentions “parent country,” “a good mother”) is just one among many signs pointing toward the parallel between the woman (Fermor’s daughter) and the colony. Fermor regards women very much the same way that he regards French Canadians: as the inferior members in a partnership, be it marriage or empire. Their “faults” are also remarkably similar, and occasionally lead to straightforward comparisons between them. In L135, Fermor complains of conversing for two hours with a French officer who talked “with the most astonishing volubility, without uttering one word which could either entertain or instruct his hearers; and even without starting any thing that deserved the name of a thought.” As applied to women such commentary is all too familiar, indeed, Fermor turns to consider this “fault” in women in the next paragraphs. Once more the “cure” lies in education; if only the inferior partner receives an education, s/he will become aware of the superiority of the other and thus adopt the worthier model:

Women who have conversed much with men are undoubtedly in general the most pleasing companions; but this only shews of what they are capable when properly educated, since they improve so greatly by that accidental and limited opportunity of acquiring knowledge. (L135)

Fermor advocates a soft handling of women just as he did for the *Canadiens*. Therefore, his advice to a father whose daughter has entered a relationship he disapproves of is to treat her as a friend, since it is only his affection that will make her change her mind. But, he warns, “if he treats her with harshness, she is lost for ever” (L145). Again, Fermor is fostering the internalization of codes over their external enforcement, both patriarchal

and imperial. Similarly, his position rests both on the notion that harshness may backfire, and on the firm conviction that the natural superiority of the partner will win out.

Fermor's theories are put to the test in his relationship with his daughter Arabella. This is of especial relevance because Arabella is the one female character among the three pairs of lovers that, according to critics, voices Brooke's feminist views (McMullen 1982; Boutelle 1986; Sellwood 1993). Fermor follows the rules he had earlier devised for control of colonies. He believes that control there must be, inconstant but unobtrusive, so he discretely watches over her love affairs. His surveillance is apparent in Arabella's own letters, where she twice mentions hiding them from her father's "prying" (L79 and L88). He nevertheless maintains his distance and when the right suitor, Fitzgerald, enters the picture, he even declares it is wiser for him not to show approval (L87). Arabella herself feels she is making her own decisions even though she is not, as we find out when Fermor discloses that he has already entered negotiations with Fitzgerald:

I have settled every thing with Fitzgerald, but without saying a word to Bell [Arabella]; and he is to seduce her into matrimony as soon as he can, without my appearing at all interested in the affair: he is to ask my consent in form, though we have already settled every preliminary. (L133)

This represents for me Brooke's own ideological stance: she advocates a certain freedom of action for women, but only as long as patriarchy is not seriously challenged, that is, as long as women's decisions do not contradict the men's. This view is borne out by the other love affairs in the novel. Only one female character among the three pairs of lovers, Emily Montague marries without her father's consent; but this initiative is justifiable because she has not seen him since childhood and is therefore unaware of his plans for her. The apparent conflict is resolved at the end of the novel by making Emily's and her father's wishes happily coincide: Emily's husband turns out to be the very person that her father had in mind for her. As Merrett puts it:

The closure's reliance on coincidences that displace plot-conflicts wholly, demonstrates that romantic resistance to patriarchy is a charade. ... In addition to remotivating money in a way the narrative resists, the closure elides married love, imperial wealth and patriarchal prestige. That the ending rewards the rural gentry with financial wealth and social prestige is the ultimate devaluation of romance. (106)

This takes us back to the issue of education. Emily's choice proves to be the right one because she has been properly educated, so that her absent father can safely trust her. William Fermor states as much when he claims that "[n]otwithstanding all my daughter says in gaiety of heart, she would sooner relinquish the man she loves, than offend a father in whom she has always found the tenderest and most faithful of friends" (L135). In Brooke's novel education is therefore the one method that guarantees the

permanent submission of the inferior partner in these institutions of marriage and empire. The more educated they are, the more they appreciate the natural superiority of the other party, the less carefully they will need to be monitored, and the more happily they will accept their submission.

Nevertheless, a negotiation of sorts does take place in both overlapping discourses in this novel. Not all the pressure is borne by the subjected partner. In Brooke's view, any parent biological or imperial, must always bear in mind the welfare of their offspring. Learning to know them and providing for their wants (within limits, of course) ensures the happiness of all involved and avoids unnecessary confrontation.

Yet we need to make clear that such "happiness", or even contentment, is only possible as long as the rules of the game are accepted by both sides. Brooke's blueprint for the future of Canada and women is premised on supremacy of Britain and of men. Like many Englishwomen of her time and social class and upbringing, Brooke believes that the situation of colonies and women is happier within the policed borders of patriarchy and empire.

Antoinette De Mirecourt; or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing (1864)

Unlike Frances Brooke, who stayed in Canada for a short time, Rosanna Mullins was Canadian-born. She came from an Irish family who had settled and prospered. As a Catholic, educated, middle-class woman, she then married into a well respected French-Canadian family, the Leprohons. While schematic, this portrait suffices to indicate that her takes on the Conquest and the issue of nationhood will differ greatly from that of Frances Brooke, even if we did not take into account the distance in time between both authors and novels.⁸

Here too the topic of the Conquest is openly discussed, although instead of one character (Fermor) offering an analysis of events, it is the narrator that undertakes to inform or remind readers of the main events:

And now will our readers forgive us if at the risk of being thought tedious, or, of repeating facts with which they may be as well acquainted as ourselves, we cast a cursory glance over that period of Canadian history which embraces the first years that followed the capitulation of Montreal to the combined forces of Murray, Amherst, and Haviland — a period on which neither victors nor vanquished can dwell with much pleasure.

Despite the terms of the capitulation, which had expressly guaranteed to Canadians the same rights as those accorded to British subjects, the former, who had confidently counted on the peaceful protection of a legal government, were doomed instead to see their tribunals abolished, their judges ignored, and their entire social system overthrown, to make way for that most insupportable of all tyrannies, martial law. (39)

What is immediately striking is the narrator's undisguised sympathy for the conquered French Canadians, a stand point evidenced in the novel as a whole. Leprohon takes the side of the people she both perceives and represents as the powerless, the unprotected, the deceived, and the betrayed. This is the side that gets to air its grievances and sufferings whereas, in Brooke's novel, it was not given a voice at all: none of the correspondents was Canadian-born. Leprohon thus seems to correct the one-sidedness of Brooke's account.

Like Brooke, however, Leprohon makes use of the sentimental mode to convey her opinions so the love interest in the novel stands for the state of the nation. Her gendered views of the nation are explicit in that her novel is populated by French-Canadian women and English men. Leprohon chooses to explore their interaction in the salons and houses of the French-Canadian bourgeois who stayed behind and did not return to France. Early in the novel, Mrs. D'Aulney's decision to reopen her house to visitors and renew social formalities is fraught with political implications. When she announces that she will welcome British officers, her husband complains bitterly that in so doing she will "feast their oppressors":

"[Major Sternfield] is a perfect gentleman in manner and address. He expressed, in most deferential terms, the earnest and anxious desire of himself, and many of his brother officers, to obtain an entrance into our Canadian *salons* —"

"Yes, to pick up any heiresses among us, and after turning the heads of all the rest of the girls, jilt them," grunted Mr. D'Aulney.

"Ah, you are mistaken," rejoined his wife with animation. "Myself and country-women will take good care that in all cases they shall be the sufferers, not ourselves. Antoinette and I shall break dozens of their callous hearts, and thus avenge our country's wrongs." (22)

A love "campaign" war seems designed to continue the late war, and the sentimental plot thus acquires political significance and national relevance. Nevertheless, unlike Brooke's novel, where both discourses overlapped but remained distinct or separate, here the categories of the sentimental and the national completely merge in what Carl Murphy has called "the marriage metaphor." Leprohon seems to believe in a nation, a Canadian nation, which most needs arise from the union of its two founding peoples, French and English. Just as husband and wife, previously two separate beings, become "one" in the state of holy matrimony, so the French and the English are destined to understand and love one another within the bounds of one nation, each bringing into the relationship their very best traits.

The point of the novel, then, is to encourage the bridging of differences between the "two solitudes" in Canada. To this purpose Leprohon masterfully uses the form of the sentimental novel, and especially of one type of sentimental story — the warning tale. Her aim is achieved by way of

a negative example and the novel explores the “sorrowing” that comes from making the wrong choice of partner. By casting Quebec as the paradigmatic sentimental heroine, a helpless girl, tortured and sorrowful, Leprohon ensures that our sympathies will fall on the side of French Canadians.

Thus, Antoinette, Mrs. D’Aulney’s cousin, stands symbolically for French-Canada. Like Quebec, she is young and inexperienced. While beautiful, accomplished, and educated, she is nevertheless physically weak. While morally strong, she is deprived of intellectual nourishment because, while staying with her cousin in Montreal, she is far from other sources of guidance or help. (Her mother died young, and her father and governess have stayed behind in the family house.) This isolation is meant to remind us of how the French-Canadian population has been cut off from “society” many aristocratic families having returned to their estates in France while others, resenting the presence of the conquerors (like Lucille’s husband in the novel), to live in seclusion.

This context prepares the ground for (and helps justify) the young girl’s wrong decision. She has a choice of three potential partners. Two of them are British officers, “the enemy”; the other is French Canadian and the husband Antoinette’s father has chosen for her. The right choice would seem to be obvious but is not. It is precisely the fact that Louis Beauséjour is French-Canadian that disqualifies him, for such a marriage of “sameness” would amount to cultural incest, as Antoinette makes clear: “The friendly familiarity in which we have grown up together, has taught us to love each other dearly, but only as brother and sister” (61).

In this context it would be tempting to see the two British officers, Colonel Evelyn and Major Sternfield, as standing for Britain and the United States. But that is perhaps carrying the metaphor too far, since there is no real evidence pointing in that direction. What is clear, however, is that in selecting Major Sternfield Antoinette makes a terrible mistake. By using the sentimental vocabulary of characterization in her creation of both suitors, Leprohon delineates conditions for the successful “marriage” of Quebec and English Canada.

Major Sternfield, Antoinette’s first and secret husband, is apparently charming but unable to control his feelings, an unforgivable defect in the sentimental novel. In this genre one must be very sensitive and capable of deep and strong feelings, but nonetheless able to hold them in check and channel them to good use for self and society — clearly not the case for Major Sternfield. A second and even more unforgivable trait in a sentimental hero is self-interest. Antoinette soon discovers that her husband is a gambler and that he married her for her money, in order to cover his losses at the gambling table.

Colonel Evelyn, the man Antoinette marries after the death of Major Sternfield, was the right choice all along. Though apparently uninteresting, he shows the selflessness that marks the true sentimental hero. Indeed, he is

always aware of other people's needs and wants and always ready to put them before his own. An example of his strength of character is his noble reaction when Antoinette rejects him. While he is bitterly disappointed, he also manages to offer her his friendship and his help: "Remember, in your hour of sorrow or trial, that you have a friend whom nothing can alienate" (131).

Likewise, these sentimental features have a reading in the context of the metaphor of nationhood. One potential partner/alliance can only bring suffering, and Antoinette/Quebec languishes for many pages under the weight of one bad decision, while the other option would have brought happiness and prosperity:

Had Audley Sternfield proved persistently gentle and considerate, there is no doubt that the passing fancy which she had mistaken for love, would ultimately have ripened into deep affection; for Antoinette's nature was loving and gentle, but the system of persecution and intimidation the bridegroom had so soon adopted after their ill-omened marriage, insensibly frightened away the dawning attachment she had felt for him; and with anguished fear for the future, despairing regret for the past, she now acknowledged to her aching heart that *she only feared and trembled where she should have loved and confided*. A dreary half-hour followed, during which she sat ... thinking with a sort of broken-hearted apathy, *how improbable it was that she would ever know peace or happiness again*. (102; my italics)

We are given to understand that all this suffering could have been avoided. Leprohon makes a point in the novel of setting down the conditions for a healthy, successful relationship — within a marriage or a nation — the main one being knowledge of one another. Sternfield and Antoinette get to know each other in the artificial settings of ballroom and soirée, where everybody looks their best and are prone to fall for false appearances; Evelyn and Antoinette get to know one another very well in difficult circumstances outside of their control. Leprohon contrives to create, for each of them, one episode where they are able to display their true selves to advantage.

In the case of Antoinette, this occurs very early in the novel (chapter 8, pp. 48-52). A sleigh accident makes Evelyn and Antoinette seek shelter in a small cottage and he leaves her to see to the horses. Upon his return he finds her sitting near the fire, surrounded by the *habitant's* little children, to whom she is telling a story:

Some time after, Colonel Evelyn entered the cottage alone, and, as his clouded gaze fell on the group before him, he involuntarily smiled. The little [child] on Antoinette's lap nestled closely to her breast on seeing the tall stranger enter, and clung there as naturally as if his little curly pate had always been accustomed to lie next a silken bodice, and press jewelled ornaments. Very lovely Antoinette appeared at the moment; and the gentle play of her

features, as she kindly looked from one little auditor to another, invested her with a charm which her beauty had never, perhaps, possessed in saloon or ball-room. (53)

Here Leprohon considers the essence of both womanhood and nationhood: for Antoinette it is the maternal and domestic instinct symbolized by children and hearth that makes her “a real woman,” whereas for Quebec it must be the rural, simple life of the *habitant*. That Colonel Evelyn, the English conqueror, gets to see them in this setting guarantees their welfare in the long term.

In the case of Colonel Evelyn, the episode that reveals his true self to Antoinette and to the reader is a trip to Quebec City in winter, when he and Antoinette’s father happen to travel together without being aware of each other’s identity. Antoinette’s father tells her how, in a snowstorm, they had stopped at an inn, where Colonel Evelyn took the side of a poor *habitant* against an English inn owner who tried to overcharge him:

[The inn owner] commenced ... lashing [the habitant’s horse] about the head in the most merciless manner, threatening to do the same to the owner if he did not at once satisfy his claim. In a second, my fellow-traveller had leaped to the ground, wreathed his powerful hand in mine host’s coat collar, and with the whip, he had just snatched from his grasp, administered him two or three sharp cuts. “Your name!” gasped the fellow; “your name, till I have you brought up before a magistrate at once!” “Colonel Evelyn, of His Majesty’s _th regiment,” he disdainfully replied, hurling from him the man, now thoroughly cowed and humbled. (143-44)

This incident proves that Colonel Evelyn possesses the classic “manly” traits: he is strong and but uses that strength to protect the weak. He also exhibits features that do honour to his nation: he has an innate sense of justice and a dislike for oppression; these characteristics lead him to take the right side regardless of national sympathy or prejudice.

Because Antoinette and Evelyn get to know each other’s inner-selves, we readers are inclined to think that their marriage will be a success. Similarly, Leprohon would have us believe that mutual knowledge within the Canadian nation will guarantee the prosperity of the country and the welfare of all inhabitants. By recognizing and acknowledging the positive traits that each partner brings to their union, they can bridge their differences.

“Knowledge of the other” in Leprohon’s novel appears to differ markedly from “education for submission” in Brooke’s. But not by far or for long, if we remember that Fermor, too, advocated taking into account the other’s needs and providing for them in some measure. Besides, it is my belief that the difference is actually slight because Leprohon sings the praises of Antoinette’s self-sacrifice and of wifely duties and proper humility to an extent that does not bode well for French Canadians, let alone

women. After all, her choice of a warning tale as the proper medium for her political message is very telling: both young women and, in my reading, French Canadians, are being admonished and forewarned. They are encouraged to be cautious and to choose wisely to live under the protective shadow of the strong man and country. Therefore, the happy resolution that Leprohon contrives with the marriage of Antoinette and Evelyn, is still one where the male, English, principle has the upper hand.

Conclusions

This essay described the ways that French-English tensions undergo a negotiation process of sorts within the fiction of two women writers of the pre-Confederation period. In their novels Brooke and Leprohon test the borders of gender and of cultural allegiance, even if they stop short of any serious challenge. Instead, they put forward means to negotiate these cross-cultural conflicts, and posit resolutions that they envision as being mutually enriching, or as conducive to the common good.

That common good, however, is not the same for both writers. The obvious reason is that the community each had in mind was different as well. Brooke wrote for an English readership for whom she mapped the path toward the wished-for aggrandizement of empire. Since this educated elite was the one who stood to benefit most from the acquisition of new territories, her views went unquestioned.

Leprohon's case was quite another. Carole Gerson has referred to her as "the best and the most overlooked English-Canadian fiction writer of her generation" (139).⁹ Overlooked nowadays, that is, because in her own lifetime she was a very successful writer. If she is virtually unknown today, it is because to a certain extent she wrote with an eye to the French-Canadian community she belonged to by marriage. Her novels were translated into French immediately and stayed in print long after the original English editions ceased to be printed. Her first novel, *The Manor of De Villerai*, was not available in a contemporary edition in English until 1983, and then only in a scholarly journal (*Journal of Canadian Fiction*), not in book form. Her third novel, *Armand Durand*, was not republished until 1994, and though some of her stories and minor novels are included in anthologies, most can still be found only on microfilm.

Only *Antoinette de Mirecourt* has been available in a popular edition since 1973, though it has not attracted the attention it deserves. Nevertheless, at the time of its original publication it was certainly understood as a blueprint for intercultural understanding by the community for whom it was written. Gerson records that the reaction of French Canadians was to take exception to the ending, i.e., the marriage of a French-Canadian heroine to an English hero.¹⁰ Gerson further points out that the reason for such a reception was that "[s]uch an union predicates the absorption of the female partner into the dominant culture of the male, the

sexual submission of the individual symbolising the political submission of the group” (121).

My own analysis of these novels agrees with Gerson’s. It seems clear that Brooke’s and Leprohon’s agenda, involve both the dominance of English Canadians and of men, and that the gendered principle (male power over female submission) is meant to lead the way for politics. Nevertheless, what happened in real life may have differed considerably from the visions of these writers, neither of whose works should be taken as mirrors but as windows, on their world. Indeed, Leprohon proved to be an exception to the rules she herself set down, for in the very act of writing she dared to go against women’s cultural submission.

In a recent study of cross-cultural, French-English marriages in nineteenth-century New Brunswick, Davis concludes that women’s role as guardians of the hereditary culture was such that they tended to reinforce ties with their own ethnic group. If we apply this finding to the allegorical union of Col. Evelyn and Antoinette, their marriage would have brought about a strengthening of the links with the French-Canadian community, rather than assimilation. In turn, these novels and the statements of supremacy they encode have to be read as responses to the much dreaded prospect of social change, as reinforcements of the unstable borders of culture and gender.

If that interpretation is right then we have to believe that the gender/nation equation is less simple than we — and the authors themselves — have understood it to be so far. As Davis remarks, “[a]ll marriages are settings for on-going negotiations between men and women, who hold different statuses, roles, and control over resources. In intermarriages, cultural resources and ethnic identity are themselves negotiable, as well as influential, during marital decision making” (127). Similarly, both the novels discussed here enact multiple small acts of negotiation, as the partners-to-be go over the terms of their relationship; and they offer examples of the strategies that may be deployed in order to achieve a lasting union. The writers’ emphasis on process, rather than on a single transaction, suggests that this adaptation is a lifelong activity.

While understanding the way gender constructs may illuminate our reading of national and/or cultural issues, we in turn cannot forget that these constructs, like other writing, are cultural artifacts, and they have themselves undergone manipulation. We need to take into account the politics and the geographics of their transmission and reception. Brooke’s *The History of Emily Montague* and Leprohon’s *Antoinette de Mirecourt* have traveled, literally and figuratively, between English Canada and French Canada, between Britain and Canada, between empire and colony. They have also occupied in-between spaces, and in the process have participated in the never-ending, always fluctuating process of building a national identity. Rather than positing an aprioristic Canadian identity to

which these novels owe their being, we should perceive them as pieces in the dialogue between writers — as gendered subjects — and their imagined communities, and therefore as encoding multiple, even conflicting, subject positions as issues of gender, class, and cultural allegiance come into play.

Notes

1. An earlier draft of this essay was delivered as a lecture at McGill University, Montreal, in September 1997. I am grateful to the McGill Centre for Research and Teaching on Women for granting me the visiting fellowship that made this research possible. I would also like to acknowledge my debt to the anonymous readers whose suggestions contributed to improving this paper.
2. For a discussion of the issues involved in the making of the Canadian literary canon, see the essays collected by Robert Lecker in *Canadian Canons* (1991), and his later *Making it Real* (1995). For a sustained attempt to decode the multifarious connections between Canadian literature and nationality, see Frank Birbalsingh's collection of essays *Novels and the Nation* (1995).
3. Although Murphy is not the only critic to have perceived this theme in Canadian literature — indeed, many mention it in passing — he is the only one so far to have traced it in a number of novels.
4. Recent work on the connection between literature and nation, like Fleming's (1995) and Sullivan's (1997), seem to be heading toward a better understanding of its genderization and racialization.
5. Debate over the politics of this novel has at times been rather heated. A case in point is McCarthy's spirited challenge to Fraser's reading. My own analysis, though substantially differing from McCarthy's, reaches a similar conclusion.
6. Fermor's letters are numbers 72, 87, 100, 117, 123, 130, 131, 135, 138, 152 and 159. All textual references here will be made by letter number; e.g., L72 for letter number 72.
7. For a discussion of the sentimental features of the novel, see Rogers (1978) and Benedict (1992 and 1994).
8. For detailed biographical information on both writers, see McMullen's excellent book on Brooke (1983), and the chapter on Leprohon in Naves.
9. Critical readings of her many works are still scant, though as they become available in modern editions this may start to change: cf. Gadpaille's recent article on one of Leprohon's stories.
10. Leprohon's contemporary, Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, had rejected just such an ending for his heroine, Blanche d'Haberville, in *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863), where he had her reject her beloved Archie because, "people would think that the proud Briton had bought the poor Canadian girl with his gold after conquering and ruining the father, and that she was only too happy to yield at this price" (241). Gaspé's novel — and his notion of racial pride — was very popular at the time.

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**Seniors in the Part-time Labour Force:
Issues of Choice and Power**

Abstract

The expansion of part-time work has been firmly established as one of the outstanding employment developments in the second half of the twentieth century. Until now, women, especially married mothers and youth, notably young people involved in educational pursuits, have served as the foundation for the burgeoning part-time labour force. However, demographic and social shifts, such as the aging of the population, the push towards early retirement and the erosion of the social net, suggest that seniors may soon occupy an important niche amongst part-timers. The research reported here is a preliminary examination of this emergent workforce. It reports on in-depth interviews with 27 retired seniors currently working part-time. The focus is on seniors' positive and/or negative experiences of part-time work and on male/female differences in work experiences. Tentatively, it appears that these seniors do encounter many of the negative traits of part-time employment—low wages, job insecurity, inadequate benefits, dead-end work and so on. Conversely, many reveal very positive responses to their working situation—a sense of continuity, a social connectedness, an opportunity to assist family members and so forth. Generally, it appears that much of the traditional hierarchy in men's and women's work experience continues for post-retirement part-timers, with women occupying lower-wage and lower status occupations. Even women who have achieved employment success prior to retirement seem less able than men to translate this expertise into "good" post-retirement work. However, at the same time, there seems to be some erosion of the male/female hierarchy with age as some of men's traditional prestige and power in the workplace recedes. Not only do men report less pay and fewer benefits along with less workplace deference, some explicitly attach greater significance to traditional female concerns such as social connectedness and family relations. While these research results are evocative, they are very preliminary. Clearly, the interplay between age and gender in the workplace warrants further exploration.

Résumé

L'essor du travail à temps partiel s'est imposé comme un des phénomènes les plus remarquables du secteur de l'emploi au cours de la deuxième moitié du vingtième siècle. Jusqu'à maintenant, les femmes, et surtout les femmes mariées qui ont des enfants et les jeunes, et notamment les jeunes qui poursuivent des études, avaient constitué la base d'une main-d'œuvre à temps partiel en pleine expansion. Toutefois, de nouvelles tendances

démographiques et sociales, dont le vieillissement de la population, la mise à la retraite anticipée et l'érosion du système de sécurité sociale, suggèrent que les personnes âgées pourraient bientôt occuper une niche importante au sein de la main-d'œuvre à temps partiel. Les recherches dont il est fait état ici consistent en un examen préliminaire de cette nouvelle main-d'œuvre. On y présente les résultats d'entrevues en profondeur menées auprès de 27 personnes retraitées qui travaillent présentement à temps partiel. L'accent est mis sur les expériences négatives ou positives vécues par des personnes âgées dans des postes à temps partiel et sur les différences entre les hommes et les femmes dans ce contexte. Les résultats préliminaires de la recherche semblent indiquer que ces personnes âgées ont souffert de plusieurs des aspects négatifs du travail à temps partiel : salaires peu élevés, insécurité d'emploi, avantages sociaux inadéquats, emplois sans avenir etc. À l'inverse, plusieurs ont souligné des aspects très positifs de leur situation d'emploi : un sens de la continuité, un sentiment d'appartenance à la société, une occasion de venir en aide à des membres de la famille et ainsi de suite. En général, il semble que l'hierarchie traditionnelle reliée au travail des hommes et des femmes persistent auprès des personnes qui travaillent à temps partiel après leur retraite; les femmes occupant des postes moins bien rémunérés et situés aux échelons inférieurs. Même les femmes qui ont connu un certain succès dans leur emploi avant leur retraite semblent avoir plus de difficultés que les hommes à transformer cette expérience en un travail « intéressant » après leur retraite. Cependant, il semble y avoir en même temps une certaine érosion de l'hierarchie homme/femme qui s'accroît avec l'âge : le prestige et le pouvoir dont jouissent traditionnellement les hommes dans leurs milieux de travail diminuent après leur retraite. Les hommes rapportent non seulement des salaires moins élevés, moins d'avantages sociaux et une baisse de respect dans leur milieu de travail, mais certains disent ouvertement attacher une plus grande importance aux intérêts traditionnellement féminins comme les contacts sociaux et les relations familiales.

Since the early 1970s, part-time employment has been well-established as one of the dominant expressions of the so-called “new forms of work” or “alternative employment.” An extensively developed body of research has documented the increasing role of part-time work in employment practices, the problematic (or at least, contradictory) nature of this form of employment and the prevalence of part-time work amongst selected sectors of the workforce. This paper seeks to add to this research by focusing on a part-time workforce population which has received scant research attention and which promises to play an increasingly prominent role both in the labour force in general and in the part-time workforce in particular—namely, senior part-timers.

Part-time Employment: The Boom

It is startling to realize that within the last five decades, part-time employment has grown from a completely insignificant facet of labour force experience to one which is virtually embedded in employment practices and popular culture. While in 1953 a mere 3.8 percent of Canadian workers were employed part-time, by 1997 more than 2½ million

(2,613,200) Canadians were employed on a part-time basis, contributing about one in six (17 percent) employed Canadians (Statistics Canada, no. 71-201, 1998). By 1996, almost one in five jobs was part-time (Statistics Canada, no. 71-005, 1997: 10). The pace of change was so dramatic that between 1977 and 1996, part-time employment increased by 99.2 percent, while full-time work grew only 27.8 percent (Ferguson, 1993). In the course of this historical transformation, part-time employment became a rite of passage for youth workers and a firmly entrenched “solution” for mothers seeking paid employment (Cote and Allahar, 1994; Statistics Canada, no. 71-005, 1997; Duffy and Pupo, 1992). While the prodigious growth in part-timers has slowed in recent years (for example, it dropped by 0.5 percent between 1996 and 1997), part-time employment appears to be firmly entrenched as a prominent feature of our labour force.

On the one hand, it appears likely that employer demand for part-time workers will remain high. The benefits of part-time work to employers have been widely popularized. Indeed, in the 1970s business magazines were replete with articles extolling the value of transforming full-timers into part-timers (Weeks, 1980). The business logic continues to hold true today. With part-time workers, labour costs can be significantly diminished through a reduction of employee benefits (including wages). Further, the part-time workforce is more flexible and therefore more responsive to employer needs and part-time employees can be easily added or eliminated in response to economic times. Additional benefits, such as lower rates of unionization among part-timers merely improve upon an already attractive package (Duffy, 1997).

On the opposite side of the equation, an extensive reserve army of part-time workers will likely persist into the foreseeable future. The reserve army refers to the large numbers of unemployed workers who would willingly accept part-time employment despite its drawbacks. At present, this reserve army of part-time workers is created by a complex array of factors, including retirement policies, inadequate social assistance benefits, educational policies (including increased post-secondary educational costs), gender norms (for example, the expectation that women will assume primary responsibility for child-rearing), employment inequities (notably, the likelihood that mothers will earn significantly less than fathers and, as a result, will be expected to sculpt their employment to family responsibilities) and employment practices (for example, the tendency to create contract, casual jobs rather than full-time entry level employment for young workers). These social and economic factors combine to create a population of workers who are both “available” to work part-time and willing to work relatively “cheaply”¹ (Connelly, 1978: 21).

As a result of these social and economic patterns, part-time employment presently draws extensively on three demographic groups: youth workers (males and females between 15 and 24 years of age), “employed” mothers (women aged 25 to 44 with children in the home) and seniors (males and

females 45 years or older who have “retired” from their principal employment) (Statistics Canada, no. 71-201-XPB, 1998). Youth comprise about 35 percent of the part-time labour force, females 25 to 44 (primarily wives and mothers) about 31 percent and “seniors” about 26 percent (Statistics Canada, no. 71-201, 1997: B-33). In each instance, a variety of societal, economic and demographic factors suggest that each group will likely continue to be “available” for part-time employment.

This pattern of part-time employees should not, of course, be misconstrued to suggest an on-going “willing” or contented labour force. One significant shift in part-time employment in the past several decades has been the steady move towards increasing numbers of “involuntary” part-timers; that is, part-timers who indicate they would prefer to work full-time². Between 1975 and 1994 the percentage of part-timers who indicated they wanted a full-time job increased from 11 percent to 35 percent. This proclivity is also reflected in other research which finds that half of part-timers would prefer more hours for more pay, while only 22 percent of full-timer workers felt the same. Even amongst part-time work groups assumed to benefit most from reduced hours of work—women with pre-school children—40 percent indicated in 1995 that they would prefer more hours of work (Schellenberg, 1997).

In short, the growth in part-time employment must be clearly located in the on-going debate about the marginalization of groups of workers and the proliferation of “bad jobs.” Contemporary analysts refer increasingly to the emergence of a workforce split between core workers who are highly skilled, valued full-time workers with secure, well-benefitted jobs and peripheral workers who are employed in casual, contract and part-time work which is typically low paid, insecure and dead-end (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). Indeed, the expansion of part-time work is ultimately most significant because of its implications for the politics of gender, age, disability and social class. Clearly, it is youth, the aged, mothers, the disabled and the less well-educated who are most likely to occupy the periphery. In this context, the growth in part-time employment may function to ensure that certain sectors of the employable population remain on the periphery of economic and social power.

This socio-economic pattern is not, of course, immutable³. Human agency, in the form, for example, of government policies which promote “good” part-time work (with pay, benefits, security and opportunities pro-rated to their full-time equivalents) or which encourage job-sharing (the splitting of a full-time position into two part-time jobs while retaining the positive features of full-time employment) could potentially transform the societal impact of part-time work. Similarly, the efforts of organized labour to improve the characteristics of part-time jobs⁴, to curb the growth of part-time employment or to promote a generalized reduction in working hours⁵ may all significantly alter the future development of part-time work and its social fall-out.

Part-time Work: The Workers

Given the interplay between power and part-time employment, it is not surprising that women continue to comprise the majority of part-time employees, currently constituting about 70 percent (Statistics Canada, no. 71-201, 1997: B-4). Indeed, amongst adult women, the part-time employment rate has consistently run around 25 percent for the last two decades; that is, about one in four employed adult women works part-time. Recent research indicates that employed women are four times more likely than men to work shorter hours (Statistics Canada, no. 71-005, 1998: 13). While adult men have increased their part-time work rate from 3.2 percent in 1977 to 6.4 percent in 1996 (and there has been a 98 percent increase in the numbers of adult men employed part-time), part-time work clearly remains a relatively insignificant phenomenon amongst the adult male portion of the population. Today, adult women (25 years of age and older) who work part-time outnumber their male counterparts by a factor of three to one (Statistics Canada, 71-201, 1998).

Within the female contingent, mothers struggling to balance family and work commitments are most prominent (Duffy and Pupo, 1992; Smith, 1983). Employment statistics continue to reveal that when employed women are living in families with a spouse present and with children, especially preschool and very young children in the home, they are more likely than other employed women to assume part-time employment. Predictably, single women, women living in families without a male spouse and women whose spouse is unemployed are slightly more likely to be employed full-time (Statistics Canada, 71-201, 1997: B-22).

The social construction of adult women's part-time employment has been discussed extensively elsewhere (Tilly, 1996; Duffy and Pupo, 1992). Suffice to say that the pressure on women to contribute to family income (for example, due to the continued stagnation of family incomes and lack of growth in real incomes) along with the lack of significant change in the division of domestic responsibilities are likely to continue to propel many adult women into "voluntary" part-time work (Sunter and Morissette, 1994; Logan and Belliveau, 1995; Statistics Canada, no. 71-005, 1998: 22). Conservative social policy initiatives, notably the retrenchment of child care funding, reductions in health care resources which, in turn, place the care of elderly family members back on family members, and so on, can only exacerbate this pattern.

Similarly, youth part-time employment shows no indication of losing its momentum. Currently, the part-time employment rate amongst youth aged 15 to 24 averages 42.6 percent across Canada. In Ontario, about one-half of employed youth are working part-time (Statistics Canada, no. 71-201, 1998). The social and legal requirement that young people attend school along with the increasing time and, in particular, costs attached to education will continue to put pressure on many youth to seek some form of partial

paid employment (McHutchion and Crane, 1996). The consumer market which targets youthful consumers, and the youth culture which is premised on this consumer market, will add further incentives for youth to work part-time (Cote and Allahar, 1994).

Finally, seniors appear poised to comprise a significant, if under-recognized, component of the part-time labour force. Between 55 and 64 years of age, 55 percent of men and only 34 percent of women are employed, but one-quarter of these women and 9 percent of the men are employed on a part-time basis (Almey, 1995). Amongst employed women 45 years of age or over, 29 percent are employed part-time; 40 percent of employed women living with a spouse 55 years of age or older and with no children under 16 in the home are working part-time (Statistics Canada, 71-201, 1997: B33, B22). In short, a variety of statistical information suggests that especially amongst older women who maintain employment, the part-time alternative continues to be attractive⁶.

Recent research suggests that in the future, increasing numbers of “retired” Canadians will opt to return to some form of employment. In one study, more than one-quarter of retired men aged between 55 and 59 had returned to work, and half of the men and two-thirds of the women (in this age category) who opted to resume employment pursued part-time jobs (Carey, 1996). This trend is likely to be significantly reinforced by the trend to younger retirement ages (Carey, 1996).

A number of economic trends are likely to trigger increasing numbers of “retired workers”—notably, early retirement incentives and high rates of unemployment amongst older workers (Monette, 1996a). This pattern is significant since a notable minority of these workers return to work after retirement. The 1994 General Social Survey reported that 13 percent of people aged 50 or over who had ever retired went back to work (Monette, 1996b: 12). Importantly, 59 percent of these returnees took part-time employment (51 percent of male returnees and 68 percent of female returnees) (Monette, 1996b: 14). Given that by the year 2016 seniors will account for 16 percent of the population, and that by 2041, 23 percent of the population will be 65 years of age or over, this pattern of returning to paid employment and turning to part-time work may have dramatic implications for the future of Canadian employment (Chui, 1996: 5).

Here, once again, social policy is likely to play a significant part in sculpting the future of part-time employment in Canada. Given that the pre-eminent reason cited for returning to work post-retirement was “financial” (25 percent of retirees explained their return to employment in this manner); and given that only 59 percent of retirees have a pension plan from a former employer, government policy may play a key role in influencing post-retirement financial needs (Monette, 1996b: 13; Monette, 1996a: 11). Mandatory retirement policy, changes in the age of mandatory

retirement⁷ and pension plan reforms may all play a role in promoting or containing post-retirement, part-time employment.

In the interim, some interesting signs suggest trends towards increased part-time employment amongst seniors. A recent U.S. survey reported that 76 percent of baby boomers turning 50 in 1996 indicated that they plan to work part-time after retiring. (*USA Today*, 1996: 1A; see also *Toronto Star*, 1996: B5). Several fast food franchises, notably McDonalds with its McSeniors program, have targeted seniors as a reliable, highly skilled and well-motivated contingent in their part-time work force. Several other initiatives, such as “Seniors for Seniors,”⁸ have employed “young” seniors as a way of attracting the attention and business of senior consumers. Similarly, “Seniors for Business” enjoyed considerable success between 1989 and the early 1990s, linking unemployed seniors to various employment opportunities (Theobald, 1998: B3). These and other developments suggest that seniors are likely to play an increasingly significant role in the part-time labour force.

Research on Seniors

While extensive literature has emerged on the experiences and characteristics of women part-timers and, to a lesser degree, youth who work part-time, relatively little attention has focused on seniors (Duffy, 1997). As a result, it is not known whether senior part-timers differ significantly from their younger counterparts in terms of motivation, job conditions, attitudes and so on. Our research is intended as a preliminary step in exploring the experiences of senior part-timers.

The data we have collected is from 27 in-depth interviews with a snow-ball sample of “retired” seniors⁹ living and working in the Niagara peninsula and employed on a part-time basis. Interviewees were generated primarily through personal contacts at a retirement community in Vineland, Ontario and secondarily through advertisements in two regional seniors papers, *Today's Seniors* and *The Seniors Review*. Since there is relatively little research on this topic, the interview was semi-structured and allowed respondents to be as discursive as they wished. The general research focus was on identifying respondents’ motivations for taking part-time employment, the characteristics of their employment (wages, benefits, hours, etc.) and their general evaluation of their work situation. The research analysis was guided by two fundamental issues: are senior part-timers notably different from their non-senior counterparts, and are male senior part-timers “better off” than their female counterparts? In other words, how useful are ageism and sexism in explaining the experiences of senior part-timers?

The Research Population

Since gender was felt to be an important variable, the interviews were intentionally divided between male and female respondents. The net result was interviews with 13 men and 14 women. The research population as a whole tends to be predominantly middle class. This is evidenced either through the men's pre-retirement occupation or, in the case of female part-timers, through their husband's pre-retirement occupation¹⁰ as well as their own educational background. There are exceptions which will be noted. All the interviewees have been married at some point in their life although several are currently widowed or living common-law. All the interviewees are over 50 years of age with the clear majority in their 60s or 70s. The oldest respondent was 91. Almost all of the women occupy some form of clerical or service position, although there is some variation in terms of self-employment and home employment. The men's employment activities are much more varied, often an outgrowth of pre-retirement employment and frequently conducted through self-employment.

Research Results

Profiling the Respondents: Good Jobs or Bad Jobs?

Since the inception of interest in part-time employment, there has been concern with whether or not part-time work is positive or negative for the workers involved. Considerable evidence has been amassed which testifies to the drawbacks of part-time employment—notably, lower wages, fewer benefits, lack of employment opportunity, lack of training, lack of job security, lack of prestige, lack of integration into the work group, lack of unionization and lack of challenging work (Duffy, 1997; Duffy and Pupo, 1992; Coates, 1988; England, 1987).

Grant Schellenberg's recent analysis of part-time employment provides an up-to-date and relatively damning overview of current developments. Rather than participating significantly in any up-skilling of the labour force, part-time jobs continue to lag behind full-time work in terms of wages, benefits, job security, scheduling, skill requirements and technological innovation.

This pattern is evident, for example, in terms of the occupational composition of part-time employment. Consistently over time, part-time workers have been over-represented in clerical, sales and service occupations while being under-represented in managerial/professional and blue collar work. Our female respondents essentially fit this occupational pattern for part-time workers. The clear majority of female respondents are currently in clerical or sales jobs. No doubt reflecting past educational patterns, prior to retirement most have worked either in clerical or sales occupations. After leaving this work, many either returned to their former employer as a part-time clerical worker or obtained work with one of the

large retail chains or food chains. There are, however, many notable exceptions. The 91-year-old respondent has long supplemented her pension income by providing private painting lessons. Several women had been nurses and had returned post-retirement on a part-time basis to the medical field. One woman who after 30 years had worked her way up to being an administrative assistant at Ford Motor Company and was downsized out of a job at age 60, had formed a partnership with another woman and was painting and wallpapering rooms to earn income. Interestingly, their business targeted retired people, especially widows. However, her business venture was very much contained by her on-going responsibility for the care of both an adult son and an aging parent.

An orientation to self-employment and independent business was much more prevalent amongst the male respondents.¹¹ Reflecting the middle-class bias of the sample, all of the male respondents were engaged in either independent business enterprises, consultancy work or some “professional” undertaking. While the breadth of these enterprises varied from a partnership in a car dealership or on-going responsibility for several “projects” with the pre-retirement employer (steel industry) to international business ventures, the men, in general, were much more likely to work independently or in a business partnership and to be building upon past experiences in the business or professional world.

These occupational differences in senior men’s and women’s part-time employment, of course, have implications for other work characteristics. One of the key determinants of the “bad job” status attached to so much part-time work has been the low wages and limited benefits. As Schellenberg comments: “One of the most striking characteristics about part-time employment is the extent to which it is concentrated at the low end of the wage distribution. In 1995, nearly half (43 per cent) of all part-time workers earned less than \$7.50 per hour, compared with one-tenth of full-time workers” (1997: 17). While there is some limited trend away from this coupling of part-time work and low wages, the effect has been quite restricted and the gap between full-time and part-time workers remains essentially unchanged (Schellenberg, 1997: 19). Similarly, benefit plans are stronger assets in full-time employment. In 1995, about 70 percent of full-time workers had access to occupational pension plans, medical and dental plans and paid sick leave, compared to less than 20 percent of part-timers (1997: 20).

While we opted not to ask direct questions about wage rates,¹² there was every indication that the female part-timers followed the traditional path of low wages, hourly rates and limited or no benefits. Interestingly, many of the women did not seem to know about their benefit package. The following comments are typical:

I don’t think there are [any benefits], at my position right now there are no benefits.

I have to work a certain number of hours before you can collect [married woman, aged 56 to 60, secretarial services].

“[Benefits?] I’m not sure at this point. I don’t honestly know ... I doubt very much I would have” [widow, age 65, clerical work].

Indeed, one woman [married, aged 56 to 60, clerical work] indicated she was not only not aware of her benefit package but also her current wage rate:

“[Salary?] That ... actually I haven’t discussed it ... [Benefits?] I haven’t spoken about benefits. I, you know, I guess I really should have discussed this, but it’s not a main concern. I think if I was a single person I guess I would have asked these questions right away, but, and I think it’s quite lax on my part that I didn’t sit down and talk with ..., but my husband, you know, he has all those coverages, so right now, I intend to sit down with ... one day and discuss it with her but right now I have no idea what, what they are.

Needless to say, the male respondents tended to portray a somewhat different reality in that they were more likely to be self-employed and were more often employed in more prestigious occupations. However despite these differences, it was often the case that for both men and women monetary rewards were limited. As one man in his 60s who is involved in international niche marketing commented, “I don’t make much money but that’s not my ... I didn’t go into it ... See, another thing that people don’t realize about business, and I think there is a misconception, a lot of people start businesses because, not so much to make money but because they like what they’re doing.” This respondent went on to explain that although he was basically in a sales position, he received no commission, benefits or direct income but just had his expenses covered. Since he was in partnership with his son, the revenue generated by sales all went to his son. Other male respondents, for example, a 72-year-old man who worked for the Canadian government in under-developed countries, similarly reported low rates of income.

Of course, given their professional or business setting, some male respondents indicated a more profitable arrangement. One 63-year-old business man and tourism promoter commented that he was supposed to be paid thirty dollars an hour as executive director of a development venture. However, ironically, he had not been paid for eight months. Other male respondents, for example a part-time financial consultant, a part-time accountant and a trust company liason person indicated their salaries were much more significant and reliable. In sum, it appears that low wages do indeed characterize the working lives of these senior part-timers, especially the women and, with some notable exceptions, most of the males. Benefits appear negligible for both men and women.

Predictably, other aspects of part-time employment—job security, regularity of pay and skill requirements—show few indications of improvement in recent years. For example, there has been a definite shift

towards contract work amongst part-timers, a trend which is particularly notable among women and older individuals. This pattern suggests a deterioration in already insecure working conditions (Schellenberg, 1997: 25). Similarly, part-time workers remain much more likely than their full-time counterparts to be employed on a variable work schedule with its attendant unpredictable and erratic payment schedule. In 1995, for example, 35 percent of part-timers were employed on an irregular or on-call basis. Amongst older workers employed part-time and aged 45 to 69 years of age, almost one-quarter (23 percent) held non-permanent jobs (in contrast to only 5 percent of their full-time counterparts). These workers were almost equally divided between those who hold non-seasonal contract jobs and casual jobs. Significantly, almost one-third of older part-timers (45 to 69) are employed on on-call or irregular schedules. Of this group, a substantial 81 percent explain their schedules in terms of “no choice” or a requirement of the job (1997: 24,26, 27).

Our research group again tended to match this pattern. Several of the women employed in a clerical occupation were working in excess of 30 hours a week and yet did not know from week to week how many hours they would be needed. As a result, their pay schedules were indeterminate and depended upon the particular week. Others had firmer arrangements with their employers, for example, working as a doctor’s receptionist four mornings a week or working at a local hospital for 20 hours a week. Needless to say, the men and women who were self-employed worked erratic schedules but tended to characterize these patterns as self-determined rather than uncertain. In other words, they “make their own hours.”

Finally, in terms of skill requirements, a variety of recent research continues to confirm that part-time work tends to be less skilled than full-time work. As reflected in educational qualifications and the self-report of workers, the skill requirements in part-time positions tend to be lower than full-time jobs (Schellenberg, 1997: 30). This is also reflected in the nature and depth of technological innovation in part-time work. Schellenberg reports that “part-time workers have been less involved than full-time workers in the technological revolution. As a result, this inhibits the ability of many part-time workers to increase their skill levels, and therefore to move into more interesting jobs and ones that are better paid” (1997: 35).

Our interviews also tend to confirm this pattern. Many of the respondents, especially the female respondents, are employed in work which is relatively unskilled. For example, they are working as sales clerks in grocery stores or as word processors. This is, in turn, reflected in their relative lack of familiarity with and access to the new technology.

While the general lack of “official” skill requirements tends to confirm the image of part-time work as made up disproportionately of “bad jobs,”

the designation of skills appears to be an issue textured by age and gender politics. The interviews suggest that the male senior part-timers are much more likely to construct a connection between the skills achieved through a lifetime of employment and their post-retirement employment. For example, several male respondents were continuing on with their business contacts and experience. A man who worked for financial institutions was able to translate that experience into a part-time position as a Grey Panther for a bank, where he is a liaison person for retired employees and spouses as well as counselling older customers on RIFs. Similarly, a retired male academic was able to continue to teach on a part-time basis at several local universities and colleges. In contrast, many female respondents appear to start at the bottom once they retire. There are, of course, exceptions such as the nurse who maintained her professional status, but for many senior women part-timers, years of experience and familiarity with the business/institutional context do not appear to be recognized in their job position or salary. A number of women who had amassed strong resumes as executive secretaries, legal secretaries and executive assistants were employed as little more than skilled clerks. As one respondent commented, "I don't know when Secretary became a dirty word." One woman, for example, had risen to being secretary to the Registrar at a Community College, but in post-retirement she was working in clerical services typing up manuscripts. For many women, their years of experience and often of retraining appear to count for very little in terms of obtaining post-retirement positions which are challenging and rewarding. The skills they bring to their responsibilities, for example, years of background in understanding the politics and procedures of the institution, seem to be ignored when creating their job description or remuneration. They are, after all, "just part-timers."¹³

The Contradiction: Bad Jobs/Happy Workers

Interestingly, although the objective work conditions for many of the senior part-timers appear to be unsatisfactory, perhaps more so than for non-senior part-timers, it would be erroneous to conclude that the respondents were negative about their work experience. As with our research on mothers employed part-time (Duffy and Pupo, 1992), the overwhelming majority of respondents, both male and female, wax very enthusiastic about their part-time jobs.

When asked about their wages, schedules, job security and opportunity for advancement, almost all respondents indicate they are satisfied. Indeed, it appears that amongst this relatively privileged group, many of the traditional considerations surrounding employment are surmounted by other agendas. In particular, three themes—social contacts, familial partnerships and moral requirements—appear to play a particularly important part in determining work/life satisfaction.

Not surprisingly, given research with adult female part-timers, many of the women in our research population indicated that maintaining or establishing social connections at work was one of the fundamental rewards of their employment. As one woman commented: "You know you have all your friends to see and talk with [at work]. It really is lovely." In part, this reflects a gender constructed value¹⁴ in that their male partner was either not retired, or was retired and active elsewhere (notably, playing golf), or was deceased. In the absence of this intimate social connection, the contacts available through work became particularly significant. As one clerical worker commented,

That's the reason I went back to work was because he doesn't wish to retire. He loves what he does. He loves his job and he'll be sixty this year but he is not ready to retire, so I said in that case then I will go back part-time, short or long-term assignments.

Another woman, a widow, commented on maintaining the same kinds of social contacts she experienced in her pre-retirement years,

I think that the one thing that I missed was being around people who are my kind of people, if you know what I mean. They're really intelligent people and that kind of interaction you don't get necessarily with the other retirees that I've met so far. You know, I mean I really feel you start to talk to them about things that I'm interested in, like what's going on in the business world or what's going on in the world and they're kind of like ... not interested. I guess maybe when you've been retired for ... many of the women that I've been associated with haven't worked ... so they're interests are quite different ... like they're planning their next trip to Aruba or someplace, you know, and that's fine and dandy, but I'm not in that income bracket for one thing, and so of course their interests are entirely different. I guess that I find that stimulation of being able to talk to people ... I just feel I'm not really the kind to just fade into the distance.

While these remarks speak to a complex interplay of motivations, including monetary, the comments strongly reflect on the social needs which are seen to be met through the workplace. Further, these social needs may intensify with age. The 91-year-old part-time painting instructor commented on the death of friends and family members and noted that "now my friends aren't around. ... So having my art students mean that I have company here every day. ... And, I'd miss them if I didn't have them."

For women, this need for social companionship was also often filtered through their marital status and their spouse's availability. Several women, for example, noted that they would retire when their husband retired or that they enjoyed working because their husband was away all day with his golfing buddies.

Although this need for social connections has long been identified with women's gender script, it is interesting to find that a considerable minority

of male respondents also commented directly on the importance of social relations in their part-time employment. One retired business executive, currently engaged in several part-time projects, commented:

So it's just in the interest of seeing things get done and, you know, when you can work with a dynamic group of people like we have in ... and network among other dynamic people, it's fun ... you meet a lot of interesting people and you don't necessarily spend a lot of time with them. I just enjoy meeting and talking with interesting people. That's the principle motivation.

Again, the motivations are complexly intermixed, but social connectedness is explicitly drawn out as the key element. Another businessman who set up a small independent business after retirement, spoke at length about the lack of community amongst men who devoted their adult lives to working as sales representatives for major corporations. Returning to the sales market, if only on a small basis, allowed him to resurrect a sense of connectedness:

My friends were my customers. And, I miss them, I really do. So I can still go out and do this. I'm sort of motivated, part of it's selfish ... I was keen on this business I was in and ... I enjoy going out and seeing these people ... Yeah, communication with other people. I enjoy being with other people. I'm not in it for the money. Money doesn't matter.

Interestingly, none of the men commented on their wives' retirement status as an element in their decision to take part-time work or to end that work.

In a noteworthy minority of cases, part-time employment for both men and women was an extension of their family relationships. Several men, for example, were in business partnership with their sons or had invested in their son's business and now were working to secure its viability. Several women were working in some part-time capacity to support their son's business venture. For example, one woman had been responsible for the books at her husband's car lot. When her husband retired and her son assumed ownership of the business, she continued to fulfil her previous role. In another instance, a 65-year-old man had formed a partnership with his son in a sports store and had assumed responsibility for the bookkeeping. Once again, the motivational mix is complex. When respondents spoke at length about these familial-work links, they tended to explain their work as "helping out" family members, but this factor was interwoven with other considerations. One respondent clarified his relationship to his work even as he spoke:

I'm glad ... I want to help my son out. I guess that's one reason. I probably ... I might not have done it if my son hadn't been there ... Well, I would have done it myself. Yeah, I would have done it, but I would have had to do it all myself, and it's been very fortunate that he is there.

Finally, senior part-timers appear to be driven by a moral imperative to be actively and productively engaged in some activity. The following remarks speak to this often repeated belief that inactivity, even leisure, is somehow unacceptable:

- Give back to the community or society what you take from it.
- People need to be challenged all the time, you never stop learning.
- Work is the rent we pay for the space we occupy in the world.
- We are here on earth to do something, not just sit around.
- Do something as long as you enjoy it.

While most respondents would insist they enjoy what they are doing and are doing it for socially legitimate reasons, such as wages, there was a strong moral undertone to their concerns suggesting that inactivity was fundamentally undesirable. In particular, “just” watching television was tantamount to laziness and intellectual decay. To some degree, it seemed that keeping active (employed) was a mechanism for not growing old and not being socially peripheralized.

This moralism was not necessarily negative, since it was founded on a strongly held belief that they had something valuable to offer to the community or their employer. As one woman commented, “I think being a senior ... you have a great many skills and knowledge. ... I think as you get older you learn to treat people nicer. I think you have a lot more ... respect for people.” Males and females both spoke of the experience and contacts which they brought as seniors. A retired senior executive commented,

Well it's a benefit because I have a fair amount of experience to draw upon that automatically comes from the echelon I worked at—when I was in international business principally with everything from Presidents of countries to Presidents and CEOs of big and small firms. So I'm very comfortable with anybody and that's a true benefit of being a senior.

A female respondent similarly commented,

Well, probably the benefit is that I've had the experience and I know a great deal about the ... and I kind of have that in my background.

In short, for a complex variety of reasons and despite the objective negative realities of their employment, most seniors spoke of their employment in very positive terms. This is not to say that they are oblivious to the negatives of their position. Two male respondents (one a steel company employee and the other a church minister) noted that they were resented by their work colleagues because they were perceived to be “double dipping”; that is, taking a pension income and then returning to work on a part-time basis. There were some scattered comments which reflected on the lack of respect for older workers: “Our society does not

seem to respect seniority or seniors, but it seems no one does.” One male respondent commented on the irony of his son, relatively unschooled in their joint business venture, being shown considerable respect by business associates while he, as a senior, was often ignored. In interviews which were overwhelmingly positive and upbeat in their tone, these negative comments suggest an important subtext.

Some Concluding Remarks

This preliminary exploration of our data suggests three important considerations. First, the evidence does suggest that part-time work for seniors is often made up of “bad jobs” or, at the least, by “not very good jobs.” Certainly at least as much as youth workers and employed mothers, senior part-timers are in employment characterized by low and irregular wages, job insecurity, lack of advancement and so on. Seniors’ enthusiasm for this employment speaks to a variety of issues but, importantly, suggests that seniors may be particularly vulnerable to exploitation in the part-time labour force. In part, this vulnerability is a result of their lack of other work alternatives, but it is also strongly related to the ways in which aging and old age are socially constructed in our society. The social isolation which prompts many to turn to work as a means of social connectedness, the increasing overlap between family and work lives (see, for example, Hochschild, 1997) and the moral emphasis on productivity, especially financially-rewarded productivity, clearly suggest that the unemployed and retired are socially peripheral. In this context, it is perhaps less surprising to find seniors who willingly (even happily) assume part-time positions which do not reward, or even make use of, their hard-won credentials. This pattern is, of course, reinforced by the perception that seniors do not really need the money since they have pensions or investments and/or few demands on their income. Taken together these elements may suggest that seniors are more susceptible to exploitation as part-timers than their young and employed mother counterparts, since both of these latter groups may reasonably hope that part-time employment is a short-term “solution” and that they have at least the prospect of moving into full-time employment.

Secondly, there is some evidence that senior female part-timers may be in a particularly bad position vis-a-vis employment prospects. Certainly, the strong impression from our research was that these women had not been able to translate their past experience and expertise into tangible rewards in their current position. Other research confirms the impression that women who are old are subject to a double whammy¹⁵ of sexism and ageism (Morris, 1998: E1). Further, recent data from Statistics Canada suggest that older women are particularly vulnerable to poverty. In 1991, 280,000 Canadian women over age 65 lived alone, depended on incomes between \$5,000 and \$15,000 and generated more than 80 percent of their income from government transfers (Carey, 1998: SS17). In this social context,

senior women who seek part-time employment may be in a particularly disadvantaged position. Their enthusiasm for their part-time positions may reflect their clear perception of the lack of, and undesirability of, alternatives.

However, as noted throughout our discussion, there is also evidence that employment-related gender inequalities may be muted by age. Male part-timers interviewed here reported both a loss of deference and a shift to more traditionally female concerns such as social connectedness and family relations. While better able than their female counterparts to capitalize on a life-time of work experience, anecdotal evidence suggests that as “retirees” they have lost standing in the workplace hierarchy. In this sense, it appears that age and gender in the workplace complexly interact in yet undetermined ways.

Finally, clearly the advance of seniors into part-time employment must be historically contextualized. The women who we interviewed were by and large pre-baby boomers. More recent generations of women have benefitted from increased educations, more professional careers and fewer work interruptions. Further, the plight of senior women has been long recognized as a social issue and a number of social movement initiatives, such as the group 50-plus in Fredericton, are striving to rectify some of the current inequities (Morris, 1998: E1). As a result of these factors, it is possible that the realities of part-time employment for women are likely to shift dramatically in the coming years. Certainly for men and women seniors the dramatic increase in the numbers of seniors, and therefore the numbers of seniors in the labour force, are likely to challenge fundamentally present-day experiences. Whether the under-recognition of senior part-timers in general and the particular difficulties of female senior part-timers will be rectified or intensified by current historical shifts is an important focus for future research.

Notes

- * The authors wish to acknowledge the support of a SSHRC General Research Grant in the completion of this research. We would also like to thank Sharon Meguerian who provided invaluable research assistance.
- 1. This relative “cheapness” is created, in part, by the presumed and/or actual availability of other income support for these potential part-time employees. For example, youth and married women are assumed to benefit from the income of other family members and seniors are assumed to have access to retirement income or pensions.
- 2. Previously, involuntary part-time work rates were calculated in terms of those part-timers who indicated they would prefer to work full-time. There is, apparently, an interesting definitional shift afoot. Prior to 1997, respondents were considered “involuntary part-timers” or underemployed if they indicated they worked part-time because they could not find a full-time job. The 1997 redesign of the Labour Force Survey redefines this condition by stipulating that involuntary part-timers are those who did not work full-time because of “business

conditions” or because “they could not find work with 30 or more hours.” Further, there is evidently an initiative to tighten the definition further by restricting “involuntary part-timers” to those “who actively looked for full-time employment” (Statistics Canada, no. 71-005, 1997: 17). There have been similar interesting “refinements” in the definition of part-time and full-time employment in the Labour Force Survey. Prior to 1995, part-time workers were identified as persons who usually worked less than 30 hours a week at all jobs *if they did not self-identify as full-time*. In 1995, the “subjective” component was dropped and the 30 hour mark was used in reference to the main or sole job held by the respondent (Schellenberg, 1997: 7). Needless to say, these changes mean that data collected prior to 1995 are not strictly comparable to later data. These struggles over definitional agendas appear to be clearly politicized (particularly in terms of gender) issues. As noted by many others, “naming the problem” (for example, sexual harassment, woman abuse) has important political implications. By the same token, redefinitions may alter the meaning and the social impact. In the instance noted above, tightening the definition of involuntary part-time work, while ostensibly providing a more precise and accurate accounting, is also likely to reduce the reported numbers of such workers. In terms of policy implications, these results may lessen concerns that many women (and others) are being forced into accepting marginalized employment.

3. International comparisons are particularly instructive in terms of the various ways in which part-time may be socially constructed (Duffy and Pupo, 1992).
4. As evidenced in recent efforts to unionize retail and fast food outlets.
5. Including, for example, the much discussed campaign to create a 30 hour work week.
6. There is some indication that this age category *may* be more inclined to “voluntary” part-time employment. Preference for “more hours for more pay” declines *modestly* amongst those aged 45 and over (Schellenberg, 1997: 36).
7. The C.D. Howe Institute recently released a study which called for the removal of mandatory retirement from public policy. The authors argued that increases in health and life expectancy mean workers are often fit to continue working past age 65; that many blue collar workers want earlier retirement, while many white collar workers wish to remain with their employment; that many workers, especially in low-wage service jobs cannot afford to retire at 65 and that the baby boomer wave will put enormous strain on the public pension system if mandatory retirement remains in effect (Carey, 1998: A27).
8. Indicative of the interest in both services for seniors and employment for seniors, this franchise operation has flourished in the 11 years since its inception. Currently, the founder has 1,500 part-time seniors serving about 500 senior seniors in Toronto and Mississauga. In addition, franchise operations have opened in St. Catharines-Hamilton, Halifax and Montreal (Burg, 1996: D1; Theobald, 1998: B3).
9. In our research, individuals were allowed to self-define as “retired”; in other words, our newspaper advertisements and word of mouth solicitation asked for individuals who were “retired” from their primary occupation. The notion of “seniors” was generously conceptualized as individuals 50 years of age or older. This is in keeping with the social tendency (impelled in part by marketing considerations) to lower the cut-off age for “seniors.” However, as noted in the text, the overwhelming majority of our respondents were in their late 50s and older. Part-time work was also self-defined. Workers considered their work part-time or it was so designated by their employers. In most instances these

self-definitions fell within the established norms of working less than 30 or 24 hours per week (see for example, Duffy, 1997). As a result of the exploratory nature of this research, many of the important distinctions within part-time employment— seasonal work, contract work, casual or short-term work—are conflated. In future research, the authors will seek to distinguish amongst these various work patterns.

10. The researchers would, of course, acknowledge the limitations of such an approach since it assumes wives' class position is a direct reflection of their husbands'. This is clearly a questionable assumption; for example, in terms of access to financial resources. However, many of the women interviewed here come from a generation in which the employment of wives and mothers was non-existent or peripheral and, therefore, does not provide a useful class referent. Future research will seek to employ a more fully developed approach to women's class position.
11. It should be noted that the part-time labour force has experienced a shift towards larger numbers of managerial and professional occupations. These rose by 68 percent between 1984 and 1994 (surpassing the overall part-time employment growth rate and the specific growth rates in part-time sales, services and clerical jobs). Presently, these shifts are particularly evident amongst young and female part-time workers (Schellenberg, 1997: 13-14). However, one of the long-term consequences of seniors moving into part-time work may be added impetus to this shift towards managerial and professional occupations.
12. The decision not to ask specific income questions reflects both the sensitivity of the issue and concern about alienating respondents and also the likelihood that some of our respondents were engaged in "brown market" occupations in which they were only declaring a portion of their income to Revenue Canada.
13. This self-deprecating phrase, which was a rather common refrain in the interviews, is reminiscent of the phrase "just a housewife" and appears to be rooted in a similar gendered context; that is, there is a tendency for work performed by women to be downgraded by both men and women. When comparable work is performed by men, it is more likely to be seen as valuable, skilled, socially significant and so on.
14. In other words, the social value attached by women to these activities reflects traditional gender socialization patterns in which women are "taught" the importance of establishing a marriage (or marriage-like) relationship with a male partner and of providing social companionship to this male partner. However, the same gender script encourages women not to expect to have their own needs for companionship met primarily through their male partners, particularly if those male partners have interests or obligations elsewhere.
15. Double whammy is a term which appears in much of the literature on women and aging. It refers to the combined socially negative effect of being both "old" and "female."

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Christopher Kirkey

Negotiating the 1985 North American Air Defence Modernization Agreement

Abstract

The North American Air Defence Modernization agreement (NAADM), designed to field greater continental surveillance and warning measures against a possible Soviet air attack, was signed by Canada and the United States in March 1985. The agreement represented the culmination of intensive negotiations between Ottawa and Washington. Driven by a mixture of security, sovereignty and economic issues, both sides sought to secure their respective national interests. The final outcome, the scholarly evidence suggests, was mutually satisfactory and principally shaped by the role of three variables: a distinctly interdependent relationship in this case, the presence of a pre-existing and longstanding continental alliance, and the use, by national defence establishments, of varied consultative forums resulting in high levels of policy coordination.

Résumé

L'accord sur la Modernisation du système de défense aérienne de l'Amérique du Nord (NAADM ou North American Air Defence Modernization Agreement), conçu pour mettre en branle des mesures de surveillance continentale et d'avertissement contre une attaque aérienne soviétique, a été conclu par le Canada et les États-Unis en mars 1985. L'accord lui-même représentait le point culminant de négociations intensives menées entre Ottawa et Washington. Animés par diverses considérations de sécurité et de souveraineté et des facteurs économiques, les deux partis se sont efforcés de protéger leurs intérêts nationaux respectifs. Le résultat final, ainsi que la recherche le démontre, a été satisfaisant pour les deux parties et a résulté principalement du jeu de trois variables : une relation de claire interdépendance dans ce cas, l'existence d'une adhésion préexistante et de longue date à une même alliance continentale et le recours, par les classes dirigeantes responsables de la défense des deux pays, à divers forums consultatifs, permettant de coordonner les politiques à de hauts niveaux.

The North American Air Defence Modernization (NAADM) agreement signed by Canada and the United States on March 18, 1985 in Quebec City committed both countries to the singlemost geographically extensive series of air defence measures ever undertaken to safeguard the North American continent. Designed to deter and defend against a potential Soviet nuclear first strike, the northern air defence pact resulted from two years of active negotiations between Ottawa and Washington.

The intent of this article is to examine the origins, evolution and final disposition arising from the air defence modernization negotiations. Increasingly antiquated early warning radar equipment coupled with the emergence of new military threats, this paper finds, prompted Canada and the U.S. in the late 1970s and early 1980s to seek remedies for the jointly operated continental air defence system. Those identified remedies, highlighted by the replacement of the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line by the North Warning System (NWS), led both countries to commence negotiations over the conditions and principles to govern northern air defence modernization. The resultant 1985 NAADM agreement, the record demonstrates, adequately addressed the most substantive political, military and economic interests of policymakers in both Ottawa and Washington. Finally, it is argued that the mutually satisfactory outcome is most fully explained by three reinforcing factors specific to this case: the presence of a strong interdependent relationship,¹ joint alliance membership and the frequent use, by the Canadian Department of National Defence (DND) and U.S. Department of Defense (DOD), of various formal and informal consultative mechanisms for policy coordination.

The Need For Modernization

The idea to modernize North American air defence traces its origins to the mid 1970s. By this point, the existing continental air defence surveillance and warning structure — originally initiated in the early 1950s — was “deemed obsolete, difficult to maintain and manpower intensive.”² Radar networks such as the Continental Air Defense Integrated North (CADIN)-Pinetree Line (1951), the Mid-Canada Line (1954), and the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line (1955) — established to warn of and permit retaliation against a surprise Soviet nuclear bomber attack — were, according to officials in Ottawa and Washington, in need of modernization and/or replacement.³ Cognizant of this need, Canada proposed at the initial Permanent Joint Board on Defense (PJBD) meeting in 1976 that a Canadian-U.S. study group be established to examine “the principles and concepts governing the division of responsibilities [military and financial] between Canada and the U.S.A. for the modernization of North American air defence systems.”⁴ Despite readily being agreed to by U.S. officials, the “Canada-U.S. Ad Hoc Steering Group on Sharing of North American Air Defense Responsibilities” produced no substantive results. As former DND Assistant Deputy Minister for Policy, John Anderson explains:

It [i.e., the Steering Group on Sharing of North American Air Defense Responsibilities] had really only just begun working by the [time of the] 1976 Presidential election in the United States. The defense priority of the Carter Administration, when it took office in January 1977, was to gain agreement for, and to launch, a NATO Long Term Defense Program. North American air defense modernization was even less of a priority than it had been for the Ford Administration. Canadians and Americans had been brought

together to discuss the subject but, as 1977 gave way to 1978, little had in fact come of the discussions.⁵

By late summer 1978, lack of progress in coming to grips with the requirements for a modernized North American air defence system prompted the Canadian Minister of National Defence, Barnett Danson, to suggest to the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown, that a jointly funded and manned study be set up to assess existing and anticipated air threats to the North American continent, and to offer suggestions on how most effectively to respond to them. The study group, set up in response to this initiative, began work in February 1979. Its report, submitted to the Canadian Department of National Defence and the U.S. Department of Defense in late autumn of 1979, contained several important findings. *The Joint United States/Canada Air Defence Study (JUSCADS)*⁶ cited four specific air threats to Canada and the United States: the manned bomber, ballistic missiles, air-launched cruise missiles and sea-launched cruise missiles. Pentagon planners were especially concerned with threats posed to American command, control and communications sites by existing and new generation Soviet Backfire, Bear and Blackjack bombers, and long-range cruise missiles including the AS-15, SS-NX-21 and SS-NX-24.⁷ Current continental air defence capabilities, the report claimed, were outdated and inadequate to meet this array of threats. “The current locations of surveillance radars, aircraft identification zones, and interceptor operating areas do not cover some potential bomber penetration routes,” the report stated.⁸ Simply put, there existed “airspace integrity enforcement problems,” that needed to be addressed by Canada and the U.S.⁹ Of particular concern in this regard, was the age and effectiveness of the Distant Early Warning Line. While recognizing that space-based surveillance sensors and communication systems would soon be required for effective air defence, the report nonetheless suggested that as an interim measure, the DEW Line be modernized.¹⁰ John Collins, the deputy director of JUSCADS explains:

[A] modernized DEW Line could be a reasonably effective interim system since, if aircraft penetrating to launch cruise missiles developed a capability for penetration at much lower altitudes, the ground-based radar chain could be augmented by the airborne warning and control system operating to reinforce the DEW line and to control the interceptors required to assess the character and intent of the intrusion.¹¹

In discussing the findings of JUSCADS, John Anderson informed the Canadian public that:

[W]e have just recently completed a study with the Americans which is designed mainly to bring out the range of possible options for modernization of the air defence system that would be open to us. There will be a need now to work with the Americans to determine where we ought to recommend that we should be going to our respective governments.¹²

The air defence study report was in fact reviewed in detail at an early 1980 meeting of the Steering Group on Sharing of North American Air Defence Responsibilities. At that time, Canadian and American officials agreed that JUSCADS “should be used as an analytical basis for preparation of a master plan for North American air defence modernization.”¹³ Since the Department of Defense had already been approached in May 1980 by Congress to produce such a blueprint, and “because the relevant technologies were American,” it was further agreed that DOD would be charged with the responsibility of producing an overall plan.¹⁴

In October/early November 1980, the United States Air Force (USAF) had completed draft sections of the plan and forwarded them to Canadian defence officials for comment.¹⁵ Lieutenant General Gerard Theriault, Vice Chief of the Defence Staff, indicated before the House of Commons Committee on External Affairs and National Defence that, while Canada had “been involved in joint planning discussions with the United States ... we have not yet at all gone into the question of cost sharing of the total system that will eventuate from the new wave of planning and modernization on which we are now just embarking.”¹⁶ Major General D.C. Mackenzie, DND’s Chief of Air Doctrine and Operations, added that the “master air defence plan ... is only in the rudimentary stages of being prepared.”¹⁷ The Minister of National Defence, Gilles Lamontagne, further informed the committee that “as far as the master plan is concerned, we can expect to have the results at the beginning of next year.”¹⁸ Indeed, by January 1981, the Air Defense Master Plan (ADMP) was completed and submitted to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger.¹⁹

Following a March 1981 meeting in Ottawa between Lamontagne and Weinberger that focused on continental air defence modernization, U.S. officials presented the ADMP before the Canadian members of the Steering Group on Sharing of North American Air Defence Responsibilities. The plan recommended that four new measures be adopted to provide for effective continental air defence. The first and most pressing issue was to substitute a series of modern long-range (minimally attended) and short-range (unattended) radars, to be known as the North Warning System as replacements for the DEW Line stations.²⁰ Second, a series of three Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radars (OTH-B) were to be installed in the northeast, northwest and central regions of the United States. Their purpose was to complement the northern coverage to be furnished by the NWS, thus providing the entire North American continent with effective peacetime surveillance and early warning capabilities.²¹ The ADMP also called for the potential use of up to twelve new E-3A Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft, the function of which would be to provide early warning and bomber intercept control. These platforms would be far less vulnerable to attack than ground based radar installations such as the NWS or OTH-B, and could thus be counted on to be available for wartime surveillance and battlefield management duties. Finally, the plan

proposed to replace existing USAF fighter aircraft designated for North American air defence services, with new F-15 interceptors.²²

Canadian reaction to these proposals for continental air defence modernization was most completely expressed on May 26, 1981 by John Anderson:

[Q]uite a number of possible system options for the future of the air defence are in place south of the border, and we have been consulting on them with the Americans. Within the not too distant future, because of the age of some of the present systems, a choice as to one of those options is going to have to be taken. At the moment, it looks as if space-based radar surveillance and air defence systems are still a few years off. Therefore it would appear that we will have to go with some combination of sensor systems for warning which involves both land — that is, ground-based radar — some: probably the DEW Line — and quite possibly the over-the-horizon backscatter radar system off the two coasts, and presumably some involvement of AWACS in the system. But we have not struck an option yet.²³

While awaiting comment from Canadian defence authorities, the U.S. Department of Defense approved the Air Defense Master Plan, and the Reagan administration included it in its strategic modernization program. The plan was henceforth distributed amongst key American agencies on January 28, 1982, and placed before Congress in March.²⁴ Shortly thereafter, the Canadian defence staff informed the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff that, in their opinion, the ADMP provided a solid basis for proceeding with air defence modernization. In late 1982, the Trudeau Government accepted the ADMP “as a basis for negotiation” with the U.S., and instructed representatives from the Department of External Affairs and the Department of National Defence to enter into formal negotiations with representatives from the Department of State and the Department of Defense.²⁵

Canadian and American National Interests

In entering into negotiations with the United States to modernize the air defence system for North America, Canada sought to fulfill five related interests: guarantee participation in the modernization plan, limit expenditures, create economic opportunities for industry, change certain recommendations outlined in the Air Defense Master Plan, and settle on an equitable cost sharing arrangement with the U.S. over those Distant Early Warning Line sites slated for closure.

First and foremost, Canadian officials wanted to ensure that there would be meaningful Canadian participation across a broad range of projects — particularly those that would involve Canadian territory and airspace. Fully aware that the OTH-B radars and F-15 fighter replacement program were independent U.S. initiatives, Canadian officials believed that meaningful

participation could best be achieved through two initiatives: the North Warning System, and the E-3A AWACS programs. In the words of John Anderson:

Apart from a handful of Canadians on two or three main stations, Canada had left the operation and maintenance of the DEW Line to the Americans for over thirty years. Canada, during the whole of that period, had exercised its share of North American air defense responsibility through the operation of some or all (after 1961) of the CADIN/Pinetree system, and until 1964, the Mid Canada Line. Everybody agreed, however, that these systems were no longer needed thereby leaving us [Canada] with the need, if we were to be [involved] *in* [NAADM] and *responsible*, to be into NWS and, as much as possible, AWACS ... We therefore wanted to get into as much of the system as possible.²⁶

This goal was motivated by two key concerns: first, a desire on the part of Canadian officials, through participation in NAADM, to enhance sovereign responsibility in and over Canada, and second, a belief that Canada had to effectively participate with the U.S. in this particular stage of continental air defence modernization if it wished, in the not too distant future, to play a role — and thus continue to exercise sovereign responsibility — when North American air defence measures would become space-based. Such a development in surveillance technology, Canadian officials realized, would obviate U.S. dependence on Canadian geography. In order for Canada to therefore have knowledge about and control over activity in its own airspace, it would be necessary to become co-involved with the United States in establishing, operating, maintaining and sharing information from space-based systems. The first step towards accomplishing this, so it was believed, was to participate in NAADM.

Both of these concerns were repeatedly expressed by a number of prominent Canadians involved in the negotiations. On the issue of sovereignty, Gilles Lamontagne claimed that despite being interested in “close collaboration with the U.S.” on air defence modernization, “we [the Trudeau Government] realized Canada wanted to have a certain autonomy ... we did not want to prejudice our sovereignty.”²⁷ “For sovereignty reasons,” a former senior Department of National Defence official notes, “we [Canada] needed Canadians up there [i.e., in the Canadian North].”²⁸ As General Larry Ashley (General Mackenzie’s successor as Chief of Air Doctrine and Operations at DND) put it: “At the end of the day we wanted to be seen as to be masters in our own kitchen.”²⁹

Of at least equal importance to Canadian officials, however, was the widely shared belief that if Canada wished to participate (and thereby exercise sovereignty) in future continental space-based surveillance and early warning systems, it was *first* necessary to play a prominent role in North American air defence modernization. Paul Barton of External Affairs explains:

We knew that it [the North Warning System] was going to be a finite system with a short time frame of operationality ... We knew that it [surveillance and early warning systems] was going to move upstairs and we wanted to ensure that Canada remained a full partner in North American aerospace defense, even when our geography was no longer necessary ... What we were looking to accomplish ... was to get our foot in the door and an agreement from the Americans that we would be involved in the space based, aerospace North American defence systems of the future.³⁰

Former Minister of National Defence Jean Jacques Blais (who, on August 12, 1983, succeeded Mr. Lamontagne) echoes a similar message:

The reason why we [wanted to] participate in a meaningful way ... was in order to have some play in the space based radar... My major preoccupation was that once the Americans got into space in terms of monitoring any activity ... We would be nowhere unless we were very much part and parcel of that activity. And we wouldn't be part of that activity if the Americans had foreclosed us from participating [in NAADM].³¹

Bev Dewar, Deputy Minister of National Defence, recalls that “participating in the interim measure [NAADM] was certainly regarded as a ticket to sharing in the planning for the future space based stuff.”³² “If we do not become involved now,” warned E.J. Bobyne, Chief of Research and Development for the Department of National Defence, “we will risk the United States Department of Defense’s developing systems for North American air defence that do not necessarily account for Canadian interests and requirements.”³³ Ramsey Withers, Chief of the Defence Staff, argued that:

If we don't get in now, and assist in the funding of this particular project [NAADM] which is both supportable by Canada from a political point of view and military point of view, then were not going to get into the next round; you either pay your way now or you don't get to pay your way again.³⁴

“We could see the United States,” notes Lieutenant General Gerard Theriault,

moving rapidly into the space sector and there was a strong consciousness of the fact that Canada itself someday would at least need to have access to some of that data ... the other dimension had been a growing concern about the loss/reduction in the strategic importance of the Canadian territory to the United States.³⁵

Bob Conn of DND remarks that:

[I]t was realized, it was perceived, that if we chose not to play in the North American air defence modernization game, when the Americans got serious about space based radar ... Canada would be essentially outside looking in and thereby foregoing the industrial benefits, the technology spinoffs, and all those things.³⁶

Finally, John Anderson states:

The fact is that if we had not gone into NAADM, we would, there and then, have virtually taken ourselves militarily out of having any say in the surveillance of the major approaches to our own airspace. Space systems would have made the situation worse by freeing the Americans of dependence for surveillance installations on Canadian territory.³⁷

The second objective that Canada sought to attain was to reasonably limit its overall financial contribution. The general approach to cost-sharing to be used by Canada in the course of negotiations had been indicated as early as October 1980 by John Anderson:

Historically, though, with the United States, and in relation to the North American theatre, we have sought to avoid the kind of cost-sharing formula that we have in NATO and have rather gone for a functional division, or a division of labour between the two countries ... The rule of thumb that was adopted was that we would pay approximately one-third of the cost, both investment cost and operation [and] maintenance cost(s), of these systems [i.e., the SAGE system, and the Pinetree radar line] with the Americans paying two-thirds of both systems that were located in Canada. That approximates, in fact, about 10 per cent of the total cost, which, if you take relative GNP, relative population, et cetera, would be roughly equitable for Canada.³⁸

In confirming this approach, Anderson reports that in setting

a target for our financial [contribution], we had simply gone with history. We had said historically that of the joint air defense systems in Canada, we had paid approximately one-third of the cost. So we had set as our financial guideline, one-third of the cost of that part of the new system which would be in Canada.³⁹

General Theriault also notes that the Canadian “approach to cost sharing had a strong element of continuity to it. The approach was related and was inspired by earlier cost sharing formulas.”⁴⁰ Nonetheless, Canada was “looking for as cheap a membership in the ‘Club’ as we could possibly [achieve], because funds were extremely, extremely tight.”⁴¹

The third objective that Canada wished to secure through negotiations was to maximize the economic opportunities available to Canadian industry. “Our aim in these negotiations,” John Killick, Assistant Deputy Minister (Material) of National Defence insisted, “is to get a realistic ... level of work and a realistic technical challenge.”⁴² The Canadian position, according to Jean Jacques Blais, would be to demand “that it get from the industrial activity generated [by NAADM], a fair share for its industrial infrastructure.”⁴³ “Canadian participation in the industrial benefits,” was a key objective notes Bob Conn.⁴⁴ “There was a degree of ensuring,” recalls Paul Barton, “that a lot of that contribution [the Canadian Government’s financial input] would be farmed back into business opportunities for

Canadians.”⁴⁵ Bev Dewar also claims that it was a Canadian goal “to get an acceptable share of the industrial participation,” arising from air defence modernization project activities.⁴⁶

The fourth objective that Canada sought to attain involved specific changes to the recommendations called for in the Air Defense Master Plan. In particular, Canadian officials believed that: (1) the easternmost radars of the North Warning System should be located on southern Baffin Island and on the eastern limits of Labrador, rather than in Greenland; (2) ground-based radars should also be installed on the east and west coasts of Canada, and along the Alaskan panhandle; (3) dispersed operating bases (DOBs) should be established in Canada to facilitate the use of E-3A AWACS aircraft, and; (4) forward operating locations (FOLs) should be constructed for fighter aircraft support.⁴⁷

The fifth objective that Canada wanted to fulfill through negotiations was to ensure that the United States would shoulder the majority of the financial burden involving the termination of those Distant Early Warning Line sites not scheduled to be incorporated into the North Warning System. “The costs of the closing down of the existing DEW Line bases,” Paul Barton points out, “was a major issue” for the Canadian delegation.⁴⁸ Gay MacArthur of the Department of National Defence concurs:

We wanted the U.S. to shoulder the responsibility for cleaning them up period ... In effect it was a U.S. system. The U.S. installed the system, they paid for the system, and we were saying you're responsible for a very heavy share of the clean up.⁴⁹

In contrast to the range of Canadian concerns, the United States sought to fulfill only two principal interests. First, the U.S., while willing to assume a reasonable burden of the modernization costs for North American air defence, also wanted to limit its overall financial contribution to the project. To accomplish this, U.S. officials decided to insist on two points in the course of negotiations with Canada: that as a co-participant in air defence modernization, Canada also be required to put forth an equitable financial contribution, and; to resist suggested project changes (which might prove costly) if proposed by Canadian officials, to the primary recommendations forwarded in the Air Defense Master Plan. On the former point, Dov Zakheim, principal negotiator for the U.S., claims “we felt that we were not going to be a charitable institution ... we didn't want to let the Canadians off the hook with a minimal amount of spending.”⁵⁰ U.S. officials wanted to be certain, according to Richard Smull, (Principal Director of the Pentagon's Office for Planning and Resources, and Zakheim's deputy), that there would be “reasonable Canadian participation with respect to funding.”⁵¹ “Our goal was to elicit the greatest Canadian financial cooperation we could,” recalls a senior Pentagon official involved in the negotiations.⁵²

Second, the U.S. sought to guarantee Canadian participation in NAADM. This was necessary not only because the U.S. wished to limit its

financial expenditures for northern air defence modernization, but more importantly, because America still required access to and use of Canadian territory in order for the critically important North Warning System to become a reality, thus allowing continental air defence to be operationally complete and effective.

The Negotiation Process

Negotiations over North American air defence modernization began in the summer of 1983 and culminated, in the words of one observer, at “10:00 A.M. in Quebec City on 17 March 1985.”⁵³ The chief negotiator for Canada was John Anderson, while Ronald Lauder, Deputy Secretary for European and NATO Policy at the Department of Defense, assumed a similar role for the U.S. Lauder was eventually succeeded in the late summer of 1984 by Dov Zakheim, Assistant Under Secretary of Defense for Planning and Resources.⁵⁴ The pace of negotiations proved to be slow (due to a series of domestic developments in Canada and the United States), yet productive.⁵⁵

The most substantive issue discussed by Canada and the U.S. was the question of Canadian responsibility for the North Warning System. Specifically, negotiations focused on determining Canada’s role (i.e., construction, operations, and/or maintenance functions) in the system, and the financial contribution to the NWS that Canada would be expected to provide. “An approach has been made by the American Government,” Minister Blais announced before Parliament on September 28, 1983, “relating to the modernization of the DEW Line. The approach and the representations that were made for financial participation by Canada in that project are now under consideration.”⁵⁶ This initial American proposal, while suggesting that Canada shoulder approximately 40% of NWS costs, did not put forth any other specific recommendations for Canadian participation in the new radar network.

Canada, on the other hand, informed U.S. officials that although it was willing to contribute financially to the North Warning System (i.e., in the order of 33% of the start up and operation and maintenance costs of the NWS, and therefore about 10% of the total cost for NAADM), it also expected to participate in the working of the radar system. Driven by the desire of wanting to secure a meaningful Canadian role in North American air defence modernization projects utilizing Canadian territory, and simultaneously aiming to maximize the opportunities available to Canadian industry, Department of National Defence officials proposed that Canada be given the responsibility of operating and maintaining the North Warning System. John Anderson notes: “Once we were down to the North Warning System as the basic program in which Canada was directly involved and likely to be paying money into, we then tried to get the operations and maintenance responsibility.”⁵⁷

The Canadian position on participation in the North Warning System was thoroughly voiced on several occasions in late 1983 and into 1984. On the subject of Canadian financial participation, the fullest statement was provided by John Anderson during questioning by the Special Senate Committee on National Defence:

Senator Jack Marshall: So you cannot disclose the proportion of the costs which Canada would be asked to commit? Is the United States asking us to take certain financial responsibilities?

Mr. Anderson: They would certainly like us to. We have been talking to them more or less on the basis that we would take an equitable share given the relativities between the two countries ...

Senator Duff Roblin: There are many requests to spend money, so where does this one fit into your scheme?

Mr. Anderson: I think that would be given high priority, but it is also a question of how much of the total costs we would be liable for.⁵⁸

Anderson provided further elucidation of the Canadian position on North Warning System costs in his testimony of March 15, 1984:

Senator Roblin: What share of the cost has been agreed upon for us?

Mr. Anderson: That is what we are negotiating.

Senator Roblin: What would you like? What do you expect? What is it now? Let us put it that way.

Mr. Anderson: Well, we are paying approximately 12 per cent of the costs, I believe, of NORAD at the moment ...

Senator Henry Hicks: I suppose you are thinking in terms of ten per cent to 12 per cent, along the lines of what we are doing now.

Mr. Anderson: Something in that area, as a rule of thumb, yes.

Senator Gildas Molgat: I should like to pursue this particular line of questioning. We will be looking at, depending on how we negotiate, a figure between \$500 million and \$1 billion as the Canadian share.

Mr. Anderson: I think that would be a reasonably good bracket.⁵⁹

The reasons underlying Canada's desire to undertake the operations and maintenance functions of the North Warning System were also expressed by Canadian officials. John Anderson emphasized the issue of sovereign responsibility:

Senator Roblin: Whose people will be manning these [i.e., long-range radars or LRRs] stations?

Mr. Anderson: That is something we will have to negotiate ... My personal view is that we ought very seriously to consider taking on the responsibility for the operation of the [NWS] modernized

facilities ... [W]e should take on the responsibility, whether we do it with military personnel or by contract.

Senator Roblin: But we should run it; that is what you are saying.

Mr. Anderson: We should take the responsibility of running it. It is a major system on our soil.⁶⁰

J.J. Blais emphasized the economic opportunities that motivated the Canadian proposal on operations and maintenance responsibility: “I confirmed [with Department of Defense officials] the Canadian commitment to participate meaningfully and share in the [North Warning System] program and the necessity for Canadian industrial benefits as a result of our expenditures.”⁶¹ This message was reiterated by John Killick:

In the case of the North Warning System, we have a lot of work to do, but I would hope that we would end up with the established companies in the communications field and that industry would be involved in the continuing and ongoing maintenance and operation of that system.⁶²

The United States was, however, unreceptive to the Canadian position. Simply put, U.S. officials wished to supervise the operations and maintenance function of the North Warning System, as they had with the Distant Early Warning Line since the mid 1950s. By the end of August 1984, the subject of Canadian participation — financial and otherwise — in the NWS was left unresolved.

Within the span of a month, however, new impetus had been injected into the negotiation process — specifically regarding the American position on Canada’s role in the North Warning System. In September 1984, a “deadline came down from the White House,” instructing the American delegation, and in particular the principal negotiating representative Dov Zakheim, to “conclude a deal by Quebec” (i.e., in reference to an upcoming Prime Minister Brian Mulroney — President Ronald Reagan summit scheduled to be convened in Quebec City the following March).⁶³ Shortly thereafter, Zakheim floated a proposal to Canadian officials that removed the existing impasse over the North Warning System; namely, Canada be given the responsibility of *not only* operating and maintaining the new radar installation network, but also be appointed to the position of *manager* with responsibilities for overseeing the design, construction and integration of *all new* long-range radar and short-range radar sites to be established — as part of the NWS — in the Canadian North. “Bargaining [over the North Warning System] had been deadlocked for some time,” acknowledges Zakheim, and “no one had looked at who would be in charge ... in essence we turned the thing on its head and completely surprised the Canadians ... the prospect of responsibility floored them.”⁶⁴ “We told them,” Dick Smull recalls, that “you can manage the program.”⁶⁵ John Anderson remembers the Canadian reaction to the new proposal: “Zakheim did in fact surprise the Canadian [negotiating delegation] with his proposal, because we hadn’t

thought about it quite like that. As far as I was concerned, it was obviously the way to go.”⁶⁶

Canada readily agreed in principle to the U.S. proposal and, after further discussions, a mutually acceptable plan for the establishment of the North Warning System was produced. In acting as “overall system manager” for Phase One, the United States would be principally charged with the responsibility of procuring 13 long-range radars, installing and integrating 10 long-range radars at *existing* Distant Early Warning Line sites (8 in Canada, 2 in Alaska), installing the remaining 3 long-range radars at new sites in Labrador, and developing 2 prototype short-range radars (1 for Canada, 1 for Alaska). Canada’s responsibilities during Phase One would include the design and construction of 3 new long-range radar sites in Labrador, the integration of these 3 stations into the North Warning System, the design of test communications and facilities for use in long/short-range radar locations and Region Operations Control Centers (ROCC) sites across Canada, and the establishment of a Canadian prototype station.

In the second and final phase of establishing the North Warning System, Canada would be the “overall system manager.” Canadian duties would primarily consist of building 36 short-range radar sites, integrating these stations into the North Warning System, and procuring and installing all necessary communications equipment for long/short-range radar sites and ROCC locations in Canada. American obligations during Phase Two would focus on procuring and installing the short-range radars (36 in Canada, 3 in Alaska) and communications equipment for SRR and LRR stations in Alaska. On this basis, it was estimated that Canada would be responsible for 40% of the total costs for the North Warning System, with the U.S. shouldering the remaining 60%.

On the issue of E-3A AWACS aircraft, Ronald Lauder had initially informed the Canadian delegation at a meeting of the Steering Group on North American Air Defense Responsibilities that he was “endeavouring to get three additional (and *dedicated*) AWACS aircraft added to the NAADM package.”⁶⁷ Canadian officials informed Lauder that if the U.S. Department of Defense authorized such a purchase, Ottawa would be “prepared to consider a Canadian contribution of one-third of the cost of these three aircraft.”⁶⁸ While Ronald Lauder agreed to this proposal, it was resoundingly rejected by the Pentagon. Defence officials in Washington were, given the higher priority global demands placed on AWACS platforms, simply unprepared to dedicate existing or possible future AWACS fleet aircraft for continuous (as opposed to random) North American airborne radar surveillance and warning. Congressional funding for continental AWACS procurements was also highly questionable. “We [NORAD] were hoping, and the Canadian military was hoping,” notes General Robert Herres, then Commander-in-Chief of NORAD (CINC NORAD), “that the Canadian Government would buy some AWACS.”⁶⁹ Given this opposition, yet still wishing to participate in the E-3A AWACS program,

Canadian officials next proposed that select members of Canada's armed forces be permitted to co-participate with United States Air Force personnel on E-3A missions, and that NORAD headquarters dedicate a set number of E-3As for the purpose of continental air defence.⁷⁰ Paul Barton of External Affairs explains the Canadian position:

[T]he negotiations focused on ... if we were going to crew the AWACS, and we wanted Colorado Springs to dedicate some AWACS to Northern coverage ... We wanted a number of AWACS dedicated, and that would be their primary job, and when they weren't covering the North, they could do something else. And our idea was to have these forward operating bases ... the bases were the sort of holding places where dedicated aircraft would be kept.⁷¹

U.S. officials were, according to Canadian General Larry Ashley, "keen to work out a way whereby Canadian crews could train and fly on North American missions."⁷² U.S. Department of Defense officials had indeed already offered this role to Canada as early as 1980, and thus were receptive to the Canadian suggestion.⁷³ The idea of dedicating E-3A AWACS aircraft to North American defence was, however, strongly resisted. American defence officials instead offered to "*designate* some, which meant when they weren't doing something else, they could cover the North."⁷⁴ U.S. unwillingness to dedicate E-3As for continental air defence stemmed from the fact that "those assets were used worldwide and it complicated their lives enormously ... they did not have the luxury of being able to commit those things away for even something as important as North American air defence."⁷⁵ "As we worked this thing over months and months and months," recalls General Ashley, "the resources were so scarce that you could never carve out a plan to guarantee that even one asset would be available on a regularized basis for deployment into our North ... and it was only because there was a worldwide demand for those assets."⁷⁶ It was finally agreed that Canadian participation in the manning of E-3As would be established, but that these aircraft would be available to NORAD only on a designated basis.⁷⁷

The next substantive issue decided involved the changes that Canada was seeking to the Air Defense Master Plan recommendations. Concerned that the Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar system could not overcome specific detection shortcomings in the more Northern latitudes, Canadian officials argued that the eastern location of the North Warning System sites be situated in Canada and not in Greenland. The extension of the NWS to Greenland, would in the view of Canada:

leave the warning perimeter open to penetration, particularly at low altitudes by aircraft approaching over Baffin Bay and the Davis Strait, and, possibly, to outflanking, especially by cruise missiles launched by aircraft or submarines operating inside OTH-B radar coverage.⁷⁸

“We were concerned about this threat, so we argued strongly for wrapping it [the North Warning System] down the coast of Labrador,” notes General Ashley.⁷⁹ Bob Conn provides a similar insight:

As the discussions went along, and I guess as the American technical work on OTH-B went along, it became apparent that the issue of probability of detection by OTH-B in that corner [between Baffin Island and Greenland] for a sufficient portion of the year was very low. It was our side that said “that’s not good enough; the solution to the Davis Strait problem is to curl the continuous radar coverage down along the East Coast of Canada into Labrador.”⁸⁰

“In this area [Baffin Bay and Davis Strait],” General Ross Buskard asserts, “there was significant concern that Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar, a fair percentage of the time, would not be capable of seeing because of the Aurora [Borealis] ... there was also the concern that the control capability of OTH-B was minimal, and in consequence we were looking at a radar line down here [Canada’s Northeast Coast].”⁸¹ John Anderson explained the problems associated with the Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar before a Special Senate Committee on National Defence:

The problem we face at the moment is that across the northern approaches to the continent — or at least to the southern parts of Canada and to the United States — the over-the-horizon backscatter radar does not work very well because of the disturbances created by the aurora borealis in the ionosphere ... [T]he over-the-horizon backscatter system does not work looking northwards, because it uses returns off the ionosphere and the ionosphere is disturbed quite badly by the effects of the aurora borealis.⁸²

U.S. officials, for their part, initially defended the operational capabilities of the OTH-B radar, and suggested that it alone was sufficient for providing effective coverage between Baffin Island and Greenland. As Richard Smull put it: “we did our best to reassure the Canadians of the reliability of radar coverage afforded by the OTH-B.”⁸³ Ross Buskard also recalls this position: “they [U.S. officials] said it [changes to the easternmost North Warning System sites] was not required, because OTH-B would cover the area.”⁸⁴ Yet upon repeated testing of the Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar’s detection and control capabilities in the Baffin Bay/Davis Strait region, U.S. authorities also began to recognize and acknowledge the deficiencies in the OTH-B that Canada had pointed out, and thus agreed that the eastern site selections for the North Warning System should be located in Canada. “It was us,” Paul Barton indicates,

who picked up the flaws in the OTH-B coverage ... at first they [Department of Defense officials] didn’t believe us, [and] they went back and did some further study and runs. They then conceded that we were right, that the initial system as it had been

construed would not have been as effective as the system we were positing.⁸⁵

The second feature of the Air Defense Master Plan recommendations that Canada sought to change once again stemmed from perceived shortcomings in the Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar. Specifically, Canada claimed that ground radars situated on the Canadian East and West coasts and along the Alaskan panhandle were necessary to survey coastal areas not covered by the OTH-B. The Canadian proposal, John Anderson writes, was designed to:

back up OTH(B) by linking the coverage of the North Warning System on the East coast and U.S. air defense radars in Northwestern Alaska, on the West Coast, with that of coastal radars of the U.S. Joint Surveillance System south of the border.⁸⁶

Canadian officials moreover maintained that these new radars should be considered part and parcel of the Air Defense Master Plan recommendations, and therefore be governed by an equitable cost-sharing arrangement between Canada and the U.S.

American officials, while acknowledging the inability of the OTH-Bs to cover these regions, insisted that additional, conventional, ground-based radars were not required. The U.S. first suggested that E-3A AWACS aircraft could provide the necessary surveillance and interception functions. This proposal was later abandoned — due to reduced funding allocations by Congress for E-3A AWACS — and U.S. officials then put forward the idea of providing coverage for these exposed areas by supplementing the capabilities of the central U.S. Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar.⁸⁷

Unconvinced as to the merits of buttressing the central U.S. OTH-B installation, and believing that ground-based radars would still provide the most reliable coverage, Canadian officials continued to press for their inclusion in the air defence modernization package. The American reply to this proposal was straightforward: if Canada wanted the radar installations, Canada would have to pay for them. “These were planned as a Canadian responsibility,” notes General Robert Herres, and not as part of the Air Defense Master Plan recommendations.⁸⁸ American officials remained satisfied that the Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) system could adequately cover those vulnerable sections off of Canada and Alaska. At the suggestion of Canadian officials, a final decision on the necessity of coastal radars would be postponed in order to allow for further testing of the OTH-B prototype. The United States readily agreed. “We [Canada] gave up on coastal radars,” Colonel Gay MacArthur acknowledges, because “the Americans just weren’t bending on it,” they were still saying “let’s wait until the first operational test [of the OTH-B radar].”⁸⁹ “It was finally resolved,” John Anderson indicates, “by saying we’ll come back to it later after we know what OTH-B can do.”⁹⁰

On the issue of establishing dispersed operating bases and forward operating location sites in Canada, differences once again arose between Canadian and American positions. Both countries, while agreeing that dispersed operating bases were required for E-3A AWACS operations, were unable to arrive at a mutually satisfactory burden-sharing arrangement. As regards forward operating locations for interceptors, U.S. officials maintained that they represented an unnecessary added expense. Canada, on the other hand, viewed FOLs as an integral part of North American air defence modernization. Paul Barton recalls the respective positions:

[T]he Americans, to cut costs, wanted to abandon the forward operating bases concept. The Canadian position on Forward Operating Locations and Dispersed Operating Bases ... was firmly imbedded in NORAD and other strategic air defense concepts under the "Dual Phenomenology" (verification by more than one means) rubric. That is to say, Canada felt uncomfortable with the concept that in a crisis, (i.e., detection of an unscheduled and unaccounted for air-breathing intruder) the U.S.-proposed architecture would be overly reliant on radar information ... The Canadian Air Force in particular felt that, in the event of uncertainty in interpretation, CF-18s or U.S. F-15s from strategically located DOBs would enable interception at a sufficiently distant point to allow for appropriate defensive action without getting into considerations involving possible use of the strategic deterrent.⁹¹

Ultimately the U.S. informed the Canadian delegation that if Canada was intent on setting up forward operating locations, Canada would have to independently absorb the entire costs of the project. "We hung on for those [FOLs], they were very important to us, and the Americans acquiesced," states Barton, "but they said, '[Y]ou want them, you pay for them.'"⁹²

The final issue settled involved burden-sharing of those Distant Early Warning Line sites slated for closure. In short, both sides insisted that the other was responsible for paying the majority of costs. "The Americans were adamant that we cover the bulk of DEW Line closing costs," notes one Canadian official.⁹³ According to Paul Barton:

the Americans totally wanted us to pick up the lion's share of the tab, particularly the long term costs, personnel costs, relocation costs, compensation to the communities for their dislocation which would be caused ... it was a great concern to us, because we felt that they had made a commitment to those communities.⁹⁴

Ultimately, U.S. officials agreed to shoulder a larger portion (the exact level of which remains classified) of the financial burden for closing DEW sites that would not be used in the NWS. "We held out very firmly there," claims Barton, "and we got a far greater contribution out of the Americans for that, than we walked in anticipating."⁹⁵

Negotiations between Canada and the United States eventually concluded on March 17, 1985 and, the following day, a diplomatic exchange of notes along with a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on the modernization of the North American air defence system were signed by both parties.

A Mutually Satisfactory Outcome

Official reaction from Canadian government officials to the North American air defence modernization agreement was glowingly positive. Erik Neilsen, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence, claimed that a broad array of Canadian interests had been fulfilled. "Under the new arrangements," Neilsen told the House of Commons,

Canada, will, for the first time, fully exercise its national defence responsibilities on its own sovereign territory and within its own sovereign airspace ... I want to emphasize the importance of fully exercising sovereignty in our north. The DEW Line has served Canada well, but Canadians do not control it. The DEW Line is operated by the United States Air Force. Canadian involvement has been limited to small detachments of Armed Forces personnel at 3 of the 21 DEW Line sites in Canada. The North Warning System will be a Canadian-controlled system — operated, maintained and manned by Canadians ... Canadian sovereignty in our north will be strengthened and assured for the future. The agreement will present Canada with significant economic challenges and development opportunities. Canada will be assuming responsibility for over-all program management and systems integration of the North Warning project. Design, acquisition, installation and integration of all associated communications in addition to all construction in Canada will be undertaken by Canadians and by Canadian industry.⁹⁶

This message was also echoed by the Department of External Affairs' Annual Report for 1984-85. "For the first time," the document exclaimed, Canada will be able to "fully exercise its national defence responsibilities on its own sovereign territory and within its own airspace."⁹⁷ Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, explicitly underscored the theme of protecting Canada's sovereignty:

This agreement on the North Warning System, ... says we have had enough carelessness about Canadian sovereignty. It is time now for this country to affirm and advance our sovereignty. It is written into the North Warning System, as it was not before.⁹⁸

In remarking on the accord, a senior Department of National Defence source maintains that "politically the Canadian position was established, and we ended up with an acceptable split on the costs."⁹⁹ According to Ross Buskard, the air defence modernization arrangement was "a reasonable compromise ... both sides did reasonably well ... everybody got a little bit, but nobody got everything they wanted."¹⁰⁰

The official response of the United States to the 1985 outcome came only in the form of a joint statement issued by President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney in Quebec City on March 18. The declaration simply stated that:

To reinforce deterrence and to reduce the risk posed by threat of nuclear attack, we agreed to strengthen continental defense, with particular reference to joint participation in the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD). Accordingly, we concluded an agreement to modernize the North American air defense surveillance and warning system.¹⁰¹

No other public statement was forthcoming from U.S. government circles.

On balance, the continental air defence modernization agreement mutually fulfilled the negotiating objectives, and hence national interests, of both Canada and the United States.

For its part, Canada was able to secure a wide range of goals. First, Department of National Defence and External Affairs officials were clearly successful in ensuring Canada's participation in the project — particularly in those activities involving Canadian territory and airspace. Ottawa, for instance, was specifically charged with the broad responsibility of managing the construction and integration of new long-range radar and short-range radar sites in northern Canada, and for operating and maintaining the entire North Warning System. To this end, the Canadian Government pledged to undertake a series of initiatives, including:

1. The design, construction, and equipping of 3 long range radar sites in Labrador, and installation/integration of LRRS on remaining NWS sites in Canada;
2. The construction of 36 short range radar stations in Canada, and the installation of radars at those sites;
3. The procurement and installation of required communications equipment for long/short range radar sites and Region Operations Control Centers; and,
4. Overall system management, system level tests and integration in accordance with design criteria, specifications, and interface requirements.¹⁰²

Principle ten of the Memorandum of Understanding also unequivocally notes that “the NWS will be operated and maintained on behalf of both governments, *by Canada*.”¹⁰³

Although unable to get the United States Air Force to dedicate a set number of E-3A AWACS for North American overflights, Canada did, however, receive an American commitment to designate E-3As for this purpose and to allow Canadian Air Force personnel to co-staff E-3A AWACS missions. Principle six of the MOU reflects this arrangement:

AWACS aircraft have been designated from existing USAF resources to be made available in an emergency to the Commander-in-Chief North American Aerospace Defence Command. Canadian participation as crew members on United States AWACS aircraft will be coordinated by the HQ USAF and NDHQ, taking into account United States national requirements, requirements for NORAD, and USAF crew training capability.¹⁰⁴

Canadian participation in future continental air defence space-based systems was also underscored in the Memorandum of Understanding. According to principle twenty, paragraph A:

Canada and the United States will establish effective means of cooperation in research into, and development and employment of advanced technologies [i.e., space-based radars] for future North American surveillance, warning, communications, and defence systems consistent with the North American Aerospace Defence Agreement.¹⁰⁵

A second objective Canada fulfilled was to reasonably limit its financial contribution. Under the terms of the accord, Canada agreed to pay some 40% of the costs stemming from the North Warning System (\$418 million U.S. dollars for FY1985), which when added to its other NAADM expenditures, represented a total Canadian financial commitment of approximately 12% of the modernization plans' overall cost. These figures were fully consistent with Canada's goal.¹⁰⁶

Ottawa also managed to secure meaningful economic opportunities for Canadian industry. Since the overwhelming majority of work to be conducted on the North Warning System was scheduled to be performed in Canada (i.e., 11 of the 13 long-range radar sites, and 36 of the 39 short-range radar sites), and as the Canadian Government was the manager in charge of construction, operations and maintenance of that portion of the North Warning System situated in Canada's North, various segments of Canadian industry (i.e., planning, electronics, communications, transportation, engineering, etc.) could expect to participate in the project.

A final objective that Canada satisfied was its desire to arrange an equitable burden-sharing formula with the U.S. over DEW Line site closing costs. The specifics of the arrangement, contained in a classified implementing arrangement (extraneous to the formal exchange of notes and Memorandum of Understanding), call for a substantial financial contribution from the United States.¹⁰⁷

Canada was also able to fulfill its goal of seeking changes to the recommendations forwarded in the Air Defense Master Plan. Of primary importance was the realignment of the easternmost installations of the North Warning System. The long- and short-range radars would not extend to Greenland, but would rather be deployed across "northern Canada, and down the Labrador coast."¹⁰⁸ While unable to achieve agreement with the

U.S. on the issue of incorporating coastal radars, Canada nonetheless elicited a commitment from American authorities to consider the possible requirement for and cost sharing of these systems, should the Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar prove to be ineffective after further testing.¹⁰⁹ Principle seven of the Memorandum of Understanding states:

The adequacy of the OTH-B radar system to provide coverage of Canadian and United States coastal airspace and to provide for detection, tracking, and identification which support tactical action, will be determined jointly, on advice of CINCNORAD. Any requirement for full or partial deployment of supplementary LRRs and communications on the east and west coasts of Canada and the Alaska panhandle will be determined as soon as possible following agreement by the parties that adequate operational testing of the OTH-B system has been completed.¹¹⁰

As to funding of possible coastal radars, the MOU indicates that:

If there is a joint determination, on the advice of CINCNORAD, of a joint requirement for coastal radars, both governments will undertake best efforts to negotiate a cost sharing agreement in accordance with a 60/40, United States/Canada principle to the maximum extent feasible.¹¹¹

Furthermore, Canada received U.S. assurances regarding both the need for, and possible financial participation in, the establishment of dispersed operating bases and forward operating locations. “Steps will be taken,” according to principles eight and sixteen of the MOU

to implement minimum essential upgrades at selected northern contingency locations, to allow fighter and AWACS operations ... Minimum essential upgrades include infrastructure, e.g., alert hangers, POL storage, missile and ammunition storage, and other necessary airfield upgrades. Canada will carry out the design, construction, contracting, and management efforts associated with these sites ... Canada and the United States will jointly determine what constitutes “minimum essential upgrades” to selected interceptor and AWACS FOL/DOBs ... Canada and the United States will evaluate opportunities for Canada/United States cooperation in the construction of FOLs/DOBs — to meet NORAD operational requirements in Canada — with a view to the United States contributing toward the cost of FOLs/DOBs.¹¹²

The United States also managed to fulfill its national interests in the course of negotiations over northern air defence modernization arrangements. First and foremost, the United States received a commitment from Canada to participate in the NAADM project. In sum, Canada agreed to permit continued use of Canadian territory and airspace for the establishment and operations of the North Warning System and E-3A AWACS aircraft missions.

American officials also successfully limited the overall financial responsibility of the U.S. in two significant ways. First, the delegation led by Dov Zakheim was able to secure a commitment from Canada to shoulder a substantial portion of air defence modernization costs, particularly as regards the North Warning System. “The costs associated with this system,” notes principle twelve of the Memorandum of Understanding, “will be funded on a 60/40 percent, United States/Canada principle.”¹¹³ In addition, “all related costs of participating Canadian crew members,” on E-3A AWACS North American missions, would “be borne by Canada.”¹¹⁴ Second, the U.S. successfully resisted incorporating proposed expensive Canadian changes. For instance, the U.S. did not agree that coastal ground-based radars should definitively be included in the NAADM package. While agreeing to examine their usefulness if the Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar proved inadequate, the United States — according to the language used in principle seven of the Memorandum of Understanding — did not irrevocably commit itself to proceed with this proposal at any time in the future. American officials also refrained from fully committing themselves to new, large dispersed operating bases and forward operating locations financial expenditures. In short, the U.S. ambiguously pledged to simply consider “contributing toward the cost of the FOLs/DOBs.”¹¹⁵ The only expense on this issue that it agreed to absorb, was “incremental costs of United States deployments [at DOBs and FOLs] as per existing NORAD agreements.”¹¹⁶ As for the most substantive change Canada sought in the Air Defense Master Plan recommendations — i.e., relocation of the easternmost North Warning System installations — U.S. officials readily accommodated this suggestion, since it would not only provide more effective air defence coverage for the North American continent, but also because it would involve no additional outlays of American capital.

Why the Outcome Was Mutually Satisfactory

The mutually satisfactory North American Air Defence Modernization agreement is explained by Canadian-American interdependence, shared alliance membership, and the consultative relationship between the Canadian Department of National Defence and the U.S. Department of Defense.

Canada, for its part, was dependent upon the cooperation of the United States. Ottawa firmly believed that the costs of either not participating in NAADM or autonomously instituting air defence measures were prohibitively high. To unilaterally rely on the U.S. for implementation of continental air defence modernization measures — including peacetime surveillance overflights and operating and maintaining the North Warning System on Canadian soil — would have called into question the very existence of Canadian sovereignty. Such a scenario was unacceptable to Canadian officials. As John Anderson put it: “I guess we do have an option

in this country of letting the Americans defend us, but I have some real problems in wondering how really independent we can be as a country if we rely totally on the Americans for our defense.”¹¹⁷ Canadian authorities realized, however, that even if the necessary political will was present, Canada lacked the means to launch independent initiatives — such as those envisaged under NAADM, and space-based systems — that would provide effective air defence coverage for the country. The United States alone possessed the available technological expertise and resources (i.e., interceptors, radars, E-3A AWACS) to successfully operate and maintain a state-of-the-art air defence system for the North American continent, that would clearly benefit *both the United States and Canada*. In order, therefore, to exercise its sovereign responsibilities (and thereby simultaneously avoiding the politically unpalatable impression that the United States was infringing on or usurping Canadian sovereignty), and ensure that it would continue to do so in the future (through the guise of participation with the U.S. in space-based North American radar systems), Ottawa was dependent upon the cooperative participation of the United States.

The United States, on the other hand, was itself dependent on Ottawa’s cooperation for access to and use of Canadian territory. As had been the case with the DEW Line in the early 1950s, Canadian geography was required to provide maximum effective radar coverage across the top of the North American continent.¹¹⁸ American based long/short-range radars and Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radars would not be powerful or reliable enough to provide adequate warning time of a surprise Soviet nuclear air threat. U.S. officials also believed that unacceptable safety risks would be incurred by continuing to simply use existing continental air defence measures, while patiently waiting for space-based systems to be developed, tested and deployed. In short, the costs of alternatives available to U.S. policy-makers were prohibitively high. Only a modernized North Warning System, located in Canada’s North, could provide the needed time to: (1) launch a retaliatory second strike by the U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC); (2) intercept incoming Soviet bombers; and, (3) warn the general population. Lt. General James Hartinger, CINCNORAD, informed the U.S. House Committee on Armed Services of this situation back in 1981:

Three options are under consideration [for polar coverage]: a north looking OTHB; an upgraded DEW; and space-based radar. Because OTHB performance to the north is degraded by auroral effects, it may not provide the quality warning we need ... A second option, an improved DEW ... would provide all altitude coverage, unaffected by the aurora. The final candidate, space-based radar... offers much promise for the far term ... [h]owever, the availability of an operational system that will satisfy our warning needs is uncertain ... the improved DEW Line [i.e., NWS] appears to offer the most promising near term solution.¹¹⁹

Canadian cooperation was thus essential to the U.S. if the North Warning System and air defence modernization as a whole were to operate at maximum effectiveness.

A second factor which contributed to the mutually satisfactory outcome is the longstanding Canada-United States North American defence alliance. It was commonly believed by both Canadian and American political authorities that the continental air defence system needed upgrading, due in large measure to obsolescence. A joint decision to proceed with modernization was further reinforced by a shared assessment of the burgeoning Soviet air threat to North America. Interested in implementing measures to deter and ultimately defend against such a possibility, Canada and the U.S. equally believed that modernizing North America's air defences was therefore in its collective interest. General Larry Ashley publicly expressed this reasoning during Parliamentary committee testimony:

[T]he Soviet threat is a threat to North America as a whole. It is therefore in the interests of our own national security to help deter an air attack on North America. It is also part of our responsibility as a sovereign nation to join as partners with the United States in countering a common threat — on appropriate and mutually agreed terms of course.¹²⁰

A shared Canada-U.S. evaluation of interests, threats and prescriptions thus contributed to accommodative negotiations and a mutually-satisfactory outcome.

The repeated use of joint consultative mechanisms and habits by the Canadian Department of National Defence and the U.S. Department of Defense also contributed to an agreement that satisfactorily fulfilled the national interests of Canada and the United States. During the period 1976-85, the issue of North American air defence modernization was examined and discussed by Canadian and American military authorities through an interrelated series of bilateral methods including, meetings of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, the Canada-U.S. Ad Hoc Steering Group on Sharing of North American Defense Responsibilities, correspondence and meetings between Canadian Ministers of National Defence/U.S. Secretaries of Defense and the Canadian Defence Staff/U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, the 1979 *Joint United States/Canada Air Defence Study*, and the 1982 Air Defense Master Plan. The utilization of these DND-DOD collectively-developed, participatory, consultative forums provided a valuable opportunity to: (1) identify and address the concerns and interests of Ottawa and Washington, (2) cooperatively coordinate the national policies of Canada and the United States regarding continental air defence modernization; and, (3) effectively promote accommodative negotiations thereby facilitating a mutually satisfactory outcome.¹²¹

Notes

- * The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance rendered by the anonymous peer reviewers of the *International Journal of Canadian Studies*.
1. Interdependence, for the purposes of this article, is understood to mean the mutual dependence of at least two parties on each other for the fulfillment of their national goals — i.e., each actor is vulnerable to the action of the other(s) in an attempt to preserve or advance its national interests. An interdependent relationship therefore exists among a set of actors when the absolute or relative gains are higher and/or the costs are lower of fulfilling their national interests through interstate cooperation than through autonomous action.
 2. David Leyton-Brown, “External Affairs and Defence,” in *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs 1984*, ed. R.B. Byers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p. 191.
 3. By the mid 1970s, the CADIN-Pinetree Line comprised 25 sites (as compared to 39 at its height), the Mid-Canada Line had by 1965 been abandoned (98 sites at its height), and the DEW Line was operating with 31 sites (as compared to 78 at its height). Government of Canada, Report of the Special Committee of the Senate on National Defence, *Canada’s Territorial Air Defence* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, January 1985), pp. 5-6.
 4. Confidential source. The PJBD, a jointly Canadian-American staffed permanent panel established to examine North American defence issues, traces its origins to the Ogdensburg Agreement of August 18, 1940.
 5. John Anderson, “Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense,” in *The U.S.-Canada Security Relationship: The Politics, Strategy, and Technology of Defense*, eds. David G. Haglund, and Joel J. Sokolsky (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), p. 174.
 6. To date, the final report of the study remains classified.
 7. In 1979, the Blackjack, Bear-H (a variant of the Bear bomber equipped with AS-15 cruise missiles), AS-15, SS-NX-21 and SS-NX-24 forces were still in the development stage, but were anticipated to be operational in the not too distant future. For further details on these weapons systems, see Government of the United States of America, *Soviet Military Power 1985* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1985), Ch. 2. These forces, in light of the existing continental air defence warning and surveillance structure, would certainly have rendered U.S. command, control and communications facilities vulnerable to attack, but would not have had a deleterious effect on America’s second-strike nuclear capability and hence on the overall balance of power between the U.S. and Soviet Union. A similar point is made in D.W. Middlemiss and J.J. Sokolsky, *Canadian Defence: Decisions and Determinants* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989), p. 180.
 8. Quoted in Martin Shadwick, “Canadian air defence,” *International Perspectives*, (March/April 1985): p. 12.
 9. As quoted in Joel J. Sokolsky, “Changing Strategies, Technologies and Organization: The Continuing Debate on NORAD and the Strategic Defense Initiative,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, XIX, no. 4 (December 1986): p. 759.
 10. On the birth of the DEW Line, see Joseph T. Jockel, *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defence, 1945-1958* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).

11. John J. Collins, "The Strategic Air Defense of North America: A Canadian Viewpoint," in *Strategic Air Defense*, ed. Stephen J. Cimbala (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1989), p. 115. The U.S. director of JUSCADS was Peter Aldrich, who later served as Secretary of the United States Air Force (USAF).
12. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 9 (December 4, 1979): p. 19.
13. Anderson, "Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense," in *The U.S.-Canada Security Relationship: The Politics, Strategy, and Technology of Defense*, p. 175.
14. Edgar Ulsamer, "Air Defense Master Plan," *Air Force Magazine*, (October 1981): p. 81; Anderson, "Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense," in *The U.S.-Canada Security Relationship: The Politics, Strategy, and Technology of Defense*, p. 175; and Douglas J. Murray, "U.S.-Canadian Defense Relations: An Assessment for the 1980s," in *Canada and the United States: Dependence and Divergence*, eds. Willis C. Armstrong, Louise S. Armstrong, and Francis O. Wilcox (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1982), pp. 237-238.
15. Anderson, "Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense," in *The U.S.-Canada Security Relationship: The Politics, Strategy, and Technology of Defense*, p. 175, and confidential source. On November 5, 1980, officials of the Department of External Affairs were provided by the Department of National Defence with a copy of the draft for comment. Confidential source.
16. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 15 (October 21, 1980): p. 31.
17. *Ibid*, no. 26 (November 27, 1980): p. 20.
18. *Ibid*, no. 21 (November 6, 1980): p. 30.
19. Edgar Ulsamer, "Air Defense Master Plan," p. 81.
20. According to John Anderson, "the Long Range Radars, although fairly recently developed, were by that time already being installed in Alaska ... The Short Range Radars ... were not yet 'developed' even in prototype." Correspondence with John Anderson.
21. "The OTH(B) radars were intended," John Anderson notes, "to provide coverage of the approaches to North America over the East and West coasts and from the South across the Caribbean Sea." Correspondence with John Anderson.
22. John Harme, "Continental Air Defence, United States Security Policy, and Canada-United States Defence Relations," in *Aerospace Defence: Canada's Future Role?*, eds. R.B. Byers, John Harme, and George R. Lindsey (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1985): pp. 23-24; Anderson, "Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense," p. 176; Martin Shadwick, "Canadian Air Defence," *International Perspectives*, p. 13; Edgar Ulsamer, "Air Defense Master Plan," p. 82; and David Cox, *Trends in Continental Defence: A Canadian Perspective* (Ottawa: The Canadian Institute For International Peace and Security, 1986), p. 4. The F-15s were replacements for the U.S. F101, F102 and F106 aircraft.
23. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 44 (May 26, 1981): p. 21.
24. Cox, *Trends in Continental Defence: A Canadian Perspective*, p. 4, and Harme, "Continental Air Defence, United States Security Policy, and Canada-United States Defence Relations," p. 22.

25. Anderson, "Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense," p. 180, and interview with John Anderson.
26. Interview and correspondence with John Anderson.
27. Interview with Gilles Lamontange.
28. Confidential interview.
29. Interview with Larry Ashley.
30. Interview with Paul Barton.
31. Interview with Jean Jacques Blais.
32. Interview with Daniel Bevis Dewar.
33. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 25 (November 25, 1980): p. 7.
34. Interview with Ross Buskard. This statement corresponds to the official public position taken by General Withers in his appearance before the Parliamentary Committee on External Affairs and National Defense. According to testimony given on October 16, 1980, Withers unequivocally stated that "from the departmental point of view, we have a very strong interest in becoming involved, in research and development projects on space-based radar." Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 13 (October 16, 1980): p. 13.
35. Interview with Gerard Theriault.
36. Interview with Robert Conn.
37. Correspondence with John Anderson.
38. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 13 (October 16, 1980): p. 16.
39. Interview with John Anderson.
40. Interview with Gerard Theriault.
41. Interview with Larry Ashley.
42. Proceedings of the Special Committee of the Senate on *National Defence*, no. 5 (March 15, 1984): p. 13.
43. Interview with Jean Jacques Blais, and see Blais' comments in Bill Fox, "Canada U.S. plan big update of DEW line," *The Toronto Star*, November 17, 1983, p. A16.
44. Interview with Robert Conn.
45. Interview with Paul Barton.
46. Interview with Daniel Bevis Dewar.
47. Interviews with John Anderson, Larry Ashley, Daniel Bevis Dewar, and Paul Barton.
48. Interview with Paul Barton.
49. Interview with Gay MacArthur.
50. Interview with Dov Zakheim.
51. Interview with Richard Smull.
52. Confidential interview.
53. Interview with Dov Zakheim.
54. Key members of Anderson's team included: Brigadier General Ross W. Buskard (Director of Continental Policy and Director General of Current Policy, DND); Major General Larry Ashley (Chief Air Doctrine and Operations, DND); Lieutenant Colonel Robert Conn (Director of Continental Policy, DND); Colonel Gay MacArthur (Director of Air Plans, DND); and, Paul Barton (Deputy Director, Defense Relations Division, Department of External Affairs). Prominent members of the American delegation included: George Bader (Principal Director, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and

- NATO Policy, DOD); and Colonel Richard Smull (Principal Director of the Office of the Assistant Under Secretary for Planning and Resources, DOD).
55. For a list of causes which arguably slowed the pace of negotiations, see Anderson, "Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense," p. 180.
 56. *House of Commons Debates*, XXIV, (1983): p. 27539.
 57. Interview with John Anderson.
 58. Proceedings of the Special Committee of the Senate on *National Defence*, no. 2 (February 22, 1984): pp. 20, 24.
 59. *Ibid*, no. 5 (March 15, 1984): pp. 10, 12.
 60. *Ibid*, pp. 10, 11.
 61. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 101 (November 24, 1983): p. 8.
 62. Proceedings of the Special Committee of the Senate on *National Defence*, no. 5 (March 15, 1984): p. 14.
 63. Interview with Dov Zakheim.
 64. *Ibid*.
 65. Interview with Richard Smull.
 66. Interview with John Anderson.
 67. Correspondence with John Anderson.
 68. Interview and correspondence with John Anderson.
 69. Interview with Robert Herres.
 70. John Anderson explains why Canada sought to have members of the Canadian Armed Forces participate on North American AWACS missions: "This proposal was put forward with a view to building, in the NAADM context, on two other projects/arrangements. The U.S. authorities, as part of a set of incentives to Canada to pick up a share of the costs of the NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control System (AEWCS) proportionate to those of the U.S.A. and the Federal Republic of Germany [other NATO countries contributed at a lower rate], had undertaken to provide USAF AWACS aircraft services over Canada for air defense training and exercises. In connection with this undertaking, NORAD had arranged for a limited number of Canadians to serve in AWACS aircraft, when employed on NORAD activities, in non flight crew positions. In addition it had been agreed that Canada would contribute to ... the manning of the NATO AEWCS force. This meant that a modest group of Canadian Forces personnel trained in AWACS operations would gradually be built up, some of whom could usefully, from both a military and a political point of view, be employed in North American air defense operations." Correspondence with John Anderson.
 71. Interview with Paul Barton.
 72. Interview with Larry Ashley.
 73. See, for example, John Anderson's testimony, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 13 (October 16, 1980): p. 15, and the testimony of George R. Lindsey, no. 24 (November 20, 1980): p. 9.
 74. Interview with Paul Barton.
 75. Interview with Larry Ashley.
 76. *Ibid*.
 77. According to Brigadier General Ross W. Buskard, "the dedicated-designated discussion went on for some time. It finally broke down on the basis that USAFADC [United States Air Force Air Defense Command] had disappeared and all the [AWACS] assets belonged to USAFTAC [United States Air Force Tactical Air Command]. USAFTAC has worldwide commitments and was

- completely unwilling to dedicate any AWACS aircraft to NORAD.”
Correspondence with Brigadier General Buskard.
78. Anderson, “Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense,” p. 177.
 79. Interview with Larry Ashley.
 80. Interview with Robert Conn.
 81. Interview with Ross Buskard.
 82. Proceedings of the Special Committee of the Senate on *National Defence*, no. 2 (February 22, 1984): p. 22., and no. 5 (March 15, 1984): p. 9.
 83. Interview with Richard Smull.
 84. Interview with Ross Buskard.
 85. Interview with Paul Barton.
 86. Anderson, “Canada and the Modernization of North American Air Defense,” p. 178.
 87. *Ibid*, and interview with John Anderson.
 88. Interview with Robert Herres.
 89. Interview with Gay MacArthur.
 90. Interview with John Anderson.
 91. Interview and correspondence with Paul Barton.
 92. *Ibid*.
 93. Confidential interview.
 94. Interview with Paul Barton.
 95. *Ibid*.
 96. *House of Commons Debates*, II, (1985): p. 2976. Also see Christopher S. Wren, “Canadians Report Air Defense Pact,” *The New York Times*, March 14, 1985, p. 8; “New air defence agreement unveiled,” *The Globe and Mail*, March 14, 1985, pp. 1-2; “Canada, U.S. strike a deal on air defence,” *The Winnipeg Free Press*, 14 March 1985, pp. 1, 4; and Joe O’Donnell, *The Toronto Star*, March 14, 1985, pp. A1, A14.
 97. Department of External Affairs, *Annual Report 1984-85*, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1986), p. 40.
 98. *House of Commons Debates*, III, (March 19, 1985): p. 3151.
 99. Confidential interview.
 100. Interview with Ross Buskard.
 101. “Declaration Regarding International Security: Agreement to Modernize the North American Air Defense and the North Warning System,” *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1985*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1986), p. 361.
 102. “Exchange of Notes Constituting an Agreement Between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America on the Modernization of the North American Air Defence System, and Memorandum of Understanding on the Modernization of the North American Air Defence System,” *Canada Treaty Series*, no. 8 (1985), pp. 22, 24, 26.
 103. *Ibid*, p. 14. Emphasis added.
 104. *Ibid*, p. 12.
 105. *Ibid*, p. 18.
 106. *Ibid*, pp. 14, 16, 28.
 107. Interview with Paul Barton.
 108. “Exchange of Notes Constituting an Agreement Between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America on the Modernization of the North American Air Defence System, and Memorandum of

- Understanding on the Modernization of the North American Air Defence System,” p. 8.
109. The NAADM agreement ultimately called for the use of a four site, twelve sector (OTH-B's are installed in sixty degree sectors) Over-The-Horizon (Backscatter) radar network — as opposed to the original three site, eight sector proposal. The fourth OTH-B would be deployed in Alaska. Martin Shadwick, “National Defence,” in *The Canadian Strategic Review 1985-1986*, eds. R.B. Byers and Michael Slack (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1988), p. 166. See also Martin Shadwick, “Military and Security Issues,” *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs 1985*, ed. R.B. Byers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 242-243.
110. Ibid, p. 12.
111. Ibid, p. 16.
112. Ibid, pp. 12, 16.
113. Ibid, 14. According to Dov Zakheim, “Canada’s willingness to go beyond a 33 per cent share was, in our view, quite significant.” Correspondence with Dov Zakheim.
114. Ibid, p. 16.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid, p. 18.
117. Proceedings of the Special Committee of the Senate on *National Defence*, no. 5 (March 15, 1984): p. 25.
118. See Jockel, *The U.S.-Canada Security Relationship: The Politics, Strategy, and Technology of Defense*, and Christopher Kirkey, *The Canadian-American Bargaining Relationship in the North: Explaining Interstate Bargaining Outcomes* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1994), Ch. 3.
119. United States House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, *Continental Air Defense*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, July 22, 1981): p. 39.
120. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on *External Affairs and National Defence*, no. 4 (February 14, 1985): pp. 7-8.
121. Ironically, the North Warning System became operational (1989) at precisely the same time the Cold War, bipolar international political system was coming to a close.

Review Essays

Essais critiques

Naïm Kattan

Les écrivains immigrants et les autres

L'art du maquillage, Sergio Kokis, Éditions XYZ, Montréal, 1997, 369 pages.

Un sourire blindé, Sergio Kokis, Éditions XYZ, Montréal, 1998, 257 pages.

Immobile, Ying Chen, Éditions Boréal, Montréal 1998, 156 pages.

Le bonheur a la queue glissante, Abba Farhoud, Éditions l'Hexagone, Montréal 1998, 175 pages.

Une comparaison rapide entre la littérature québécoise et celle du Canada anglais ou, encore davantage, celle des États-Unis nous montre, qu'au Québec, les récits et les romans de l'expérience immigrante sont un phénomène récent et relativement neuf. Les écrits des immigrants évoquant leur arrivée, leur découverte du pays et leur intégration se sont multipliés seulement depuis une vingtaine d'année. La richesse de ces textes, leur diversité, leur qualité constituent une partie importante et substantielle de la littérature québécoise.

Comme le reste du Canada, le Québec est une terre d'immigration mais ce n'est que depuis une génération que les Québécois francophones ne se considèrent plus comme Canadiens français. La religion ne définissant plus l'identité, la langue est devenue le point de rencontre et de ralliement. Le français étant officiellement, et par la force de la loi, la langue des immigrants et celle qu'apprennent leurs enfants à l'école, les nouveaux venus sont appelés à se rallier à cette nouvelle majorité et à s'exprimer en français et, on peut dire sans exagérer, qu'ainsi, une littérature est née.

Dans la production littéraire récente, j'ai choisi trois écrivains venus d'horizons différents qui, chacun à sa manière, dit autant les bonheurs que les difficultés et les misères de l'immigrant.

Dans son premier roman, *Le Pavillon des miroirs*, Sergio Kokis a exploré son passage du Brésil au Canada, de Rio à Montréal. Il y évoque, comme en alternance, les lieux mais aussi un rapport avec le réel qui, pour lui, est également un rapport avec le temps. Dans *Negao et Doralice*, il revient à son Rio natal, y décrit une enfance dure où violence et cruauté sont monnaie

courante. Mémoire douloureuse où la fidélité à l'origine ne se transforme pas en nostalgie et où la loyauté s'adresse aux victimes de l'injustice et de la misère. Certes, la joie spontanée et un bonheur candide simple, presque innocent, émergent aussi.

Si la mémoire ne se fige pas dans la nostalgie, elle ne s'érige pas non plus en ressentiment, en dénonciation et, en fin de compte, en refus. Déjà dans *Pavillon des miroirs*, Kokis se présentait comme artiste. C'est qu'il s'était livré à la peinture et au dessin bien avant qu'il ne se lance dans l'écriture. Dans *L'Art du maquillage*, il nous communique ses réflexions sur l'art, le mensonge et la contrefaçon. Le narrateur, Max est le fils d'un Belge installé à Montréal. Jeune artiste, il découvre qu'il est plus facile et plus payant de s'adonner à l'imitation, à la contrefaçon qu'à la création originale. Aussi, fabrique-t-il des Marc-Aurèle Fortin et des René Richard et réussit, sans difficulté, à les vendre comme originaux. Sans s'en rendre compte, il est pris au piège puis en mains par une mafia internationale de faussaires. Il se promène entre la Suisse, la Belgique et la France et fabrique des Schiele et des Rothko. Roman d'aventures où l'intrigue est en même temps une réflexion sur l'art. Le narrateur passe en revue les anciens et les modernes et on sent, derrière lui, l'auteur qui donne libre cours à ses considérations sur les techniques du dessin et de la peinture et surtout sur le réel et la représentation, l'apparence et l'illusion, le corps et le maquillage. Nous sommes introduits dans un univers peuplé de faussaires et d'escrocs où tout art paraît comme un faux-semblant.

Dans ce roman, le Canada est un lieu comme un autre. Le réel s'efface devant sa représentation et les visages ne sont visibles que sous des masques. L'artiste parviendra-t-il à traverser l'écran, à aller au-delà des apparences? Il y a là plus qu'une métaphore sur l'immigrant et sur le passage d'une culture à une autre. Ici, l'artiste est un véritable aventurier qui, en changeant de lieu, s'engage dans la transformation de la vision du réel, de sorte qu'il se trouve être l'immigrant par excellence, celui qui, consciemment, accepte l'aventure du passage et qui affronte la menace de se laisser engloutir dans les pièges du mensonge et du faux-semblant. En fait, ne devient faussaire que celui qui cherche à maquiller le réel et à donner à voir une apparence qui le masque.

Accepter de changer de nom, de comportement par précaution, afin de plaire, de se faire accepter et de tirer profit des nouvelles circonstances, c'est consentir volontairement à enterrer son vrai visage et vivre perpétuellement sous le masque. Ainsi, l'immigrant qui recule devant une nécessaire transformation et refuse la nouvelle réalité se condamne au mensonge.

À la suite de nombreuses péripéties, le héros-narrateur finit par gagner. Il affirme son identité d'artiste qui, en l'occurrence, est celle de l'individu, de la personne. Pour échapper à ses poursuivants, il est contraint à vivre une période de clandestinité au Mexique. On peut lire là la métaphore de

l'homme qui, en dépit du changement d'espace, récupère son rapport avec le temps, ce qui l'identifie comme individu. Dès lors l'immigrant se transforme en citoyen. Même s'il vit toujours sous la menace des faussaires, il gagne la bataille contre le mensonge et la contre-façon.

Ce roman foisonne en réflexions sur l'art contemporain. Les propos de Kokis sont souvent discutables et mériteraient qu'on s'y arrête mais ce n'est pas cette dimension du roman qui nous retient ici.

Dans son dernier roman, *Le Sourire blindé*, Kokis n'est plus l'immigrant mais l'homme du passage, l'écrivain de la traversée. Il met en scène, à Montréal, un enfant abandonné, Conrado, dont la mère, une immigrante de Saint-Domingue — *le pays dimanche* tel qu'elle le mythifiera —, se laisse emporter par les vagues successives d'un nouveau pays qu'elle ne comprend pas, qui est cruel pour tous ceux et celles qui n'ont pas la force de se défendre ou de résister à l'abus, à l'exploitation et à la violence. Le père quitte l'enfant et cette Natividad, nom prédestiné de celle qui ne parvient pas à décoller de son pays natal et qui abandonne, elle aussi, le petit garçon de cinq ans, plus par résignation et par faiblesse que par volonté.

L'enfant navigue comme une épave. Placé par les services sociaux, il va d'une famille d'accueil à une autre. L'auteur n'est pas tendre pour la bureaucratie qui ne comprend rien à l'enfant surtout s'il vient d'ailleurs. Pour se défendre, Conrado choisit volontairement le mutisme. « *Être muet était presque aussi bon que de devenir invisible et tout à fait à sa portée.* » Acculé à sa condition d'étranger, il comprenait les autres, ces « étrangers » et cela « *le renforça dans sa décision de se taire pour toujours* ».

Dans cette société malade, impitoyable, dans laquelle il est jeté, rien n'est épargné au petit garçon. Une femme cherche à l'empoisonner pour le faire déclarer fou et recevoir des allocations plus substantielles; un homme qui en a la garde, abuse devant lui d'une petite fille dont il a également la garde et le traite en esclave; un psychiatre entend l'enfermer pour toujours dans la maladie mentale. Cette humanité comprend heureusement une autre espèce: un médecin intelligent, un gardien compatissant, d'autres enfants abandonnés qui l'adoptent et lui apprennent à se protéger, à se défendre tout en l'initiant aux larcins.

En prison, condamné pour meurtre, l'enfant plonge jusqu'au fond de la détresse lorsque, miracle, un couple, un camionneur lui-même enfant adopté et une serveuse de restaurant, viennent le chercher. Ils mettent le temps nécessaire pour l'apprivoiser, le rassurer, le libérer de sa méfiance. Lui-même n'attendait que le moment de leur rendre leur amour. Il recouvre la parole pour le leur dire.

Même si ce roman est un plaidoyer pour les enfants abandonnés, on peut y déceler aussi une métaphore de l'immigrant et de son implantation. Conrado naît et grandit dans un monde hostile, un pays froid alors que sa mère chante son pays natal, le pays dimanche où il fait toujours chaud.

Francine, la travailleuse sociale qui le place dans les familles d'accueil ne peut s'empêcher de penser « *qu'il va de soi qu'il ne fallait pas que ces enfants étrangers enlèvent le pain de la bouche des vrais enfants de la famille.* » Démuni, Conrado apprend à résister.

La fin sonne comme un conte de fée. Le couple, Joe et Lise qui viennent l'arracher du fond du trou, le sortent de prison, l'aiment non seulement parce qu'ils désiraient avoir un enfant mais parce qu'ils l'ont apprivoisé et, qu'à son tour, il les a choisis. « *Le monde imaginaire de Conrado, dit l'auteur, serait naturellement peuplé d'autres gens, d'autres histoires, sa langue serait plus riche et il garderait toujours un certain penchant pour le grand large et les choses étrangères. Lorsqu'il se souviendrait, ce serait d'une autre scène, il partagerait le présent avec les gens du nouveau pays, mais sa mémoire resterait son trésor personnel. L'avenir comptait davantage que tout le reste, et ce pays froid valait n'importe quel pays-dimanche, avec l'avantage qu'il était réel et qu'il avait accepté l'enfant.* »

Dans ce roman, la métaphore se confond avec l'événement, l'imaginaire avec le concret. L'immigrant, cet enfant abandonné, peut atteindre le seuil du gouffre pour, qu'à la limite de la dérive, de la perte de soi, il se ressaisisse et résiste à l'imposture, à l'escroquerie mais tout autant aux gens bien intentionnés qui ignorent la réalité de ses besoins. Jusqu'au moment où un homme et une femme, Joe et Lise, venus du fond de l'Abitibi, le reçoivent et l'accueillent avec leur cœur. Il fait partie de la famille car il est apte à recevoir et à donner l'amour.

Kokis quitte souvent son personnage et le dédouble de son propre discours. Le procédé affaiblit littérairement le texte. Enfant abandonné, l'immigrant peut se perdre dans l'armée des victimes et des délinquants. Il demeure muet jusqu'au moment où, au bout d'une résistance entêtée, il tombe comme par miracle sur une véritable famille d'accueil. La couleur de sa peau et sa langue d'origine ne comptent plus. Il devient enfant du pays avec une mémoire propre qui est sa richesse et qui lui permet de rejoindre les autres, eux aussi porteurs de mémoire. La sienne ne serait plus le mythe où il se réfugierait pour échapper au pays réel. Car, en lui permettant de donner son amour, ce pays le reçoit véritablement et l'accepte.

C'est un roman du passage, de l'intégration, et l'auteur se sent totalement libre de critiquer certaines dimensions d'une ville qui est devenue sienne.

« Trop de mémoire fait mal mais... quand on n'en a plus du tout, on vit au jour le jour, et ça ne vaut pas la peine » dit Ying Chen au début de son dernier roman, *Immuable*. La narratrice raconte une double histoire. Orpheline, elle quitte la maison où elle fut accueillie et suit un homme qu'elle rencontre dans un train. Il est archéologue et s'emploie, par conséquent, à déchiffrer

les traces et les vestiges du passé. Elle est disponible, accessible, et une forme d'amour les lie. L'homme découvre que cette femme est double et que sa vie se déroule dans le temps, le présent mais aussi dans un temps autre, car elle se croit la réincarnation de la quatrième épouse d'un prince déchu. Cette histoire se déroulait dans des siècles passés. Peu après leur mariage, le prince perdit son intérêt pour elle et l'ignora. Elle prend pour amant son esclave domestique qui, à son tour, cherche à s'éloigner d'elle. Par vengeance et dépit, elle le dénonce et l'envoie à l'échafaud. Le prince est lui-même vaincu, condamné, et elle le suit dans la mort.

Son mariage avec l'archéologue se détériore, et la narratrice finit par transformer l'homme qu'elle a suivi dans le train en esclave. La considérant malade et délirante, l'homme s'en éloigne et, perdant tout espoir de la guérir, de la délivrer de son obsession, il la ménage et, paradoxalement, la sert comme un esclave.

Ying Chen ne situe son roman ni dans un temps ni dans un espace précis. Les personnages ne sont pas nommés, sont désignés par des lettres: A ou S. Il s'agit, chez elle, d'un choix délibéré d'inscrire ainsi le récit sous le signe de l'universel. Or, son mutisme ne conduit pas à un silence éloquent ou à un non-dit percutant mais, d'après moi, à une ambiguïté qui frise la confusion. On sait que la narratrice a changé de temps et d'espace mais ici cette imprécision leur donne un air d'irréel. Or, le propos n'étant pas onirique, on a l'impression d'être en face d'un dysfonctionnement de la mémoire plutôt que de sa persistance. L'auteure cherche une impossible réconciliation entre deux époques. Son mari archéologue voudrait la convaincre que le passé peut se réduire à des ruines et à des fossiles. « *Est-il vraiment si amusant de vivre entre deux époques, se demande-t-elle, de devoir traverser quotidiennement les siècles et de dormir chaque nuit avec, dans la bouche, un goût de Cendre?* » Elle en est donc bien consciente : « *Comme cette quête du passé qui me préoccupe tant reste sans résultat, j'ai le sentiment de gaspiller ma vie actuelle, de la rendre stérile sans espérer que vienne me récompenser quelque fleur de l'autre temps.* » Elle finit cependant par se résigner à son obsession : « *Je préfère traîner mes jours indignes et vains, dans les ténèbres de la mémoire, loin de lui, loin de tout espoir de guérison afin que tout s'achève naturellement. Alors je reste là, immobile, sans défense.* »

Dans ses romans précédents, Ying Chen avait retracé le passé dans sa Chine natale, passé douloureux dans son injustice quand il s'agissait de raconter l'histoire d'une grand-mère, tendu et conflictuel quand il était question des rapports de la mère et de la fille. Pour échapper à une vision du temps comme perpétuel retour, cycle qui se répète à l'infini, et ne parvenant pas à vivre la mémoire comme mouvement, elle se condamne à l'immobilité.

Faisant face au passé et à un espace qui disparaît dans le rêve et le désir, l'immigrant transforme ici sa mémoire en nostalgie et se condamne ainsi à

l'exil. Ying Chen semble dire que le passé ne peut être ni mémoire ni rêve. Il demeure vivant, fut-ce dans l'obsession et le délire. L'immigrant est réduit alors à l'immobilité et se trouve nulle part, tel une roche qui, un jour ou l'autre, sera transformée en poussière.

Dans l'absence du temps et de l'espace, dans la négation du mouvement et de la relativité des circonstances et des événements, la vie se trouve elle-même niée. Il ne s'agit même pas de la mort car cela impliquerait une vie, mais d'une absence abstraite, d'un néant. On serait au seuil du tragique si l'auteure ne nous prévenait qu'il s'agit d'une obsession, d'un délire. Pessimisme radical, cette immobilité, eut-elle recours à un temps autre, n'en est pas moins une négation de l'espace et du temps.

Si Abla Farhoud s'attache, elle aussi, à la mémoire, c'est pour la faire vivre. Enfant, elle émigre du Liban à Montréal avec ses parents. Quand, à dix-sept ans, elle repart pour son pays natal, elle est comédienne et a surtout joué à Radio-Canada. Elle passe quelques années au Liban, puis fait des études de théâtre à Paris, rentre à Montréal où elle commence et poursuit sa vie de dramaturge. *Le bonheur a la queue glissante* est son premier roman. Elle y donne la parole à Dounia, une Libanaise de soixante quinze ans, installée au Canada avec son mari et ses cinq enfants.

Dounia (qui veut dire univers en arabe) raconte ses joies et ses misères, sa transplantation, les péripéties d'une vie difficile avec un mari violent qui l'aime, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de la battre et de l'humilier. Abla Farhoud qui réussit à emprunter le langage de cette femme qui ne parle que l'arabe, nous donne l'impression de transcrire un récit oral truffé de proverbes, de dictons, d'une sagesse antique qui permet à la vieille dame d'exprimer dans la candeur et la naïveté, jetant ainsi un regard neuf et frais sur le Canada, le Québec dont elle cherche, à sa manière, à comprendre les mœurs et la politique. Même si elle aime son nouveau pays, elle ne s'y intègre pas car elle n'a pas d'autre existence en dehors de celle de ses enfants et petits enfants et ne peut être heureuse que de leur bonheur. Si ses filles sont des réussites, ses garçons sont des échecs. L'ainé est affligé d'une maladie mentale, et, aux prises avec la souffrance mais aussi avec la honte, elle recule le moment d'en parler.

Abla Farhoud évite les pièges des archaïsmes faciles, de l'exotisme et ne cède pas aux tentations des coquetteries de style, car son propos est autre, bien plus profond. Elle a d'abord pris connaissance de sa terre natale par les bribes que lui transmettaient ses parents et cherche à en connaître la réalité profonde en donnant la parole à Dounia, la mère. Se plaçant ainsi à distance, elle a tout le loisir d'observer le Québec, Montréal autant que le Liban, effectuant la traversée des cultures et, à travers le récit de la mère, elle

présERVE celle de ses parents. Grâce aux découvertes, aux surprises de Dounia elle reçoit celle de son pays d'accueil et s'y intègre.

Dans ce roman, l'immigrant se place volontairement derrière l'écran de la langue et des traditions pour juger le présent et surtout, en l'évoquant, prendre la mesure du passé. Dounia n'embellit pas sa vie libanaise. Son retour la confirme dans sa volonté de retrouver l'ailleurs, cet ailleurs qui est désormais la terre d'avenir puisqu'il correspond au pays de ses descendants.

Comme tant d'enfants et de petits enfants d'immigrants, Abla Farhoud dit son appartenance à son pays, celui où elle fut jetée par la volonté de ses parents. Elle l'adopte à ses propres conditions, à visage découvert. En donnant la parole à la vieille mère, elle préserve la présence du passé qui devient une condition d'accepter le nouveau pays et de s'accepter comme enfant du nouveau pays. Dans ce roman, la mémoire est un mouvement dans le temps et la loyauté au passé, laisse la porte ouverte au présent.

Trois écrivains, trois visions du passage, de la traversée des cultures. Sergio Kokis s'y engage résolument. Ying Chang, si elle récuse le poids du passé, ne parvient pas à s'en dégager. Abla Farhoud n'a même pas à accepter un pays dont elle est le produit, elle affirme cependant son choix, présentant, en cadeau, un passé qui lui est légué.

Il est sans doute possible de se dégager, sans le renier, en en gardant le goût et le parfum d'un pays comme le Brésil, lui-même un pays d'immigration, alors que la Chine, pays au passé séculaire, qui a le culte des ancêtres et de ce fait attache et retient. Il faudrait peut-être, dès lors, laisser passer une génération, comme dans le cas d'Abla Farhoud pour qui le passé se transforme en héritage, une richesse qui ne s'interpose pas au déploiement du présent.

Sneja Gunew

Diaspora and Exile: Translation and Community

- Lien Chao, *Beyond Silence: Chinese Canadian Literature in English* (TSAR, Toronto, 1997)
- Antonio D'Alfonso, *In Italics: In Defense of Ethnicity* (Guernica, Toronto, 1996)
- Guernica 20th Anniversary Book Catalog. A Complete List: 1978-1988* (Guernica, Toronto, 1997)
- Roy Kiyooka, *Mothertalk: Life Stories of Mary Kiyoshi Kiyooka*. Ed. Daphne Marlatt (NeWest Press, Edmonton, Alberta, 1997)
- Roy Kiyooka, *Pacific Windows: Collected Poems of Roy K. Kiyooka*. Ed. Roy Miki (Talonbooks, Burnaby, British Columbia, 1997)
- Marino Tuzi, *The Power of Allegiances: Identity, Culture, and Representational Strategies* (Guernica, Toronto, 1997)
- Pasquale Verdicchio, *Devils in Paradise: Writings on Post-Emigrant Cultures* (Guernica, Toronto, 1997)

The dilemmas of translation remind us that meaning is never immediate, that every act of language carries the possibility of different interpretations, that we are always in some ways outside of ourselves. (Simon, 1996: 127)

As the migrant generations roll by, the concept of exile transmutes from being a sense of immediate loss of a place of origin to one of internal exile where the tenuous connection to some other place and time haunts the assimilationist surrender to a national culture. Looking at some recent publications loosely concerned with questions of ethnicity, one might suggest that translation and community are at the heart of the diasporic experience in Canada and elsewhere. This paper looks at three manifestations of so-called "ethnic consciousness" in the Canadian setting: Lien Chao's pioneering study of Chinese Canadian writing in English, Roy Kiyooka's posthumously published poems and interviews with his Issei (first-generation) mother, and finally a cluster of books produced by the publishing house Guernica which specialises in showcasing Italian Canadian writing in English, in the main, but has attempted as well to introduce linguistic variations by publishing texts in French and Italian. This last example is revealing in relation to the processes of diasporic or

ethnic publishing in general. The last group, the Italian Canadians, is in a sense the most established and the first, Chinese Canadian, the most recent, at least in terms of mapping a cultural profile rather than plotting these axes of belonging purely in terms of a chronology of migration and settlement.

The thesis permeating Lien Chao's book is that when one considers Chinese Canadian writing one must inevitably address the notion of community. In some respects, this approach conjures the assumptions contained in Marxist literary criticism which suggests that cultural productions are invariably the expression of the social, particularly in the case of the novel. The plot of a literary history produced by Chao is familiar to those of us long concerned with analyzing ethnic writings. The community spends the first generation struggling to survive, which keeps cultural production to a minimum, most authentically captured by oral life-stories. To some extent, the very artlessness of these tales render them all the more poignant. They pit individuals, as well as the group, against a cultural norm, a way of being in the world, at odds with them through language, skin colour or some other marker of difference all of them to some extent arbitrary and therefore all the more painful. The racism precipitated by cultural differences defies logic. Indeed, to call them cultural differences is, after the work of Balibar and others, to indulge in a form of racism by invoking difference via the cultural. Balibar defines this "racism without races" in the following ways:

Ideologically, current racism, which in France centres upon the immigration complex, fits into a framework of "racism without races" ... It is a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but "only" the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions; in short ... a differentialist racism. (Balibar 1991: 21)

Chao delineates the Canadian historical contexts of the Chinese exclusion legislation which forced Chinese immigrants to live in all-male communities by preventing their wives and children from joining them. Their resulting loneliness and isolation fuelled the racist myths which kept this ethnic group on the margins of Canadian society. In the midst of these survival struggles, a record exists of attempts to tell and to release stories as a way of cementing the early community together. "As most of the Chinese Canadian writers are also community activists and archivists, the need to reclaim the community history preceded their literary endeavours" (27). Myths and folklore are the homeland glue binding the generations together, closely followed by theatre, as the first attempts to represent that communal experience.¹ Stories circulate to conjure up the imagined motherland. Eventually, according to Chao, anthologies mark the beginning of the group's integration into the larger community of the nation. These attempts to attain cultural franchise are part of the freight of the slender anthologies

launched into the world. While only two have appeared as yet,² individual writers whose productions are drawing the attention of a wider community of readers have more recently added ballast.

Chao sees this journey as a progression from silence to voice amongst other analytical insights, and notes the trope of bone-gathering in many of these texts to figuratively represent the production of a community archive of ancestral voices and presences. While relatively effective with some texts, this interpretive lens runs into difficulties when dealing with a “bad girl” writer such as Evelyn Lao,³ who she concedes may represent a new form and new aesthetic direction (172-3) but who is, at greater length, castigated for not being a proper activist (162). Chao is more comfortable with documentary accounts such as Denise Chong’s, *The Concubine’s Children* and the more complex works of fiction such as Sky Lee’s, *Disappearing Moon Cafe* and Wayson Choy’s, *Jade Peony*. Chinese Canadian history and its specific perspectives arise from yoking the general Canadian legacy of representation to the mediated and muted traditions emanating from an imagined China, a China which needs to be recovered and partially invented by the generations not born there.⁴ Given the difficult history of Chinese migration in Canada, the secrecy shrouding community histories make the project of recovery particularly difficult. The spectre of officialdom or surveillance lurks in the background of these family stories.

Such tyrannical intervention also invades the second group to be considered, representing a moment in the history of Japanese Canadians and encompassing the disruptions caused by their internment as enemy aliens during the second World War. In one of the appendices to *Mothertalk*, Roy Kiyooka refers to “The pulse of an English ... not my mother tongue” (181) thus conjuring the spectacle of someone caught between two languages, adrift from the fundamental bedrock of a culture. Indeed, this text exudes an almost unbearable poignancy. Paradoxically perhaps, its mediated nature heightens rather than dilutes this effect. In the first instance, *Mothertalk* evokes the relatively traditional memoir of a parent by a child but in this case, the preface informs us that the parent outlived the child and that the text was edited by a former companion. The editor, Daphne Marlatt, is well-known for her own nuanced writings on relations among women, including those between mothers and daughters. Her graceful ordering of this monologue also represents, in its own right, her homage to her late friend, Roy Kiyooka. Thus in its very form, the text is both a very particularised excursion into a communal and individual life and visibly linked to the wider national history and culture. In some respects, Marlatt inserts Kiyooka’s life within the mother’s text through the structure of these memoirs, the introduction and the appendices, the latter comprising a brief interview with Kiyooka’s father and a talk and letter by Kiyooka himself providing autobiographical context to the family relationships.

For Kiyooka, as this book demonstrates, his mother represented his access to an imagined ethnicity, that of being Japanese as well as Japanese Canadian at a certain fraught historical juncture. “She and she alone reminds me of my Japanese self by talking to me before I even had the thought of learning anything . . . So that it is that I find myself going home to keep in touch with my mother’s tongue and, it must be, the ghost of my father’s silences” (182). Yet fathers figure prominently in this text. Mary’s strongest affiliations, as presented here, are arguably to her own father, that last scion of an impoverished samurai family who educated his daughter in the particular form of kendo swordsmanship (Iai) of which he was the last acknowledged master. The other dominant note is Mary’s own nostalgia, not for some diffused “Japan” but for a very specific place — Tosa, conjured up in all its idiosyncracies through the cast of characters which populated her early life. While the stringencies of an arranged marriage and life in Canada are luminously presented as well — enhanced by their fragmented nature which allows the reader’s imagination to enter the text — the defining focus remains Tosa and Mary’s overwhelming desire to return there.

Kiyooka’s own life touched many people and testified to a particular cultural period in Canadian Modernism which, amongst other elements, illustrated a country coming to terms with its own diversity and hybridity. Kiyooka was a Canadian whose formal education ended with the bombing of Pearl Harbour (*Dear Lucy Fumi*, Appendix 3 in *Mothertalk*). The sense of interlocking communities is illustrated in this text as well as in Kiyooka’s classic, *Transcanada Letters* (1975) which threads the country together in spite of all its bewildering variety. With the recent publication of his *Collected Poems*, edited by academic and poet Roy Miki, himself a tireless advocate of Japanese Canadian culture and history (particularly with respect to the Japanese Redress movement), Kiyooka established himself as a substantial figure illustrating the art of this group, this history — a unique and individualistic artistic achievement. The sense of belonging in the poems alternates with a sense of internal exile partially captured by a loss of language (as documented in *Mothertalk*) and conveyed in such moments in the poems as the meditations which bridge a visit to Hiroshima and the internment of Canadians of Japanese descent. “I never saw the ‘yellow peril’ in myself (Mackenzie King did)” (170). Such publications are crucial in inserting these histories, these perspectives, into the larger culture of the nation. Without these processes and texts, the histories (and the creative figures and acts arising from them) remain too ephemeral and are lost on the scrapheap in the drive to produce a unified account of the nation.⁵

The Vancouver conference of Italian Canadian writers held in October 1998 was appropriately dominated by a celebration of the publishing house Guernica’s 20th anniversary. The struggles of this publisher are documented in the collection of essays by its founder, Antonio D’Alfonso,

described at the meeting as a “renaissance man” who is a writer himself as well as a public intellectual and promoter of other people’s work. Tables were arrayed with a selection from *Guernica*, including a catalogue as artfully produced as any of the other texts there. In its small way, it illustrates an attention to detail and the fact that this venture is more a labour of love than a commercial enterprise — an oddity in a publishing world where the dominant stories concern mega-bookstore chains and the serial takeover of well-known publishers by transnational corporations. This perilous durability is substantiated by the history delineated in D’Alfonso’s essays. The story of *Guernica* is also intimately entwined with the recent history of Montreal where the venture began but where it no longer persists.

In the eyes of D’Alfonso and other Italian Canadians, the group represents an alternative mediating perspective that could, if used properly, represent a kind of resolution to the protracted oppositional struggle between Francophone and Anglophone Canada. As a group which is trilingual rather than bilingual Italian Canadians may lay claim to European modernity in ways comparable to the founding cultures but are not, in their own eyes, as confined within an intransigent history of conflict. In D’Alfonso’s analysis they function as a conduit for the respectful inclusion of all the ethnic minorities encompassed by Canada and this inclusion is predicated in terms of a pragmatic access to production (17). In other words, without documentation, through the publishing of these texts, the community’s presence in the cultural landscape is too easily rendered invisible.

D’Alfonso draws a parallel with another dissident group in Montreal, the Jews, most identified perhaps with writers like Mordecai Richler, more aligned with the Anglophone persuasion. In ways akin to the *Kiyooka* text, these essays are also fraught with pain and a sense of lost opportunities, grief for a city and for what has become of Francophone culture and, in its wake, of Canadian culture, “The main questions that Quebec must ask itself are: Can it (and will it) allow all the voices to speak about the culture of this province? Or does it still have the power to decide which voice belongs and which voice does not belong to Quebecois culture?” (99). Given the bitter legacy of the October 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty narrowly lost by the sovereignists allegedly because of the “ethnic vote,” the delegates at the conference generally interpreted this to be a coded reference to the Italian Canadian community.

Translation and the question of which language dominates is a motif which weaves its way through the book. As in the case of the *Chao* history, and more obviously in *Kiyooka*’s volumes, the ghosts of other languages haunt the Canadian cultural landscape. In this case, D’Alfonso asks why the issue of translation is not rendered more central to Canada’s unique national culture, for example, why translations emanating from within Canada are judged to be less commercially desirable than those produced in France. Or

why the Canada Council refuses to consider books written in Italian to be Canadian texts? (81; 225).

Interestingly, and in contrast perhaps to Chao's history, the focus on a particular group strenuously avoids any appeal to an essential identity. Such dilemmas are always an issue in the critiques of multiculturalism, particularly when they emanate from so-called ethnic writers themselves, that is, from within multiculturalism rather than by conservative opinions which find the whole notion of multiculturalism divisive. According to D'Alfonso, to see these texts as communal texts is to read them simply for content (68). This point of view is further developed in Pasquale Verdicchio's collection of essays where he refers to multiculturalism as "institutionalised ethnicism" (15). Pasquale Verdicchio, who recently moved to Bologna but was formerly based at the University of California San Diego, has had a unique opportunity to view the Italian diaspora in a broader, North American context. And this constitutes another refrain in these two texts, that diaspora is not simply a matter of separation and exile but involves a new formation as various communities connect across the global terrain while retaining their individual indiosyncracies and forming broader constituencies. Pasquale Verdicchio argues for the need to consider the North American Italian diasporic histories within the grid of racialisation in order not to naturalise "pigmentation" or "whiteness" and other "favoured somatic markers" (45). "Whiteness is salvaged as the only safe category for all good citizens, no matter what their background. White is in fact a color-blind category; one does not have to be white (as in Caucasian) to be white, for this is an aesthetics, an ideology of cultural absorption and erasure rather than an ethnic category" (75). He prefers to speak of an Italian continuum rather than to single out "decontextualized subalterns" whose experiences were "truncated by immigration itself" (146). Thus, the notion of diaspora as an endless process of travelling and change rather than simply framed by leaving and arriving, with mourning or nostalgia as its dominant markers, is at the heart of this and other recent studies of diaspora (e.g. Clifford, 1997).

In sum, these so-called minorities serve to question the very lineaments of Canadian nationalism. In the words of another Guernica author, Marino Tuzi, "By announcing its cultural particularities, the Italian Canadian text, like other types of minority writing, asserts that ethnicity is a constituent feature of contemporary Canadian society" (164). Like Chao's literary history, all three Guernica texts make a plea for the historicization of ethnic writings. This survey of ethnic minority writings confirms Sherry Simon's statement that being in constant translation, we are always in exile from ourselves, as individuals, communities and nations, and the context of diaspora merely serves to highlight this ontological truth.

Notes

1. For an illuminating fictional account of the importance of theatre to the Chinese American communities, see Maxine Hong Kingston's novel *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book*, London: Pan Books, 1989.
2. Garrick Chu et al., Eds. *Inalienable Rice: A Chinese and Japanese Canadian Anthology*, Vancouver: Intermedia Press, 1979 and Bennett Lee and Jim Wong-Chu, Eds. *Many-Mouthed Birds: Contemporary Writing by Chinese Canadians*, Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre and Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1991.
3. For an analysis of Evelyn Lao's rejection of the "ethnic writer" categories, see Gunew (forthcoming) "Operatic Karaoke and the Pitfalls of Identity Politics: A Translated Performance," in *Transformations: Thinking Through Feminism*, Eds. S. Ahmed et al., Routledge: London, 1999.
4. The notion that all such traditions are invented makes reference to the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Benedict Anderson (1983) and many more since.
5. As someone involved for two decades in attempts to preserve the writings of "multicultural" or "ethnic" writers in Australia, I speak with some feeling about the losses incurred if these texts and histories are not actively collected. See Gunew 1994.

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