

Chapter 14

FROM INTEREST-DRIVEN NATIONAL DISCOURSE TO TRANSCULTURAL SOCIETAL STUDIES

Transcultural scholarship since the 1990s has sometimes been reduced to jargon-laden sociological or culturalist texts with an undertone of total innovation. But, like the wheel, critical thought does not have to be reinvented; its century-long evolution has been retraced above from seventeenth-century analytical thought that challenged “natural philosophy’s” postulate of a congruency between natural and social worlds. Scottish empiricism, Enlightenment thought, and the emergent natural and social sciences, as well as comparative discursive-literary perspectives on societies and cultures, recognized relativity of narratives and values, an achievement usually credited to twentieth-century cultural materialism and discourse theory in Britain and France and to post-colonial theory in the Caribbean, India, and Africa. Eighteenth-century scholars in the natural, accounting, linguistic, and social sciences, aware of the embeddedness of positions taken and of interpretations suggested, had replaced the concept of axiomatic “truth” by empirically testable “validity” or “plausibility.”

The natural and the social:

Discourse in the production of knowledges and identities

In the natural sciences, eighteenth-century empiricism and the twentieth-century indeterminacy principle emphasized the impossibility of exact findings in those fields often called “the exact sciences.” The Scottish empiricist George Berkeley (1685–1753) related “position” to “knowledge” when describing the observation of the relativity of temperatures (*Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, 1710): if a person moved his hand from a bowl of cold to one of warm water, it appeared as warmer; if from a bowl of hot into the same bowl of warm water it appeared as colder. In the twentieth century, Albert Einstein’s “relativity theory” (1905, expanded 1916) dealt with frames of reference that move relative to one another, and Werner Heisenberg in the “principle of uncertainty” or “indeterminacy” (1927), stated that position and momentum of a particle might not be measured at the same time with more than limited precision. Nils Bohr added the “complementarity principle”: experiments on one aspect of atomic systems preclude exact knowledge of other, complementary aspects of the same system at the same time. To arrive at a common reference system, scales had to be constructed and agreed upon. Such scales were relative and differed between national discourses, as indicated by those for “objectively” measurable temperatures,

Daniel G. Fahrenheit's scale of 1714, René-Antoine Réaumur's of 1730, and Anders Celsius's of 1742. Such "yardsticks" (or in other accounting discourses, "metresticks") influence perception. French writer Louis Hémon noted in 1910s Quebec how people at a slight increase of temperatures in February happily discussed the approach of spring. As the only one to own a thermometer, he noticed that it stood at 25 degrees below zero and, as a result, was no longer able to share the hopeful feelings.⁶⁸²

While counting is allegedly neutral, it involves imposition of rule. Systematic counting, as a science, was developed by agents of rulers who wanted to know the amount of the subjects' material possessions in order to assess taxes or duties to be paid. It involved a balancing of rulers' demands with people's ability to pay—accounting as a relative science. Such "cameralist" scholars compared social and economic strata within a society. Comparative perspectives also emerged from awareness of difference of lifestyles and value systems across cultural borders. Travel literature described difference and reflected upon it. Charles de Montesquieu (1689–1755) in his *Lettres persanes* (1721, revised 1754) had two Persians describe and discuss French and European societies. He used the viewpoint of the (allegedly less civilized) Other to critically reflect on the (self-defined civilized) Self. Both travel descriptions and *lettres persanes*-type criticism became literary genres for self-reflection and scholarly reconceptualizations, and were at the origin of Country Studies.⁶⁸³ Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) hypothesized upon contact with peoples in Southeast Asia and South Sea islands that language, rather than reflect a particular culture's images of the universe, in fact orders them (published 1836–40).

In the context of intercultural debates, Ferdinand de Saussure, as scholar of language and communication, was the first to differentiate between the signifier and the signified, acoustic sign and concept transmitted, and the processes of encoding and decoding (published 1931). Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir, who studied Nahuatl (Aztec), Maya, Hopi, and other languages—contrasting them to the Standard Average European—identified language as the governing factor in thought formation (Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis). As an example to illustrate the context-language-concept relation, consider desert-based or Inuit cultures. Desert-based cultures need no more than a single term signifying "bird," while forest cultures differentiate between dozens or hundreds of them. Inuit cultures have many terms for

682 : Louis Hémon, *Lettres à sa famille*, ed. Nicole Deschamps (Montreal: PU Montréal, 1968), 12 Feb. 1913, p. 190.

683 : Konrad Groß, "Die Entwicklung der Kanadastudien," *Gulliver* 19 (1986): 30–36. See summary in chapter 12 above.

“snow” while in temperate-zone cultures one generic term is sufficient. How are two Canadians—for example, a Southern Ontario wine grower and an Inuvik seal hunter—to discuss their respective physical environments if terminology is not congruent? Like words, material signifiers encode messages: two boards nailed together crosswise symbolize the Christian religion, and variants of this layout symbolize variants of denominations. A piece of cloth draped in a specific fashion around the head of women becomes a signifier of Islamic faith. Understanding of languages and material systems of meaning as relational has advanced through transcultural research, with Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) perhaps the most important anthropologist and Fernando Ortiz (1881–1969) perhaps the most important cultural theorist.

Such epistemological theory was “lost” or declared inapplicable when master narratives came to be constructed and hegemonies were imposed. Absolute or single-track versions of historical backgrounds and structures served particular interests; the conceptualization of social space as “the nation” served the nineteenth-century middle classes and their scholars. Under the naming approach, the political entities in which people lived were re-designated from “Windsor realm” (or other) to “nation-state” and, under the measuring method, placed on the top of both a newly constructed scale of political organization as well as a single timeline chronology of human social organization. Inventing this frame for historians’/ideologues’ master narratives involved symbolic annihilation of some of the previous intellectual achievements, censoring of previous everyday practices, and appropriation and re-fashioning of existing thought and knowledges. To develop new “*cadres de la mémoire*” or “frames of remembrance” and, for the present, new “*cadres sociaux*” (Halbwachs 1997), competitors needed to be excluded from “memory space,” from the power to define, and even from the right to question scales and positions.⁶⁸⁴ First, the architects of the new frames adopted a pre-national element: dynastic states’ concept of territories delimited by boundaries without reference to practiced cultures or people living there. Second, Enlightenment philosophers in theory liberated the inhabitants of such territories from the status of subjects of rulers and made them into human beings with inalienable rights. This conceptual change invested sovereignty in “the people,” but linguistically could not delete the previous meaning, sovereignty as rule over a territory. The meaning of the term *people* was also ambiguous: were women, with few exceptions by common agreement endowed with fewer rights than men, part of the nation? By law, their cultural identity depended on that of their husband.

684 : Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (new rev. and augmented ed., Paris: Michel, 1997).

Furthermore, if “the people” constituted the society and the state, what about the case of many peoples in one state? The producers of knowledge came to designate the numerically largest or most powerful group as the “nation” and relegated smaller ones through application of a new term, *minority*, to lesser status. Equality of position, a qualitative scale, was replaced by a quantitative scale. The compound “nation-state” not only compounded the vagueness of both terms, it also involved a contradiction in terms: according to enlightened republican thought all persons were equal before the law, but the subsequent Romanticist corollary required that members of such people’s states share a culture. Thus non-nationals were excluded from equal political and cultural participation and were marginalized economically. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, when states fortified their borders by passport systems, the personnel guarding the borders and the ideologues of boundary construction became gatekeepers in the most literal sense.⁶⁸⁵

This invention of borders and the construction of boundaries had far-reaching consequences for scholarly discourse as well as for cultural diversity of resident and migrant populations. The language-embedded continuity from dynastic to democratic regime obfuscated the meanings of absolutist and democratic. In dynastic (“absolutist”) polities, resident groups of subjects as well as in-migrating groups could negotiate special status for their culture—religious, professional, regional, urban, or other. In late medieval and early modern European societies, urban communities, as corporations, received certain privileges, and newcomers—the Huguenots are the most-often cited example—negotiated group status.⁶⁸⁶ This flexibility of “absolutist” dynastic regimes came to an end when the “democratic” nation precluded cultural difference and absolutized one single culture.

Under this “political economy,” which liberated the middle classes from the nobilities’ claims to economic and social pre-eminence in a state, the plurality of social status was lost, and under this doctrine of nationhood, the relativity of memory, thought, and conceptualization was lost. Only in

685: David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance* (Stanford: Stanford, 1995), 29-140; John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2000).

686: Bernard Chevalier, “France from Charles VII to Henry IV,” in Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1: 369-401, esp. 371, 385; Henry Kamen, “The Habsburg Lands: Iberia,” *ibid.*, 1:467-98: The monarchs had to reach compromise “with the nobles and with the cities, who between them constituted the political nation” (471). The religious Orders, the Church, and the non-Christian ethno-religious groups also required special consideration.

the 1960s, decades after the natural scientists, did social scientists reassert relativity and plurality. “Participant observation” as a method of gaining knowledge, discussed in the natural sciences since Berkeley and Einstein, impacts the situations and processes observed, and thus influences the data collected. Jürgen Habermas recognized the connection between *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1968; English translation 1971): Scholarly predispositions, often imbued with childhood socialization, influence which “facts” and processes are uncovered. Each of these epistemological developments permitted self-positioning and opened new vistas. However, the relativism of some aficionados of the so-called “linguistic turn” was self-interested: it saved them from time-consuming empirical research. Rather than relativism, “perspectivism” developed, as the acknowledgement that one’s viewpoint matters.

The emphasis on language and meaning, on frames of reference and climates of opinion, had its own social history. To received or official language systems in societies, Mikhail Bakhtin added the concept of internal stratification (heteroglossia), thus differentiating a language both historically and normatively at the level of usage styles into functional variations by class or profession, interest or ideology—and, it might be added, gender. Using medieval popular culture as an example, he saw the carnivalesque and folk humour as subversive of hegemonic meanings, as a language of resistance.⁶⁸⁷ Antonio Gramsci added the concept of hegemony, a language-based moral and spiritual supremacy of an ascending or ruling social group or class in a capitalist set of socio-economic relations. Distinct from revolution, revolt, or coup, positioning struggles to acquire control over meanings, symbols, and myths—in short, over received societal discourses—take place in the realm of language and aim for consent rather than destruction of those ruled. Bakhtin and Gramsci emphasized struggle for control over meanings between those with the power to define and those subverting such meanings.

On this basis, Jacques Derrida developed his deconstruction theory: language consists of ambivalences and thus thought and meaning cannot be conclusive. Words do not define positive terms, but signify differences to other such signs, which in turn, in an infinite series, refer to further signs (inter-textuality). Language and systems of thought—philosophies, ideologies, and worldviews—attempt to impose logic on differences, or sameness on otherness. Identity and unity can only result from violent imposition

687 : Bakhtin emphasized the liberating element of laughter and merriment, of foolery and parody. However, in twentieth-century totalitarian regimes jokes about the powerful also served the purpose of belittling the overpowering threat of rule. Such belittling reduced the need for resistance as action. Belittlement was survival rather than a resistance strategy since the confronting fascist regimes could be deadly.

of sameness, from elimination of difference by force. Roland Barthes considered how (literary) texts were recreated and reproduced in the act of reading, of decoding. Hegemonic discourses and specific texts were sites of production of meaning by common readers. Shifting, unstable, and interrogative dimensions of meaning and understanding provided the possibility of negotiating cultural forms. Michel Foucault (1966) proposed an archeology of “the archive” of myths and systems that governed the emergence and transformations of discourses. He searched for the “grids of meaning” employed to sort and structure the multitude of data constantly taken in by human beings. Pierre Bourdieu expanded “text” to include the whole complex of positioning, lifestyles, and all forms of expression into a group-specific habitus. Childhood socialization did not lead into society, but into a specific social segment with a specific mode of living and style of expression. Within such structures people act. Thus structures became processual, processes are structured.

Intellectual historians have usually overlooked the social history of these theorists, all of whom, voluntarily or involuntarily, had lived multicultural lives. None had been confined to a monocultural context, whether text or habitus. All experienced multiple reference systems and thus, through personal experience, became aware of the construction of scales, hierarchies, and meanings as well as of symbolic annihilation or rendering invisible. Berkeley had lived as a missionary in the Bermudas and Rhode Island; Humboldt had travelled to Java. Barthes had taught French to speakers of other languages in Romania and Egypt; Derrida and Bourdieu had lived in Algeria, the latter both as soldier and sociologist. Foucault was interested in sexual Otherness and worked with psychiatric patients who experienced several “realities” within their persons. Saussure taught in quadri-cultural Switzerland; Berkeley observed how English culture clashed with and subdued Irish and Scottish culture and how it imposed the English language and its frames of reference on speakers of Gaelic. Bakhtin and Gramsci experienced major breaks in reference systems in their own societies. Bakhtin, sentenced to death in Soviet Russia, taught in a small town in Kazakhstan after commutation of his sentence; Gramsci, imprisoned under Italian fascism, conceived his most important ideas while confined in prison and prevented from social action. British theoreticians came out of the oppositional New Left or, such as Stuart Hall from the Caribbean—that is, from the outside—and refused allegiance to interest-driven hegemonic versions of discourse. Like Humboldt and Sapir, they studied the meanings of language. Youth’s usages varied the meaning of received language (Paul Willis) as regional and class belongings did (Raymond Williams). Childhood-socialized language usage, thus experienced as “natural,” is challenged in

inter-class, inter-gender, and international contacts by competing reference systems. The monocultural nation-state narrative attempted to prevent those living under it from recognizing that other positions could be taken. The ideologue-scholars who developed this world created spaces with “no bars or visible exits,” to use the felicitous words of Miriam Toews.⁶⁸⁸

The new epistemology resulted in a sequence of theoretical approaches to the study of societies: structuralism used linguistic principles to understand the relations of different aspects of a social system toward each other. A New Historicism contextualized (literary) texts in history, but depoliticized, desocialized, and dehistoricized them by positing that history itself comes to the present as text and thus has no privileged authority. Rejecting such relativist approaches, Cultural Materialism is less concerned with cultural objects (texts or “works”) than with agency, activities, and processes (cultural practices). Writing about capitalist societies at the time of mass communication through television imagery, cultural materialists have shifted emphasis from authors to consumption processes, to assess the imposition of hegemony and to reveal the emergence of oppositional, alternative, counter-, or subcultures. They studied ownership of the means of cultural production and distribution, and began by explicating culture in materialist terms from a historical perspective (Raymond Williams). Then, at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), scholars studied popular culture with the dual goal of empirical observation and validation. At first, their critique of capitalist ideology was cast in the Althusserian concept of ideology as a repressive system of signification, of state superstructures geared to control the lower classes. But recognizing the potential of working-class youth cultures for resistance, they shifted their interpretation to the Gramscian notion of hegemonic consensus rather than structural repression. Ethnographic studies of how subcultural audiences respond to commodified cultural products brought to the fore the issue of multiple audiences, and thus invalidated the quasi-totalitarian interpretation of the capitalist system and mass-produced consumer culture.⁶⁸⁹

688 : The literature on critical theory and discourse theory is vast and will not be repeated here. I have relied on Simona Cerutti, “Le linguistic turn en Angleterre. Notes sur un débat et ses censures,” *enquête: anthropologie, histoire, sociologie* 5 (1997): 125–140, and Harvey J. Graff, “The Shock of the ‘New’ (Histories): Social Science Histories and Historical Literacies,” *Social Science History* 25 (2001): 483–533. Miriam Toews, *A Complicated Kindness* (Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2004), 53.

689 : David Morley, *The “Nationwide” Audience* (London: British Film Institute, 1982) and *Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure* (London: Comedia-Routledge, 1986). For a critical review of British cultural studies see Richard Johnson, “The Story So Far: And Further Transformations,” in David Punter, ed., *Introduction to Contemporary Cultural Studies* (London: Longman, 1986), 277–313.

Recognition of the multi-vocal and multiple-meaning discursive forces at work in cultural systems, in view of the resistance of heteroglot linguistic diversity to hegemonic, monoglot, social uniformity-prescribing authority, permitted recognition of cultural plurality in the past. Canadian historiography, with few exceptions, had constructed single-cultured British and French Canadians; European and subsequently Atlantic historiography took the nation-state organization for granted. To do so, historians had to render invisible polities of many cultures. “The Austrian monarchy” refers to the Austrian Habsburg dynasty that established a dual Austro-Hungarian Empire of many peoples (*Vielvölkerstaat*), complete with concomitant political theory. “The bloodthirsty Turks” refers to the Ottoman political and social organization, which intentionally avoided hegemonic culture and language and provided self-administration for religio-cultural groups and distinct ethno-religious neighbourhoods within an institutional regime operated by a non-ethnic administrative elite.⁶⁹⁰ Such many-cultured institutional regimes were hidden by catchwords, whether “Prussian” Germany, British “nation of shopkeepers,” Canada as “a cold country,” among others. The producers of discourses—first in dynasties, then in nation-states—excluded multicultural polities from the memory of socio-political organization in the Atlantic World. Some linguistic practices facilitated exchange or multiple perspectives, such as the multilingualism of the illiterate in pre-World War I Balkan societies or the gender-neutral Cree language. Mentally-bound scholars never listened to the Bakhtinian subversive voices or asked along with Saussure whether their texts could be decoded by all members of society or only by clones of their own systems of thinking. When those excluded began to talk back, the master narrative turned out to be an invalid compilation of partial and often unconnected data. It had been a chimera.⁶⁹¹

690 : Dirk Hoerder, “Pluralist Founding Nations in Anglo- and Franco-Canada: Multiple Migrations, Influences, Reconceptualisations,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 24.6 (2003): 525-39; Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994); Fikret Adanir, “Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups under Imperial Sway: Ottoman and Habsburg Lands in Comparison,” and Michael John, “National Movements and Imperial Ethnic Hegemonies in Austria, 1867-1918,” in Dirk Hoerder, Christiane Harzig, Adrian Shubert, eds., *Diversity in History: Transcultural Interactions from the Early Modern Mediterranean World to the 20th-Century Postcolonial World* (New York: Berghahn, 2003), 54-86, 87-105.

691 : Ann L. Stoler, “Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures,” *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 634-60; Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997); Margaret Strobel, *Gender, Sex, and Empire* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Assoc., 1993); Nupur Chaudhuri

Theorizations from post-colonial Europe connected with those from the formerly marginalized Latin America, South Asia, and—to a lesser degree—Canada. In Latin America, a “contact zone” where each society emerged out of Indio-Euro-African ethnogenesis in processes variously called *métissage*, *mestizaje*, or *créolisation*, the imposition of power was emphasized. As early as 1946, Brazilian theorist Gilberto Freyre in *The Masters and the Slaves* discussed power relations and interactions that transculturated both sides. At the same time, Fernando Ortiz developed his concept of transculturation in Cuba.⁶⁹² Later, cultural-societally oriented statements came from Martín-Barbero, Sarlo, Canclini, Monsiváis, and others.⁶⁹³ They re-inserted the transcultural lives emerging from the indigenous and African contributions into what had formerly been viewed from (White) “Latin” or “Ibero” hegemonic perspectives. These authors emphasize mixture or *mixté*. Concepts such as *négritude* of both French-Caribbean and French-African background were transcultural in the literal sense. The cultures of the colonizer and the colonized, of oppressor and oppressed were (and are) inextricably entwined, “the worlds the slaveholders made” with “the worlds the slaves made,” as Eugene Genovese put it for the United States.⁶⁹⁴ In such contexts of hierarchical mixture or imposition of brutal power, processes

and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1992); Linda Bryder, “Sex, Race, and Colonialism: An Historiographic Review,” *Intl. History Review* 20 (1998): 806–22; Clare Midgley, ed., *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1998). See also Huselo S. Alatas, *The Myth of the Lazy Native: A Study of the Image of the Malays, Filipinos and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and Its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism* (London: Cass, 1977).

692 : Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (Casa-grande e senzala) transl. from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam (4th and definitive ed., New York: Knopf, 1946, repr. 1966; rev. Engl. ed., Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1986); Ortiz, “Del fenómeno de la transculturación y su importancia en Cuba” (1940), repr. in *El contrapunteo cubano del azúcar y del tabaco* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1983).

693 : Jesús Martín-Barbero, *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía* (1st ed., 1987; repr. Mexico, DF: Ed. Gili, 1998); Néstor García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (Mexico, DF: Grijalbo, 1989); Beatriz Sarlo, *La máquina cultural: maestras, traductores y vanguardistas* (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 1998); Carlos Monsiváis, *Aires de familia: cultura y sociedad en América Latina* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2000).

694 : Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York: Pantheon, 1969) and *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Random, 1974).

of *hibridación* or *transculturación* occurred. Though Freyre and Ortiz had published in the 1940s, their approaches began to receive attention in the North Atlantic or “Western” world only in the 1970s and, in particular, in the 1990s. They wrote from the centre-defined margins. Few “Western” scholars read Spanish or Portuguese and quasi-fascist regimes in Iberian Europe punished receptivity to critical thought into the 1970s. The Latin American work was based on solid social histories of slaves and masters, of power relations and socialization processes.

Scholars from South Asia developed Subaltern Studies and proposed that definitions and theorizations which provide scholarly support for the colonizers’ master narratives as well as for elite narratives of colonial societies be reconceptualized by two strategies: “the moment(s) of change be pluralized and plotted as confrontations rather than transitions” and it be recognized that “changes are signalled or marked by a functional change in sign systems.” Their work reflected the British-Indian confrontations and that of South American scholars the graded transitions in Iberian-Indio-African societies. They received earlier attention in the Atlantic World than the Latin American approaches since they wrote in the more broadly known English language, and engaged the British inventors of the colonizer master narratives in debate and had the ear of post-colonial British scholars. Coming from a rigidly hierarchized society, they could talk from elite to elite, and rather than proposing empirical social histories often contented themselves with intellectual histories of the dichotomy of colonizer-colonized discourses.⁶⁹⁵

Imperial power, expressed in colonizer culture, never descended on the colonized in finished form. It adapted to circumstances and dealt with challenges from the subalternized. Empires were wounded, forced to compromise, involved in struggles until they came apart, leaving post-colonial spaces. But the (self-) decolonized had imperial ideologies inscribed on them and the continuity of imperial institutions to deal with. “Survival” was the issue, as Margaret Atwood phrased it—concentrating on White Canadians. The arenas of contest have been called “third space,” neither the space of the powerful nor the space of the subalternized, but spaces in which the contestants have adapted their distinct ways in order to be able to engage

695 : Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” in Ranajit Guha and Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford, 1988), 3–32, quotes p. 3; Bernd-Peter Lange and Mala Pandurang, “Dialectics of Empire and Complexities of Culture: British Men in India, Indian Experiences of Britain,” in Hoerder, Harzig, Shubert, *The Historical Practice of Diversity, 177–200*. For empirical research and terminology see Jan C. Breman and E. Valentine Daniel, “The Making of a Coolie,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 19.3/4 (1992): 268–95.

the opponents. Such third spaces may, of course, also emerge out of more peaceful, if hierarchical, transculturation.⁶⁹⁶

Canadian scholars' new concepts, their research on ethnic relations and cultural fusion, also came from the margins, as defined by European and U.S. scholars, and for more than a decade the latter showed little recognition. Within Canada, the lingering feeling that the languages and reference systems of Native peoples might have validity posed a challenge to Euro-Canadian master narratives. Furthermore, in their distinct linguistic codes immigrants from continental Europe developed their other narratives. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century scales of colour were set to exclude some of them from Whiteness. Against Anglo-Saxon White, Italians were said to be "olive," East Europeans "dark," and Jews a different race altogether. 1960s newcomers from the Caribbean and South Asia as well as from China were made aware of their "visibility" under a scale that used "white" as the norm and baseline, but in the changing frames of reference, they could write and talk back.⁶⁹⁷ To achieve hegemony, a discourse needs consent—this, the British-Canadian version never fully achieved. In Canada's school system, the data on British culture though perhaps factually correct were invalid in everyday life. In family homes, the school children were socialized into ethnocultural groups' versions of the data and of historical memory. As a result, they lived transcultural practices long before the concept entered scholarship.

Discussing the relationship between Canada's First and Second Peoples' narratives, Julie Cruikshank noted that hegemonic projects within societies, colonial projects establishing rule over others, and hemispheric or global strategies of rule devise and reinforce categories that the ideologues of the power-wielding groups designate as "objectivity" and oppose to the "subjectivity" of those to be ruled. Emma LaRocque, a Métis scholar, noted that "we" serve as "informants" to non-Native colleagues who construct distanced narratives avoiding the "parochialism" of those who speak "their

696 : Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), and Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), 291-322. See also Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Toronto: UTP, 2002).

697 : Danielle Juteau(-Lee) with L. Laforge, *Frontières ethniques en devenir / Emerging Ethnic Boundaries* (Ottawa: Éd. de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1979), and Juteau(-Lee), ed., "Enjeux ethniques: Production de nouveaux rapports sociaux," *Sociologie et sociétés* 15.2 (1983); Jean Burnet, Danielle Juteau, Enoch Padolsky, Anthony Rasporich, Antoine Sirois, eds., *Migration and the Transformation of Cultures. A Project of the UNESCO World Decade for Cultural Development* (Toronto: MHSO, 1992); Wsevolod W. Isajiw, *Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context* (Toronto: Thompson, 1999).

own voices” and claim this distance to signify “objectivity.” The intruders use concepts of space and of time “that encourage the annexation of territories and the subjugation of former inhabitants. Gradually, those at the center monopolize what comes to be considered rational discourse and marginalize those who speak different idioms.” At the beginning of cultural contact, newcomers from Europe had to develop “listening skills,” to reach the level of information that “Natives” or “Aboriginals” did possess. Once the newcomers reached self-sufficiency, they used tools of power—from hegemonic discourse via written accumulation of knowledge to guns—to force indigenous people to cede voice. The powerful or “the larger world essentializes indigenous voice,” assuming “all people from one community [or several] to say the same thing.” This simplifies listening. Difference is thus rendered invisible, is symbolically annihilated or physically eradicated, and unitary bureaucratic rule may be imposed on people compressed into a unitary category: “the Indians,” “the Chinese,” “the Inuit,” “the workers,” or “the women.” Subaltern resistances—pluralized—involve social action, which by “foregrounding communication makes audiences central to performance.” Traditional sign systems are reinvented and adapted: stories, regalia, indigenous place names, vernacular songs, all signal common points of reference, of memory. “Genealogy, place, and the ceremonial objects . . . become focal points by which cultural memory resists faceless bureaucracy” and the appropriation of voice by the institutions of rule. Memory as empowerment, however, draws on a past in order to cope and negotiate the present. Tradition and actual lifeways may clash.⁶⁹⁸

Since Europeans’ expansion over peoples across the globe, the dominance-subaltern hierarchy has involved a centralizing of Whiteness as marker of superiority. “Race” is relational and colour a question of definition. Whiteness, the Western norm against which peoples of the Atlantic World judged all other pigmentations, skin colours, and “races,” had to be invented and a scale for measuring it had to be constructed—another scale with different notches over time. While such scaled gradations had no place in human rights-based legal theory since the late eighteenth century, their continuing presence in the administration of the law spawned critical legal studies in the 1970s and in an extension, critical race and gender theory. British imperialists defined the Empire as White and named Canada a “White Do-

698 : Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories* (1998), quotes pp. 155–58; Emma LaRocque, “The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar,” in Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk et al., eds., *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength* (Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 1996), 11–18, esp. 12–13; Renée Hulan and Linda Warley, “Cultural Literacy, First Nations and the Future of Canadian Literary Studies,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34.3 (1999): 59–86.

minion.” When in the 1940s men and women of African-Caribbean background began to migrate, Canada’s labour market demands and some background manoeuvring from the British foreign ministry (by coincidence called “Whitehall”) resulted in one more diversification of Canadian society by colour and culture. The scale of Whiteness involves economic scaling. Whiteness as property guarantees higher wages and access to political office and societal resources. Espousal of Whiteness was a racial and/or racist identification *and* a quasi-religious belief in entitlement to economic privilege. When immigration and multiculturalism legislation introduced colour-neutrality it involved a class aspect. The White Canadian working classes, the social level on which many migrants of the 1960s entered, had the least resources to share property. Analysis of Whiteness, as a characteristic of hegemony and Post-Colonial Studies in its many variants, is of particular importance to the Canadian experience.⁶⁹⁹

Transcultural Societal Studies: An integrative approach

The concept of culture as developed in recent non-hierarchized and comprehensive approaches that combine the expressive and the material aspects of individual lives and societies has been defined in Chapter 1:

In order to survive and to project life courses, human beings as individuals and in communities and societies must provide for their material, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual needs. These are satisfied by culture, a complex material and symbolic system that includes tools as well as productive and reproductive work; practices, values and norms; arts and beliefs. Culture involves patterns of actions as well as processes of

699 : David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991); Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds., *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1997), xvii-xviii; Cheryl I. Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” *Harvard Law Review* 106 (1993): 1707-91; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1998); George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1998); Birgit Brander Rasmussen, Eric Klinenberg, Irene J. Nexica, Matt Wray, eds., *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2001). On specific groups, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); Grace E. Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South* (New York: Pantheon, 1998); Karen Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1998); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

creating meaning, symbols, and signifying practices, whether oral or body language or other expressions. Culture encompasses “memory,” social and historical categories which coalesce as societies’ narratives. Such narratives are fluid and unstable complexes of social meanings varying from one social space to another, from one stage of material life to another. They are constantly being transformed by new material products, political conflict, published and private discourses, and by everyday practices of all. Thus, created culture is a frame from within which human beings determine their concept of reality and their life projects.

Transculturalism denotes the competence to live in two or more differing cultures and, in the process, create a transcultural space. Called a “third space” by Homi Bhabha, it is not necessarily a distinct but an overlapping, interactive space. No mechanistic dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis is involved. Strategic transcultural competence involves capabilities to act and plan life projects in multiple cultures and to choose between cultures. In the process of transculturation individuals and societies change themselves through integration of diverse lifeways into a new dynamic everyday culture. Subsequent interactions will again change this new—and transitory—culture.

The traditional, often positivist “Country self-study” (*Landeswissenschaft*) has been defined as “a single comprehensive method for examining and organizing the multifold data and phenomena which describe a group of people living in a given place at a given time.”⁷⁰⁰ This approach bounded itself explicitly by accepting as its frame political borders, often laid down arbitrarily at an accidental moment in time. It is insular. The humanities- and narrative historiography-based Cultural Studies, the social sciences- and analytical historiography-based Societal Studies may be reconceptualized and integrated as Transcultural Societal Studies (TSS). TSS incorporates both the epistemological complexity and the composition of societies as many-cultured by gender, class, ethnocultural belonging, skin colour, and other characteristics. TSS is, first, inherently transnational by cultural backgrounds of a society’s members and, second, intentionally transnational by scholars’ transcending of boundaries. They are transcultural by emphasizing regional and local cultural differences within countries and societies (Nova Scotia as different from Manitoba, for example) as well as by emphasizing cultural macro-regions (Anglo-North American versus In-

700 : Robert H. Walker cited in Robert Merideth, ed., *American Studies: Essays on Theory and Method* (Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1968), vii.

dio-African-Latin American or Caribbean societies, for example). Aspects of Canadian, U.S., or other cultures neither begin in the particular country nor do they necessarily end there. References to “national” cultures are only a convention of data collection and organization as well as of interpretive generalization.

Transcultural Societal Studies integrates the study of society and its patterns and institutions (“social sciences”), all types of representations of it (“discursive sciences”), and the actual practices (“lifeway or habitus sciences”) in the context of legal, religious, and ethical norms (“normative sciences”), the somatic-psychic-emotional-spiritual-intellectual characteristics of individual men and women (“life sciences”) and the physical-geographic context (“environmental sciences”).⁷⁰¹ TSS pursues an anthropological approach to a whole way of life in family networks and community relationships, embedded in hierarchically structured power relationships, and in the complex unifying institutions of many-cultured states. They study interactions as well as borderlands between specific cultures, external or internal to a society; they analyze origins and destinations of everyday lives that transcend the space of one particular society, culture, or state. Regions are more discrete geographic and social spaces than their aggregate, the cultural nation or the geographic territory of a state. Communities, whether villages, regions, metropolises, or nations, evolve from shared narratives.⁷⁰² The concept of community changes physical place into social space, and involves conventions of thinking (the past), actual ways of life (the present), and the potential to develop individual and societal strategies (the future). The historicity of TSS thus expands the traditional, “self-understood,” but analytically ungrounded emphasis on the past and on the living adult or working-age generation to an intergenerational perspective that includes the young generation engaged in shaping their own life trajectories and, thus, the trajectory of their society.⁷⁰³

701 : Conceptual approaches vary between societies and their languages. The distinction between scholarship and sciences in English language is not reflected in French language, the humanities—but not the humanities sciences—translates into French as sciences *humaines*.

702 : Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983, 3rd ed., London: Verso, 1986); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1983); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: Univ. of Nevada Press, 1991), and Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford, 1999); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism: New Perspectives on the Past* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1983); Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1985).

703 : The older generation, “ancestors” or “elders,” have been included, sometimes with worship or particular respect accorded to them.

Transcultural Societal Studies is aware of multiple conventions about scales of time and space. History texts often divide chronological time into segments according to rulers' lives or presidential administrations. Natural time, with the sun in the zenith as base ("noon"), meant local time. Only toward the end of the nineteenth century were the many local times standardized into the system of world time zones for the convenience of accelerating long-distance communication, travel, and transportation. Like natural time, family, life cycle, and industrial time remain part of human lives. Such scales may also be questioned altogether: Hopi language makes no distinction between past and present, rather it recognizes becoming. The Western adage of "time runs" or even "time runs out" stands juxtaposed to some Native North American peoples' concept of time as immovable, like the vertical cliffs of the Great Canyon. Human beings walk through time at a self-determined pace. Similarly, space has many aspects and may be conceptualized with Lefèbvre as (1) *espace perçu*, perceived space, (2) *espace conçu*, conceived space, and (3) *espace vécu*, lived space. Perceived space refers to the potentiality of physical space to serve human needs, as regards material and social reproduction in power relations. Conceived space refers to the ways in which space is conceptualized by special groups such as farmers or railroad magnates, by planners such as architects or engineers, or through society-wide symbols and languages. Such socially produced space "speaks" about itself and can be read. Lived space is the appropriation of space in everyday life. People live spaces for their own needs, reproducing or transforming them in the process. In Canada, space has been conceptualized by First Peoples; then, under the different discourses and frames of reference, was reconceptualized by early settlers and the scholars of the Geological Survey. It was rethought again in response to improved transportation and the evolution from a dispersed agricultural and natural-resource-based society to a spatially concentrated urban one along the 49th parallel. It expanded to include spaces across the globe with each immigrant arriving and with each internationalizing economic sector.⁷⁰⁴

Identities or, more cautiously, identifications are socialized in three overlays of social space: the immediate family and neighbourhood (lived, experienced social space), the regional economy (framework of options and constraints), and the polity as a whole (distant constraining or opportunity-providing normative structures). Identifications develop in the stages of

704 : Tamara K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1982); Nora Rätzel, "Youth groups and the politics of time and space," *Soundings* 24 (Autumn 2003): 90-111; Henri Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell, 1991), 33, 38, 245.

the life cycle: infancy and childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Family and school create local identifications first and most unconsciously. Shared and unquestioned (“natural”) discourses of norms and values shape lifetime identities or, to use terms less open to essentialist readings, embeddedness and belongings. Some languages make no distinction between genders and thus permit a flexible usage of the many potentialities of sex and sexuality. Identifications may be constrained by the dead weight of the past or they may offer options for individual as well as societal development. In a second step, young people acquire a regional identity when they share cultural practices and evaluate and explore labour market segments. Schoolteachers may also teach them distinctiveness from people of neighbouring regions. The top-level identity of Canadianness or other nationality is acquired last. Nineteenth-century migrants left a region: the two southern Chinese provinces with a diasporic tradition; an English shire; the Italian Mezzogiorno, which did not provide opportunities to earn a living; or a particular region of Ukraine or the Scottish highlands, when land for a new generation of peasant children became scarce. After arrival, neither immigrant nor Canadian neighbours knew about the rich variety of regional cultures and thus labelled the newcomers Chinese, English or British, Italians, Ukrainians, or Scots, or, in the present, South Asians or Somali. National or, better, polity-wide identities are ascribed, constructed, and actuated in the context of particular usages.

Immigrant men, women, and children, who Canadianized and contributed to Canadian society their pre-migration practices and norms, sometimes formed cultural enclaves and sometimes were relegated to the margins of the polity. But through communication they crossed borders, established diasporic belongings, and socialized in many-cultured communities. The quadri-cultured so-called British immigrants, that is, the English, Scots, Irish, and Welsh, kept “roots” and emphasized multiple cultural belongings to a local cultural region, to a British state or—contested—nation, perhaps to the British Empire, and to Anglo-Canada in its many variants. Transcultural lives permit negotiating between cultures, simultaneous living in more than one culture, and respect for and coming to terms with those who live other cultures (“diversity”). The combination of culture and power by quantity (majority) or by imposition (national education, police, monocultural law) results in a hierarchization of cultures.

Transcultural Societal Studies differentiates social groups rather than aggregate generic “nationals” in the frame of

- acknowledging the political economy, economic institutions, and processes such as production, work, consumption, and exchange in local, national, and global markets;

- recognizing socially variable constructs and categories such as class, „race“ or skin colour, or other physical trait, gender, nationality or ethnicity, place and space, family cycles or generations, or less variable socially defined categories such as sex and age;
- codifying legal or judicial and political or administrative institutions including the distribution of power, the interests of “civil servants,” “impartial” judges or legislators, and the discourses emerging from structural hierarchizations, that is, “institutio-lects” similar to socio- or dialects;
- codifying religious institutions, gatekeeper-controlled traditions, shared ethics;
- signifying systems and praxes such as oral and body languages, forms of musical expression, communication through performance and theatre, everyday practices and norms, lifestyles, values and spiritual belonging, „high“ and popular cultures, mass media, and the arts.

The many competing, reinforcing, overlapping, or sometimes contradictory signifying praxes—the “discourses” of a society in a particular period of time—influence the way the economic, social, and political institutions, structures, and processes are being viewed, questioned or affirmed, challenged or supported. The economic, social, and political institutions, structures, and processes in turn circumscribe the scope, borderlines, and directions of the discourse.

- Transcultural Societal Studies emphasizes the aspect of sub-societal regional and supra-societal macro-regional identifications across local communities and other societies of the globe;
- consumption and production patterns that include material goods and foodways from many regions worldwide as well as patterns of competition between economic and institutional regimes;
- family as well as societies’ political strategies toward other societies embedded in family economies and values as well as in concepts of global governance;
- the institutional and structural settings and strategies that incorporate interests of particular groups (elites, bureaucrats, planners, or other „inhabitants of institutions“) or seek to achieve common wealth and shared belongings.

Thus, Transcultural Societal Studies embraces

- on the self-analytical level of societies: the social sciences including analytical history, sociology, political science, and economics, as well as jurisprudence;

- on the self-reflective and self-representational level of societies: the humanities including narrative history and the arts, and, transcending individual and communal lifespans, religious expression;
- on the level of community: the environment and the earth sciences;
- on the level of individual identity: the life sciences (that is, community) and personally experienceable relationships, psychic and physical health sciences including psychosomatic approaches to whole human beings, study of body language, family economy, life cycle, and gender approaches, and comprehension of spirituality.⁷⁰⁵

TSS combines the self-views and self-representations, the internal discourses of societies with analyses from the outside, by cultural “Others.” They thus place institutional practices and cultural expressions in a comparative perspective. Comparative perspectives vary over time; they may encompass the northern fur-trading hemisphere as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or economics in the frame of NAFTA in the late twentieth century. They may compare, locally, two neighbouring communities, or globally, textile production in Canada and China or elsewhere. Scholars looking from the outside need to be as much aware of their particular frame of reference as scholars looking from within, a “gaze” onto the other society or, internally, on “the Other” defies analysis. To achieve such comprehensive and yet multiple perspectives, the fragmenting boundaries between scholarly disciplines—some of which survive mainly because they are institutionalized—need to be replaced by continuous transdisciplinary selection and combination of theories and methodologies based on performance (“groundedness”) rather than on intra-disciplinary traditions and canons.⁷⁰⁶

Research strategies involve

- (1) synchronic and diachronic approaches to everyday life;
- (2) multi-layered analyses at the macro-level of whole societies (or states or nations), at the micro-level of individual and family action and identity formation in social networks, and at the connecting meso-level of chosen or given units, such as socio- or ethnocultural groups, segmented labour markets, communities, or regional cultures;

705 : Traditionally, scholarship distinguished between life and otherworldly or transcendental beliefs (religion). However, all these aspects may better be understood as related.

706 : A “canon” is a convention, the term is derived from the Egyptian word for “reed” or “measuring rod.” See also Robert Lecker, ed., *Canadian Canons: Essays in Literary Value* (Toronto: UTP, 1991).

(3) comparative or contrastive analyses to point to specific aspects of particular societies and social units (without succumbing to a hierarchization of one variant over another);⁷⁰⁷ to understand cultural and social interpenetrations or embraces as well as interactions of interregional, transnational, or worldwide scope, or across dividing narratives of class, ethnicity, gender, or generation; to examine the spread of imagery and discourses within hierarchies and thus analyze why some definitions and some discourse strategies are promoted and bought in the marketplace of culture and adopted in the arena of communication as well as why and how others are marginalized.

Thus the concepts of nation and national identity, of state and legislative practices, are disaggregated into their many constituent parts: individuals and families are connected to polity, society, economy, as well as—by schooling and societal narratives—to belief systems and overarching identities and institutions. This new comprehensive reading replaces hegemonic but partial master narratives. It recognizes that social activities and belongings do not begin or end at political borders, but merge, entwine, braid many aspects of different cultures into a transcultural whole.

Transcultural research has been part of migration research and of studies of colonization. “Contact zones” may encourage exchange, as in “meeting places” between cultures or commerce in port cities; they may enforce exchange, as in slave-labour plantation economies; they may mandate cultural exchange in borderlands. “Official” or accepted historiography has, in the past, shunned migration history because migrants between states, in fact, have questioned monocultural stories of nationhood all along. While, at the apogee of nationalism from the mid-1880s to 1914, historians gave scholarly blessing to national identities, some twenty million Europeans left for North America and, to a lesser degree, South America. They undercut the ideological base of nation-state historiography and essentialist national identities. Without their decisions to move between cultures, Canadian culture—as well as those of all other societies in the Americas, Europe, Asia, or Africa—would not have developed. Nation-state historians preferred to render migrants’ lives invisible rather than accept the challenge to the concept of genetically transmitted nationhood. Historians, other social scientists, and literary writers were not even equipped to deal with plurality or diversity among residents of a country. Of the 192 states in the world, 150 accom-

707 : For example, exceptionalism has been claimed for U.S. as well as German history; a model character has been postulated for nation building in France and Great Britain.

moderate four or more ethnocultural groups within their political borders, another 29 accommodate three cultures, and only two states worldwide represent themselves as having only one cultural group. Settled societies are transcultural, co-operative or conflictual, before migrants add their cultural, again co-operative or conflictual, input.⁷⁰⁸

The study of whole lives in complex societies involves intricate methodological and theoretical issues.⁷⁰⁹ The “community studies” approach, pioneered in the United States and refined in many national and transnational scholarly discourses, has achieved notable results.⁷¹⁰ Social science-based studies need to incorporate aspects of language and semiotics, the humanities to include life writings, diaries, letters, and autobiographies. Databased researchers need to deal with self-representations and the imagery in literary productions and the arts. All understanding of discursive patterns and of perceptions of realities notwithstanding, the debate on what is artificial and what is actual is far from being answered. Received standards of particular disciplines guide validation of data, but result in partial or fragmented stories. At the same time, the humanities have to relate every literary, decorative, performing, musical, or other production to the social environment: readers or audiences, producers and markets, mainstream discourses and alternative options, counter-, sub-, or marginal cultures as well as to institutional practices of ensuring hegemony and conformity or dynamic development and change.

Standards of validation need to be discussed in terms of data and of imagination. In the social sciences and in analytical historiography, the “facts” or data have to be traceable in the sources. Since what is not in the sources cannot enter analysis, the resulting narratives of the past or the present include many empty spaces: incomplete data provide invalid stories. Also, people who die drop out of both statistics and historical writings. But their

708 : Isajiw, *Understanding Diversity*, 11-15. A quarter century after the critiques of nation-state historiography, the European Science Foundation in its Programme in Humanities finally funded a study on how to represent the past in categories other than nationhood (report by Stefan Berger, European Social Science History Conference, Berlin, March 2004).

709 : To convey the complexity of his topic, one anthropologist, Anthony F.C. Wallace, needed the following title: *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution; An Account of the Coming of the Machine, the Making of a New Way of Life in the Mill Hamlets, the Triumph of Evangelical Capitalists Over Socialists and Infidels, and the Transformation of the Workers into Christian Soldiers in a Cotton-Manufacturing District in Pennsylvania in the Years Before and During the Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 1972).

710 : Recent Canadian examples are Paul Voisey, *Vulcan [Alberta]: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: UTP, 1988), and Kenneth M. Sylvester, *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870-1940* (Toronto: UTP, 2001).

absence shapes the lives of survivors; their untold stories are a corrective to the narrations of the living. No literary work would find a readership if it involved as many empty spaces as databased writings. Analyses might not neglect undocumented feelings or overlook “non-facts,” such as the dead, the forgotten, or those who lived but vanished from the sources. Remedial approaches including “the forgotten” were once called the “history of the inarticulate” as if such people could not articulate themselves. It was hegemonic thought and data-collection that was inarticulate, that excluded some from a place in documentation, in collective memory. Remedial approaches are sometimes called “the view from the bottom up,” but people projecting their life trajectories do not necessarily subscribe to a discourse in which societal structures are the top while they are assigned to the bottom. The connection between small-scale intimate everyday lives and structural conditions as well as historical transitions, the connection between what became and what remained an option needs “the sociological or historical imagination,” as C. Wright Mills and Louise Tilly noted decades ago, an “*imaginaire social*” in the words of Quebec sociologists. A critic of the many empty spaces in the databased narrative of Canada complained about “too much accurate Canadian history and too little accurate Canadian imagination.”⁷¹¹

Rather than using imagination, social scientists often turn to the “normal” by adducing statistics to discuss middle-of-the road patterns of life. To understand “problems,” they often use data from crisis situations: case files of social workers, police files, court records. Since such data deviate from the average, the people covered by them have frequently been labelled “deviant.” When interview and oral history techniques broadened the database, some scholars have labelled these data as “soft” as contrasted to “hard” numbers. It needs re-emphasis that “hard” statistics are based on “soft” questions and on complex answers reduced to numbers within numbers—a form of expression with the connotation of accuracy. Records of municipal, provincial, or national agencies, once taken to be routinely generated data according to institutionally determined, “objective” procedures that

711 : C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1958); Louise Tilly in communication to Leslie P. Moch, information by L.P. Moch to author; Fernand Duval and Yves Martin, eds., *Imaginaire social et représentations collectives: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Charles Falardeau* (Quebec: Laval, 1902); William Kilbourn in Kilbourn and Henry B. Mayo, “Canadian History and Social Sciences (1920-1960),” in *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, eds. Carl F. Klinck et al., 4 vols. (2nd ed., Toronto: UTP 1976, 1990), 2:22-52, quote p. 22. For historical conceptualizations of space see Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1996).

demanded no further scrutiny, are as reflective of administrators' perspectives and moods, of institutional biases, of communication gaps between recording clerks and clients, as are literary texts such as novels or poems. They are reflections of authors' "subjective" mindsets and goals. "Records" are the inventions of data-collecting agencies whose voluntary or involuntary informants had no say in the shaping of the recorded story. "Files" are a literary genre: they involve reflection, reconstruction, and construction. Source texts, whether diaries or census forms, demand close reading of dialects, sociolects, registers, and genres' conventions if the specific act of communication is to be understood, a whole life story is to be reconstructed, or a societal "average" to be calculated.

The relationship between fiction and factuality may be understood from a comparison of literary renderings such as Vera Lysenko's Ukrainians, Laura Salverson's Icelanders, and Joy Kogawa's Japanese with "ethnics" portrayed by historians. The former lead whole lives; the "ethnics" remain prisoners of the discipline's rules of evidence. Similarly, in the representation of working-class lives and struggles, Herbert Biberman's docu-fictional film *Salt of the Earth* (USA, 1954) about a strike of miners in a small town in New Mexico is closer to lived experience than scholarly analyses of labour organization. This "motion picture," to use an apt old-fashioned term, reflects actions of men and women in households and on the job, of children and babies, of prison life and role reversal.⁷¹² The scriptwriters did historical research and imaginatively filled the gaps in the records to recreate lives. Social scientists, once made speechless by the silence of their sources, have come up with multiple and contradictory stories: "Understanding Diversity" or "Multi-Vocality" reflect such transdisciplinary developments.⁷¹³ Scholarly and literary narratives and analyses remain close to what has been called "authentic social construction" by critical use, contextualization, and juxtaposition of empirical data with grounded theory and grounded imagination. The social sciences and the humanities, as a continuum, thus supplement each other.

TSS aims at bridging the fault lines and gaps between the disciplines, to achieve inter- or, better, transdisciplinarity. Thus anthropological economics deals with values in economic agency, with individual profit-making or

712 : The writer of the screenplay, the director of the film, and some of the actors were hauled before the House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee, because the story undercut the legally enforced master narrative of U.S. capitalism's gatekeepers.

713 : Isajiw, *Understanding Diversity*; Tamara Palmer Seiler, "Multi-Vocality and National Literature: Toward a Post-Colonial and Multicultural Aesthetic," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31.3 (Fall 1996): 148-65.

communal solidarity, with cultural restrictions on competitiveness, with concepts of public ownership for communal goods, with ethics of trade. Market behaviour and rational economic decision-making is societally embedded. Geography, sociology, economics, and historiography developed the concept of space—long current in literary expression. In view of the deteriorating quality of physical space, scholars added environmental perspectives: human beings count or measure capacity, they account for usages, and, in a future-oriented “environmental imagination” attempt to keep spaces usable for the next generations. Literary imaginations may provide potential options for the future or multiple readings of the past. Imaginative projecting of a life course or a city’s spaces requires analysis and vision to select the possible from the improbable options. Planning then selects one particular option. Imaginations and outcomes are closely related.

Cultures continuously evolve on multiple interlinked levels and thus the trajectory from past to present—the outcome of the moment—and to the potentialities of the future is never adequately described as a straight chronological line. The individual and the collective memory collapse or stretch events and developments. Societies expand the memory of some aspects of the past and forget or repress others. Each piece of memory takes on significance or recedes into the background, depending on the exigencies of and interests in the present as well as on strategies for the future. Particularizing interest-driven memory excludes groups—women, “non-nationals,” “coloured,” children—through imposed invisibility, symbolic annihilation, or outright purges. Male hegemonic narratives are usually no more than a “5 percent version” of societies since they exclude women, the working classes, original inhabitants, immigrants and ethnics, and those of different religious, everyday, or sexual practices. Memories fuse experiences and reports. Grandparents’ “good old times” are merely reported stories to their grandchildren; their golden age may simply be gilded memory. Different generations, genders, class, or ethno-racial groups experience culture in their specific local form and hear reports about other cultures of the past or in the present. For potential migrants between cultures, the reports may indicate presumably better chances in the space where they project their future.

The many cultures, individual or societal, of migrants or of residents, evolve at uneven speed, and time is a complex aspect of memory. A cultural memory may become “frozen in time,” emphasizing a particular conjuncture. Many migrants, through a “mental stop,” remember their culture of origin as it was when they left. They “know” the society but no longer take note of the changes that they do not experience. Transcultural developments may be practised, for example, on a trajectory from Jamaican immigrant to Caribbean identity, to Caribbean Canadian, to Canadian Caribbean, to

distant Caribbean background. They may occur through ascription (“African Caribbeans”) or self-imagination (remaining true to what the culture of origin is constructed to have been). Once immigrants or their children have adopted the receiving society’s culture, they may still retain pride in symbols of their heritage, like non-migrating old people take pride in the culture of their youth (symbolic or flag-waving culture). At this stage, only useful vestiges of the past, variously filtered, are still validated. Adjustment to new exigencies, experienced by and expected of migrants, is often viewed ambiguously by people staying put, mentally or geographically. Grandparents or parents may remain unaccepting of generational cultural change. Worship of ancestral ways of life or respect for over-aged political or intellectual elites slows down change and processes of transculturation in the interest of some. Segregation into social slots or into frames of historic time narrows individuals’ or social groups’ array of choices.

Trajectories of cultural change may be multidirectional rather than unidirectional. People may continue to move back and forth between cultures, may command the signifying registers and habituses of two or more cultures, may navigate many cultural patterns, and negotiate multiple interests. Such transcultural life-worlds may also involve class through upward or downward mobility. Code switching may involve familiarity with both gender roles, with different colour codes. Interaction, crossover, *métissage*, or multiple identities permit development of coping strategies in different cultural contexts. Moving between cultures involves processes of acculturation, of observing habitus, of decoding additional signifying and normative systems, and of adapting childhood-socialized codes by communication to relate to people using different codes. The idealization of origin or *Heimat*, its essentialization even, is not merely a remnant of bloodline descent and nationhood; it also involves a life cycle aspect. The code “*Heimat*” is a memory of childhood and, since the actor is small and, ideally, protected by loving parents, background appears as large and identity providing. Similarly, historians and ideologues have described the “nation” as cradle of identity.⁷¹⁴ If not invented on the drawing board, cultures are constructed by intellectual and institutional gatekeepers as well as in people’s everyday

714 : John Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton, 1994); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1989); Sarah M. Corse, *Nationalism and Literature: The Politics of Culture in Canada and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997); Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford, 1989); Kathleen N. Conzen, David Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozetta, Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (1992): 3-41. See also Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-92), and Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*.

practices. Transcultural Societal Studies acts upon the present by helping to understand the complex processes.

*Education: Intergenerational transfer
and transcultural embeddedness*

Moulding young people of many classes and cultures into national middle-class norms demands massive effort, even force and violence. In what has been called cultural rape, it involves destruction of personalities who do not fit the cast. For newcomers, in particular, education to—or unconditional assimilation into—“the one national identity” might be compared to forcing left-handed children into right-handedness. They experience punishment for acting “wrong” and have to invest an immense amount of energy into reforming themselves according to an outside norm. Such fundamentalist dogmas attempt to achieve a kind of totalitarian conformity and thus involve processes of self-alienation. After the first generation of “human” rights, sometimes called “natural” or “foundation” rights, and the second generation of the mid-twentieth century, which added the right to material security in times of personal or individual crisis, a third generation of human rights emerges, the right to cultural distinctiveness and the right of becoming. The state of political and legal equality of each citizen and the welfare state is changing itself into a multicultural frame with shared common institutions and a shared frame of human rights-based norms. Thus the construct of “national identity” is replaced by a polity and society of shared values, customary ways of life, flexible structures, and high capacity to adapt without losing cohesion.

Transcultural education and, for adults past the age of education, transcultural attitudes involve (1) recognition, acceptance, and appreciation of differences in cultures, whether of ethnicity or race, social class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, or ability/disability. This may be a distant acceptance, but more often involves the need to interact. (2) Beyond recognition and appreciation, such education develops social skills that permit interaction between human beings of different cultures as well as agency in multiple cultural contexts. (3) Transcultural education involves achieving agreement on a common frame of reference, that is, the equality of each individual regardless of background and particular characteristics, and each individual’s right to material, emotional, and spiritual aid in times of need. (4) Finally, it involves developing a sense of responsibility and commitment to participate in society and share with others one’s cultural and material resources. Entitlement to self-realization is based on recognition of self-contribution to a fair societal system with equal access to resources and

equal opportunity to participate in democratic change.⁷¹⁵ “Transcultural” equality applies to all groups and individuals. Achievements of the past deserve recognition but do not justify special position. The original goals of the policy of multiculturalism—its dynamic aspect—were the emphasis on interactive cultural processes, respect for plural identities, and help in becoming a citizen in Canada.⁷¹⁶

Children of many cultural backgrounds interact in classrooms. Some have friends locally, kin and friends in the social spaces where they lived previously, and relatives and neighbours in the place where they were born. In the year 2000, children in Calgary’s or Toronto’s schools—like those in London’s,⁷¹⁷ Paris’s, or Frankfurt’s—had as many peers from cultures in Asia as children who attended school in Winnipeg or Montreal after 1900 had peers from cultures in Europe. Each one had to make his or her own norms and practices understood, had to develop transcultural codes, and strove to fit in and to avoid marginalization, to participate in peer group activities. Such diversity has created multiple concerns about fragmentation and has raised demands to define identity or belonging in ways that provide societal cohesion. Children, to some degree, remain “strangers” to their parents and other adults. Young people will explore spaces that their parents will never know because of the different contexts in time and space of their socialization and their stage in the life cycle. They engage in activities, acquire capabilities, and develop modes of expression that remain undecipherable to their elders, who live different narratives and codes.⁷¹⁸

715 : M. Lee Manning and Leroy G. Baruth, *Multicultural Education of Children and Adolescents* (1991, 3rd ed., Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2000); Yvonne Hébert, “Identity, Diversity, and Education: A Critical Review of the Literature,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33.3 (2001): 155–85.

716 : Ian Angus, in *A Border Within: National Identity, Cultural Plurality, and Wilderness* (Montreal: MQUP, 1997), attempted to find an English Canadian identity by fusing tradition and modernity, by accepting particularities and pluralities. Diversity, that is, the specific, may be reconciled through a public philosophy. In my reading, this was part of the policy of multiculturalism and is part of the educational strategy concerned with citizenship. I prefer “identification” to “identity,” even Angus’s postcolonial one.

717 : A study at the University of Westminster, which received considerable newspaper coverage in early 2000, found that pupils in London’s schools had 307 different home languages.

718 : See among a rapidly growing literature: Phil Cohen and Pat Ainley, “In the Country of the Blind? Youth Studies and Cultural Studies in Britain,” *Journal of Youth Studies* 3.1 (2000): 79–95; Phil Cohen, Michael Keith, Les Back, *Issues of Theory and Method*, Working Paper 1 (London: Centre for New Ethnicities Research, Univ. of East London, 1996); Phil Cohen, *Rethinking the Youth Question: Education, Labour and Cultural Studies* (Durham: Duke, 1999); Yvonne M. Hébert, ed., *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*

Intergenerational transfer, education, and transcultural embeddedness have discarded national identity for, perhaps, patriotic pride in a society and state in which all citizens share human rights, access to political participation, incorporation into social security systems, the right to specific cultural ways of life, and the right to develop according to their own best self-perceived interests and life projects. In such societies, the basic charter of rights and constitution is no longer based on bounded territory and unclear sovereignty but on consent and cosmopolitan connectedness. The right to a certain standard of living includes peaceful negotiation about limited resources that have to last for the next generations. The right to be different does involve a search for and a fostering of commonalities. If this seems to be an idealistic model, we need to remind ourselves that historians have found varying “moral economies” among people of different ages, all of which combine individual interest with common values and a common wealth. Only histories of the powerful, whether of classes such as the nobility, of economic regimes such as unrestrained liberalism, or of states based on internal policing and external militarist aggression, have overlooked such values and ways that encompass both individual security and advancement and shared frames of reference. In the present, educators develop models of “citizenship education” that provide cohesion and leave room for difference. Such education addresses both each new generation of children and each generation of newcomer adults from other societies.⁷¹⁹

Such concepts are not at all new. In political theory they date from Aristotle and the *res publica*, the public affairs, of the Roman Republic. Within each period’s frames of reference, people with limited access to resources developed their moral economies, and political and social theorists from Thomas Morus (More) on (*De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia*, 1516) on conceptualized equitable societies. These are the antecedents of “good governance” concepts and citizenship debates around 2000.

The call for an expanded [post-Westphalian, post-nation-state] model of citizenship, be it in the form of liberalism that makes room for cultural groups [Will Kymlicka] or in the form of communitarianism which puts the politics of identity

(Toronto: UTP, 2003); Dirk Hoerder, Irina Schmitt, Yvonne Hébert, eds., *Negotiating Transcultural Lives: Belongings and Social Capital among Youth in Comparative Perspective* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2004. Canadian edition, UTP 2006.).

719 : Yvonne M. Hébert and Lori Wilkinson, “The Citizenship Debates: Conceptual, Policy, Experiential and Educational Issues,” in Hébert, *Citizenship in Transformation*, 1–36. See also Robert Adamoski, Dorothy E. Chunn, and Robert Menzies, eds., *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2002).

in the forefront of internal struggles for recognition [Charles Taylor], is crucially situated upon an issue of balance.”⁷²⁰

Individualism, political power, and economic dominance need to be limited; the “personality” that people live and express should not be constructed as one identity but—as in *Anne of Green Gables*—as multiple identities suitable for the respective context as well as identifications with the whole of society or state or “Canada.” “A reasonable citizen proposes fair terms of co-operation with others, settles differences in mutually acceptable ways, and abides by agreed-upon terms of co-operation so long as others are prepared to do so.” Citizenship practices and values involve four domains: the civic of sharing responsibility, the political of democratic life, the socio-economic of solidarity and investment into children’s futures, and the cultural-collective, which recognizes both the anthropological dimension of individual persons and the self-identification with collective groups.⁷²¹ Identity is a project, acted out in communication with others. It is embedded in local, regional, and statewide Canadian community; it is part of global influence.

The cultural and the political are entwined. “Citizenship is defined by the way we see the world around us, local, [regional,] national and global, and by the part we choose to play in it.” Citizenship education involves a whole way of life, not “knowledge” about a political system or celebration of ceremonial occasions.⁷²² Migration and consumption of goods produced in distant cultures involves a compression of time and space. Both, as well as communication strategies rather than merely new communication technologies, have contributed to a de-territorialization of residence and belonging, of work and consumption, of production and reproduction, of relationships and communities. Historically, at a time when folk culture was considered the immutable root of middle-class nationhood, folk dress in fact changed when, under colonialism, Indian weavers’ colourful calicos reached European villages. At the turn to the twenty-first century, much of the music that youth in North America or Europe use to signify particular styles and subcultures is African American (jazz), Argentinean (tango), Caribbean

720 : Hébert and Wilkinson, “The Citizenship Debates,” quote p. 19; Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford, 1989), and *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Oxford, 1995); Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and the “Politics of Recognition”* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992).

721 : Hébert and Wilkinson, “The Citizenship Debates,” quote p. 21; Hébert and Michel Pagé, “Citizenship Education: What Research for the Future?” in Hébert, *Citizenship in Transformation*, 228–47, paraphrased from pp. 238–39.

722 : Kenneth W. Osborne, *Educating Citizens: A Democratic Socialist Agenda for Canadian Education* (Toronto: Our Schools / Our Selves Education Foundation, 1988), 118.

(reggae), or a fusion (hip-hop). Such multiple influences notwithstanding, people articulate themselves in conventions of the society, region, or class in which they have been raised or which they have chosen as their reference group. People are embedded in multiple discourse systems.

Mental maps of migrants as well as non-migrants include courses into the future and provide options. Mobile citizens may choose multi- or trans-locality. In Lloyd L. Wong's words, "The deterritorialization of social identity challenges the nation-state's claim of making exclusive citizenship a defining focus of allegiance and fidelity, in contrast to the overlapping, permeable and multiple forms of identity." As to life course projects and belongings, states have begun to take second place to urban spheres, to "a chain of cosmopolitan cities and an increasing proliferation of subnational and transnational identities" (Cohen). Most migrants choose urban ways of life, and since the mid-1990s more than half of the world's population lives in urban conglomerates. New-type polities provide a framework of commonality in which people may interact and talk to each other. They provide relational embeddedness rather than prescriptions; they provide a frame that includes effective systems of rights, options for political and civic participation, and equal and easy access to resources—education, social security, labour markets, and spiritual experience among them.⁷²³ As Transcultural Societal Studies, Canadian Studies has to include this complexity. So has the study of any other society, and traditional Country Studies would also have needed to do so. In a three-level model, Transcultural Societal Studies provides an analytical level, transcultural education provides capabilities for the future, and transcultural lives provide everyday practices—all three are entwined.

723 : Lloyd L. Wong, Home Away from Home: Deterritorialized Identity and State Citizenship Policy, unpublished paper presented at the 15th Biennial Conference of the Canadian Studies Association, Toronto, March 2000; Aihwa Ong, "On the Edge of Empires: Flexible Citizenship among Chinese in the Diaspora," *Positions* 1.3 (1993): 745–78; Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1997), quote p. 175.