CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL PRACTICES:
DIALOGIC CULTURAL FORMS AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE
JAPANESE CANADIAN COMMUNITY

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses two questions. First it examines the general role of cultural production in the development of alternative political practices in Western capitalist societies. Secondly it explores the question of building self-reflexive forms of cultural practice in ethnic communities. To examine the first question. I use Jürgen Habermas's model of the public sphere where people gather together in order to articulate, discuss and address issues of common concern. Drawing on feminist theory. I argue that practical discourse -- the cultural form that Habermas uses to facilitate this process -- is limited because of its inability to fully address the contradictions in which people are situated. Instead of a model built on Habermas's work. I argue that Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogic cultural production offers a more adequate theoretical frame of reference.

This leads to the second question. I examine the problem of cultural production in the context of "racialized" ethnic communities, which I redefine as those peoples who have been displaced from their homelands by the expansion of capital and who have relocated in the economic north in regions that are hostile to their presence. It is not necessarily the case that ethnics will address this contradiction by developing emancipatory alternatives. But by making parallels to new social movements and class struggle it can be seen how cultural production can play a key role in directing the political mobilization of ethnic communities.

To explore this problem in detail. I turn to the efforts of the Japanese Canadian community to rebuild a public sphere after the

Canadian State attempted to deracinate it during and after WWII. I
examine one specific cultural work, Ruby Truly's video "With Our Own
Eyes: a Trip to Lemon Creek". Truly's work presents an example of a
dialogic cultural work that contests dominant discourses by narrating
Japanese Canadians into British Columbia's racist historical and political
terrain. It is a work that also builds new political relationships and
understandings within the Japanese Canadian community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

In contemporary societies that are structured by relations of subjugation. what are the means by which marginalized groups can collectively organize themselves in order to address. not only their concerns. but the contradictions in which they are situated? While this is a political question. in this thesis I argue that it is also a cultural question. In order to develop political alternatives that not only undermine. but present alternatives to systems of domination. self-reflexive cultural forms are required. While this has been a question that has concerned working class movements and colonized peoples for several centuries. in this thesis I focus on the role of cultural production in the process of developing alternative political practices in the contemporary context of North America.

Since the 70's there has been a substantial amount of work in the area of developing alternative political practices in North America. For example. social movements. such as grassroots feminist organizations have drawn on "collective organization. no leadership. rotation of administrative tasks. agreement by consensus and an emphasis on personal experience" in order to develop alternatives to hierarchical and patriarchal forms of political organization (Adamson. Briskin and McPhail. 1988: 231. 236). But social movements usually have few resources to put towards the critical analysis. development and theorization of their political practices.[1]

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[1] For example. while some of these practices are documented in work manuals or taught in training sessions. other practices. such as the idea of "no leadership" are learned only by working with the particular grassroots organizations. And in terms of critical analysis. the inadequacy of particular practices usually becomes apparent only in their application. rather than through theoretical analysis (Dorothy Kidd. discussion. July. 1993).

Over the last decade, academic theorists have increasingly turned their attention to these new social movements.[2] These theorists have argued that the political struggles of new social movements question the primacy of the working class as the agents of historical transformation. In particular, they have been concerned with theorizing the political implications of the construction of subjectivities which are based on gender and "race."[3] But until recently, there has been little work that documents, critically analyzes or theorizes alternative political practices that can be used by North American communities and new social movements.

With the exception of work in a few specialized fields, such as educational pedagogy and Latin American studies,[4] most theorists on the left have concentrated on systems of domination. For example, in the field of communications, critical researchers such as Ted Madger, Tony Bennett, Graham Murdock, Peter Golding, Stuart Hall and Nicholas Garnham have focused on the way in which capitalism is reproduced and

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[2] For example, see footnote #3.

[3] For example, see Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy, London: Verso, 1985; Paul Smith, Discerning the Subject, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988; Trihn T. Minh-ha, Woman, Native, Other, Bloomingdale and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989; Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, ed. De/Colonizing the Subject: the Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.

[4] For example see Frigga Haug ed. Female Sexualization: A Collective Work of Memory, London: Verso, 1987; Kenneth Howe and Margaret Eisenhart, "Standards for Qualitative (and Quantitative Research): A Prolegomenon", Educational Researcher, May 1990: 2-9; José Luis Coraggio and George Irwin, "Revolution and Democracy on Nicaragua", Latin American Perspectives, Issue 45, V.12, #2, Spring 1985: 23-37; David Slater, "Socialism, Democracy and the Territorial Imperative: A Comparison of the Cuban and Nicaraguan Experiences", The Socialist Third World: Urban Development and Territorial Planning, ed. Dean Forbes and Nigel Thrift, New York: Basil Blackwood, 1987: 282-302.

(sometimes) resisted through culture.[5] These writers tend to examine cultural reproduction and resistance in two different ways. At the level of political economy, they discuss the workings of cultural industries and state institutions through studies of corporate concentration and the dynamics of capital accumulation. At the level of ideology, they discuss the hegemonic nature of contemporary media and popular culture.

Some Canadian theorists such as Ted Madger or Abraham Rotstein,[6] go beyond a critical analysis of the dominant culture in that they propose ways to support the development of alternative, in particular, Canadian, cultural forms. But their proposals tend to be limited to developing government policies that will protect cultural "industries" against unfair competition from large multinational cultural industries whose head offices are located in the United States. There is no doubt that in the context of economic and cultural imperialism, questions over who controls indigenous cultural production, distribution and exhibition are of critical importance. But I am concerned with ways to develop *relations* of production, distribution and exhibition that pose as alternatives to broader systems of domination such as capitalism, racism and sexism.[7]

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[5] See for example, James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott, ed., Mass Communication and Society, London: Sage, 1977/1982; Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran, and Janet Woollacott, ed. Culture, Society and the Media, New York: Methuen and Co., 1982/85; CCCS, The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70's Britain, London: Hutchinson, 1982/84; Ian Angus and Sut Jhally, ed. Cultural Politics in Contemporary America, New York: Routledge, 1989.

[6] See for example, Rowland Lorimer and Donald Wilson, ed. Communication Canada: Issues in Broadcasting and New Technologies, Toronto: Kagan and Woo Limited, 1988.

[7] For a more extensive discussion of this point see Richard Gruneau, "Introduction: Notes on Popular Culture and Political Practice", Popular Cultures and Political Practices, ed. Richard Gruneau, Toronto: Garamond, 1988: 11-32.

It is also important to note the work of theorists such as George Lipsitz, Dick Hebdige and Todd Gitlin who examine the way in which subordinated groups resist dominant culture.[8] These theorists argue that, rather than being passively interpellated by dominant ideology, subordinated groups appropriate symbols from dominant culture and semiotically reuse them in ways that undermine mainstream understandings. This work goes beyond the traditional left-wing critique of cultural domination, recognizing the agency of subordinated groups, but it also has limitations. There tends to be a failure to move beyond identifying cultural strategies of "resistance" to conceptualize how these struggles might then inform more productive struggles to change established socio-political and economic systems.

One widely discussed attempt to examine the problem of developing alternative political practices is Jürgen Habermas's book, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere which was recently translated into English.[9] Habermas argues that the development of the bourgeoisie as historical subjects required the formation of the public

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[8] See for example, Todd Gitlin, "Postmodernism: Roots and Politics", Cultural Politics in America, ed. Ian Angus and Sut Jhally, New York: Routledge, 1989: 347-360; Dick Hebdige, Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things, London: Routledge, 1988: 17-36; George Lipsitz, Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.

[9] It could be argued that the reason for the attention being given to Habermas's work on the public sphere, is in part due to marketing strategies. A conference that included scholars with international reputations, such as Nancy Fraser, was held on the occasion of the English translation of The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere in September of 1989 (Craig Calhoun, "Preface", Habermas and the Public Sphere, Craig Calhoun ed. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992: viii). The conference proceedings were then published in a book titled Habermas and the Public Sphere published in 1992. Both books are part of a series called "Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought" edited by Thomas McCarthy and published by MIT Press. Included in this series, marked by matching jacket covers and identical typesetting formats, are seven other books either written or edited by Habermas.

sphere. The public sphere represented a new form of governance where, in contrast to the feudal order, individuals freely gathered as equals to discuss issues of common concern. The possibility of relating to each other as equals, in turn, rested on the development of a new political discourse: rational critical debate. According to Habermas, rational critical debate operated to "dissolve" relations of domination by ensuring decisions were made on the basis of reason rather than on coercion or status, the old basis of feudal authority.

Many theorists have found this formulation of the public sphere useful as a practical model for analyzing the political organization of social movements as well as a theoretical model for conceptualizing political practices that might "dissolve" relations of domination.[10] Habermas's discussion is useful in that it underlines the relationship between political transformation and the development of new political discourses. Specifically, by privileging the role of rational discourse in the development of the bourgeois public sphere, he foregrounds the necessity of developing new cultural forms in the development of new political systems.

Of particular interest to this thesis is the way in which Habermas's model of the public sphere opens up the possibility of analyzing the historically specific production of culture in direct relation to political activity, where political activity is understood as the conscious effort to maintain or change socio-political systems. There is a lot of work that needs to be done in order to develop an understanding of this relation. For this thesis, I am concerned with exploring what sort of cultural

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[10] For example, see Craig Calhoun ed. Habermas and the Public Sphere. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992.

production would facilitate the development of a politically self-conscious public sphere.[11]

To investigate this problem, it is necessary to analyze it under historically specific circumstances. As such, I have turned to cultural production in "racialized" ethnic communities. In a manner similar to José Arroyo, who is concerned with theorizing the alternative cultural strategies of Black British and gay film and video makers, I am concerned with the new cultural forms that ethnics develop to articulate and direct their experiences.[12] I will argue that theoretically, ethnic cultural production potentially offers useful insights and strategies with regards to the way in which socio-political units build from the specificities of their experiences in order to address the contradictions in which they are situated. While this thesis is primarily a theoretical discussion, it builds from and is directed towards a specific situation: the efforts of the post-WWII Japanese Canadian community in Vancouver to rebuild itself after the Canadian State attempted to destroy it through forced incarceration, deportation and resettlement policies during and after WWII.

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[11] As Walter Benjamin argues, there is always a danger in formulating self-consciously "political" cultural works whereby the "political" overrides the "cultural". In any political movement, art risks being reduced to a vehicle to express "a political line". The result is "rigid", "isolated" and "clichéd" art. Benjamin claims that "a literary work can only be politically correct if it is literarily correct" (Benjamin, 1989 (a): 221). In particular, he argues that if a cultural work is to be "inserted" into "the living context", it needs to take into account "artistic technique" which he suggests is the particular means by which the work is situated in specific social, cultural, historical relations (Benjamin, 1989 (a): 222). In chapter 4, I refer to the way in which Mikhail Bakhtin approaches this problem.

[12] For example see, José Arroyo, "The Films of Isaac Julien: Look and Talk Back", JumpCut, #36, 1991: 98-109; José Arroyo, "Out of Sight" José Arroyo, "Dead Butch: Masculinity and Melodrama in 'Matador'", forthcoming.

In the first two chapters I define the context through which I explore this problem. The first chapter presents a working definition of "racialized" ethnics that can be applied to Japanese Canadians. I argue for a definition that theorizes, on the one hand, the structural relations involved in producing ethnics, and on the other hand, the ways in which ethnics organize themselves to address their circumstances. Chapter two draws on literature that theorizes the political mobilization of working class and new social movements in order to outline the ways in which ethnic communities might also develop political alternatives to the relations of subjugation which structure their lives.

The next two chapters are theoretical examinations of the role of cultural production in the development of alternative political practices. In chapter three, following a discussion of the general relation between culture and politics, I describe how Jürgen Habermas's notion of the public sphere offers a practical model for conceptualizing this relation. I conclude by arguing that Habermas's formulation is limited in that it is missing self-reflexive cultural forms that draw on historical, cultural, economic and social specifities. In chapter four I propose that Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogic cultural forms addresses the limitations of Habermas's formulation of the public sphere. After outlining his theory of dialogism, I discuss how it is applicable to ethnic cultural production. In the remaining two chapters I analyze the role of cultural production in the development of political practices in the Japanese Canadian community by examining Ruby Truly's video "With Our Own Eyes: a Trip to Lemon Creek" that documents a group of Japanese Canadians who return to the site where they were incarcerated forty-five years ago. Chapter five discusses the political and cultural context in which the

video was produced. And in chapter six. I analyze the way in which "With Our Eyes" produces meaning at a textual level. The final chapter provides an overview of my argument and suggests areas that need further research.

CHAPTER 1

REWORKING THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY

The role that cultural production plays in the political development of ethnic communities offers important insights into the more general relationship between cultural production and political activity. But before examining cultural production in ethnic communities, it is first necessary to outline what ethnic communities have to offer towards the general problem of politically transforming socio-political systems in Western capitalist societies. This chapter will outline the contradiction in which ethnics are situated and the ways in which they address it. As well, I will point out that more theory within the social sciences is needed in order to conceptualize the specificities of this contradiction for different groups, and in particular, for Japanese Canadians.

For this thesis I am concerned with ethnics in North America, and specifically in Canada, as part of the "new world", as opposed to ethnics, for example, in Europe or in Asia, though I think it may be possible to generalize some of my discussion to these cases. In general I use the term "ethnic" to describe those peoples who have been displaced from their former homelands and have relocated to other socio-political regions. In particular, I restrict my discussion to those ethnics who have been displaced by the expansion of capital.[13] The development of the capitalist mode of production has required the expansion of capital into societies with different modes of production. This expansion has been and is intrinsicly bound up with violent displacements, appropriations

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[13] Other forms of displacement, for example, those based on religious differences, would need a different framework than the one that I am developing here.

and reduction of people into commodities. When once self-determined and self-sufficient societies become articulated with the capitalist mode of production, particular groups leave when they find it difficult or impossible to continue to live in their former societies, whether for political or economic reasons. Given that certain groups are more likely to be displaced than others, their displacement can not be *simply* reduced to the expansion of capital. The specific historical, political, religious, cultural and regional circumstances of their displacement must be taken into consideration as well, but especially as the circumstances are articulated with the expansion of capital.

After ethnics have been displaced, they attempt to find regions where they can procure some economic and social security. Usually these regions are in the economic heartlands: either metropolitan centres or countries in the economic north. Ironically, in many cases, these "heartlands" are the administrative and political centres of neo/colonialism and capitalism, the centres that undermined the self-sufficiency and self-determination of ethnics' former societies.

Once settled in the economic north and urban centres, even if they are physically segregated in refugee camps, reservations or "ethnic ghettos", ethnics are in fact integrated with their host society. Disembedded or -- as Risto Erassari would argue -- eroded communities[14] are also positioned in the economies, cultures and

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[14] I am referring to Anthony Giddens' concept "disembedded" and Risto Erassari's critique of it. Erassari argues that "erosion" is a more precise concept. For Giddens, disembedded refers to "...the `lifting' out of social relationships from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space."; Erassari argues that the concept "disembed" implies the possibility of "re-embedding", especially in the context of Giddens' use of `ontological security' as if there was some stable `self-sameness' that survived the process of disembedding". Erassari argues that "erosion" is a more appropriate concept because once social relationships have been eroded they change irreversibly and can not be re-embedded or "re- eroded". (Anthony Giddens. The

technologies of the new society where they have relocated. The social, political and cultural infrastructures and institutions of the new society in which they are located fundamentally structure every aspect of these communities: for example, laws regulating work-site safety standards, wages, government unemployment insurance benefits and qualifications, regulate all work whether it is piece work or the work of nannies and doctors. Political and cultural infrastructures and institutions also influence community development funding, housing bylaws, commercial culture, language requirements and facilities, and so forth.[15]

At the same time ethnics also actively work to determine the way in which they become positioned in the economy and culture of the new society. They find the avenues and resources to equip themselves to participate in the new society and its political jurisdictions in which they are now located: finding or establishing for example, language and job training programs; independent non-profit organizations with mandates to protect civil rights; government agencies that provide services and various forms of funding, such as small business grants. They also

Consequences of Modernity. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990: 21; Risto Erassari, "Social Policy Without 'Metaphysics'", Unpublished Paper, August 27-29, 1990, Department of Social Policy, University of Jyvaskyla: 1-50).

[15] There are some excellent articles that discuss the relationship between the Canadian State and community organization that criticize how the fundamental relationship between the two have been obscured. Gillian Walker argues that the concept "community" operates like the concepts "the private sphere", "the home": in contradistinction to the "public sphere" and "the work-place" in classic political and social contract theory (as Carole Pateman argues above) In particular Walker argues that an ideological use of the term "community", that echoes back to Comte and Tonnies', elicits forms of "...connectedness and social cohesion in the face of mass upheavals...engendered from the industrial revolution."(Gillian Walker, "Reproducing Community: The Historical Development of Local and Extra-Local Relationships" in Community Organization and the Canadian State ed. Roxana Ng, Gillian Walker and Jacob Muller, Toronto, Garamond Press, 1990: 41) In doing so, the concept of "community" works to obscures relations of sexism, racism and class that are endemic to "particular relations of production" (Walker: 42).

actively negotiate their presence, challenging labour standards and immigration laws. In Canada, ethnics have called on the State to redress for example, discriminatory head taxes and incarcerations.[16] Thus, on the one hand, ethnics as a particular group are produced by the global socio-political economic system; and on the other hand, they also have agency, developing collective ways in which to address their conditions.

Mainstream North American sociological literature often assumes that the integration of ethnics -- people from the old country -- into the "new society" of North America requires a process of assimilation that typically occurs over several generations. But it is clear that in these new societies there are some groups who are "racially" categorized as foreigners and not considered suitable citizens. I will limit my discussion to these ethnics: "racialized" ethnics who, because they are cast in negative "racial" categories, encounter barriers to "assimilating" into the new society in which they reside, not only in the first generation, but in subsequent generations as well.

This raises the question, why choose the term ethnic to describe this process? There are already terms that describe peoples who have been displaced by the processes described above, such as "other", "diaspora", "racial minority", or "refugee". Choosing an appropriate term is particularly difficult for a number of reasons. Most of the various terms have either been incorporated into or developed within particular government departments or in academic disciplines, and as such are located in privileged discourses of institutionally produced, maintained

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[16] For a 1/3 of the 20th century in Canada, Chinese immigrants had to pay exorbitant "head taxes". During WWII the Canadian state incarcerated Canadian citizens and landed immigrants of "Japanese racial origin"; without negotiation, the state appropriated the territories of People of the First Nations.

and applied field of knowledge.[17] Each discourse has its own ontological framework, some giving explanatory precedence, for example to phenomenal processes, others to economic relations. And each is concerned with different aspects of specific groups in particular circumstances.

For example, while recent post-colonial theory is concerned with people displaced from their homelands by colonization and underdevelopment, aspects of these writings make it an unsuitable framework for the questions I am investigating. Much of post-colonial theory is generated within the academic disciplines of literary theory and art criticism. As such, it is predominantly concerned with the *representations* of diasporic, colonized and aboriginal peoples. Specifically it focuses on alternative as well as neo-colonial artistic representations *within* dominant cultural forms, such as "literature" and "art". These forms are part of dominant culture to the extent that they are situated in, and thus reproduce the relations and institutions of production, distribution, exhibition and consumption that are characteristic of dominant society. For example, by being exhibited in "art galleries", these works enter, on the one hand, economic relations that turns them into commodities; and on the other hand, ideological relations that position them as objects that are suppose to "enlighten the viewer".

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[17] This use of the term discourse is based on Lapsley and Westlake's discussion of Michael Foucault's writing. In particular I am drawing on the way in which he conceives discourse as a particular type of infrastructure produced in institutions to control and manage society. (Robert Lapsley and Michael Westlake, Film Theory: An Introduction, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988/89: 16-20).

Here I am not dismissing the importance of ideological engagement.
For example, work exhibited in art galleries or museums, may well
contest established ideologies that privilege notions of Western art as
Art [18] and the naturalized right of Western anthropologists to pillage
material infrastructures from the central cultural and political
institutions of subordinated societies, such as long houses or graves. [19]
Moreover, progressive Western Art has much to learn from "racialized"
ethnic, colonial and aboriginal art practices. For example, both the
Western avant-garde and post-modernists have concerned themselves
with deconstructing, decoding and dismantling the reified cultural
landscape that naturalizes capitalist, sexist, homophobic and "racialized"
relations of subjugation. In this landscape, all representations are
ideologically suspect in that they purport to present "life as it is". Both
the avant-garde and post-modernists assume critical readings can only
be forced by deranging or decontextualizing representation. But
"racialized" ethnic, aboriginal and post-colonial works question whether
all cultural groups face this same crisis of representation. They question
whether it is possible to assume that "racialized" ethnics, aborginals,
post-colonial peoples and status quo Western audiences utilize their
icons and depictions in the same way. For example, rather than viewing
culturally specific symbols and icons as ideologically suspicious
representations of the world, artists such as Ana Chang, Haruko Okano

[18] For a discussion of this strategy see, for example, Yasmin Jiwani, "Local Colour
Protests", Fuse, 15/16, 1992: 13-14; Zool Suleman, "Organizing for a Different
Memory: Artists of Colour and Strategies for Change" Parallélogramme, V. 18, No.1,
1992: 16-25.

[19] For more discussion, see for example, Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary
Indian", Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art, Stan Douglas, ed.,
Vancouver: Talon Books, 1991, p. 267-291.

and especially Marianne Nicolson use these symbols and icons in an effort to reclaim the value of their communities' social, political and cultural identities against dominant culture's efforts to appropriate and devalidate them.[20]

It is important to make clear that I am not criticizing artists of colour for distributing and exhibiting their work in Western art institutions. Where and how their work circulates is not just a matter of choice. There is often little support for new work within the established institutions of "racialized" ethnic communities. Community leaders who control funding and development are often situated in class positions with statuses that align them with conservative politics and the agenda of mainstream interests (Wong, 1990: 6-7). And with few venues that give community members the opportunity to familiarize themselves with new cultural forms, community members have little opportunity to develop their notions of art beyond established conventional understandings. This in part explains the reason why much of this new work emerges in alternative art galleries.

In Canada this means exhibiting in avant-garde non-profit artist run centres, such as Vancouver's Or Gallery and Video In, and increasingly, yet more problematically, in established museums and art galleries such as the Vancouver Art Gallery and the Vancouver Museum[21] -- although the mainstream institutions tend to support

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[20] See for example, these artists works in the show, "Memory and Desire: the Voices of Eleven Women of Culture", The Vancouver Art Gallery, 1992.

[21] For example, over the last three years, the Vancouver Art Gallery recently presented "Fabled Territories" and "Desire and Memory" and the Vancouver Museum had an exhibit called "Kikyo" on the Japanese Canadian Powell St. Festival. For critiques of these institutions see footnote #6.

either nationally or internationally established artists rather than local artists. But while I recognize the importance of art practices that focus on issues of representation in that they work to contest the ideological foundations of dominant institutions, my study is concerned with producing alternative cultural practices that have more direct political use for "racialized" ethnic communities. I am concerned with cultural praxis, work that is more in the line with, for example, the work of Vidéazimut, a Canadian based coalition of

> organizations and individuals using video and television as a means to democratize communications. The coalition is dedicated to broadening access to voice and image for all those who are presently marginalized from them, in the South and in the North (Vidéazimut, 1993).

At another level post-colonial theory does not provide a suitable framework for this thesis because it focuses on the production of subjectivity, specifically the production of either the colonized, diasporic or aboriginal peoples as the West's psychoanalytical "Other".[22] Undoubtedly this work provides important contributions to understanding the development of ideology and subjectivity within and against dominant culture. But I am concerned with the issues of "race" and ethnicity within the field of communication. Specifically, I am concerned with the general problem of identifying the relationship between conceptualization and political action, specifically the ways in

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[22] Some examples of this work are as follows: Franz Fanon, Black Skin White Masks, New York: Grove Press, 1952/68; Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, New York: The Orion Press, 1957/1965; Edward Said, Orientalism, New York: Vintage Books, 1979; Hommi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question", Screen, V. 24, #6, 1983: 18-36; Ashis Nandy, The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983/1990.

which cultural work might intersect and inform a group's efforts to address their conditions of living.

Part of the difficulty of "racialized" ethnic cultural production in the field of communication, is in part due to the fact that, as Yasmin Jiwani argues, while academics have been forced to develop progressive theories to examine and problematize issues of "race" within the fields of literary theory and art criticism, this has yet to be done in the field of communication (Jiwani, 1993 (a)). As such, while it is easy to draw from literary criticism, in order to address issues of "race" in communication, there is a need to examine and at times rework the theory so that it addresses the problematic particular to the field of communication.

Many of the few writers who have attempted to theorize Japanese Canadian and Chinese Canadian culture in fact use terms that belong to discourses that were produced in the US or Britain to address African diasporic experiences. I find this inappropriate. Even the possibility of borrowing terminology from this field is difficult. Terms such as the "other" and "race" denote negative cultural constructions rather than active efforts to produce alternative cultural forms. And while terms such as "people of the diaspora" and "post-colonial" suggest agency and a collectivity that reaches beyond nation-states (Gilroy, 1987: 154-157), the terms refer specifically to particular peoples.[23] For example, the term "diaspora" comes from a large body of literature that refers to

[23] For examples of using the term "diaspora" see, Richard Fung, "Seeing Yellow: Asian Film and Representation", Fuse, Winter, 1991, p.18-21; E. San Juan, Jr., "Symbolizing the Asian Diaspora in the United States: A Return to the Primal Scene of Deracination", Borderlines #24/25, 1992, p.23-29; and for critiques of using African American and Black British theory to examine Asian Canadian experience, see also, Richard Fung, "Seeing Yellow: Asian Film and Representation", Fuse, Winter, 1991, p.18-21; Richard Fung, "Multiculturalism Reconsidered", Yellow Peril Reconsidered: Photo, Film and Video, Paul Wong, ed. Vancouver: On the Edge, 1990, p.17-19.

Jewish and African peoples. And the term "post-colonial" refers to peoples who were once colonized leaving out other types of displacement such as that epitomized by migrant workers from China and Japan.

Specifically "post-colonial" refers to peoples who have been produced through the modernizing forces of capitalist expansion: neo/colonialism. These forces have worked to destroy the capacity of societies to economically and socially support not only human life, but all levels of biological life as well. The expansion of capital to the economic south in countries such as the Philippines and Guatemala has turned the domestic food production, infrastructure and economies of once self sufficient societies into coercive systems of profit production for multinational corporations. In the reorganization of these countries' political systems to ensure a cheap, plentiful and stable supply of the inputs required by these corporations, such as land and labour, their governments have become instruments of violent oppression, turning their civil societies into war zones. With the requisite change in the regions' forces of production, for example, with the adoption of "Green Revolution" technologies, once fertile land that previously produced food for many generations of people has been reduced to salinated wastelands and deserts.

There are also important contributions towards the theorization of colonization and "race" by First Nations' writers. They write from a position of those whose territories have been invaded: peoples who have/had modes of production that are/were distinct from the capitalist mode of production of European invaders. With the colonization of their land, they were excluded from full or in many cases even partial legal rights within the invader's socio-political system. Specific institutions

and policies were established by colonizers to deracinate them as distinct political. economic. cultural and in many cases physical societies.[24] But terms used to refer to these experiences such as "Aboriginals" and "Peoples of the First Nations". are not applicable to what I am referring to as "racialized ethnic communities". In the Canadian context there is a clear difference between Aboriginals whose land was appropriated. and "racialized" ethnics who functioned as a reserve army of labour. "Racialized" ethnics were historically what I term "infrastructures of colonization". brought in to build the roads and set up the necessary service industries. and who today continue to function as a reserve army of labour in service industries. farming and manufacturing.

I am not arguing that the terms such as "other". "post-colonial" or "Aboriginal" are problematic because they are concerned only with *some* peoples' experiences or particular aspects of their experiences. Nor do I want to suggest that the conceptualizations and critiques of various theories can not be applied beyond their initial subjects of inquiry. Rather I am pointing to the particularity of fields of knowledge; that is, every term is located within a specific discipline with a specific ontological framework and subjects of concern. Recognizing the specificity of theory is a recognition that theory is a particular instrument which is produced to conceptualize historically specific socio-political. cultural and economic phenomena in order to either contest it or manage it. Choosing a theoretical term to describe a particular phenomena must

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[24] For more discussion see for example. Paul Tennant's <u>Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia</u>. 1849-1989. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1990. Celia-Haig Brown's <u>Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School</u>. Vancouver: Tillacum Library. 1989.

recognize not only what ontological framework the term implies, but as well, the political conditions of its production.

The ability to choose an appropriate term, then, rests in part, on the recognition of the particular material circumstances of the group in question. Specifically, in contrast to diasporic, Aboriginal or colonized peoples -- Japanese Canadians and Chinese Canadians were displaced from their homelands through the production of migrant labour that did not result from forces of neo/colonization. Because this thesis is concerned with Japanese Canadians, I will elaborate on their form of displacement. The few sociological texts on Japanese Canadian history, such as Forrest E. LaViolette's The Canadian Japanese and World War II published in 1948 and Ken Adachi's The Enemy that Never Was published in 1976, do not describe "racialized" ethnics' displacement explicitly in terms of capital expansion. I will therefore turn to Evelyn Nakano Glenn, an American sociologist. However, some hesitation must be taken when applying research on the United States to Canada. In this particular case, I will draw from Glenn's overview of the relation between early 20th century capital expansion and migrant labour.

In her analysis of Japanese migrant workers around the turn of the 20th century in the United States, Glenn identifies two of the processes involved: demand and the production of supply. In terms of demand, she argues that in the case of the Western United States, in order to compete in national and world markets, this region needed a large, flexible and cheap labour force willing to do the dangerous and difficult work of building its infrastructure, exploiting its resources as well as setting up the required service industries. The supply of resident labour was unable to fill this demand. On the one hand, the small numbers of

resident labourers meant that the resident workers were expensive. On the other hand, because these resident workers had European backgrounds, they had access to opportunities in independent mining and farming as well as higher paid skilled work that were denied to Asian workers. As such, these resident workers could not be tied to low-paid work for very long. In fact many had left the Eastern States in order to escape proletarianism. Thus capitalists had to seek more malleable sources of labour power elsewhere: Asia (Glenn, 1986: 9-11, 23-24).

Glenn situates the "production of supply" in the context of international movement of labour from Asia that took place between 1850 and the mid 1930's[25]. This large and cheap labour force was produced when China and Japan's economies became articulated with the capitalist mode of production through the trade agreements forced on them by the United States. In Japan, the trade agreements meant the demise of the Tokugawa Shogunate and with it its efforts to isolate Japan from the rest of the world as a means of protecting itself from foreign intervention in domestic affairs, especially from the Catholic Church (Adachi, 1979: 3). The new government "embarked on a policy of modernization, which included adoption of western technology and institutional forms" (Glenn, 1986: 25). This resulted in economic and

[25] In the research on Japanese Canadian immigration, the discussion of the production of supply in terms of the articulation of Japan's economy with capitalism is less explicit. For example, despite Adachi's detailed analysis of Japan's change from a traditional agrarian society to an urban industrial society, he tends to use a Western evolutionary of model of society, where peasants become displaced in the evolution from feudalism to capitalism. Within this framework he explains emigration in terms of conventional "push-pull" model, where the reasons for emigration from Japan, the "push" factors, are poverty and a loss of social status within a changing political system. (Ken Adachi, The Enemy that Never Was, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976/79: 17-18) His evolutionary approach tends to naturalize Japan's adoption of the capitalist mode of production rather than placing it in the global context of the expansion of capital.

social displacement of many farmers who previously had been a part of a stable and rigid hierarchical system. Among other reasons, this was because "[the] measures to bring about rapid industrialization and to create a modern military" (Glenn, 1986: 25) relied on garnering large taxes from the farmers. Because the tax was a fixed sum, regardless of the success or failure of the crop, many farmers became vulnerable to falling into debt with money lenders who charged high interest rates. Thus increasingly farmers lost their land and either became impoverished tenants or were displaced.

In the face of large numbers of impoverished farmers and the depression in the 1880's, the Japanese government finally allowed its subjects to seek employment in foreign territories. Emigration was not just a simple matter of "push" and "pull" forces. On an ideological level, with the introduction of mass education, modernization and the multiplication of newspapers, concepts like the "new world" and "adventure" introduced a new Japanese identity that was integrated with the idea of leaving Japan. Structurally, emigration was organized within a for-profit system with emigration agents, steam ship companies, brokers, boarding house keepers, contractors and gang bosses (Adachi, 1979: 16-26). The region demanding the supply of migrant labour also shaped the labour force. For example, as Glenn notes, "[as] an imperial power the United States could exact treaties and agreements that permitted recruitment of labour under advantageous terms" such as denial of naturalization rights and the prevention of the entry of the labourers' wives and children. These measures ensured that the migrants would stay in low paid, short term, dangerous jobs and not compete with resident labourers (Glenn, 1986: 23). Nonetheless, migrant

Japanese workers did compete with resident workers as well as demand higher wages. better working conditions and access to property -- especially during recessions. And when their short term work ended or when they failed to generate enough to return to their oversea homes. they began to permanently settle.

These forces of demand and supply did not function in a vacuum. While I have used research on Japanese Americans to discuss the relation between the expansion of capital and the production of migrant labourers within Canada. it is important to underline again. that it cannot be assumed that research on Japanese Americans can simply be applied to Japanese Canadians. For a start. the "politics of race" are vastly different in each country. In particular. for example. until WWII in Canada. racist politics were mediated by the fact that Canada was part of the British Commonwealth. Starting in the late 1800's. anti-Asian leagues. such as the Asiatic Exclusion League. began to lobby the provincial and federal governments demanding that they put a stop to Asian immigration. Asians and especially the Japanese were seen as the "Yellow Peril" that

> stood ready to engulf into its maw. if it was not already devouring. the livelihood and security of the white population. [So if] British Columbia did not endeavor to keep the Orientals out of the province . then "the whites...would die - be ousted absolutely out of existence" (Adachi. 1979: 66).

But the Canadian State refused to stop all immigration because it was bound by the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Britain.[26]

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[26] The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was an agreement between Britain and Japan signed in 1894 whereby "...subjects of either power were granted full liberty to enter. travel or reside in any part of the dominions and possessions of the other

Relations of capital were also mediated by race politics. In the work place, Japanese Canadian and Japanese workers, like their American counterparts, were confined to the least desirable unskilled labour and concentrated in primary industries, such as fishing, logging and mining. They earned from one half to three quarters of the wages of white workers, and were typically hired under contractors rather than as individuals, a system that added to their lower standards of living and segregation from the white labour force. As argued by Gillian Creese, among others,

> In its policies the Canadian government clearly distinguished between desirable white settlers and Asian migrants who were encouraged to work but not to settle in Canada. Asians were considered unassimilable permanent "foreigners" irrespective of naturalization or place of birth (Creese, 1988-1989: 29).

The Canadian State restricted the legal rights[27] of "nationals", "naturalized citizens" and Canadian citizens of Japanese descent. For example, along with Aboriginal peoples, Chinese Canadians and South Asian Canadians, Japanese Canadians were denied the right to vote, to hold public office and to enter certain professions such as law and teaching (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 52). To combat the discriminatory practices, Japanese settlers organized economic and political support groups, such as farming co-operatives to buy inputs and sell produce and the Japanese Fishermen's Association which, for example took the government to court when it tried to restrict the number of fishing licences held by Japanese Canadians in the 1920's.[28]

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contracting party'. Canada was bound by imperial policy to disallow British Columbia's efforts to enact anti-Oriental legislation..." (Adachi: 41)

[27] For example the right to vote and holding public office.

Moreover, Japanese Canadian communities were not just structured by racist labour relations and state policies. Around the early 1900's with the immigration of Japanese women, Japanese Canadians began to establish stable settlements around their work sites. With this settlement, the community began to develop with social services, religious and political organizations, cultural events and businesses. And the community was in no way simply an isolated enclave of "racialized" ethnics attempting to reproduce traditions from their old homelands. There were three main Japanese language newspapers which covered international and local news. It included an editorial section where writers "debated and advanced their beefs and beliefs" (Takata, 1983: 36) as well as sections for poetry, community events and gossip. The New Canadian, an English language newspaper, was considered "The Voice of The Second Generation" (Takata, p.36) and debated topics ranging from democracy to arranged marriages (Miki, 1985: vii). There was a growing number of Nisei artists and writers who challenged, documented and actively imagined the community, such as Muriel Kitagawa who wrote in the New Canadian newspaper.[29]

Some second generation Japanese Canadians (Nisei) managed to get university degrees and many others, technical degrees, such as secretarial diplomas. But facing the same systemic racism that their parents faced a generation before them, they were usually hired only in domestic services and primary and secondary industries. Nevertheless

[28] But as could be expected, as Mr. Tasaka points out, given the political climate, "of course [they] lost". (Mas Tasaka, interview, June 22, 1990, Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association of Vancouver Aural History Project.)

[29] For more discussion about Muriel Kitagawa see, Muriel Kitagawa. This is My Own: Letters to Wes and Other Writings on Japanese Canadians, 1941-1948. ed. Roy Miki. Vancouver: Talon Books, 1985.

many continued to have faith in Canadian democracy, (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 26) and some formed the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League in 1936 in order to continue the efforts of Japanese Canadian WWl veterans to lobby the Canadian state for the right to vote (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 52).

The problem of finding appropriate terms to describe this experience, points to a lack of theory that generally or specifically addresses the particular experiences of Japanese and Chinese migrant labourers in Canada. These migrant workers were articulated within racist discourses, such as the discourse of the Yellow Peril, in the context of, for example, the various international relations between Britain, Canada, Japan, China and now the United States. While there is a tendency to use American research to explain the politics of "race" in Canada, the socio-political forces that have shaped "racial" discourses in the two countries are glaringly different. Of the many factors to take into consideration, the following are a few: the United States is a world power; the US intervened in both the Vietnam and Korean civil wars; it has a massive military presence in Asia; it dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and subsequently occupied Japan; there are huge numbers of Asian war brides now living in the US; US military bases such as Oloongopo in the Philippines, are involved in exploitative "R&R" industries, ie sex industries, such as prostitution; the US previously had laws against miscegenation; and of course, the politics of "race" in the US is historically entrenched in African American slavery and the plantation system.

This is not to say that there has been no Canadian research on Chinese Canadians and Japanese Canadians. Over the last twenty years

in Canada there has been an increase in historical documentation and sociological examination of the socio-political and economic circumstances -- research that has been undertaken by both Japanese Canadian and Chinese Canadian writers. While I will discuss the research conducted by Japanese Canadians during the 70's and 80's in greater detail in chapter 5, at this juncture, it is important to underline the importance of this work. It has provided the necessary basis for understanding the circumstances and experiences of these communities. But in terms of offering new theoretical frameworks, there is still a lot of work to be done.

Much of the work noted above continues to use established sociological frameworks. In some cases, it contains residues of older theories of assimilation,[30] or maintains that in the end, "race" is an effect of class, as I will further discuss below. As well, as Glenn notes with respect to research on Asian Americans conducted as of 1986 -- these studies also focus on male migrant workers and neglect women's roles, both in the work force and in the reproduction of labour with their subsequent effects on, for example, the structure of the family and the transmission of culture (Glenn, 1986: 14-16). As Kobayashi points out, researchers need to be aware not only of the patriarchal relations endemic to their field of study, but also within the community being researched. For example, Kobayashi notes that part of the difficulty of finding information on women's labour is due in part to the "Japanese patriarchal system". She notes that while there is "photographic evidence of women working in sawmills, in what appears to be sorting or cleaning

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[30] For example, see the work of Ken Adachi, The Enemy that Never Was. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976/79.

logs...[because] menial work was eschewed within the Japanese patriarchal system...such work is denied in all written accounts"(Kobayashi, 1990: 27).

In any case, Canadian sociological work has not managed to coin new terms that recognize the way in which Japanese Canadian and Chinese Canadian communities attempt to actively produce themselves rather than just being formed by racist government policies and labour relations. Again, it is important to view these limitations in the context of the relations of scholastic production. In contrast to Canada, the United States has university departments and programs in Ethnic Studies and Asian American Studies. These particular departments and programs were established by the political efforts of Asian American students in the early 70's who wanted to research the politics of cultural, social and economic development of Asian American communities.[31] In contrast, many Canadian universities have Research Centres and sometimes Certificate Programs, Departments or Institutes that are concerned with "Asia", such as Simon Fraser University's David Lam Centre; but not with the politics of Asian Canadian communities. Like similar departments and research centres concerned with the Middle East, university departments and centres concerned with "Asian" or "Pacific Rim" countries could be understood in terms of what Edward Said calls "Orientalism", in that they constitute a set of institutions that have developed particular discourses in order to relate to "Asia" "by making statements about it, authorizing views about it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for

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[31] Discussion with Dr. Imogene L. Lim, Department of Anthropology, Brown University, US, June 4, 1993 at the Asian American Association Conference, Ithaca, N.Y., US.

dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1979: 3). Their urge to "know Asia" is all too reminiscent of that geographic jingoism of 19th and early 20th century geography.[32]

It is in order to address the problem of terminology, I have turned to the term "ethnic". Ironically part of the reason for my choice of the term "ethnic" is its lack of specificity: in particular, its lack of specificity with respect to various groups of peoples in Canada. This lack of specificity allows for the inclusion of pre-WWII Japanese immigrants who were not displaced through colonization nor a part of Jewish and African diasporas. As well "ethnic" is useful in that, as an anthropological term that has been adapted for application in industrial and urban contexts, it is concerned with changing socio-political and economic relationships (Miles, 1982: 45). Yet as I have claimed above, it is important to examine the limitations of the terminology used.

In conventional sociology, "ethnic group" is contrasted to "racial category". "Racial categories" are constructed on the basis of what are perceived to be the common physical characteristics. They are produced by "outsiders" or people who do not belong to the group in question. The "outsiders" then impose the "racial categories" that they have constructed on a group of people, people who are not necessarily in any way culturally or politically related. In contrast, an "ethnic group" is "self-defined", formed by the members of the group on the basis of what they

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[32] See for example, J.M. Blaut, "Jingo Geography", Antipode, V.I, #1, August, 1969: 10-13; Donald Vernon McKay, "Colonialism in the French Geographical Movement: 1871-1881", The Geographical Review, V.33, #2: 213-232; D.R. Stoddard, On Geography, New York: Basil Blackwood, 1986; Yves Lacoste, "An Illustration of Geographical Warfare: Bombing of the Dikes on the Red River, North Vietnam", Radical Geography, ed. Richard Peet, Chicago: Maaroufa Press, 1977: 244-261.

perceive to be common cultural practices and ancestral descent (Miles.
1982: 46). In other words an "ethnic group" is solely based on what
members believe to be the cultural traits which make them distinct and
separate from other groups (Miles. 1982: 62). While as Miles notes. this
definition has two virtues -- it recognizes that "race" and ethnicity are
both social constructions and it grants members of ethnic groups agency
by privileging their self-definition -- it remains problematic.

Culture in this framework is static, fitting into what Peter Li calls
the "transplanted cultural thesis" whereby immigrants "bring Old World
culture to North America that influences their adjustment, achievement
and community development in the New World" (Li. 1990: 11). By basing
ethnicity on phenomenal processes of self-definition, cultural differences
become abstracted from their material and historical contexts, such as
the way in which they are racially categorized. By separating self-
definitions from racial categorization into two mutually exclusive
processes that have no affect on each other, the continual and
interlocking development of cultural, political and social forms is
overlooked. Miles argues that this type of analysis results in a simple
cataloguing of cultural difference that has no explanatory force. But
nevertheless, as he and Li point out, sociologists from this tradition use
culture as a static set of practices and objects, to explain the beliefs.
organization and activities of individuals from the group in question.[33]

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[33] Recent studies of ethnicity by Wslevold W. Isajiw. Raymond Breton in Ethnic Identity
and Equality: Varieties of Experience in A Canadian City. Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 1990 are clear examples of this types of analysis. For example, even though,
referring to Yancey et. al. they state that "...it does not make sense to think of ethnicity
as merely a `constant ascribed trait that is inherited from the past'..." ("Introduction": 6)
the articles in this collection continue to regard ethnicity as a list of static cultural traits
(see for example the list of external and internal aspects of identity in Wsevolod W.
Isajiw's "Ethnic-Identity Retention": 36-37) Even when they argue that some cultural
traits and activities, such as ethnic businesses, aid ethnics to become incorporated into

This position overlooks the complicated ways in which the cultural identities of ethnic groups with distinct languages, religions and regional identities, foodways and so forth, become articulated with and against the cultural identities of the socio-political system in which they are situated. It overlooks the ways in which identities become, as Jerald Zaslove, points out, "segmented" or stratified on the basis of various cultural practices.[34] For example, when an ethnic speaks several languages, s/he becomes situated, as a bilingual (trilingual, etc.) speaker, in distinct conceptual and institutional relations. In the context of relations of domination, ethnics can produce symbolic identities based on cultural practices from their homelands, which at some level can become reified and iconistic. For example, the ethnic community can mark out cultural traits that identify for example, their "Japanese-ness" in distinction from the dominant society. But on the other hand, segmentation places bilingual (trilingual, etc.) speakers at the intersection of, for example, different conceptual systems and also opens up new relations with various institutions, for example, in terms of work, with State bureaucracies or within the ethnic's own community. Segmentation thus can operate both through reification and as zones of contact, transition and conflict.

Within the context of policy-making, mainstream sociological theories on the "ethnic" address a major concern for modern States: maintenance of national identity -- or the assimilation of immigrants. Within this approach, the ability of ethnic groups to be incorporated into

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the larger society (ie incorporation into mainstream society, ie assimilation), there are problematic assumptions. Ethnic cultural traits are judged on the basis of whether they aid ethnics to become incorporated into Canada's mainstream.

[34] Jerald Zaslove, discussion, July 1993.

mainstream society, especially into the work force, is measured in terms of their retention or loss of static cultural traits. And as such, ethnics' cultural traits are regarded as barriers to assimilation (Li, 1990: 8). Thus, ethnicity becomes a "problem" that needs to be managed[35] (Miles, 1982: 67).

In contrast, the sociological approach offered by Robert Miles and Peter Li addresses the economic context of ethnics by examining their structural position as migrant workers. Their approach has two limitations. First, they are concerned with only the externally imposed "racial category". And second, they end up producing a functionalist formulation of "race". Thus Paul Gilroy argues that for Miles,

> [race] is nothing more than an ideological, a phenomenal form masking real economic relationships in a manner analogous to a mirage....Racism, it is argued, originates and is reproduced in particular forms of the struggle between capital and labour -- specifically in the modern period, the employment of migrant labour (Gilroy, 1987: 22-23).

In this approach racism becomes a problem that can be "solved" at the economic level. And in fact, for Miles, organizing around "race" rather than class represents a threat to "a deeper class unity" (Gilroy, 1987: 23). As Gilroy argues, the problem with this definition of "race" is that it reduces "race" to an effect of class. As such it overlooks the particular relations of subordination that are informed by the negative ideological constructions of "race". As Gilroy explains, these categories are historically specific and can be constructed within a discourse of reactionary nationalism as much as within a discourse that works, among other things, to justify the super exploitation of migrant workers.

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[35] Jerald Zaslove, discussion. October, 1992.

As well, it overlooks the resources that groups implicated in racist
discourses draw on to organize themselves not only against racism, but
around other social, economic and political issues. By the term
"resources", I mean the relations and practices reproduced and
transformed from the group's homelands as well as those developed in
their current situations and struggles, such as the farm co-operatives
established by pre-WWII Japanese Canadian farmers.[36]

There remains the question of, why use the term "ethnic" if it is
such a problematic term/instrument? There is the problem of trying to
find a term that, as Frigga Haug says in her analysis of the construction
of gender identity, starts

> from the assumption that human beings do not simply fulfill
> norms...that identities are not formed through...simple
> reproduction of predetermined patterns, but the human
> capacity for action also leads to attempt to live their own
> meanings and find self fulfillment albeit within a
> predetermined space (Haug, 1987 (b): 42).

There are no general terms that recognize what Davia Stasiulis and
Roxana Ng[37] have identified as the efforts of "racialized" ethnics to
actively organize in order to address the contradictions in which they, as
"racially" defined groups, are currently located as part of the process of

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[36] Audrey Kobayashi refers to other "self-help" organizations, such as the Japanese
Benevolant Societies. But rather than referring to these organizations as resources, she
refers to them as strategies of "resistance", reproducing the discourse of Cultural
Studies where every action is defined in opposition to, rather than as alternatives to
systems of domination. (Audrey Kobayashi, "Japanese Canadians and the Racialization
of Labour in the British Columbia Sawmill Industry, 1900-1930", conference paper,
Sixth BC Studies Conference on "The Construction of Social Boundaries in British
Columbia", Vancouver, November 2-3, 1990: 21)

[37] See Daiva Stasiulus, "The Politics of Minority Resistance Against Racism in the Local
State", Community Organization and the Canadian State, Toronto: Garamond, 1990,
p.213-236 and Roxana Ng, " Sexism, Racism, Nationalism", Race, Class, Gender: Bonds
and Barriers, ed. Jesse Vorst et al. Socialist Studies/Etudes Socialistes: A Canadian
Annual No.5., 1989, p.10-25.

their socio-political production. The terms "racial" "race" and "other" all denote negative constructions of subjugated peoples by systems of subjugation where they, as the subjugated, remain passive victims. These terms fail take to note of the recent anthropological works, by for example, Jonathan D. Hill[38] that contest the assumptions of the conventional sociology by viewing subjugated groups as dynamic, not just resisting their subjugators, but generating alternative ideologies and practices.

Without a general term that recognizes both agency and structural determination, what are the options? As I argued above, it would be inappropriate to rework specific terms like "post-colonial" and "diaspora" to suit my needs. These terms were developed by subjugated groups to address issues and conditions that concerned them.[39] Thus reworking terms like "post-colonial" to address Japanese Canadian experience would not only work to blur their conceptual precision but also their political significance of their theoretical relations of production. It would be like trying to rework the concept of "race" to describe gender: there are parallels but they entail different, albeit articulated, relationships. I could coin a new term that, like African American or "post-colonial", refers specifically to the experiences of Japanese Canadians. For

[38] See, for example, essays in Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past, edited by Jonathan D. Hill, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

[39] For example, the post-colonial theorization of the construction of the "Other" as the binary opposite of white Western middle class man, as the epitome of the Western subject, reflects concerns raised by earlier writing. Writers such as Albert Memmi and Franz Fannon, sought to understand the way in which the consciousnesses of "colonizers" and the "colonized" contributed to the reproduction of the colonial system. For this continuity of concern see for example, Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, New York: Orion Press, 1965/57 and Hommi Bhabha, "The Other Question...", Screen, V.24, #6, November-December, 1983: 18-36.

example, I could choose a Japanese Canadian concept, such as the Japanese word "Nikkei" meaning overseas Japanese residents. But this term lacks theoretical capacities, pointing precisely to the problem that I am facing: the lack of a theoretical framework to address "Nikkei" experience outside of the mainstream sociological frameworks of retention of Old World culture/incorporation into Canadian society.

Part of the *construction* of a concept that identifies Japanese Canadians and Chinese Canadians in a dialectic relationship between their racial categorization and their "human capacity for action [that] also leads [them] to attempt to live their own meanings and find self fulfillment albeit within a predetermined space" requires us to develop a "conceptual parallel" to concepts like African American. In order to do this I argue that it is first necessary to dislodge the conceptualization of Japanese Canadians and Chinese Canadians from conventional sociological frameworks. What I am suggesting is a transitional process whereby they would be situated in a more general category that aligns them with conceptualizations that recognize other "racially" defined groups in North America who on the one hand, have been displaced from their homelands by capital expansion but on the other, who are recognized as actively attempting to organize themselves to address their current circumstances. In other words it would be premature to "coin" a specific term before developing a theoretical framework.

What I am suggesting then is a provisional step towards the development of a concept that operates in parallel to concepts like "African American". But at the same time I am arguing this is extremely difficult to do so because there is no adequate general concept that describes peoples displaced by capital expansion in a way that also

recognizes that they have some, though not total control, over their development. Clearly such a term could also include European ethnics who were displaced by development of industrial capitalism or territorial disputes between nation-states. If there was a more general concept, I would be able to argue the way in which it applies to Japanese Canadians and Chinese Canadians. But without such a term, my provisional strategy is to rework the conventional definition of the term "ethnic" so that it operates in this way. For my present goal, "ethnic" as a concept is useful precisely because of its lack of specificity, unlike, for example, the concept "post-colonial" which was developed as a specific conceptual tool to address particular circumstances. This lack of specificity makes it possible to rework the concept without dismissing the work of another subordinated group; as well it is useful because of its concern to conceptualize relations and organizations; and unlike "racial category" it recognizes the agency of the group in question.

Yet having argued for this term, one must be aware that it can only be provisional, since the term "ethnic", as it is now constituted, remains firmly entrenched in conventional sociological discourses. As such, I would be hesitant to extend it to Aborginals and diasporic African peoples, both of whom have sophisticated theories conceptualizing their displacements, despite the fact that their displacement is also based on the expansion of capital. Yet this seems to be the most adequate strategy -- if only for the period covered by this thesis -- to conceptualize "racially" categorized people in North America who have been displaced from their homelands by the expansion of capital, but who have not necessarily been colonized, as the term "post-colonial" infers. People who, despite their economic, political and social integration within

Canada, continue to be defined by the dominant society as "racial minorities". Caught between the racist legacy of a British colonial system and a commitment to human rights: between the demise of the welfare state and the federal commitment to multiculturalism: between the need for cheap labour and protests against the loss of jobs due to Free Trade Agreements -- "racialized" ethnics are accepted only reluctantly by the Canadian government and public.

I would argue that the contradiction through which the "racialized" ethnic is produced and in turn struggles against, is also an important contradiction in the capitalist mode of production. In Marxist terms, a contradiction is a relationship between "forces" where one force tends to produce certain conditions which "simultaneously or subsequently produces a countervailing force...which tends to frustrate, annul, subvert or transform the initial force" (Bhasker, 1983: 93). "Racialized" ethnics are initially produced when the expansion of capital destroys the capacity of their former societies to either socially or economically sustain them. In order to survive, they are forced to struggle against the conditions which produced them. If they overcome the contradiction which produced them -- the way in which capital expansion lead to the utimate destruction of their former society's capacity to sustain and reproduce social and economic life -- there is the possibility of producing new emancipatory forms of society. But their struggle in no way will necessarily lead to a resolution that will contribute to undermining the capitalist mode of production or the development of communism -- Karl Marx's open ended definition of the term. They tilt on the brink between reactionary nationalism, fighting to carve new territories out of regions inhabited by other peoples, such as the Israelis and Serbs: becoming

assimilated into existing nation-states, such as Irish and Ukrainian Canadians; or developing new political-social systems that support and sustain human life, as is possibly the case for the People of the First Nations in Canada. To conceptualize the ways in which "racialized" ethnic communities might be politically mobilized in order to address the contradictions in which they are situated, the next chapter will discuss the structural similarities and differences between the socio-political units "community", "new social movements" and "class".

CHAPTER 2

MOBILIZING "RACIALIZED" ETHNIC COMMUNITIES: PARALLELS TO NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES?

As I pointed out in the previous chapter, just because "racialized" ethnics are produced by contradictions generated by the capitalist mode of production does not mean that they will address their situation by working to develop emancipatory alternatives. The way in which they will address their situation depends on a number of factors, one of which is cultural production. But before discussing the particular way in which cultural production is articulated with political action, it is first necessary to understand the way in which "racialized" ethnic communities potentially address the contradictions not only in which they are situated, but which are particular to societies structured by capitalist relations of production. In order to do so, it is necessary to discuss the socio-political organization of "racialized" ethnic communities.

Again, one is faced with the problem of the lack of appropriate terminology. How does one describe a group of people who reproduce and transform socio-political, economic and cultural relations, who are distinct from the society in which they are situated and who over the generations continue to be structurally and ideologically differentiated from other members of that society? Thus far I have been referring to this type of group as a "racialized" ethnic "community". But there are a number of limitations to this concept. Currently "community" is a popular term that refers to a wide range of different types of groups, for example there is "the business community", "academic community", "arts community" or "rural community". As it is generally used, the term

"community" does not describe a grouping of people that is based on a particular set of structural relations. Instead it positively describes individuals who are associated through some commonality, such as shared interests, activities or location.

But "community" is also a sociological concept that was developed by Ferdinand Tönnies in the late 19th century, outlined in his book Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. As with other classical social theorists, such as Durkheim, Tönnies was concerned with comparing the social organization typical of feudalism to that of capitalism: respectively Gemeinschaft/community vs Gesellschaft/society. He held that "with the development of trade, the modern state, science, the natural will and Gemeinschaft-like characteristics of social entities, norms and values gave way to rational will and Gesellschaft-like characteristics" (Loomis, 1965: 3). In Gemeinschaft people lived in the same locale with their families "from birth on, bound to it by weal and woe" (Tönnies, 1965: 34); in Gesellschaft people are mobile, living among strangers. Where once collective and cooperative home based production along with barter between a relatively small group of people sufficed to fulfill "simple needs", with Gesellschaft, production operates at a global scale within the capitalist mode of production. In Gemeinschaft kinship and religion were the central institutions. Following from this, relations were based on gratitude faithfulness, trust, instinct and "bonds of the heart" (Tönnies, 1965: 33-48). People's actions were informed by natural will, composed and sanctioned by customs, folkways, and mores (Loomis, 1965: 8-9). It was a social organization where "[the] work of the peasant, hunter, artisan, or artist [was] a way of life" (McKinney, 1965: 5). Tools, land, activities and so forth were extensions of a person, not merely a means to

an end. In other words, "community" was typified by "unity": an organic whole. In contrast, Gesellschaft is based on rational will, where activities and relationships function as a means to end. As an atomized society of strangers, it is based on contractual relations and backed up by legislated law.

In Canadian and especially American sociological literature, empirically the term is used in a number of ways. For example, during the interwar period the Chicago School used it to analyze the process of urbanization during the transition from cohesive, value-bound rural American communities to what was feared to be an anomic, atomized urban society: mass society (Eyles, 1986: 50-52: Stein, 1964: 28-45). Subsequently, it has been used more to describe particular social units within contemporary societies -- rather than two historically and economically distinct types of social organization.[40] For example, it is used to describe groups that are either "united in space, function, or other interest, and sharing perspectives that bind them together in some degree of common action" (Minar and Greer, 1969: 187). For example, American sociological literature has applied the concept to neighbourhoods, rural towns, cities, professional groups, colleges, religious groups and "racialized" groups.[41] These communities are based on habitual interactions and subsequently face to face interaction within shared locations and/or institutions. From these interactions,

[40] For example, see the articles in Roxana Ng, Gillian Walker and Jacob Muller ed. Community Organizations and the Canadian State, Toronto: Garamond Press, 1990.

[41] For example, see the articles in The Concept of Community: Readings with Interpretations, ed. David W. Minar and Scott Greer, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969.

common values and modes of conduct develop with which the members identify.

Initially it may seem as if communities, as social units "united in space, function, or other interest, and sharing perspectives that bind them together in some degree of common action" are somewhat similar to groups now referred to as new social movements. New social movements are organized around commonly identified issues arising from either relations of subordination, such those experienced by women, gays, slum dwellers and racially defined groups; or structural threats to the reproduction of social and organic life at a global level, such as those posed by the industrial-military complex. But while there are loose parallels between the two that aid in the theorization of the political development of "racialized" ethnic communities, it is necessary to point out their categorical distinctions. New social movements are political movements that seek to change their conditions of living. They differ from traditional working class movements in that they are not organized around what is conventionally identified as the economy or site of production: the relationship between wage-labour and capital -- the relationship whereby capitalists extract surplus labour from wage-labour to create surplus value.[42] As well, new social movements do not identify a working class revolutionary party as the central agent of historical transformation in the transition to socialism. Nor is the political strategy of seizing political power from the state seen as the key means of undermining the capitalist mode of production.

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[42] For more discussion see Roy Bhaskar, "Contradiction", A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, ed. Tom Bottomore et. al. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983: 94; Simon Mohun, "Capital", A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, ed. Tom Bottomore et. al. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983: 60-64.

New social movements, especially anti-racist and women's movements, argue that relations of subordination that structure societies where the production of capital predominates are not all reducible to what have now become conventionally established as "economic" relations (Findlay, Cunningham and Silva: 9-19). As such, the working class is seen in parallel to new "political subjects" that are not "constructed around specific 'class interests'" but have emerged from recent contradictions arising from the reorganization of capitalism (Laclau and Mouffe: 17). In this formulation, the question becomes "what will bind these groups together in a common effort to achieve widespread radical change"(Findlay, Cunningham and Silva: 14).

In contrast to communities, then, new social movements are primarily political. People identify with and organize themselves around a particular relation of subjugation or structural contradiction. Membership in a community is not necessarily a function of choice but occurs by virtue of participation in relations and activities specific to a location and set of institutions. Nor are communities necessarily or primarily organized around addressing relations of subjugation. In fact at a conceptual level, the concept of community can be conservative, retaining various aspects of Tönnies original formulation. Based on his archetypal agricultural village, this use of community is often imbued with a strong normative valuation where there is a "longing for a commonality of desire, a communion with those around us, an extension of the bonds of kin and friend to all those who share a typical fate" (Minar and Greer, 1969: ix). It nostalgically recalls a happy, simple past of abundance and stability. But as Gillian Walker has argued, this normative valuation works to obscure relations of subordination based

on. for example. gender. race. class and age (Walker. 1990: 31-46). For example. Benedict Anderson argues that members of the modern nation-state imagine themselves as part of a community because "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship" (Anderson. 1989: 16). But Minar and Greer also point out that the liberal tradition has criticized the communal. collective and stable aspects of Gemeinschaft and posed negative tensions between the interests of the group vs the individual: and between stability vs stagnation where change in the community is seen as a destructive disruption (Minar and Greer. 1969: x).

Given the ideological weight of the concept. the question arises whether it is a useful term. Would it be better to use the concept "new social movement" to describe the political development of "racialized" ethnics? I would argue that a "community" as a concept is useful as long as it is recognized that communities are potentially conservative. that they are social units that are not necessarily or primarily organized around undermining the relations of subordination in which its members are situated. As such. community offers a description of a particular type of socio-political organization distinct from yet structured within the larger political and economic configurations of the nation-state in which they are located.[43]

[43] Nation-State here is understood as a socio-political organization that assumes sovereignty over a finite territory. its inhabitants and resources: the governing body (the state) "...is that institution or set of institutions specifically concerned with the maintenance of order": the decisions of the governing body are backed by institutionalized coercion: there being some sort of social contract between governed and governing (i.e. consent to be ruled); and "...nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy. which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones...": moreover. Ernest Gelner argues that nationalism is specifically the homogeneous culture that arises from industrial societies (Ernest Gelner. Nations and Nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983: 1-7. 39).

Another aspect of community which differentiates it from new social movements is the connotation of stability derived from Tönnies' theorization. Put another way -- one of the characteristics of communities as particular social units, is their ability to reproduce themselves over time. William J. Goode, in his examination of the structural relations between a "contained community and the larger society of which it is a part and on which it is dependent"(Goode, 1969: 152), elaborates on the micro-level "forces that maintain" communities as particular social units. In particular he examines the "community of profession": a community that is not based on conventional requisites of physical locus or biological and social reproduction through kinship. He claims that community members are bound by a sense of identity; because few leave it inculcates a permanent status; members share common values; its role definitions vis-a-vis both members and non-members are agreed on by all members; there is a common language; it has power over its members; its has identifiable boundaries; it reproduces itself, in this case through selection and socialization (Goode, 1969: 153).

In contrast, one of the key problems that new social movements face is the struggle to reproduce themselves: the production and reproduction of political relations and subjectivities that go against the grain, not only of ideology, but also the fragmented, energy consuming conditions of living in capitalist societies. In particular, it is necessary to take into account the way in which the welfare state over the last forty years has worked to depoliticize its citizens in these regions, specifically in terms of what John Keane refers to as

the contradictory rules of administrated politics in the era of late capitalism...[where] the more the constituents of this order are administered through state and corporate actions, the more they are expected to undergo depoliticization, to busy themselves within a political culture that promotes public deference and private orientation towards career, leisure, and consumption (Keane, 1984 (a): 89).

This depolitization requires the atomization of people. It requires that people identify with the State, in cultural terms, that they identify themselves as "citizens" within Benedict Anderson's imagined national community -- rather than with the socio-political and economic relations in which they are situated. The effect of this articulation, according Keane, who cites Jürgen Habermas, is that the "officially sanctioned relation of the citizens to the state becomes not one of political participation, but a general level of expectation, of anticipation of welfare, but not an attempt to actually determine decisions" (Keane, 1984 (a): 90). The "re-politicization" of civil society in recent years through new social movements demonstrates that this model of depoliticization is too simplistic.[44] It suggests that process of depoliticization works along the lines of entropy, where agency disintegrates into a state of passivity. Yet, nevertheless, this is one of the processes that new social movements must struggle against in their efforts to produce and reproduce themselves.

In contrast, one of the key characteristics of communities, as I have outlined above, especially "racialized" ethnic communities, is their ability to reproduce themselves, at the very least, as distinct from the cultural and social relations of the larger society in which they are located. The particular way in which "racialized" ethnic communities are

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[44] Rick Gruneau, in discussion with Kirsten McAllister, July 1993.

able to reproduce themselves identifies one of their key characteristics: reproduction through families, not only biologically, but socially as well. With this intergenerational dimension, there is the historical dimension which is a critical aspect of the reproduction of identity in "racialized" ethnic communities -- to the point where historical research is regarded as one of the essential activities in these communities, an issue I will be discussing in chapter four. As well, due to the presence of different age groups as well as different classes, occupations, statuses and at times religious associations, there will be a multitude of different interests, conflicts and concerns within communities. And with the potentially conservative aspect of communities, it is probable that "racialized" ethnic communities can and do reproduce relations of subordination from the larger society as well. How is this compatible with what I have argued above, that "racialized" ethnics are on the one hand produced through displacement caused by capital expansion; and on the other, through their efforts to organize themselves against these circumstances?

It is here that "racialized" ethnic communities parallel new social movements. People who potentially might identify with a new social movement, are initially part of the "general public" and as such, reproduce the relations particular to the larger social order. Neither the member of the general public nor the "racialized" ethnic is necessarily conscious of the contradiction in which they are situated. When members of the general public join new social movements, they develop heightened political identities, becoming involved in actively working to change their conditions of living. But when "racialized" ethnics work to address the relations of subordination in which they are situated, they do not necessarily become politicized. According to the conceptualization of

the "racialized" ethnic in this thesis. by definition "racialized" ethnic communities are formed in opposition. and as alternatives to the new nation-state in which they are situated. To meet their needs. "racialized" ethnics form communities. They develop various political. cultural and economic institutions to address issues such as racism[45]: to maintain the practices necessary to maintain ties with their home country if. for example. they have family and friends who remain there: to adapt to the language and culture. work skills. in addition to the various systems of housing. communication. transportation. government assistance programs. civil rights. and so forth in their new locations.

But the question remains: what types of opposition and alternatives do "racialized" ethnic communities produce? Is the purpose of opposition to develop a society that attempts to undermine relations of subordination? Is it informed by a reactionary nationalism? Is it concerned with merely meeting the material and cultural needs of its members? I argue that the role of cultural production has a key role in informing the type of opposition and alternatives "racialized" ethnic communities form. recognizing that "racialized" ethnic communities are made up of diverse groups with often conflicting interests.

At another level. it is necessary to question the extent of the changes that politicized "racialized" ethnic communities and new social movements are working towards. Clearly. it is impossible to make generalizations for all groups at all times. especially since each group needs to be viewed in the context of its particular development and

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[45] Anything from discrimination at work. school or in public. in terms of access to services. social respect. evaluations. hiring procedures. media coverage. physical violence etc.

historical specificity. But it is important to address this question in order to determine whether or which of their strategies and concerns implicate demands for concessions within the current system, or necessitate working towards radically changing the system. One way in which to approach this question is to conceptualize "racialized" ethnic communities and new social movements in the sense of Antonio Gramsci's term "popular democratic" groups.[46] Communities and new social movements are both located in particular historical and social contradictions. The contradiction in which "racialized" ethnics are situated -- ousted from their home countries through capital expansion and relocated in new nations hostile to their presence -- identifies them as a popular-democratic group. They constitute a group with interests and contradictions specific to a historical moment. While Gramsci claims that these groups can not be reduced to class positions, he argues that the two fundamental classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, still continue to play the central roles in determining the direction of the capitalist mode of production.

Like Marx, Gramsci holds that both classes have a fundamental stake in whether the system is reproduced or undermined. Gramsci

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[46] Most references to what I am terming the popular-democratic, are made to what Gramsci refers to as national-popular, which I would argue is a specific instance of the popular-democratic that is particular to nation-states. See Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, ed. Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, New York: International Publishers, 1971/1985: 131, 182, 241; Antonio Gramsci, "The Concept of the National-Popular", Selections from Cultural Writings, David Forgacs and Geoffry Nowell-Smith ed., London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985: 202-212; also see the way in which Roger Simon uses national-popular in the broader sense of the popular-democratic, as "people" positions rather than just in terms of a "national" position: Roger Simon, Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982/85: 23-24, 42-45; also see Ernesto Laclau, Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory, New York: Verso, London, 1977/87: 100-111, 162-176.

develops a theory of culture from Marx's writings that address the historical and material specifities in which class struggle is located. He argues that the ability to maintain or overthrow the system depends on the ability to maintain and gain consent from other social forces, the "popular democratic" groups. Consent to rule is established through establishing "intellectual and moral leadership": hegemony. The bourgeoisie maintain hegemony by articulating the concerns of the various social forces within an ideology which co-opts or discredits criticisms and naturalizes the capitalist mode of production. In contrast, the proletariat gain hegemony by articulating the concerns and criticisms into a project aimed at undermining the capitalist system, and they maintain their legitimacy by working to resolve the various concerns and conflicts (Coraggio and Irwin, 1985: 29-33; Simon, 1985: 23-24).

This position differs from most of the recent writings on new social movements, such as Laclau and Mouffe, which argue that the working class does not necessarily have the primary role of the revolutionary party. Notably, they claim that structural transformations of capitalism have lead to the decline of the classical working class in post-industrial societies and "the increasingly profound penetration of capitalist relations of production on areas of social life, whose dislocatory effects -- concurrent with those deriving from the new forms of bureaucratization which have characterized the Welfare State -- have generated new forms of social protest" (Laclau, 1987 (b): 80).

Political economists have theorized these transformations in terms of what they call the development of "flexible accumulation". Technological changes in communication systems have resulted in an increase in the mobility and decentralization of capital. Before with large

and immobile capital investments, for example in industrial plants, corporations depended on a large stable supply of labour. Because it was difficult to relocate capital, the demands of labour had to be taken into consideration. Now with new communication technologies that can rapidly transfer capital and the trend towards small scale, decentralized forms of production, such as home-based piece work, corporations have more control over the work force in that it is difficult to unionize workers who are scattered and under the constant threat of their jobs being relocated (Harvey, 1990: 121-200). This means an increase in the pace of the global reorganization of the labour market -- which can be seen in the recent Free Trade negotiations between Canada, the US and Mexico, where if the agreement is secured, it will result in large scale structural unemployment, low wages and low capital costs.

Despite the implications of the resulting "disorganization" of the traditional working class movement, I would continue to defend the position and that the working class continues to have a central role in challenging the capitalist mode of production. It continues to be the fact that through the relationship between capital and labour, surplus value is garnered in order to produce capital. Yet I would differ from the position that the working class as a "pure category" is the necessary political agent that will lead other social forces towards a transformation to socialism. By "pure category" I mean class as an abstraction that conceptualizes the immediate relationship between wage-labour and capital. I would argue that class is a relationship that on the one hand manifests itself in historically specific ways, and on the other, includes the way in which it is secured. In other words, in the context of developing strategies for political mobilization, class can not just be

limited to the relation whereby commodity labour power is sold for a wage: M-C-M' (Mohun, 1983: 61).

With the reorganization of the labour force under "flexible accumulation", it is useful to approach "class" at the general level of those who control the means of production and those who do not. At this level, it becomes possible to recognize the way in which new political strategies are being developed to challenge, on the one hand, the most recent methods of surplus-value extraction; and more particularly, on the other, the recent reorganization of civil society which works to secure this new form of extraction and destablize previous forms of resistance (such as traditional working class movements). This is all in addition to the new contradictions that are being created. While I do not intend to discuss this at any great length, my aim is to point out how this more general approach is useful for the theorization of recent political strategies on the left.

This more general level, as Stuart Hall points out, encompasses Karl Marx's concern over the question of how people socially organize themselves within different modes of production (Hall, 1979: 315). Marx starts from the position that humans produce their lives. While like other animals we appropriate objects from nature to meet our physical needs, this process, what Marx calls labour, is not merely a means to an end. He argues that it is our "life-activity": "[the] whole character of a species -- its species character -- is contained in the character of its life activity; and free, conscious activity is [human's] species-character" (Marx, 1972 (a): 62). As conscious creative animals we also develop different means of appropriating nature or as he put it, different "means of living". And we do so as essentially social animals: "social in the

sense [of the]...cooperation of several individuals. no matter under what conditions. in what matter and to what end." So in order to appropriate nature -- to meet their needs -- human groups organize themselves in social. political and cultural relationships in their various historically and geographically specific ways. "It follows from this that a certain mode of production...is always combined with a certain mode of co-operation. or social stage"(Marx. 1972 (c): 122). As the means of appropriating nature develops. new needs are also created: in this way we "produce ourselves".

In the capitalist mode of production there are no mechanisms that allow the majority of people a means of determining their means of living. There are two levels at which this occurs: level of wage labour and the level of civil society. As I outlined above. people exchange their labour power for wages which in turn. covers the costs of reproducing themselves as workers. for example in terms of ensuring they can procure food or education. The individual wage earned is rarely enough to be turned into capital. Granted that what constitutes the components of reproduction are neither static nor determined solely by the process of production. and thus workers have had some determination in their form of reproduction. Yet within this system. ultimately. when workers sell their labour power. they become alienated from the characteristic that defines them as human. their ability to produce themselves (Marx. 1972 (a): 58-66).

The value of the labour power purchased by the capitalist always exceeds the wage given to the worker. so the capitalist is able to extract surplus labour. which is then turned into capital which further produces more surplus value. The ability of capitalists to exploit workers depends.

in part, on undermining autonomous institutions and activities in civil society and articulating them with State bureaucracy and capitalist relations. Within this system, then, workers have either no control or only limited control over the labour process through institutionalized mechanisms, such as unions. For in any case, this process of production is organized around the creation of capital for the owners of production rather than around meeting and developing the producers' needs.

As some feminists have argued, unions have focused on the direct means of extracting surplus value, rather than the ways in which the so-called private sphere has been organized in order to secure the extraction of surplus value. The private sphere supposedly encompasses for example, the relations of family, sexuality, health, education, leisure, consumption, areas that are left out of what is conventually recognized as "politics".[47] As Liora Salter points in the early 80's, groups that do raise concerns in these areas are dismissed as "special interest groups" (Salter, 1981: 202). But within a legal and political system that was built around the rights of owners of private property, any attempt to determine the conditions of living that challenge the current system of

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[47] Michelle Barrett, Nancy Hartsock, Gillian Walker and Carole Pateman among others have critically examined the public sphere in contemporary Western societies. For example, Carole Pateman a political theorist, discusses the philosophical roots and implications of the split between public and private. She argues that men are recognized as "citizens" in the public sphere and women are relegated to the private sphere where their concerns and activities are either overlooked or regulated by the "citizens". According to Pateman, civil society is the realm of the citizens: those who uphold the social contract. This is "...the universal sphere of freedom, equality, individualism, reason, contract and impartial law..." She identifies the "...private world of particularity, natural subjugation, ties of blood, emotion, love and sexual passion, [as] the world of woman, in which men also rule"(Carole Pateman, "The Fraternal Contract", The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory. Carole Pateman, Stanford: Standford University Press, 1989: 43).

"appropriating nature", is not an issue that can be resolved solely between labour and capital. The effects of this system are "ubiquitous", not just restricted to the immediate relation between workers and individual corporations: affecting, for example, the micro and macro levels of the biosphere, having consequences for health, housing, zoning, waste management and food production.

This is where new social movements enter the field of politics. Rather than specifically addressing the immediate relation between wage-labour and capital, they are concerned with the general class question of challenging a system of production that is organized around the production of capital. They are concerned with gaining control over their means of living. In particular these movements focus on the way in which the capitalist mode of production has organized relations and activities that, as I have pointed out above, have been traditionally considered outside the sphere of politics, but which are contradictions arising from the way civil society has been reorganized as a result of the structural changes to the labour force.

This follows Gramsci's idea of extending the "sphere of politics" into civil society. Gramsci argued that power was not only embodied in the state, but also diffused throughout civil society: his concept of the integral state where the state is composed of political society as well as civil society (Mercer, 1980: 114). Thus not only is it necessary to overthrow the state, but to extend democratic control to all areas of life (Simon, 1985: 103). Participating in politics, develops the capacity to think and act for oneself, which is not directed from above but is autonomous (Simon: 91) Mikhail Bakhtin argues that ancient Greek society was composed only of "surface": there was no private sphere, no

place where activities, groups, concerns were submerged, out of the consideration, acknowledgement, and agenda of the society (Bakhtin, (c): 131-135). From this, it follows that the question of re-constituting the citizen in the public sphere as a politically active and critical citizen is essential.

So where does class fit into my discussion of the political development of "racialized" ethnic communities and the general public? Conceptualizing class at a general level, offers a basis for the coalition between these various groups concerned with gaining control over their means of living -- against a system of production that is organized around the production of capital. I would argue that interests arising from these positions are not just the equivalent of a class' economic corporate interests -- its sectional interests. They are more than barriers that need to be overcome in order to recognize the interests they share with other groups: to become a "class for itself". Not only must both sectional interests and the shared interests be recognized. But as well, it is also necessary to address the way in which their interests have in some instances, been placed in opposition to each other, as in the case of industrial labour unions and the women's movement; and the way in which particular contradictions have been articulated together, for example, as in the case of sexism and homophobia. So a coalition needs to recognize that each group is working towards a new mode of production that is not based on increasing profit, but rather on critically reworking the relations of subordination that not only they are situated in but may also reproduce.

Recognition of a group's "popular democratic" positions is also important at a strategic level. To develop effective political practices, it is

necessary to recognize a group's particular social and political forms of organization and communication. Specifically, by focusing on the means by which communities develop their consciousness, it is necessary to focus on the means by which they -- as opposed to Lenin's revolutionary party -- formulate their conditions of living and find means to address them. The question of developing a means to formulate one's conditions of living is a cultural question. It is important to recognize the particular relations involved in the production of knowledge. By concentrating on the cultural practices developed by communities, rather than by the revolutionary party -- another means of producing knowledge can be explored. By focusing on the production of knowledge in communities I am not dismissing the role of intellectuals. Nor am I implying that all aspects of community life are collectively produced.[48] Rather, I would agree with Raymond Williams, Antonio Gramsci and Janet Wolff who claim that knowledge is not produced through individual genius but through a dialectic between experience and socially learned conceptual systems derived from historically accumulated practice. And while I would agree with Gramsci that everyone has the capacity to develop the skills to become an intellectual, nevertheless he argues that there are specialized producers whose role it is to materialize knowledge in forms that society can utilize. More specifically, in "The Intellectuals", Gramsci claims that every class creates with itself, organic intellectuals "which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields"(Gramsci, 1985 (b): 5). While he is clearly referring to organic intellectuals as they belong

[48] For a discussion of this point, see Jack Goody, "Intellectuals in Pre-literate Societies?", The Domestication of the Savage Mind, Jack Goody, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977/1990: 19-35.

to emerging or established fundamental classes, it is possible to argue that communities also have organic intellectuals. Gramsci discusses these intellectuals as if they were part of a class's forces of production in that they "elaborate the course of its development" (Gramsci, 1985 (b): 6). In other words they produce the technologies, ideas, forms of organization which contribute to securing or attempting to secure that class' monopoly over the means of production. They are definitive of class in that they attempt to find the means to overcome that group's contradiction. Likewise, the organic intellectuals in "racialized" ethnic communities are also definitive in that they address the contradiction in which that group in located: displaced from their homelands and located in a new nation hostile to their presence.

My point is that while intellectuals have a role in articulating particular concepts that are important for the development of consciousness, they do not necessarily possess some superior capacity to understand a group's conditions of existence. Consciousness is developed through a process whereby community members draw from and are directed by the experiences and the knowledge of their group. The particular way in which knowledge is produced is of critical importance to the way in which a group politically organizes itself, for example, whether the production of critical knowledge requires the development of new institutions and relations.

For example, the production of knowledge is not limited to the moment when specialized producers materialize particular concepts. As Harold Innis argued, the way in which knowledge as a particular means of understanding and organizing society should be analyzed is in terms of the way in which it is produced in the context of a particular set of

institutional relations specific to the medium in which the knowledge is produced and disseminated. Moreover, it is necessary to investigate the ways in which particular concepts continue to be developed, contested or promoted within or beyond the institution in which it was initially articulated, in any number of fields whether it be governance or domestic life.

It is through an examination of the particular role of cultural production in the political organization in ethnic communities, then, that I intend to lay out the argument that "racialized" ethnic communities, rather than just constituting the historical specificities in which class struggles are embedded -- which also need to be addressed -- potentially offer in themselves, alternatives to the world views and relations intrinsic to the capitalist mode of production. They are generative sites, sites where both oppositional residual and emergent processes potentially lie and are developed.[49] Again it is important to emphasize that I am not suggesting that the political development of "racialized ethnic" communities is necessarily critically informed. As I suggested above, communities often have their own relations of subjugation around relations of race, gender, class and status which are articulated within the socio-political relationships of their new nations. But the way in which communities will address their situation depends on a number of factors, one of which is cultural production.

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[49] See Raymond Williams for his discussion on residual and emergent <u>Marxism and Literature</u>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977/1986: 121-127.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL PRACTICES:
HABERMAS' NOTION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

In the preceding chapters, I have discussed the general way in
which "racialized" ethnics in North America are produced through a
contradiction specific to the capitalist mode of production. After being
displaced from their homelands, "racialized" ethnics relocate to socio-
political regions in the economic north, that while generally hostile to
their presence, nevertheless offer some political and social security. In
order to address their changing circumstances, I argued, "racialized"
ethnics form communities. To conceptualize the possibilities of politically
mobilizing "racialized" ethnic communities, I drew parallels between
sociological theories on communities, new social movements, class and
popular-democratic groups. The question as to whether "racialized"
ethnic communities address the contradiction in which they are situated
by developing emancipatory political practices depends on a number of
factors, one of which is cultural production.

The remaining chapters of this thesis are concerned with this
problem: conceptualizing the role of cultural production in the political
development of "racialized" ethnic communities. Specifically, I will focus
on the role of cultural production in generating political alternatives to
the systems of subjugation in which "racialized" ethnics are situated and
in some cases reproduce. After outlining the general relationship
between culture and political activity, this chapter will discuss the way in
which Jürgen Habermas's notion of the public sphere offers a concrete

model for conceptualizing this relationship. To begin this discussion a working definition of culture is needed.

In The Long Revolution, Raymond Williams uses the work of Professor J.Z. Young to examine culture's social relations of production. Unlike the claims of empiricists. You g states that the brain is "not a simple recording system like a film [that] provides us with an accurate record, independent of ourselves" (Williams, 1961: 17). He argues that the information we receive from the material world has to be interpreted according to established human rules, rules which Williams refers to as "conventional descriptions". A society's descriptions allow individuals to apprehend and thus appropriate the world in order, on the one hand to maintain their lives and on the other, to achieve greater control over their circumstances. To physically survive as individuals, then, we must learn the established rules for apprehension. As well, rules of apprehension not only allow us to apprehend the material world, but our own experiences as well. Williams claims that in order to be realized and thus validated, our experiences must be described: they must be put into a communicable form so they can be apprehended. In this way, descriptions can be understood as "forces of production". They are implements we use to appropriate the material world in order to sustain ourselves: in other words they are necessary components in our means of producing and reproducing our lives (Williams, 1961: 38-39).

At another level, physical survival is bound up with social reproduction: to survive, the individual relies on her/his capability to learn the conceptual systems of a particular social group (Williams, 1961: 17-18). In other words, to reproduce ourselves, we must belong to a group who has developed a cultural system. And through this

membership, the individual not only reproduces her/himself, but the group as well. For when "people have lived together, [they]...come to share a certain organization by which their minds have been trained to activity, [and these]...processes of organization are in fact institutions....[The institutions in themselves, are] a means of communications: [they] both [organize] and [express] a common meaning by which [a] people live" (Williams, 1961: 31). As Williams claims, "[since] our way of seeing things is literally our way of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and thence common activities and purposes"(Williams, 1961: 38-39).

But as creative animals, humans are not just limited to reproducing conventional descriptions. They seek new descriptions to better understand and control their conditions. According to Williams the impulse to change descriptions is "a learned response to disturbances". Williams describes "disturbances" as a gap between individual experiences and the established descriptions or lack of descriptions. Change usually occurs in more disturbed rapidly changing societies where (Williams, 1961: 30-32) the older descriptions limit and constrain people's adaptation to the new circumstances. But new descriptions are also made within so-called stable societies.

This production, as well as the purpose of new definitions, remains grounded in the social sphere. As mentioned above, the new descriptions must be in a communicable form: other members of the society must be able to interpret them. To meet this condition they must re/articulate an experience recognizable to others and must draw on practiced means of communication (Williams, 1961: 30-34). As well, whether we accept a

new description depends on "our capacities to grow in such ways which depends....on the organization of the audience....In some cases we will be literally unable to receive what is offered: we simply cannot see the world, cannot respond to experience, in that way. For experience has to be fitted into our whole organization"(Williams, 161: 35). Thus in our attempt to find a means to apprehend experiences inadequately conceptualized by conventional descriptions we produce new conventions, which in some cases work to change our social organization.

In this definition, culture seems very similar to a Gramscian definition of ideology where ideology is undertood as a particular "world view": the conceptual means through which particular groups make sense of the world. For example, according to Williams, culture is socially rather than individually produced, involving it directly in the process of the reproduction and production of society; the production of culture is both a creative process, in that it facilitates adapting to and directing material changes; and conservative, in that it reproduces a socio-political group. In this definition culture is involved both in the process of reproducing or changing ideology. As such, Williams is clearly attempting to define culture in a framework that is consistent with Marx's claim that humans make their own history, but not under circumstances that they have chosen (Marx, (b): 437). What Williams overlooks in this definition is relations of power, and as such, one of the key aspects of Gramsci's definition of ideology is not addressed: hegemony -- the maintaince of alliances between different classes and social forces not only through political, but ideological struggle.

This oversight points to one of the difficulties in working with this definition of culture: the fact that it is a general definition. The

definition needs more discussion in order to understand the way in which culture is mediated by historically specific relations and circumstances. Without some sense of the historically specific material re/production of ideology, it is possible to be left with the idea that ideology manifests itself in society in a "pure" form. As such it is necessary to differentiate culture from ideology.

This thesis defines cultural forms as the particular structures, systems and means, by which ideology is articulated. It is the material "process" of ideology. The forms and structures are not just simple conveyor belts that transmit the "world view" because they are themselves produced by particular sets of relationships, struggles and histories. They also have particular material and conceptual structures that shape their interaction with other practices, relationships and forms. Put another way, their formal structures contribute to shaping the specific ways particular ideologies come to be articulated in various instances.[50] When ideology is examined at a material level, the relations of power become evident, as is the case when, for example, researchers identify the groups and institutions which have the capacity to produce and maintain the material and the conceptual systems used generally by a society.

If political action is action that is coordinated to maintain or change a group's conditions of living, it necessarily requires culture: a

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[50] This distinction between cultural forms and ideology is similar to Barthes' distinction between a "text", as a system of meaning in its process of production; and a "work", as the materialized "tail end" of this process. But unlike Barthes and like Mikhail Bakhtin, rather than seeing the work as a finite and finished manifestation of the text, I view it as a critical factor in the development of the text itself. At the moment "text" is materialized, is the moment when it takes on specificity and enters the historical world: this is when it becomes actually meaningful.

conceptualization of their conditions of living; and a conceptualization of various ways to maintain or change their conditions. Political activity is always to some degree undertaken as a self-conscious intervention rather than being simply the unconscious reproduction of a socio-political system. Part of the reason for this self-consciousness is because political activity requires the co-ordination of a specified group of people to decide on as well as implement the necessary action to maintain or change their conditions of living. While no action undertaken can be entirely self-conscious, it is still possible to identify those actions where the actors choose to act in particular ways on the basis of the perceived social and political implications. Choosing which action potentially leads to the more valued result is done through deliberation, whether by a group of people or by an individual. This contrasts to unconscious activity where the activity undertaken has been naturalized: there is no or little deliberation over whether another action would be more efficacious. This definition expands the field of politics beyond the activities of an institutionalized government, so for example, the manner in which parents choose to raise their children could be a "political act".

This definition does not imply that all self-conscious acts that require deliberation are necessarily political: only action that is coordinated to maintain or change a group's conditions of living is political. Nor is a conscious act a static process. An activity in a particular context might be more or less unconscious for one person or group and self-conscious for another; as well, an activity that was self-conscious for a particular individual or group might become unconscious and vise versa. In the case where there is an organized attempt to maintain or change a group's conditions of living which entails

challenging the dominant society's mode of production and socio-political organization -- self-reflexive cultural production is required. By self-reflexive cultural production, I mean cultural work that creates the capacity to discern and critique not only the efficacy of various actions, but the implications of its own epistomological framework. In this way the grounds for what constitutes efficacy are evaluated and questioned as well.

My outline of political activity has certain implications for the particular type of cultural production with which I am concerned: cultural production that informs political activity concerned with on the one hand, undermining relations of subordination and on the other, producing alternative relations. It is critical that these cultural forms have the capacity to discern, and thus not replicate the way in which certain epistemologies or conceptual systems work to reproduce or produce relations of subordination. I will refer to this type of cultural production as "critical cultural production". As I will argue below, the forms of political activity and thus the appropriate kinds of critical cultural production that a group generates will depend on the group's particular conditions and resources.

In the specific case of communities within larger socio-political systems, the next question to address is, what are the ways to conceptualize the intersection between critical cultural production and political activity? To approach this question, it is necessary to look at the larger context in which it is situated: the effort to draw people together in order to address their conditions of living -- the question of *developing* "government by and for the people". Within North America and Western Europe this question of "rule for and by the people" has arisen in the

context of, on the one hand, establishing and securing the bourgeois state, and on the other, efforts to dismantle it. From the 17th to the 19th century in North America and Europe, this question has been predominantly formulated either by liberal theorists or by Marxists. The Liberals argued against the feudal order, claiming that all individuals were equal with a right to determine their own destinies and that the best way to secure this was through the mechanisms of the capitalist market. The Marxists argued that the best way to ensure the equality and the right to self-determination was through the destruction of the capitalist mode of production and a transition to socialism with the goal of establishing a communist mode of production.[51]

It should be clear that of the two approaches, this thesis is concerned with the theorization of community formation in the context of struggles to achieve socialism. While I am looking more specifically for models that will allow me to theorize the political organization of communities, not just in terms of their class positions, but also in terms of the particular popular democratic positions in which they are situated,

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[51] The development of the two bodies of theory and political activity are by no means analytically distinct. For example, working class and popular movements drew from the formulations of liberal theorists, using liberal concepts back on the bourgeois state. They, for example, demanded the same rights that the property owners were given, such as the franchise as well as other rights, such as, control over reproduction, etc. And in terms of the liberal state, as Colin Mercer argues, while challenges from the working class and popular forces did not undermine the essential operation of the state in terms of securing the conditions for capital to appropriate labour power, in order to maintain its hegemony it began to describe itself not just as a liberal, but a liberal "democratic" state. (Colin Mercer, "Revolutions, Reforms or Reformations?", Marxism and Democracy, ed. Alan Hunt, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980: 101-138) Also see Mary P. Ryan, "Gender and Public Access: Women's Politics in Nineteenth-Century America", Habermas and the Public Sphere, ed. Craig Calhoun, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992: 259-288; Craig Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere", Habermas and the Public Sphere, ed. Craig Calhoun, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992: 1-50.

Marxist theorizations of the transition to socialism remain useful. They offer various ways to conceptualize ways in which not only the proletariat but popular democratic groups come to "realize" how their conditions of living are predominantly organized in ways that meet the interests of the dominant classes. For example, as I have done in chapter two, in order to understand the way in which popular-democratic groups develop political consciousness, it is possible to draw on Marx's discussion on how "a class in itself" transforms to a "class for itself" by overcoming its sectional interests through revolutionary practice and realizing the common contradiction of the capitalist mode of production.

But in terms of theorizing the means by which members of the proletariat themselves might address their conditions of living, for the most part, these theories use a Leninist model. In this model the revolutionary party assumes that it embodies the interests of the proletariat and is capable of protecting and carrying forward their interests. Thus even in the formulation of "a class for itself", it is the party intellectuals who are the key agents in developing revolutionary practice, what Jorgé Larrain calls, "activity which, conscious of determination of circumstances, is aimed at transforming them" (Larrain: 44).

Because revolutionary praxis is produced by people situated in particular historical and material positions, as with all other cultural production, it embodies a particular world view. The limitation of revolutionary practice as it is formulated, is that it does not explicitly theorize how its own "way of knowing" takes other ways of knowing into account: for example, other ways of knowing that are rooted in popular-democratic groups, or various forms of knowledge, such as what

Raymond Williams calls the emergent or residual. It is critical to consider the different ways of knowing and sources of meaning particular to a society's various social-cultural groups for a number of reasons. If the class contradictions of particular societies are always materialized through historically and culturally specific "people" positions, then in order to understand the appropriate means to politically organize the "people", their ways of knowing and sources of meaning need to be taken into account. But as well, their different ways of knowing and sources of meaning also offer useful insights and strategies.

Without more attention to the way in which revolutionary praxis might theorize how its "own way of knowing" takes other "ways of knowing" into consideration, there are several problems. First, there is the problem of overlooking the concerns and contradictions of particular groups. There is also the problem of explaining the conditions and experience of diverse groups within one framework -- of just incorporating the various world views into a single discourse in ways that undermine or marginalize their knowledge and experiences. Even Gramsci's formulation of a proletarian hegemony does not specifically theorize how it will avoid reification. This is a critical point because in contrast to a bourgeois hegemony which garners consent to rule by co-opting and obscuring the critiques and concerns of the various social forces and classes, a proletarian hegemony garners consent by attempting to address them. But in order to do so, it needs to theorize the way in which its discourse would address the critiques and concerns without reifying them.

Put another way, the dialectical model assumes that its own discourse -- in particular, its own conception of the world -- is an

adequate tool for investigating and understanding the conditions of living. Theorists have not specified whether it has the capacity to question its own value system. Without considering this, the dialectical method could very well just dialectically reflect on its method in such a way, that it makes its own discourse more efficient at conceptualizing the world in the particular way *it already does*.

As well, there are a number of other critiques of Leninism. For example, David Slater argues that theories informed by Leninism have utilized a "technical discourse that prioritizes the significance of the productive forces and locates the terrain of politics within a pregiven sphere of `scientifically' proven theses" (Slater: 285). Citing Claudin-Urondo, he claims that this approach "to labour organization...took away from the proletariat the possibilities for popular control at its point of production....In the context of political control, the proletariat not only delegated its power to the party in the sphere of societal leadership, but also in the organization of the factory and the production process it did so as well" (Slater, 1987: 285). And as John Saul argues, the socialist state here becomes unproblematically identified with the dictatorship of the proletariat and this deflects attention away from "the question of genuinely institutionalizing the power of the popular classes" (Saul, 1986: 221).

In contrast, my overall concern is to begin to outline what is required in the effort to conceptualize the transition to socialism where there is, as Slater describes, a genuine institutionalization of the power of the popular classes. Critical to this project is the need to understand and theorize ways in which cultural production as the means of informing political action might be developed. The question that needs to

be addressed is: what are the means of developing cultural forms from historically specific conditions that facilitate a group's ability to formulate and develop various means to address their conditions? One way to approach this problem is through Jürgen Habermas's discussion of the public sphere in <u>The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society</u>[52].

Habermas examines the development of the historically specific liberal bourgeois public sphere[53] during the change from feudalism to liberal capitalism in Britain, France and Germany, outlining both its conservative and progressive possibilities. In each country, a bourgeois public sphere materialized[54] when the bourgeoisie began to articulate

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[52] Originally published in German in 1962 as his thesis for the post-doctoral qualification required for German academics who wish to have a permanent appointment in a university (Calhoun, 1992: 4)

[53] Underlying Habermas's analysis of the development of the bourgeois public sphere is his ideal of the Greek polis where free and equal citizens, specifically male "masters of households", gathered to deliberate over state matters. The polis was strictly separated from the private sphere, the household, where slaves and women toiled, fulfilling "the conditions necessary for the perpetuation of the species." (John Keane, "Techne and Praxis: The Early Habermas's Recovery of the Concept of Politics", <u>Public Life and Late Capitalism</u>, John Keane, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984: 114) This was the realm of necessity. In the polis, "[the] transcendence of necessity through the exclusion of those who toil and work introduces the possibility of men as human....By nature political animals men are capable of the good life, rather than mere life." (Keane: 115) In the polis, "that which existed [became]...visible to all....[Through] discussion among citizens...issues were made topical and took on shape." (Habermas, 1991: 4) Likewise, in the bourgeois public sphere, males gathered to discuss their common interest in the regulation of society in ways that would ensure and protect their interests as property owners. And like the polis, the bourgeois public sphere was separated from civil society, the private sphere of production and family life.

[54] Initially the bourgeois public sphere developed out of the institutions of aristocratic court society, for example, the salons in France where bourgeois intellectuals met with aristocrats on equal footing to critically discuss literature and art. But with developments in mercantile capitalism, this entertaining coexistence did not last. When the critical discussion of the salons began to turn to political concerns, this sphere of discussion began to disarticulate itself institutionally from the aristocratic courts and materialized in bourgeois venues such as coffeehouses, private societies, journals, newspapers and so forth.

their newly forming class interests in opposition to the established feudal order from the late 1600s to the mid 1700s. One of the main criticisms that they launched against the feudal order, was that the feudal state impeded on the freedom of private individuals in civil society. Specifically, the bourgeoisie argued that feudal laws and estate-related regulations in trade and industry, such as the seven-year training period for apprentices and the relations of obligation between peasants and landowners, restricted their freedom to make capital (Habermas, 1991: 74-76).

Part of the bourgeoisie's critique of the feudal order included a critique of the feudal system of political authority which they argued was unjustly based on status acquired through lineage and coercion. In its stead, the bourgeoisie argued that

> [a] society governed by the laws of the free market presented
> itself not only as a sphere free from domination, but free
> from any kind of coercion....Such a society remained
> subordinate to the market's nonviolent decisions, being the
> anonymous outcome of the exchange process (Habermas,
> 1991: 79).

Clearly, the bourgeois definition of "freedom" was ideologically bound up with their efforts to reorganize society in ways that facilitated the development of the capitalist mode of production.

Despite the ideological implications inherent in the bourgeois definition of freedom, Habermas was particularly interested in their effort to devise a non-coercive system of decision-making in the liberal bourgeois public sphere beginning in the late 1600s and culminating in the late 1800s. This was before the formation of the welfare state when the bourgeois public sphere became functionally integrated with the state, and before public discussion became institutionally controlled by

the "mass media"[55]. It was the period when the bourgeoisie began to
actively contest the state, demanding that the legitimacy of political
action should be based on public opinion rather than on natural right.
As he suggests it was a period when "man" attempted to gain control over
"his" fate, when he rallied against domination as a law of nature
(Habermas, 1991: 108). During this phase, when male property owners
gathered to form the bourgeois public sphere, they attempted to "bracket"
their statuses and interact as equals. They rationally and critically
discussed their interests as owners of capital. Working with the
assumption that all participants were equally capable of formulating an
argument based on reason, rational-critical discussion ensured that

[55] When it became functionally articulated with the state, the contradictions of the
bourgeois public sphere became manifest: when the values that the bourgeoisie had
used to contest the feudal state, such as equality, freedom and accessibility, became
generalized, the exploited classes and groups used them to contest the bourgeois state.
When groups exploited within the capitalist mode of production entered public
discussion, it meant that discussion in the public sphere was no longer based on
common interest -- securing the interests of capital -- but rather on interests that were
fundamentally in conflict. As the bourgeois public sphere was constituted, it had no
capacity for addressing fundamental conflicts. Habermas claims that "...the creation of
collective bargaining regulations so shatters the forms of the old style public sphere
(founded on trust in the power of reason) and the antagonism between interests which
lies at its basis, objectively affords so little chance for a legislation in accordance with
liberal criteria that these compromises are kept away from the procedure of
parliamentary legislation and therefore remain altogether outside the jurisdiction of the
state's institutionalized public sphere" (Jürgen, Habermas, The Structural
Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,
Cambridge: MIT PRess, 1989/91: 199).

When the public sphere became institutionally articulated with the cultural
industries, what was the formation of public consensus is transformed into "...a show
set up for the purposes of manipulation and staged directly for the sake of that large
minority of the 'undecided' who normally determine the outcome of an election served
as a communication process between set symbols and given motives that was social-
psychologically calculated and guided by advertising techniques" (Habermas, 1991:
221). Here "opinions were not informed rationally, that is, in conscious grappling with
cognitively accessible states of affairs (instead, the publicly presented symbols
corresponded to unconscious processes whose mode of operation was concealed from
the individuals); nor were they formed in discussion, in the pro and con of a public
discussion (instead the reactions, although in many ways mediated by group opinions,
remained private in the sense that they were not exposed to correction within the
framework of a properly debating public)" (Habermas, 1991: 221).

everyone's views were given equal consideration on the basis of the logical merits of their arguments.

> Public debate was supposed to transform voluntus, [coercive political will], into a ratio, [rational agreement], that in public competition of private arguments came in to being as the consensus about what was particularly necessary and in the interest of all (Habermas, 1991: 83).

By making the legitimacy of political action dependent on consensus, the public sphere became central in the development of a bourgeois constitutional state.[56] It became the

> sphere between civil society and the state, in which critical public discussion of matters of general interest was institutionally guaranteed....[It] was a sphere in which state authority was publicly monitored through informed and critical discourse by the people." (McCarthy, 1991: p. xi).

In this development, the feudal state's natural right to rule was undermined. In contrast to the laws of the market which were regarded as intrinsic, the state's actions were seen as interventions (Habermas, 1991: 80). As such, state's actions were deemed legitimate only if empowered through law legislated by the public. By establishing the

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[56] Bob Jessop claims that the concepts "government" and "state" refer to "public power"

> ...which emerges at a certain stage in the development of the division of labour and undertakes certain essential functions in its coordination. On the one hand it can change through the concentration of public functions in a system of specialized political apparatuses with permanent staff, thereby producing an institutional separation of "state" and "society" and a possible contradiction between "officialdom" and "people". And on the other hand it can be changed through the consolidation of relations of production based on the appropriation by one class of surplus-labour performed by another...(Bob Jessop, "The Political Indeterminacy of Democracy", Marxism and Democracy, ed. Alan Hunt, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980: Jessop: 56).

Only in the case where the people control officialdom or there is self-government by the people where the distinction between state and society -- a precondition for the reproduction of class exploitation -- is undermined, will exploitation on the basis of class and popular-democratic positions be addressed with the intention of superseding exploitation (Jessop: 57-58).

public sphere in the political realm as an organ of the state, the state ensured an institutional connection between law and public opinion (Habermas, 1991: 81).[57]

Despite the fact that the bourgeois public sphere was founded on class relations of exploitation[58], Habermas nevertheless saw progressive aspects which he attempted to develop into a model for "societal self-regulation", that aims at "dissolving" relations of subjugation (Habermas, 1991: 81). For the purposes of this thesis, his formulation is useful in that it attempts to outline a non-coercive means for a group of people to articulate and address their common concerns[59]. There are two requirements for the development of a public sphere: on the one hand, common concerns: and on the other, a non-coercive, self-reflexive means of communication that functions to build a consensus amongst the participants, ensuring all concerns are given equal consideration. For Habermas rational-critical discussion fits the requisites for a non-coercive self-reflexive form of communication. It ensures on the one hand, that everyone's views are given equal consideration and on the

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[57] For a critical discussion of the process of "constituting" law, see Jerald Zaslove, "Constituting Modernity: The Epic Horizons of Constitutional Narratives", Federalism-in-the-Making: Contemporary Canadian and German Constitutionalism, National and Transnational, ed. Edward McWhinney, Jerald Zaslove and Werner Wolf, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1992: 154-186.

[58] For example, he points out, this rational model of decision-making also operated economically to ensure "guarantees of calculability...: the calculation of profit opportunities demanded a system in which exchange transactions proceed in accord with calculable expectations" (Habermas, 1991: 80).

[59] Habermas does not state whether the public sphere should constitute the government, as in the case of the polis, or whether it should constitute an independent body that critically assesses government actions and public issues. This is a matter that depends on historical and political circumstances.

other. that a consensus can be reached through reason as opposed to coercion.

In The Public Sphere. Habermas identifies the common interest in the bourgeois public sphere as class interests. making it possible to situate his analysis within a Gramscian framework. But the limitation of this formulation is that it is unable to contend with fundamental conflicts and contradictions. When the exploited classes began to argue that the tenets of the bourgeois public sphere. such as "accessibility to all". should be instituted. extending the right to political participation to. for example. workers and women. the possibility of a consensus based on class and gender interests was undermined.

In order to deal with such fundamental conflicts. in his later work[60] Habermas further develops his formulation of rational-critical debate into what he terms. "practical discourse". According to Benhabib. practical discourse is a democratic process of decision-making where participatory politics "emphasizes the determination of norms of action through the practical debate of all affected by them" (Seyla Benhabib. 1992: 86). It is the means through which members of a society can overcome their particular interests. "what is valued within a particular subculture as part of the good life" in order to determine ways to address their common interests. interests that are based on a shared lifeworld or failing that. a common good that is a matter of justice. understood in terms of a universal moral that is normatively required by everyone (Habermas. 1992: 445-449: McCarthy. 1992: 54).

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[60] For example in his Theory of Communicative Action. vol. 1 & 2. Boston: Beacon Press. 1984.

Practical discourse can be understood as an instrument through which groups and individuals can discover what they agree to be a common good by stripping away, or perhaps arguing away, the specificities of their cultural, historical, economic and political experiences materialized in for example, religious beliefs, language and nation. Instead of basing common interests on class interests, Habermas attempts to base them on a more abstract interest based on qualities of human existence. Thus, it is a model of participatory politics, unlike previous models, such as the Greek polis, that does not require the participants to share a structural position. As such, Benhabib suggests that it can be applied to "complex, modern societies with their highly differentiated spheres of economy, law, politics, civil and family life" (Benhabib, 1992: 86).

But from a feminist perspective, Benhabib is cautiously critical of the term "public" in the concept "public sphere" because inherently it implies the dualism of private/public. In political theory, issues situated in the sphere of moral and religious conscience, the market and the household have been conventionally relegated outside of the "public sphere" to the "private sphere" and thus identified as matters of a good life rather than justice. In principle she agrees that practical discourse does not necessarily reproduce this dualism. Because it "proceeds from a fundamental norm of egalitarian reciprocity and projects the democratization of all social norms, it cannot preclude the democratization of familial norms and norms governing the gender division of labour" (Benhabib, 1992: 93). But in order for principle to become practice, she argues that the unexamined normative dualisms of

practical discourse. such as justice and the good life. need to challenged from their gender context and subtext (Benhabib. 1992: 95).

Yet Benhabib does not elaborate on a means by which practical discourse might detect its unexamined normative dualisms. I would argue that practical discourse in itself. is limited in its capacity to internally generate an auto-critique. Like all discourses. it is produced from historically. economically and culturally specific relations. As such. it embodies a specific world view which provides the people situated in those relations with a socially established means of ordering and understanding the world. including their positions within it. But because ideology operates implicitly. it is difficult to systematically detect its assumptions. This is especially the case for those whom ideology positions positively within the social order. even if it is at the expense of others.

Sandra Harding makes this point when she discusses the reasons why it is easier for female scientists than for male scientists to detect sexist and androcentric biases in the epistemology undergirding the conventional sciences. Drawing on the work of Dorothy Smith. Harding argues that "a 'line of fault' opens up between the experiences of women and the dominant conceptual systems" (Harding. 1990: 95) that have been produced by men materially located in dominant class. regional[61]. "racial". bureaucratic and professional positions. Ultimately. she argues that there is a greater capacity to detect particular ideological assumptions and valuations when there is a "lack of fit". when there is a

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[61] Including not only economic North/South disparities. but also other centre/periphery differentials such as urban/rural. heartland/hinterland. even Canada/US.

disjuncture between a group's experiences and the dominant conceptual system (Harding, 1990: 95). But again, just because a group is negatively positioned within a particular socio-political order, does not mean that they will address the contradiction in which they are situated. Nor does it mean that they will address it in a progressive manner. As I will discuss in the following chapters, the way in which groups address their conditions of living are in part dependent on the cultural forms they produce.

In any case, within a socialist feminist framework, the specificities of the cultural, historical, economic and political experience that practical discourse attempts to strip away in order to reach a common good, are seen as necessary resources for detecting debilitating ideological assumptions. In Habermas's discussion about the way in which bourgeois concepts of freedom and equality operated to institutionalize class relations of subjugation, he also suggests the limitations of rational critical debate in the bourgeois public sphere.

For example, he points out how "[the] conception of the legal transaction as involving a contract based on a free declaration of will was modelled on the exchange transaction of freely competing owners of commodities" (Habermas, 1991: 75). As well, he points out how the bourgeoisie perceived the intimate sphere of the "patriarchal conjugal family" (Habermas, 1991: 43) as their source of "pure humanity". In contrast to the urban nobility whose families were organized around the inheritance of privileges and structured by obligations to the extended family, the bourgeois family viewed itself as voluntarily established by free individuals and maintained without coercion (Habermas, 1991: 46). "[It] seemed to rest on the lasting community of love on the part of two

spouses: it seemed to permit the non-instrumental development of all faculties that marks the cultivated personality" (Habermas, 1991: 46-47). But as Habermas points out, the bourgeois family was not free from restraint in that it had a precisely defined role in the reproduction of capital[62] (Habermas, 1991: 47).

By basing conceptions of freedom and equality on exchange relations and on the "patriarchal conjugal family", rational critical debate subsumed the explicit relations of domination inherent in these relations. This subsumption was further supported through the exclusion of women, workers, and "racialized" ethnics from the public sphere. The explicit domination in these relations was acknowledged and addressed only when subjugated groups managed to gain enough political clout to have their concerns recognized.[63] So the limitations of rational critical debate were not made apparent through its inherent capacity to generate an auto-critique, but through the capacity of those negatively positioned by the dominant political discourse to intervene in the bourgeois public sphere. There are two points that follow. At one level, in order to "dissolve domination", the public sphere must incorporate groups with contradictory interests. And at another level, the historically and materially specific experiences of the various groups are essential sources for detecting the contradictions.

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[62] And as feminists argue, it was one of the key sites of patriarchy.

[63] Nancy Fraser argues that in order for these groups to intervene, they first formed "counter public spheres" where they articulated their concerns and developed ways to address them (Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", Habermas and the Public Sphere, ed. Craig Calhoun, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992: 109-142).

Are there ways to conceptualize practical discourse in specific material terms? Perhaps in the case where previously autonomous and culturally distinct groups now articulated in a global economy, decide to use rational critical debate as their collective means for making political decisions about those issues that would have ramifications for all concerned, for example, for making decisions about redirecting the destructive bent of the global economic system. Under these conditions, clearly there is a need to develop a system of norms to co-ordinate progressive political activity. Given that some culturally specific notions of the good life are rooted in, for example, violent and environmentally destructive socio-political and economic systems, there would be a need to assess and in some cases, change these notions and practices.

Put simply, the system of norms would most likely require certain groups to change their ways of living. Seen in this way, practical discourse is a model of arbitration for "crisis situations", where it is no longer possible for particular societies to measure the integrity of their actions and values within their own historically developed cultural systems. Particular actions and values must instead be measured by a single system of norms produced by those who are affected by the actions or values. A system of norms would function to identify which practices and values should be changed. In order to develop the system, it would be necessary to distinguish what values were rooted in preferred ways of living and what notions were rooted in a sense of justice. Values rooted in culturally and politically specific conceptions of the good life would not necessarily figure into normative question concerning what is "right".

In this formulation, it is possible to conceptualize practical discourse in specific material terms. Historical and material specificity

would be rooted in *the collective effort* of diverse groups to establish a system of norms in the face of the destructive global system. But Habermas argues that in order to establish a system of norms, the participants would need to divest themselves of their specific material positions and their corresponding self-interests, so they would be able to formulate their common interest, what, *at that particular historical moment*, they would decide constituted "justice".

In the context of "crisis", I would agree that in order to develop a system of norms between previously autonomous and culturally distinct groups there is a need to distinguish between what is "good" and "just". But my contention remains: the means of determining what is "just", must necessarily draw on what Habermas has characterized as "evaluative questions", questions situated in specific socio-political, economic and cultural experiences. In other words, I am making a distinction between the normative system and the process of developing that system. As such, the fact that the process of developing a system of norms *utilizes* types of concepts that the system of norms itself must, by definition, exclude, is not a problem. Furthermore, part of my argument is that this process must include a form of self-reflexivity that has the capacity to draw on the experiences and world views/knowledges of the participating groups. This makes it possible to detect and evaluate ideological systems, such as what Benhabib calls the unexamined normative dualisms, which reproduce exploitative relations.

Habermas's effort to separate practical discourse from historical materiality also has political implications at a pragmatic level. It leads him to neglect the question of how to apply practical discourse in various situations. He admits, but does not address the fact that practical

discourse requires "the supportive spirit of cultural traditions and patterns of socialization, of political culture, of a populace accustomed to freedom" (Habermas, 1992: 453). In other words, the theorization of practical discourse requires a theorization of the development of democratic traditions in civil society. It is not possible to just impose practical discourse, or for that matter any means of communication, on a socio-political group without developments occurring at other levels. In relation to this, his work on practical discourse also neglects the importance for groups to develop their own means of communication. Yet in his 1962 The Public Sphere, Habermas suggests that developing a means of communication -- for example, rational critical debate in the liberal bourgeois public sphere -- is part of the process of a group's development as historical subjects. He also makes it clear that the development of a means of communication requires particular developments in civil society, such as new venues to discuss issues such as coffee bars, private clubs as well as particular media and genres, such as newspapers and letter writing.

From Habermas's discussion in The Public Sphere, it is clear that rational critical debate was a historically and economically specific development. But in his later work, he elaborates it into a universally applicable form of communication whose universality depends on its ability to shed historical and material specificity. While I agree that the rational critical discourse developed in the liberal bourgeois public sphere presents certain progressive principles of communication, as I have argued, shedding historical and material specificity undermines the capacity for self-reflexivity. To argue that historical and material specificity must be shed from the process of developing a system of

norms, is ultimately, in its most extreme formulation, to regard communication as an ahistorical and asocial instrument. In contrast, if communication aims to dissolve relations of domination, it must include a form of self-reflexivity that has the capacity to draw on the experiences and world views and knowledges of the participating groups. In the next chapter I will argue that it is necessary to draw on these world views in order to generate a means of communication, specifically, cultural forms that can articulate as well as appropriately address the experiences, the systems of value, the concerns and contradictions of the groups in question. Following Habermas's work in The Public Sphere, essentially this thesis examines communication as a means of production,[64] that is, a means of producing society. In the next chapter I will outline the way in which Mikhail Bakhtin addresses these issues with his concepts of heteroglossia and dialogism.

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[64] For a discussion of this idea, see Raymond Williams, "Means of Communication as Means of Production", Problems in Materialism and Culture, ed. Raymond Williams, London: Verso, 1980/1982: 50-66.

CHAPTER 4

BAKHTIN'S THEORY OF DIALOGISM

1. A General Outline of the Concept of Dialogism

Like Habermas, Mikhail Bakhtin is concerned with theorizing cultural forms that not only undermine, but also generate alternatives to those that are structured by relations of domination. But in contrast, Bakhtin's theory of dialogism theorizes cultural forms that draw on historically and materially specific world views in order to reveal the relations of power as well as to generate new understandings.

Dialogism can be understood as a particular narrative form[65] that makes meaning by bringing world views belonging to different social, cultural and economic groups into interaction. The interaction works in such a way that each world view sees itself through the logic of another. It is a refraction that reveals to each of the world views aspects of themselves that they would not have been able to detect within their own system of valuation (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 276ff). As such, dialogism works

[65] When I use the phrase narrative form, I am not limiting my definition to a conventional narrative structure. Conventional narrative structure is composed of story (histoire), the series of events in their actual duration, frequency and chronological order; and plot (recit), the order, frequency and duration in which they are presented (David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, Film Art: An Introduction, Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979/80: 50,52). "Classic narrative structure is based on enigma and resolution where at the beginning of the film an event takes place that disrupts that disrupts a pre-existing equilibrium...[The] narrative's task is to set up a new equilibrium." Realist narratives set up verisimilitude of the spatial location of events and their temporal order. The chain of events is propelled forward by human agency: the motivations and actions of individuals -- heros (Pam Cook, "Authorship and Cinema", The Cinema Book: A Complete Guide to Understanding the Movies, Pam Cook, ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985: 212). This narrative form tends to naturalize structures that arise from the Western capitalist mode of production which articulate bourgeois values such as individualism (the hero) and produces subjectivity through for example, suture. Instead I am referring to narrative as the particular way of organizing the materials presented by a cultural work in order to produce meaning/s within its various contexts of reading.

to reveal the narrowness and incompleteness of each of the conceptualizations of the world that are brought into interaction -- while generating new understandings through a schematic "cross-fertilization".

In contrast to revolutionary praxis and practical discourse, the theory of dialogism does not advocate *one* new, better or more convincing explanation of the world. Every discourse and language is limited in its capacity to comprehend the world because it is produced from historically and materially specific sets of relations.[66] A "better" understanding of the world is possible only when the limitations of one's world view are made apparent through an interrogation by other world views. This operates to dis-articulate an understanding from any single system of meaning, producing a new understanding developed by the evaluative interaction of different world views.

Another way of understanding dialogism is to see it as critically reorienting what Gramsci calls the different strands of "common sense". As a method of critical "illumination", dialogism works to produce an understanding starting from the already existing points of view. This is in contrast to developing an entirely new understanding of the existing social and economic relations by demonstrating that the existing world views are, in the case of revolutionary praxis, misguided or in the case of practical discourse, defined too narrowly by specific material and historical relations. This does not mean that dialogism excludes the production of an entirely "new" (i.e. "scientific" understanding) but, to repeat what I stated above, it instead develops a new understanding by

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[66] From the discussion above it should be clear that dialogism does not deny the determining force of relations of production. Nor does it retreat to a liberal pluralism that colludes the mere existence of difference with equal political power -- as if each sector of society actively participated in the determination their means of living.

working from and between existing world views which offer different evaluations based on the different histories, relations, knowledges and so forth from which they have been produced. Bakhtin foregrounds the importance of historically specific knowledges. So on the one hand, he proposes that in order to develop a new critical understanding, it is necessary to start by working from the existing circumstances -- in particular, the existing world views -- and on the other hand, to use their different evaluative orientations to draw out each of their various limitations and insights.

Dialogism operates to develop an understanding of what Bakhtin calls the "forces of stratification": the forces that produce not only classes and other hierarchies of privilege and power, but as well, cultural and social differences. In doing so, dialogism undermines the predominant world view of the authorities that organizes and naturalizes the current political and economic order. It works to develop what Bakhtin refers to as a "relativized consciousness".

But more than just "cynically" deconstructing the dominant ideology, dialogism is "generative". It produces new understandings. In particular, it develops an understanding of the world in "real time": where all elements are recognized in the determination of life. This in opposition to a sublimated[67] understanding where aspects of life are

> severed from [their]...unity, [their] link with the labouring life of the social whole....[Because their] real links with the life of

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[67] This is a concept that differs from reification in that it describes how practices are cut off and isolated from the relations that are "generative" -- produce growth and change. So in a social formation dominated by the capitalist mode of production there is reification -- which obscures relations of production. These relations would also be sublimated in that they are reduced to exchange value and their proper connection to other people and the environment -- which is where their potential for creating change and growth -- is severed.

>nature are weakened....[to] retain [their] significance...[they]
>must undergo...*sublimation*...a metaphorical broadening... at
>the expense of links that had previously been actual

So when love becomes

>the sublimated form of the sexual act and of
>fertility...[love]...becomes a petty private matter...[seeming] to
>exhaust all [its] significance within the boundaries of
>individual life (Bakhtin, 1987 (c): 215-216).

In contrast, love in its real-life role is linked

>with marriage, the family, childbirth and, finally, with those
>intrinsic ties that bind through love (marriage, childbirth)...is
>bound up with other sequences of , those of contemporaries
>as well as those who follow (children, grandchildren)

Thus in contrast to practical discourse and revolutionary praxis,

dialogism draws on different world views in order to reveal the limitations

of discourses and languages produced by various socio-political groups.

And it also draws on these world views to produce new understandings of

the world in real-time.

2. A More Detailed Examination of Bakhtin's Discussion of Dialogism in Literary Works

In order to understand how dialogism functions, I will outline some

of its formal mechanisms in the context of Bakhtin's analysis of the

novel. Bakhtin was concerned with the representation of language in

literature, specifically in the novel before it became an institutionalized

genre. In particular Bakhtin was interested in the representation of the

"extra-artistic" spoken language: the actual socially and politically

developing ways of speaking with their inherent world views. By

"languages" he does not mean just national languages or linguistic usage,

but "ideologically saturated, language as a world view" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a):

271). He regards them as forms for conceptualizing the world in words:

specific world views (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 290) belonging to the languages

of particular groups (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 273). His concept of "verbal-ideological" groups is very similar to Gramsci's notion of the popular-democratic groups. But he also identifies languages that are specific to particular situations and institutions. For example he not only identifies

> the "languages" and verbal ideological belief systems --
> generic, professional, call-and-interest-groups (the language
> of the nobleman, the farmer, the merchant, the peasant)

but also language that is "tendentious, everyday (the language of rumour, of society chatter, servant's language)"(Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 311) His point is that specific economic, social, cultural and historical developments are implicit in a group's language. In other words, the actual developing language of particular groups is not reified. For example he says that language

> represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions
> between present and pasts, differing epoches of the past,
> socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies,
> schools, circles and so forth (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 311).

Bakhtin closely examines how socio-economic political and cultural relations are embedded in language as a means of communication that is always in the process of being produced amidst and in relation to other languages. He argues explicitly against the conventions of rhetoric and poetics of his time. According to Bakhtin, they assumed a passive listener who simply required "greater clarity, more persuasion [and] vividness"(Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 281) This implies that the listener is purely receptive, contributing nothing new, simply mirroring or reproducing the words that have been transmitted (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 281). They ignored the social and political dimension of language. Instead, Bakhtin argues that "every concrete act of understanding is active: it assimilates the word to be understood into its conceptual system" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a):

282). As such, the speaker attempts to orient her/his delivery towards the specific "conceptual horizon" (i.e.context) of the listener. So "every word is directed towards an answer and can't escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 280). The way in which the speaker formulates the utterance implies the nature of the relation of the speaker to the listener in the larger social and political context.

As well, the words, phrases and intonations that the speaker chooses, in addition to the objects described -- are already "spoken" within or by other languages. As such they are always already infused with contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements. The speaker must thus "[break] through the alien (sic) conceptual horizon of the listener, constructing [her/his] own utterance on alien (sic) territory, against the listener's apperceptive background" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 282). As such, meanings are not inherent, but struggled over and produced in the context of the utterance. An utterance is also always entangled in the opinions and perspectives of another, making it filled with the relations, contradictions and forces of the actually developing world (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 276). Bakhtin describes this condition of language as heteroglossia.

Against heteroglossia is the "unitary language" that "develops in connection with the processes of socio-political and cultural centralization"(Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 271): monoglossia. It is the official discourse of the established institutions and especially, the institutions of language, such as literature, rhetoric and linguistics that epitomize monoglossic languages. These languages are structured by material relations of domination:

> They give expression to the forces working towards concrete
> verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which
> develop vital connection with the processes of socio-political
> and cultural centralization (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 271).

According to Bakhtin, dominating or monoglossic languages, such as "the poetics of the medieval church [which presents itself as] the one language of truth and the Cartesian poetics of neoclassicism", attempt to centralize and unify other languages, "to incorporate the lower strata into a unitary language of culture and truth". (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 271) They are "opposed to the realities of heteroglossia." (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 271)

Monoglossia is very similar to Gramsci's notion of bourgeois hegemony, where the world view of the dominant group works to explain the world in a way that naturalizes its authority by negating other explanatory frameworks. For example, Bakhtin describes the language of conventional poetic genres as undisputed and all-encompassing. He claims all the poet who works within the conventional poetic tradition sees, understands and thinks is through the eyes of this language. Monoglossic languages regard themselves as complete and total. They never draw on other languages to aid them in conceptualizing events and phenomena. "The concept of many worlds of language, all equal in their ability to conceptualize and be expressive is organically denied to [institutionalized] poetic style" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 286). And if a monoglossic language includes any other languages, it reifies them.[68]

> To achieve this the poet strips the word of others' intentions
> and uses such words and forms...(and only in such a way)
> that they lose their link with concrete intentional levels of
> language and their connection with specific contexts
> (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 297).

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[68] Though it should be noted that Bakhtin also theorizes how reification is an important means of undermining dominant world views for subordinated groups.

Monoglossia then, is static. It isolates itself by refusing to engage with other critical discourses representing other world views specific to other social-economic groups. As such it can not generate any new understandings of itself or the world. As Bakhtin claims, it is cut off from the generative forces of actual changing world. There is no connection to "historical becoming that serves to stratify language" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 325). As such, Bakhtin argues that the official discourses of linguistics and rhetoric are simply "games or contests" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 325) concerned with semantics and clarity.

The ability of monoglossic languages to exert themselves over the actual changing extra-artistic heteroglossia is in part due, as Harold Innis would argue, to their material means of production (Salter, 1981: 193-207). These languages are generated within the dominant institutions that have a monopoly over that society's communication systems. As such, these languages do not just simply embody dominant world views, but entail material infrastructures reliant on the particular relations, practices and mechanisms necessary for their maintenance and or extension. In other words, to centralize and unify other languages, to become the established means of understanding the world, to become the main means of categorizing and organizing social relations and informing action, requires the systematic generation of particular relations, practices and mechanisms throughout society. Furthermore, through the dominant systems of knowledge production -- for example, vertically and horizontally integrated private media conglomerates, public broadcasting systems, educational institutions, military and legal systems -- monoglossic languages cultivate the public field of articulation

and conceptualization that become used on an everyday basis in the work place, social interactions and so forth.

Bakhtin claims that the struggle between monoglossia and heteroglossia is a condition of the actual world, the "extra-artistic". But it is not necessarily the case that people are conscious of this process. He argues that it is mainly through "artistic forms of transmission", that heteroglossia can be consciously directed towards disrupting our tendency to view the world from our own ideological perspective. Informed and contested by other ideological positions, a greater understanding is developed. With this greater understanding it is possible to dethrone the official world view. Dialogism is the "epistemological mode" of heteroglossia. It is what Bakhtin describes as a "relativized consciousness"[69] where "everything is [understood to be] part of a greater whole, where there is constant interaction between meanings, all which have the potential of conditioning others" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 426).

Bakhtin discusses at length the methods of representing verbal-ideological languages that facilitate their interaction. For example, he identifies "internal dialogism" where discourse, or a word is "double voiced": different points of view are mixed together in one word, phrase, motif or discourse. There is also the "hybrid" where different points of view are set against each other. Both utilize the structures of

[69] I will not discuss the way in which Bakhtin theorizes consciousness around the struggle between the equivalent of a "monoglossic" consciousness organized around what he describes as the "authoritive word", discourses of established and removed authorities, for example religious, political or moral discourses; and a "relativized consciousness" organized around the "internally persuasive word" which is most often not acknowledged in society (backed by public opinion or norms) (Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel". The Dialogic Imagination. ed. Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981/87: 342ff).

representation that are general to cultural forms as well as specific to particular media and genres.

He identifies a number of different areas of representation where the hybrid and internal dialogism can be set up. Within one utterance it is possible to simultaneously represent two points of view. On the one hand there is the point of view of the narrator, and on the other, there is the point of view of the character that the narrator is representing. Another area is what Bakhtin refers to as the "character zone" located in the speech of a character. Her/his speech can include a mixture of different phrases, words, accents, and so forth that stylistically represent other historical, social, political, regional, gender, economic and so forth, groups. The particular ways in which styles can be "mixed" is not random. It is dependent on the represented character's social and economic relation to the other groups represented in the novel, as well as those actually existing in society. The last area where the hybrid and internal dialogism can be set up is in what Bakhtin identifies as "incorporated genres": both artistic (short stories, songs, poems, theatre, etc.) and extra-artistic (everyday, scholarly etc. discourses). Each has its own verbal and semantic forms for assimilating various aspects of reality. The novel uses these "genres precisely because of their capacity and well-worked out forms of assimilating reality" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 320). Thus, when an artistic form attempts to represent a language, the language additionally becomes positioned in the specific histories, relations and conventions which underscore the artistic form's medium, practices and genres. So through the process of artistically representing an active language (structured in its relations to other languages), the language

additionally becomes circumscribed by the artistic form's own historically and politically specific relations.

It is important to understand Bakhtin's concern for the representation of heteroglossia in the context of his essay, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel". Briefly I will discuss the importance of the "chronotope" in relation to dialogism. In its simplest form, the chronotope describes the way in which the narrative of various literary genres defines agency: for example, whether they privilege human agency (the hero), every physical and social process (plants, humans, weather etc.) or divine powers (gods). In a more detailed reading, the chronotope conceptualizes a much more material process: the spatial materialization of agency, what I can best describe as the "organization of determinacy" in space. It identifies the way in which the narratives of different genres define the forces of determination in spatial terms. For example, Bakhtin points out that Greek narratives identified agency in the public realm as being in the hands of "citizens".

The chronotope could be understood as signifying a mode of production, but Bakhtin, rather than focusing directly on the forces and relations of production, focuses on their cultural forms. As with heteroglossia, he points out there are actual "extra-artistic" chronotopes: specific societies are actually organized according to particular forces of determination. For example, as mentioned above, in contemporary Western societies, the recognized agents of power -- the government, corporations and men -- are located in the public sphere. This becomes the privileged sphere and other activities and phenomena, such as raising families and the environment are relegated to the less privileged private sphere. Actual chronotopes, as with actual heteroglossia are

represented in particular ways. The way in which they are presented can naturalize and obscure or alternatively can contest the forces of determination and the way they work to organize social space. This is where dialogism enters. The chronotope implicit in a particular narrative or a motif (such as a fishing cannery on the North Skeena River at the turn of the century which represents a particular mode of living) can be represented in such a way that it contests other narratives and motifs. Or its own meaning can be contested by a number of other verbal-ideological discourses which read it from their different perspectives.

Another critical point in my outline of dialogism that cannot be overlooked, is the way in which the author organizes and directs heteroglossia in the novel. Specifically, how does the author manage to represent the various verbal-ideological languages without reifying them?[70] Again a parallel can be made to Gramsci's conceptualization of proletarian hegemony. While the revolutionary party articulates the various socio-political groups along a common principle, the author articulates them within a common dialogue. The objective of both is to address each group's individual contradictions and the contradictions that they share. The purpose of this articulation in the case of the revolutionary party, is to resolve their contradictions, and in the case of the author, is to develop a consciousness about them. The author's ability to direct and control the "dialogue" between the various points of view is contingent. If s/he is going to represent the opinions and interactions that are characteristic of the represented point of view, the

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[70] This question addresses the role of the intellectual and her/his relationship to other groups in society. Bakhtin's discussion of this is implicit in his discussion of dialogism.

author cannot altered them to suit her or his agenda of the author: they cannot be reified.[71]

The author re-uses motifs, chronotopes, genres, speaking styles and so forth, in such a way that they continue to call forth the particular world views with the relations and modes of production in which they were developed. Moreover, the author does not use motifs, chronotopes, narratives and so forth to simply re-present a particular socio-political group or to recall a past society. S/he represents them in an effort to reinvest these world views implicit with their particular relations and modes of production, into and against the contemporary landscape in order to question the prevailing ideology and political and economic order. It is an attempt to pose alternative or excluded views to produce radical re-readings of contemporary motifs and narratives.

3. Applicability of Dialogism

Bakhtin's concept of dialogism is not just applicable to the representation of languages in the novel. Dialogism can potentially be invoked wherever there is monoglossia and heteroglossia: wherever there is an effort to maintain a monopoly on the production of knowledge against the forces of stratification. At a technical level, this means that the representation of heteroglossia and monoglossia are what Christian Metz would call non-specific as opposed to specific codes in that they are

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[71] Though as I mentioned above, Bakhtin indicates that subordinate groups reify dominant discourses. As I understand it, the author can represent a verbal-ideological language as it reifies another language -- but the author her/himself can not reify languages for her/his own "private" interests -- the sectional interests particular to her/his popular-democratic group. If this occurs, according to Bakhtin, the writing turns into dogma.

generally shared by all cultural forms that utilize representation[72] (Bergstrom, 1988: 161). As such, an analysis of dialogism in non-literary works of art requires an understanding of the particular mechanisms utilized to "represent" and "produce meaning" specific to the media and genres in question.

Again, there is the problem of limited terminology. While the particular mechanisms utilized to "produce meaning" in literature have been extensively theorized, this is not the case for most other media. And this is especially not the case for marginal cultural forms. Moreover, some theorists analyzing marginal cultural forms, hesitate to use terminology that is used to analyze mainstream cultural products. I will draw from an example that directly relates to the cultural form I will later analyze in chapters 5 and 6: documentary. In Bill Nichol's articles "Documentary Voice" and "Embodied Knowledge", he seems hesitant to describe the processes in documentary film and video that function to produce meaning -- as narrative structures. He prefers to use the concept "voice" and further states that "[voice] is perhaps akin to that intangible moiré-like pattern formed by the unique interaction of all a film's codes". This description suggests it is something that is neither as concrete or systematic as conventional narrative structures. Yet he does

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[72] Where representation is understood either as a copy of an original in contrast to an icon which operates as a determinate object in the socio-political or metaphysical world (modernism); or where the realm of representation is privileged over what formerly was considered to be an ontologically prior "real" as the site of socio-political and psychological experience (post-modernism). Representation operates even in the case where cultural objects function as determinate forces with recognized capacities in their own right, for example, as in the case of icons, or works of art with "aura" which are necessarily and specifically located in sets of cultural, social and metaphysical relations (i.e. tradition) and materialized in unalterable spatial terms (Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", Illuminations. ed. Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books, 1969/89: 220-224; Susan Sontag, "The Image-World", On Photography. Susan Sontag. New York: Dell Publishing, 1973/1977: 153-180).

say that "voice" is` "something narrower than style: that which conveys
to us a sense of a text's social point of view, of how it is speaking to us
and *how it is organizing the materials it is presenting to us* (my emphasis)"
(Nichols, 1990-1991: 261). Similarly, Cook, a British film scholar is
hesitant to describe the "voice" of documentary as narrative structure.
For example, she argues that "although most documentaries use
narrative in some form or other...[documentary] is primarily a rhetorical
form which both offer the audience information and attempts to put forth
an argument"(Cook, 1985: 190). Part of the hesitation can be explained
by the fact that the term "narrative" in film theory at the time of these
articles, had become synonymous with the conventional Hollywood film
narrative.

The particular reasons for developing new "terms" to discuss how a
documentary *organizes the materials or "codes" it is presenting to us* can
be understood better through an analysis of Thomas Waugh's discussion
of the tropes used by Indian independent documentary film makers in his
article, "Words of Command". Refraining from using the narrative as a
concept to discuss the main structure for organizing the production of
meaning, Waugh instead uses the notion of trope: "metaphorical
expression" (Garmonsway, 1982: 774). In particular, he argues that the
"collective interview" or "talking group" trope in certain Indian
documentary films cinematically articulates the social and political forms
of the group being documented. This trope, he argues "arises from a
society where the group rather than the individual is the primary site of
political discourse and of cultural expression" (Waugh, 1990-1991: 31).
Like Bakhtin he is concerned with examining artistic forms that
represent and articulate actual social and political forms. Waugh's trope

is similar to Bakhtin's notion of chronotope: the artistic representation of the spatial and temporal organization of agency as it is developed from a particular society's mode of production. The use of specialized terms such as "voice" and "trope" can be seen as developing new terminology to conceptualize structures that organize the production of meaning in ways that counter the naturalization of conventional narrative structures that arise from the Western capitalist mode of production -- structures that articulate bourgeois values such as individualism (the hero) and produces subjectivity through for example. suture.[73]

The concept "trope" avoids the way in which established genres tend to reify changing forms of social organization. For example. in convential documentaries. one standard technique used to present evidence for the documentary's main argument is to represent a select group of "witnesses". As Waugh points out. they are usually presented as individualized "talking heads". As a particular trope or "metaphor" that expresses contemporary Western social organization. it represents an atomized individualistic conception of social relations. In as much as it has become a standard format -- it has become naturalized. If this representational technique were regarded as a "metaphorical expression" that must change as social relations change. tropes would develop as social relations changed. The emphasis is on *the process of developing relations between social form and artistic form* rather than on discovering static criteria that define a category. There are similar implications for

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[73] The definition of suture I am referring to here. is from film theory that draws on Lacan's notion of suture. According to Sheila Johnston. in this definition suture is the effort of the ego to "impose unity on the conflicting forces of the unconscious" which would challenge the coherence of a stable identity (Sheila Johnston. "Film Narrative and the Structuralist Controversy". The Cinema Book: A Complete Guide to Understanding the Movies. ed. Pam Cook. New York. Pantheon Books. 1985: 246)

Nichols' claim that "voice" as the means that conveys the text's social point of view "is not above history but part of the very historical process upon which it confers meaning" (Nichols, 1990-1991: 266). But it is clear that "voice" differs from trope in that it lies at a more abstract level. Trope is only one among many possible codes or components that might contribute towards formulating the particular "voice" or point of view in a specific documentary. The concept of "voice" also remains distinct from the concept narrative that I have outlined above. The concept of "voice" theorizes a "text's social point of view....[which is] formed by the unique interaction of all a film's codes" (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 260-261). The concept of narrative identifies the way in which a text's materials are organized in order to produce meaning. Thus "voice" conceptualizes the expression of, rather than the mechanisms that result in the expression of, a particular point of view. Trope does not conceptualize the general mechanisms of expression either. Rather, trope conceptualizes a specific mechanism; and voice, the cumulative results of a particular set of codes used in a specific documentary.

In "Discourse in the Novel" and "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel" Bakhtin develops concepts equivalent to both "voice" and trope but as distinct from what I have outlined as narrative. As discussed above, "trope" is equivalent to Bakhtin's notion of chronotope. And for Bakhtin, the "voice" of the author or artist is manifest in her/his *particular articulation* of the various world views she/he artistically represents. It is the processes involved in the artist's particular articulation that I am identifying as narrative.

In "Discourse in the Novel" he discusses narrative and the process of articulation both in terms of the mechanisms that the artist draws on.

as well as formulates. But his main point here is not to identify a set of static procedures. He elaborates on how the choice and formulation of these mechanisms depends on the particulars of the world views she/he articulates: for example, different mechanisms of articulation would be needed depending on whether the world views are represented through characters, different genres and so forth. Moreover there is the need to consider what mechanisms are appropriate to generate the particular understanding -- relativized consciousness -- that the artist is attempting to work towards.

I would argue that all these contingencies do not lead to Nichols' "intangible moiré-like pattern". Rather they clearly point out that the narrative of dialogic works is necessarily composed of mechanisms specifically developed to articulate the world views of particular socio-political groups in order to work towards critical understandings. Thus for dialogic works it is not possible to define one or even a set of narrative forms as *the* defining narrative form/s. Rather it is a question of examining their relation to the socio-political forces with which they on the one hand are developed and on the other attempt to develop.

As a method for critical cultural production, dialogism then is generative, working from the specifities of particular circumstances. For this reason, dialogism is a particularly useful method of cultural production for ethnic communities. Artists from "racialized" ethnic communities face the problem of trying to develop cultural forms that can adequately conceptualize, explore, question and address the political and historical experiences resulting from their displacement to and relocation in new and hostile socio-political regions. Cultural forms that "racialized" ethnics have used in their former societies, having been generated in that

particular political and cultural context, may be incapable in themselves of articulating their experiences of displacement and exclusion in new socio-political regions.[74] Nor is it easy to articulate these experiences in art forms specific to their new locations, usually Western art practices which lack the concepts, the motifs, the forms of expression and values that signify the historical, social and cultural aspects of "racialized" ethnic experience.

To address the contradictions of displacement and relocation in new and hostile socio-political regions, new languages must be built. This involves struggling to develop critical cultural forms that overrun the ideological boundaries that circumscribe "racialized" ethnic communities as "static and traditional". It involves addressing the relationships that undergird these communities, their former homelands and the new nations in which they are situated. "Racialized" ethnics must avoid nostalgic notions of community and look at labour relations, gender roles, immigration laws, processes of assimilation, their representation in the mass media and so forth. As such these cultural forms will need to draw from numerous sources, including artistic practices and media specific to their former homelands, as well as the West. This potentially will mean that the different genres, styles, cultural practices with their various histories, concerns, contradictions and so forth will be brought into interaction: potentially invoking dialogism via Bakhtin's hybrid, double voiced word and incorporated genres.

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[74] The idea that ethnics reproduce "traditional" cultural practices from their homelands is clearly a myth. Any of cultural, social, economic and religious practices that ethnics might have used in their former societies, undergo change if used in new socio-political and cultural contexts.

But drawing on non-Western references is difficult because they are easily exotified, as in the case of what Edward Said refers to as Orientalism or they are used to signify a return to more primal state of being, as in the case of Romanticism and Surrealism. But while caution is warranted, arguing that every non-Western reference is necessarily some form of reification is too simplistic. It is a conjecture that is based on what Jack Goody argues is the incorrect and evolutionary view that "non-Western" societies are static and atemporal as opposed to changing and progressive (Goody, 1990: 2). The idea of returning to "the past" as a discrete moment in time is in itself a derivation of a Western definition of history as a cumulative progression of events or facts over time.

Like the Avant Garde, critical new art practices from "racialized" ethnic communities struggle against bourgeois institutions that reify their histories and practices. Dialogism offers "racialized" ethnic communities a specific method for drawing on non-Western motifs that avoids reification. For example, when non-Western motifs are not reified, they signify non-Western modes of production, demonstrating that other credible socio-political systems exist/ed. In doing so, they thus introduce the possibility of developing alternative systems. Represented as motifs that the community has adapted to their new socio-political landscape, they demonstrate the way in which society is characterized by changing relationships. Or represented as reifed motifs, they demonstrate the way in which they have been commodified or turned into reactionary nationalist motifs. But again, invoking dialogism is not an easy task.

As I have discussed in chapter three, Habermas's discussion of the bourgeois public sphere suggests that one of the difficulties of developing

new cultural forms, is avoiding the production and reproduction of ideologies that naturalize relations of subordination. As I suggested above, "racialized" ethnic communities often have their own relations of subjugation around relations of race, gender, class and status which become articulated within the socio-political relationships of the new region in which they are located. And it does not follow from the fact that just because "racialized" ethnic communities have been displaced by capital, they will necessarily resolve their contradictions by developing nonviolent, equitable socio-political systems. In their effort to meet their material and cultural needs, there is the real danger of cre ing a reactionary nationalism or adopting the dominant society's value systems. In order to develop emancipatory alternatives, then, self-reflexivity is critical. Again, dialogism offers a useful approach. It is intrinsically self-reflexive because it generates meaning by bringing different points of view into interaction so their deficiencies, insights, and contentions are made evident. (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 362-366)]

4. Dialogism and the Public Sphere

Now that I have argued that dialogism offers a self-reflexive method of cultural production that builds from historical and material specifities, it remains necessary to explore the way in which dialogism would operate in the public sphere. The public sphere presents a model for discursive interchange between different individuals and groups addressing issues of common concern. In Habermas's formulation, communication in the public sphere is oriented towards decision-making: practical discourse facilitates the process of building a consensus for political action. It does

so by stripping away historical and material specificity (Habermas, 1992: 445-449). In contrast, dialogism is oriented towards developing relativized consciousness (Bakhtin, 1987 (a): 426). It is a narrative form that makes meaning by drawing on the limitations as well as insights of various world views. While dialogism does not offer a model for decision-making, it presents a self-reflexive model for making meaning. It has the capacity to articulate and critically evaluate the significance of various groups' experiences, views, contradictions and so forth, by drawing on the motifs, narratives, styles, forms of speaking and forth that are particular to their modes of communication.

This is a capacity that practical discourse lacks, due to its concern with shedding historical specifities. Practical discourse can assess the significance of phenomena only within its own system of valuation. And while it is one that all participants in the discussion may agree to abide by, it is nevertheless limited in its capacity to articulate the diverse range of experiences belonging to different verbal-ideological groups as well as its ability to question its own epistomological framework.

But at a formal level, the question of applying dialogism remains. Practical discourse is a discursive model for decision-making; dialogism is a model for artistic representation. The difficulty of "operationalizing" dialogism at the level of political action is in part due to the fact that Bakhtin examines dialogism in "artistic" cultural forms which he distinguishes from "extra-artistic" forms. According to Bakhtin, dialogism, as the epistemological state of heteroglossia, must be consciously produced through artistic forms. Even in <u>Rabelias and his World</u> where Bakhtin discusses social institutions in 16th century Europe, such as the festive market place and the feast, where "there was

a temporary suspension of the entire official system with all its prohibitions and hierarchic barriers" (Bakhtin, 1984: 89), dialogism, and thus, relativized consciousness was not accomplished.

The question of operationalizing dialogism in the process of decision-making, is then, in part a question of articulating artistic and extra-artistic forms of culture, one the one hand, artistic forms that are concerned with making meaning; and on the other, political forms that are concerned with actions that maintain or change the conditions of living. While revolutionary praxis integrates the two, as I have argued above, it still lacks the self-reflexivity and capacity to generate new understandings characteristic of dialogic cultural forms. In order to schematize a dialogic form of decision-making at this juncture, it would necessitate, as a start, a close analysis of narratives as well as Habermas's work on practical discourse and communicative action. Instead, I will propose a relationship between the process of decision-making and dialogic cultural forms.

One way to conceptualize this relationship is by breaking the public sphere down into the different processes of articulating issues, deliberating and then deciding on the appropriate ways in which to address them. If the political mobilization of "racialized" ethnic communities is considered in terms of developing a new social movement, then it becomes clear that part of the process of mobilization is to develop a political consciousness. In the case of the 18th century liberal bourgeois public sphere, the development of a class consciousness emerged in a number of different venues and media, such as art criticism in aristocratic salons, rational critical debates in coffee houses and private societies, political analyses in newspapers and sentimental first-

person narratives in personal letters. The development of a class consciousness was not just a matter of identifying common interests, but of developing particular social practices and means of communication. As such, the process of developing cultural forms that articulate issues is a requisite for the ability to deliberate and make decisions in accordance with the interests of the groups in question.

In the mobilization of "racialized" ethnic communities, dialogic artistic practices provide a means of developing a relativized consciousness and generating a new language to articulate issues. In the context of "racialized" ethnic communities, which are characterized by heterogeneity, the different groups would need to develop their own languages, forming multiple public spheres and communities. A common "community" language would then work by dialogically articulating the different languages. The development of dialogic languages is a prerequisite for making informed political decisions. For the public sphere to properly function, then, community members need to participate in on-going critical cultural production.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICS AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE POST-WWII JAPANESE
CANADIAN COMMUNITY: CONTEXTUALIZING "WITH OUR OWN EYES"

What are the particular ways in which dialogic cultural production
would facilitate the development of a public sphere? This question can
only be addressed by examining dialogic cultural production in a specific
context. In the remaining two chapters I will examine this question in
the context of the post-WWII Japanese Canadian community, through an
analysis of Ruby Truly's video documentary titled, "With Our Own Eyes:
a Trip to Lemon Creek." These chapters will exemplify the more general
theoretical discussion from the preceding chapters.

1. Historical Context of the Post-WWII Japanese Canadian Community

Forming and maintaining a public sphere in the contemporary
Japanese Canadian community is especially difficult as a result of the
Canadian state's efforts to deracinate it during and after WWII. Japan's
attack on the United States on December 7th, 1941 gave the Canadian
State what it felt was a valid excuse for giving in to pressures from the
BC politicians and lobby groups to deracinate the Japanese Canadian
community: to forcibly uproot and disperse them. Applying the
unrestricted powers of the War Measures Act in 1942, the Canadian
State branded all people of "Japanese racial origin" including women,
children and the elderly -- "enemy aliens", stripping them of all their
rights with no means of appeal. The State claimed they were threats to
national security, despite objections from Assistant Commissioner
Fredrick John Mead, the RCMP officer responsible for West Coast

Security (NAJC, 1985: 12). On March 4, 1942, the BC Security Commission was established to coordinate the "systematic expulsion" of all people of "Japanese racial origin" from a 100-mile zone along British Columbia's coastline. The RCMP quickly moved in to remove men and especially community leaders from their homes and communities. Japanese Canadians whose homes, businesses and communities were later to be liquidated by the State, such as Mas Tasaka and Masue T. Tagashira, have described how this broke down the community's communication infrastructure and political leadership, throwing the community into a state of confusion and panic (interview, Tasaka, May 1990; interview, Tagashira July 1990).

> As the uprooting began, a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed
> on all Japanese Canadians. Houses could be entered at all
> times of the day and night and searched by RCMP officers
> without a warrant....Thousands of Japanese Canadians,
> rounded up like cattle, were herded into Vancouver from
> coastal towns and Vancouver Island. Many had been given
> as little as twenty-four hours to vacate their homes. Chaos,
> terror and disbelief infected the community as families were
> split apart and men were hastily shipped off to road camps
> (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 25-27).

In contrast to widespread belief amongst post-WWII generations, the community did not passively comply with the State. For example, Nisei men, protesting the way in which families were split up and sent to different camps, attempted to negotiate with the State. In response, the State gave them notices to go to Schreiber, Ontario. When they refused to obey the State's orders, the RCMP rounded them up and sent to prisoner of war camps in Ontario (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 37). There was also the efforts of the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League (JCCL), a Nisei organization that was established in the 1930's to get the franchise extended to Japanese Canadians. The JCCL initiated the Japanese

Canadian Citizens' Council, an organization representing fifty-one groups in order to retain some control over their conditions of incarceration (Miki, 1985: 35).

Once uprooted, the vast majority of Japanese Canadians were either sent to incarceration camps in BC's interior; beet farms in the prairies where they worked as labourers; or prisoner of war camps in Ontario. The process of disruption continued during their incarceration from 1942-1945. They were given little information with regards to their circumstances, their properties, businesses and houses left behind on the coast or the well-being of family and community members in other incarceration camps. They were under constant surveillance with their living quarters frequently being searched and their letters always undergoing the black ink of the censor. There were restrictions on communication, meetings and travel. Often families and individuals were moved not to just one, but several incarceration camps, which worked to destabilize them further. As well, during this period, the Canadian State gave the "Custodian of Enemy Property the power to sell properties that had initially been held in 'trust'"(Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 42). Under the "care" of the Custodian of Enemy Property their property was sold or destroyed. They lost their businesses, churches, houses, community halls, farmlands and fishing boats which housed not only community records and personal effects but materialized their collective sense of a past, present and future. "Almost over night, the intricate social and economic infrastructure of the community was destroyed" (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 42-43). This was just one of the many ways that the State violated Japanese Canadians on a personal level as individuals and families, and on a public level and as members of a community and as

Canadian citizens to the extent that many Japanese Canadians today, refuse to return to BC.

In 1945 when the United States defeated Japan, unlike Japanese Americans who were also incarcerated by their government, Japanese Canadians were still not allowed to return the BC coastline. To ensure that "their presence as a community was to be eliminated altogether in the Province of BC" MacKenzie King's government implemented policies to expel them from the province at the war's end (NAJC, 1985: 19). The State pushed them to choose between deportation to war-torn Japan or dispersed relocation east of the Rocky Mountains. The State justified these measures, arguing that they were meant to protect Japanese Canadians.

> Japanese Canadians, King reasoned, became victims because of their visible racial ancestry. Adopting the language of racism, he then reinforced their victimization by explaining that the dispersal policy was designed for their benefit. Once dispersed, and not visible as a group -- one might act together with the political power a community implies -- they would no longer be in a position to "create feelings of racial hostility". They would now be politically isolated, and hence powerless without a constituency. King assumed without question that racism existed in Canada, but instead of blaming its source, the white racists in BC, he blamed its victims, Japanese Canadians (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 52).

It was not until 1949, four years after Japan had been defeated and eight years after they had been expelled from their homes, that the Canadian State allowed Japanese Canadians to return to the coast.

Again, during this period, some Japanese Canadians attempted to organize the community to address their circumstances. For example, in Toronto, a group of nisei in 1943 formed the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy (JCCD), "a group that wanted to continue the

struggle by the community -- begun in the 1930's -- to achieve full citizenship rights and to assess the economic losses resulting from the mass uprooting"(Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 56). And "[in] June, 1945 the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC) was formed in support of Japanese Canadians who faced deportation and continued abrogation of their rights." This group was a coalition of over thirty organizations, including, for example, labour and church groups, that worked closely with the JCCD, lobbying the State to lift restrictions on Japanese Canadians and change its position on deportation. When the State upheld its deportation orders in December 1945, the CCJC referred the issue to the Supreme Court of Canada. While the Supreme Court upheld the right of the State to deport Japanese Canadians under the War Measures Act, the ruling was complicated by the exception made for wives and dependent children who did not sign for repatriation. Eventually, in 1946, McKenzie King gave in to public pressure and called off the deportation orders, though by this time 4000 Japanese Canadians had been deported (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 53-55).

For a twenty year period following the war, physically dispersed, economically and emotionally devastated, their political leadership and social networks dismantled, the majority of Japanese Canadians did not re-establish themselves as a community or return to their former homes in BC. Most were faced with simply trying to rebuild their lives and re-unite families who were separated during the series of incarcerations, relocations and expulsions. The pre-WWII political and social institutions such as farm co-operatives, language schools, newspapers, civil rights lobby groups, that knit together and supported the diverse groups based on, for example, prefecture, religion, profession, generation,

gender, family, community -- were for the most part destroyed. But the State did not succeed in destroying one of the key institutions in the Japanese Canadian community: the extended family. Having lost pre-WWII community systems of support and organization, Japanese Canadians dealt with their material, social, cultural and psychological devastation by turning towards the extended family. But what means did the family have to address the ramifications of being persecuted by the Canadian State, their own government and country? Many Japanese Canadians dealt with their incarceration by refusing to acknowledge it, not even letting the subsequent generation know about what had happened. Thus, not only was the pre-WWII community physically deracinated, but there was an internal deracination that many describe as "a fear of being Japanese".[75] This, in part, underlies the reason why Japanese Canadians are "model" ethnics, ethnics who have readily embraced assimilation.[76]

In the early 1970's, Japanese Canadian youth, influenced by the growing interest in, for example, in "ethnic rights", "historical roots" and "multiculturalism" (interview, Miki, July 1993) as well as African and

[75] For a fuller discussion see Roy Miki, "The Internal Dynamics if an Awakening Community: The Japanese Canadian Redress Movement", unpublished paper, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association Conference, October 17, 1989: 1-11.

[76] For more in depth historical and political analyses see for example, Ken Adachi, The Enemy that Never Was, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976; Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism: the Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981; National Association of Japanese Canadians, Democracy Betrayed: the Case for Redress. January 1984/2nd printing 1985; Mona Oikawa "'Driven to Scatter Far and Wide': The Forced Resettlement of Japanese Canadians to Southern Ontario, 1944-1949", MA Thesis, Education Department, University of Toronto, 1986, Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi, Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement, Vancouver: Talon Books, 1991; Ruby Truly, The Homecoming Conference video documentary series, Vancouver, 1992; Toyo Takata, Nikkei Legacy: the Story of Japanese Canadians from Settlement to Today, Toronto: NC Press, 1983.

Asian American civil rights movements, attempted to revitalize the community through grassroots community organizing. They established some of the key cultural and social institutions in Vancouver's contemporary community, such as the Powell Street Festival, an annual festival that celebrates the contemporary community and Tonari Gumi, a drop-in centre for seniors and new immigrants. In part, their work can be seen as an effort to re-establish a politicized public realm where their history of deracination could be addressed. This culminated in the drive to "redress" the injustices suffered during and after WWII.

The redress movement necessitated the political mobilization of the community on a national level, in a sense forming a counter-public sphere. It involved forming a coalition of individuals and organizations, such as the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, the Anglican Church and the Canadian Postal Union, across Canada to support redress. And it involved learning how to access the Canadian public through local and national media. But political mobilization against the Canadian State -- never mind, regathering as a community -- was a long and difficult process that many community members initially hesitated to support. Some feared that, for example, it might incite "a backlash from white Canadians" or that the government might retaliate by, for example, cutting off seniors' old age pensions. Others continued to try to accept their incarceration and dispersal as a "blessing in disguise", feeling that it hastened the assimilation of Japanese Canadians.[77]

In order to challenge the Canadian State, redress activists used procedures, modes of organization and discourses that the Canadian

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[77] For more discussion see reference in footnote #75.

State recognized as legitimate avenues for contesting its decisions: for example. they used representative institutions. such as the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) and mounted a strategically designed lobbying process that included meeting with government representatives and organizing public rallies. The NAJC was intent on reaching a redress settlement through "direct and full" negotiation. They refused to accept any decisions that were made unilaterally by the State. Nor did they accept the State's efforts to change the process of negotiation into a series of "consultations" (Miki and Kobayashi. 1991: p.82-83).

After more than eight years of political struggle. an agreement was finally reached on September 22. 1988. The terms of agreement stated that the Canadian government must: "acknowledgement that the treatment of Japanese Canadians during and after WWII was unjust and violated principles of human rights as they are understood today": "pledge to ensure...that such events would not happen again": recognize the important contributions that Japanese Canadians have made to the development of the Canadian nation. In addition. as symbolic redress. the State gave monetary redress of $21.000 to individuals. $12 million towards a community development fund and $12 million for the creation of a Canadian Race Relations Foundation (which as of this date. has yet to be established) (Miki and Kobayashi. 1991: 138-140).

What effects did over a decade of political struggle with the Canadian State have on the Japanese Canadian community? While there is no documentation of these effects. Roxana Ng's article. "State Funding to a Community Employment Centre" and David Mitchell's article. "Culture as Political Discourse in Canada" offer some insights into

some of the hazards of negotiating with the State. Both authors discuss the problems community organizations and lobby groups face when they give in to pressures to "[reshape their] needs and values within languages which are" defined by the State rather than trying to communicate their needs in exactly their own terms, using their own institutions and practices, for example as the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en did in their land claims negotiations. They argue that there is a tendency to reorganize the community, especially the institutions involved in governance that for example, control funding and "represent" the community, in accordance with State bureaucracy (Mitchell, 1988: 165). Mitchell argues that this process is "associated with Weber's notion of rationalization, that is, the tendency of modern state bureaucracies to expand into more and more spheres of life which have been managed traditionally by non-government institutions" (Mitchell, 1988: 164). Ng argues that when a community organization uses State defined means to meet community defined ends, its oppositional values and practices can become co-opted.

Likewise, there are Japanese Canadians who argue that the redress movement caused serious polarization in the community because the movement used "mainstream politics".[78] While the NAJC, especially under the leadership of Art Miki in 1984, depended on the support and involvement of the grassroots community, within the framework of mainstream politics, certain positions, such as the NAJC executive and certain activities, such as negotiating with the State, became focused on as the key processes in the redress movement. The technical language and hierarchical organization meant that the majority of the community

[78] For example, see Tamio Wakayama, Kikyo: Coming Home to Powell Street, Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1992.

was excluded from these positions and activities, not only because these processes required skills associated with higher educations and professional backgrounds, but also because the hierarchical organization meant that a limited amount of people were involved.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the redress movement also contributed to the development of public infrastructures in the post-WWII Japanese Canadian community. For example, it resulted in the development of a variety of political, social and cultural institutions, such as the NAJC, numerous human rights committees, literary and visual works of art, history projects, community centres and so forth. It situated the community in a larger political arena, aligning them with other new social movements, such as Chinese Canadian and Aboriginal movements. It facilitated the process of re/building social networks, including intergenerational relations. And symbolically, the acknowledgement and apology from the Canadian State was of great importance to those who were shamed into silence for over thirty years. Yet at the same time, the movement for redress could not in itself be the sole means by which the community could address the effects of deracination. Nor was it able in itself to address the concerns and needs of the changing contemporary community.

Today, Japanese Canadians are still in the process of regathering, of reconstituting themselves as a community. The community may face dissolution if it does not attempt to develop the means to address not only issues from the past, but new problems and needs. Currently there is a struggle to conceive the diverse positions and ways of knowing in the community: its heteroglossia. What are the different historical and material positions: what are the unspoken unarticulated experiences.

atrocities, sources of meaning? Identifying these sources of meaning,
the diverse experiences, motifs and chronotopes, is a critical question for
the Japanese Canadian community. While Japanese Canadians have
written official histories about the community with statistics and
chronologies of important dates and events[79], there is little sense of what
these events meant for the different social-economic groups in the
community: for example, for the second generation "nisei" who were in
their teens when they were incarcerated during the war; for those who
lived in isolated fishing camps along BC's coastline; for the post-war
generations, including the larger number of children from relationships
with non-Japanese Canadians; for the post-war "new immigrants" from
modern Japan. Undeniably the pre-war Japan towns, as well as
internment camps are key chronotopes for today's community. But thus
far the community members have produced only a few documented or
even fictionalized accounts of these times and circumstances.[80] And
much work still needs to be done in exploring the way in which these
chronotopes have imposed themselves in the present.[81] Without

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[79] See footnote #76.

[80] For example, Rolf Knight and Maya Koizumi, A Man of Our Times: the Life-History
of a Japanese-Canadian Fisherman, Vancouver: New Star Books, 1976; Takeo Ujo
Nakano, Within the Barbed Wire Fence: A Japanese Man's Account of His Internment
in Canada, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980/81; Joy Kogawa, Obasan,
Markham: Penguin Books, 1981/1983; Gordon Nakayama, Issei, Toronto: NC Press,
1984; Roy Miki, This is My Own: Letters to Wes and Other Writings on Japanese
Canadians, 1941-1948, Muriel Kitagawa, ed. Roy Miki, Vancouver: Talon Books, 1985;
Keibo Oiwa, ed. Stone Voices: Wartime Writings of Japanese Canadians, Montréal:
Véhicule Press, 1991; Michael Fukushima, "Minoru: Memories of Exile", Montreal:
National Film Board of Canada, 1992.

[81] This would require extensive primary research on the prewar communities. Because
there are few publications on this period, it would require interviews and soliciting
private documents. And in the post-war community, there has been little cultural work
before and after the 70's. But there is a wealth of information in the community as well
as in the public archives. For example, there have been interesting cultural adaptations

knowing either the sources of meaning or how meaning is made in a community it is impossible to understand what issues the community faces and how to appropriately address them. Thus if a public sphere/s is to be established in the Japanese Canadian community that addresses issues of common concern. a critical means of articulating the diverse experiences and ways of making meaning needs to be developed: what I have described as dialogic cultural production.

2. "With Our Own Eyes: A Trip to Lemon Creek": the Cultural Relations of Production

In this context. it is useful to examine a single example of a dialogic cultural form. How might a dialogic cultural form facilitate the development of a public sphere? The public sphere requires not only the development of particular cultural forms. but the development of cultural infrastructure and practices that ensure people have the means to regularly gather to discuss. formulate. exchange and criticize ideas and information: a means of communication. Moreover. for historically subordinated groups. such as the Japanese Canadian community. it is difficult to develop their own means of communication. This is not only because of the efforts of dominant groups to contain and subjugate them ideologically. but also because of limited access to resources for organization and production. And within the community. access to resources is also stratified. with the most established organizations such as the NAJC. having the greatest capacity to produce. distribute and exhibit cultural works.

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of North American activities: after the war. many community members took up bowling. forming leagues that represented the different social groups in the community. For example there were leagues based on the different generations. fishermen. women. men and church groups. (Herb Nakashima. discussion. Vancouver. BC. June 1992)

To address this question. I want to perform two types of analysis of a recent example of a cultural work. Ruby Truly's "With Our Own Eyes: A Trip to Lemon Creek". In addition to a textual analysis of the video itself. I shall conduct a structural analysis of the relations of artistic production associated with the video. Especially important are the "sites" where the cultural form's artistic relations of production. distribution and exhibition. "intersect" with established social practices and institutions. These are sites where new cultural works can. on the one hand. be constricted by the established practices and concepts. But on the other hand. they are sites where new cultural forms have the opportunity to negotiate the introduction of new concepts. practices. and sometimes new institutions. I will discuss some of the ways "With Our Own Eyes" introduces new concepts and practices to the community by working with and elaborating established practices. As I mentioned above. though. my analysis will be somewhat limited in part. because there has been little research that. for example. documents exactly what are the established practices in the community.

"With My Own Eyes: A Trip to Lemon Creek". directed and produced by Ruby Truly.[82] documents the reunion of Japanese Canadians who were incarcerated in the Lemon Creek internment camp from 1942 - 1945. In particular it documents the "bus tour" portion of the reunion. For the bus tour. over 50 participants travelled from Vancouver (where the reunion took place) through the interior of British

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[82] Truly is a video artist and community activist and a member of the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver and Vancouver. She was approached to document the tour by Naomi Shikaze. a community worker and one of the tour's organizers. who also worked on the video with Truly.

Columbia to the previous site of the Lemon Creek internment camp, stopping at a number of other incarceration sites along the way.

Organizing "bus tours" of incarceration camps is a relatively new practice in Vancouver's Japanese Canadian community. The first tour, organized to follow the 1987 National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) conference "Back to the Future", was politically motivated. While on the one hand, it functioned to inform members of the redress movement more about the community's history of incarceration; on the other hand, it was meant to rally support from the community during a standstill in negotiations with the State (Miki and Kobayashi, 1989: 7-8). After the settlement for redress was reached in 1988, the tours continued. As non-profit community events, they are now organized by community members who at most receive honorariums. In addition to a fee that covers the costs of the tour, community organizations, such as the NAJC and the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association of Greater Vancouver (JCCA), provide additional organizational and financial support.

The tours are organized specifically for community members. While they still allow community members to collectively revisit a past that was structured by injustices, they now emphasize the social aspects of the trip, such as meeting old friends, staying at hotels, and so forth. The tours allow the participants to face, as well as affirm, their past with others who acknowledge its importance, an act that twenty years ago, for the majority of the community, would have been taboo. However, in no way is it possible to claim that either reclaiming the past, or this method of reclaiming the past, is an accepted practice throughout the community. For example, out of the two hundred, only fifty people who

came to the Lemon Creek reunion participated on the tour. In fact for many Nisei (second generation Japanese Canadians), British Columbia is not a desirable place to hold their incarceration camp reunions. For example, the 1991 and 1992 Lemon Creek reunions were held in Toronto (interview, Truly, July 1993). Nevertheless the tours do offer a new means for the post-redress community to publicly regather *as Japanese Canadians.*

Diverse groups from within the community are presented with an opportunity to regather on the basis of shared community experience, a rare event after 1949 and up to the late seventies when the Redress movement began. The tours also present an opportunity to build new social relationships, such as intergenerational and rural-urban relationships. In sum, these tours can be viewed as an important post-WWII effort to develop public forums, in contrast to the more privatized gatherings based on family or religious affiliation.[83]

The video was funded by the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation's Japanese Canadian Community Development Program. This foundation was established by the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) in 1989. On behalf of the NAJC it administers the $12 million community development program that was part of the settlement reached with the Canadian government to redress the injustices endured by Japanese Canadians during and after WWII (Art Miki, 1991: 12). It funds '"activities and programs' which are defined in the Contribution Agreement between the Canadian government and the NAJC as:

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[83] See Leslie Komori, "Lemon Creek", Bulletin, July 1991: 16-18; Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi, The Spirit of Redress; Naomi Shikaze and Ruby Truly, Application for Funding from the Redress Foundation for the Lemon Creek Video Documentary, May 1991.

'educational, social and cultural activities and programmes that contribute to the well-being of the community or promote human rights"(Japanese Canadian Community Development Program Application form for the Programs and Activities: 1). Applications for funding are submitted for assessment to the Board of Directors of the Foundation.

The consequences of these relations of funding differ from those that would be entailed by private investors and established Canadian distribution and production systems, such as the National Film Board, CTV or the CBC. For example, private investors give funding on the basis of their assessment of the video's potential market return based on market demand. They do not give funding on the basis of "educational, social and cultural activities and programmes that contribute to the well-being of the community or promote human rights." For the video to be marketed it would need to be tailored to the format required by established distribution systems: for example, broadcasting systems or distribution houses that identified an already developed audience or market, such as workshops, conferences, film festivals, broadcasting and educational institutions with specifically defined mandates, viewing practices, curriculums, pedagogical models, programming. Within this set of institutional relationships, the video would have to take into consideration its length to suit, for example, broadcast scheduling, formats and programming or classroom teaching practices.[84]

Furthermore, depending on the established reading practices and

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[84] For example, the NFB's films and videos are geared towards "...the library, media and education communities as well as the general public..." with a mandate of "...interpreting Canada to Canadians and to other countries." (National Film Board of Canada Film and Video Catalogue, 1989: 5)

knowledge base of the intended audiences, the videomaker would also need to consider the type of narrative it used as well as the form and the amount of exposition it provided.

In contrast, the relation "With Our Own Eyes" had to the Redress Foundation did not directly delimit its format in the ways that I have discussed above. This was in part due to the fact that the Redress Foundation's parent organization, the NAJC, does not have distribution or broadcasting systems for films and videos. Nor are there any public venues that regularly present Japanese Canadian and American films and videos, except a few annual events in urban centres, such as Vancouver's Powell Street Festival, established in 1978, that runs for two days in August, and recently Toronto's Earth Spirit Festival, established in 1991, that runs for three days in July. Nor are there any community organizations with resource centres or distribution systems for documents, archival material, cultural works, research material and so forth.

The main communication system in the community, as in the pre-WWII communities, is newsprint. There are several well established community newspapers, such as the <u>Nikkei Voice</u> which has national distribution and developed out of the <u>NAJC Newsletter</u>. The oldest newspaper, <u>The New Canadian</u>, was the one pre-WWII newspaper that was permitted to continue publishing from Kaslo, BC during incarceration, though under State censorship. As well there are other newspapers that serve particular regions such as the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association of Greater Vancouver's <u>Bulletin</u> that serves British Columbia, the <u>Geppo</u> and the <u>Shimpo</u> which serve the Japanese-

speaking members of the community, including the Issei (first generation of Japanese Canadians) and new immigrants, in British Columbia.

Unlike the pre-WWII community, the post-WWII community is struggling to establish its own alternative systems of production, distribution and exhibition. The community is still in the process of trying to build its means of communication. Without a strongly established set of relations in the area of producing itself as a socially, politically and culturally distinct socio-political unit, the community institutions also lack any clear set of institutionally defined criteria for assessing works within the community. As a result, the videomaker did not need to consider tailoring the video's format to these criteria, though there were other strong social and cultural criteria that she did need to take into account, which I discuss below.

This is not to say that the Redress Foundation lacked criteria for judging "With Our Own Eyes". In addition to having a mandate, it operated on behalf of the NAJC, a political representative of the community, so that an omission or particular interpretations of the incarceration would be inadmissible. As well, without community generated conceptions of what constitutes a "video-documentary", is likely that the Redress Foundation was informed by the common sense notions shared by the general public. In Canada, the National Film Board and CBC have had a fundamental role in establishing a conventional definition of "documentary" in terms of what Bill Nichols describes as "discourses of sobriety". Because documentary, along with, for example, economics, politics and foreign policy, is considered to have a direct, immediate and transparent relation to the real, it purports to reveal the actual nature of "reality" (Nichols, 1990-1991: 15).

Yet even if the directors of the Redress Foundation were informed by the established definition of documentary, this would not have necessarily limited the video's format. This is predominantly because the Directors approved projects for funding on the basis of the application rather than on the basis of the finished projects. And because the application did not require a detailed description of the video's narrative structure, length and so forth, applying conventional criteria in their assessment would have been difficult. On the application, the applicants claimed they would edit the footage into a "coherent, chronological archive of the event -- with appropriate dates and names added to clarify and preserve the information in an accurate and visually narrative presentation" (Shikaze and Truly, 1990: 10). The description was short and general. The only "conventional" criteria cited were "chronological ordering"; "the addition of dates and names"; "accessible form of communication for access for a great cross-section of people to utilize" (Shikaze and Truly, 1990: 10).

Recognizing the diverse groups within the community -- for example, the Issei who lived in fishing communities up the coast before WWII, new immigrants who are politically involved in grassroots activism, Nisei who remember their incarceration from the perspective of children, politically and culturally active lesbians, the new generation of children from inter-racial relationships -- the application stated that the video was made for a "great cross-section of people", according to Truly, within the Japanese Canadian community.[85] The application stated the video

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[85] She had plans to re-edit some of the footage into a shorter video that would include more exposition, making it more "accessible" to the general public who would not necessarily be familiar with the history of incarceration (Interview Ruby Truly March 31, 1993.).

would give participants the "still rare" opportunity to articulate their recollections of incarceration. As such, the applicants claimed the video would provide those who were either never interned, for example the post-WWII generations, or interned under different conditions, for example, those who were sent to beet farms, with "first-hand accounts" about how incarceration in Lemon Creek affected the participants. As such, the applicants said the video could function as an educational tool, a means of facilitating discussion. It would also be "an important addition to the community's history as there is little information by the internees themselves available about the internment experience" (Shikaze and Truly, 1991: 10).

For the video to fulfill these functions, it needed a distribution system. But with no established public distribution systems in the community, Truly choose another route. She dovetailed the video's distribution with already existing social networks: she made the video for the participants of the tour, although it is also available by request to other individuals or groups. In particular, in contrast to mainstream documentaries, this documentary was produced for the participants of the tour as essentially what was framed as a personal momento or record of the tour for their private use (interview, Truly, July 1993). But in the Japanese Canadian community, private, is not "private" in the usual sense of the word.

As I mentioned above, after the State's efforts to deracinate the community during WWII, many responsibilities that had been the jurisdiction of particular community institutions, in a sense collapsed onto one of the few institutions that the State failed to destroy: the extended family. Though there were some local community

organizations. until the beginnings of community empowerment movements in the early 70's that lead to the redress movement. the majority of the community functioned as a collective of people with a shared identity. set of values and practices -- through informal rather than public networks based. for example. on extended families and social connections developed from pre-WWII communities and incarceration camps. As such. it could be argued that private homes were one of the main. albeit private. institutions where Japanese Canadian community reproduced itself. During the redress movement people's homes became sites for political organization (Miki. 1989: 8). Today different groupings of family. friends and community organizations continue to informally gather in private homes for meetings and discussions. in addition to watching videos about Japanese Canadian or Japanese American experiences (interview. Kayahara. October. 1990).

Through these private networks. advertising operated primarily through word of mouth via the fifty participants (interview. Truly. July 1993) who came from across Canada and Japan. ensuring a relatively large. though selective distribution within the community.[86] She also relied on these social networks for exhibition. By acting as a point of

[86] In addition to forty people who actually ordered the documentary. according to Truly some participants also made multiple copies for their friends and others who did not attend the tour. And participants have informed Truly that they continue to view the video "over and over and over." By relatively large distribution. I mean relatively large in comparison to the distribution of other documentaries on Japanese Canadians within the community. This again is in part due to still developing systems of production. distribution and exhibition in the community. In contrast. people have access to a greater amount of books written by and about Japanese Canadians. They are sold. for example. at local NAJC offices. at festivals and conferences. This. I would argue. is in part due to the way in which the redress movement used published material. such as pamphlets and books. to challenge on the one hand. the way in which Canadian history had narrated Japanese Canadians "out of official history". and on the other. the way in which the Canadian state claimed the incarceration though unjust. was legal under the powers of the War Measures Act. (Miki and Kobayashi. 1991: 74)

gathering and discussion. "With Our Own Eyes", in itself offered a possible method for addressing contemporary issues, introducing new understandings and developing social networks. Thus by dovetailing the distribution and exhibition of the video with the community's social networks. Truly presented a means of introducing new critical cultural work to parts of the community who do not necessary make a habit of viewing alternative works. As well, in this way the video introduced community members and organizations to new conceptions of what social relations and practices a "video documentary" might entail.

For example, while it was fine for the participants themselves to document their trip with cameras and camrecorders, the participants initially did not want their tour to be "publicly" documented. This hesitation could have been based on a number of factors. Given that most of the participants had not returned to the site where they had been incarcerated in 1942, they were uncertain about what they might experience. In this context, the video crew might be intrusive. But as well, the process of being "documented" might at some level have been problematic given the way in which the Canadian State, the news media and popular culture have recorded and portrayed Japanese Canadians in the past and present. Yet with encouragement from community workers who suggested that it would be an important record for the community and by framing the production of the video as a "momento" of the tour *for* the participants, the participants finally conceded. Subsequently, participants on the next bus tour in 1992, after having seen the Lemon Creek video-documentary in Toronto, wanted their tour to be documented as well, so they could have a record not only for themselves, but for their children as well (interview, Truly, July 1993).

3. "With Our Own Eyes: A Trip to Lemon Creek": In Constrast to the Political Historical Narrative of the Redress Movement

The next question to address is, how does "With Our Own Eyes" make meaning at the sites where it intersects these social and institutional relations? In order to address this question, it is necessary to examine the way in which these relationships have been organized around what I will call a "political historical narrative". Put another way, the video needs to be analyzed in the context of the community's dominant narratives.

One of the predominant narratives within the Japanese Canadian community was established through the redress movement's struggle to receive acknowledgement from the Canadian State for the injustices they suffered starting with their forced uprooting in 1942. This narrative contested the way in which official Canadian history had omitted the incarceration, deportation and dispersal of Japanese Canadians by the State during and after WWII. It also contested the way in which the incarceration had been justified at the level of common sense as necessary for national security, a means of protecting Japanese Canadians from the racist attacks and as an unfortunate but understandable result of the prejudice of the times (NAJC, 1985: 12-16). Ultimately the political economic narrative of history worked to situate these events within a "violation of human rights" framework. This was a framework that on the one hand drew on the values of the Canadian public, and on the other hand, was a discourse that was appealing to the mass media. It was a discursive struggle that functioned to legitimize the

NAJC's case for redress to the Canadian State, the Canadian public, as well as the Japanese Canadian community itself.

This narrative is similar to the modern narrative of progress. It maps the development of the Japanese Canadian community in a chronological series of events that are propelled forward by relations of cause-and-effect. Moreover, it is a patriarchal history in that it focuses on the agency of the men and does not explore the active roles women played as brides, wives, mothers, labourers, businesswomen, cultural workers and community organizers. For example, within this narrative, the community is initiated by Japanese male migrant workers who came to Canada supposedly looking for "opportunities" to make "their fortunes" and return home; they begin to settle and develop communities when the women they married through picture-bride arrangements arrived from Japan. The State's efforts to deracinate Japanese Canadians during and after WWII is identified as the key factor that "explains" their socio-political situation today in that it disrupted and severely undermined the development the contemporary community. As a result, so the narrative goes, in contrast to other "visible minority" communities, the Japanese Canadian community has high intermarriage rates, dispersed settlement, a poor retention of the Japanese language and so forth.

This narrative works to emphasize the citizenship of Japanese Canadians as *Canadians*. By starting with the first Japanese immigrant -- Manzo Nagano -- the narrative marks what Benedict Anderson refers to as the community's own "myth of origin" severing it from Feudal Japan and situating it in the new modern nation of Canada (Anderson, 1989: 15-18). By underlining the contributions that Japanese Canadians made to the development of Canada's primary industries, the redress

movement also inserted them within the national myth of "pioneer Canadians". And by mapping the development of the community, the community is situated in modern history understood as progress rather than in ancient history understood as static and repetitive.[87]

In order to have some understanding of the means by which the political historical narrative became established in the Japanese Canadian community, it is necessary to outline how it was articulated with cultural production. Researching and documenting the Japanese Canadian community's history became one of the key activities for the 1970's grassroots community movement. In fact, research into the incarceration of Japanese Canadians was one of the central factors that lead to the political mobilization of sansei. Not only had this event been omitted from Canada's official history, but from family histories as well. (interview, Mayu Takasaki, July 1990) Political organization was clearly articulated with cultural production during this period. Publications, such as The Powell Street Review and Rikka provided a written forum for discussing political issues concerning Japanese Canadian youth; there were events and public gatherings that addressed the contemporary needs of the community, such as the Powell Street Festival.

Collective historical research projects, such as the Japanese Canadian Centennial Project's photo exhibit which was toured nationally; their book, A Dream of Riches: Japanese Canadians, 1877-1977 and the Powell Street Revue's film, "Images of the First 100 Years" were central to

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[87] For example, see the texts of Ken Adachi The Enemy that Never Was Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976; Toyo Takata, Nikkei Legacy: the Story of Japanese Canadians from Settlement to Today. Toronto: NC Press, 1983; Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, A Dream of Riches: The Japanese Canadians, 1877-1977. Vancouver: Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, 1978.

the politicization of this group. As I mentioned above, their research and documentation became part of the effort to politically mobilize Japanese Canadians, and later, other political organizations and individuals, in a movement for redress. With the establishment of the redress movement, Audrey Kobayashi, Ann Gomer Sunahara, Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi, among others presented public talks and wrote books and pamphlets as well as articles in Japanese Canadian community newspapers, giving evidence to prove that the incarceration and deportation of Japanese Canadians was unjust.[88] As well, the novel Obasan by Joy Kogawa was an important means of educating mainstream Canadians about the incarceration of Japanese Canadians.

These political texts have had a great impact on subsequent cultural works, especially with respect to genres that have conventionally used chronological narratives, such as documentary film, a point I will discuss in further detail below. Their impact is partially due to their wide circulation by the NAJC when they were trying to mobilize the community around the issue of redress. Works referring to other aspects of the community have not circulated as widely. As a result, the political historical narrative has become one of the few public means for defining and evaluating Japanese Canadian history.[89] Most cultural works using

[88] some examples of this work are, Ken Adachi, The Enemy that Never Was, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976; Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism: the Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981; National Association of Japanese Canadians, Democracy Betrayed: the Case for Redress. Winnipeg: NAJC, 1984/1985; Roy Miki, ed. Redress for Japanese Canadians: a Community Forum. Vancouver: Vancouver Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association Redress Committee, 1984.

[89] There is an expectation that cultural works that supposedly "document" the community's history will use this political economic narrative. For example, in 1990 when a group of sansei produced a multimedia slide show for the Powell Street Festival on the history of Japanese Canadians that used clips from interviews rather than an authoritative voice-over and presented the recollections of the community members

this narrative have circumscribed the present as a moment of contemplation about the past. which furthermore, is ultimately presented as an effect of the incidents it recalls: the uprooting. incarceration. dispersal and deportation of Japanese Canadians.[90]

This is not to deny the role of political historical analysis in providing the necessary grounds for understanding the community's development. I would argue that this analysis is essential. As with the struggle for redress. it laid the grounds for developing a number of means for addressing the incarceration. But because both the political struggle and the political historical analysis were directed towards acquiring redress from the Canadian State. in themselves. they could not fully resolve the wider social effects of incarceration and deportation as they were experienced by the contemporary community. There is a great need to develop other cultural forms to express and develop experiences. relations. issues. concerns. conflicts. needs and so forth. using the community's own terms. as opposed to a chronological cause-effect narrative typical to Bill Nichols' "discourses of sobriety".

I am arguing that it is problematic to make this type of narrative the only legitimate narrative for Japanese Canadian history. It works to categorize all aspects of the contemporary community. whether issues. events or characteristics as evidence of the past: for example. of past

rather than documents and statistics that described the development of the community. their presentation was criticized by a group of community activists for being artistic and impressionistic rather than "political" -- even though they used a chronological historical narrative starting with the early immigrants. moving through the incarceration. redress settlement. etc. (Sansei meeting. August 1990. Tonari Gumi. Vancouver)

[90] See for example. Midi Ondera's film. "Displaced View"(1988) Fumiko Kiyooka and Scott Haynes' film "Clouds" (1985): Michael Fukushima's animation. "Minoru: Memory of Exile" (1992).

government actions, racism and the Meiji culture of the first immigrants. It makes events of the past ontologically prior to the present, bringing up the problem of historicism that Thomas Buerger discusses in his book, Theory of the Avant-Garde. As such, the search for "knowledge about the community" comes to be focused on discovering the "truths" from the past. This limits the exploration of experiences, language, issues, the various economic sectors and so forth both in the present and the past. There is a tendency with this narrative to identify all material that is identifiably Japanese Canadian into this narrative as, on the one hand, evidence of immutable Japanese Canadian characteristics or, on the other, the causal factors that lead to the current fragmentation of the community. While again I would argue that historical research -- even using a cause-effect narrative -- is necessary and in fact vital for developing a critical understanding of the community's development and issues today, what I am criticizing is the establishment of the cause-effect narrative as the only legitimate narrative for discussing the Japanese Canadian community. In a situation where this narrative becomes the only legitimate narrative for the community to represent itself, to reflect on itself, to explore and understand itself, little room is left for the community to develop and explore ways of understanding itself on its own terms.

There are some exceptions to the claims made above, such as the recent novel, Itsuka by Joy Kogawa and the history Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement by Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi. Both are concerned with the recent past: the movement for Redress. Historical agency is given to actors who collectively organize themselves in the present to alter official Canadian history and politics.

Justice in Our Time is a documentation of the NAJC's struggle with the Canadian State for Redress. While Justice in Our Time uses the political historical narrative to chronologically map the key actors and events that lead to the Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement, this was a political move. After learning about the central role that public documentation played in establishing public "truth", not only through historical research, but also by working with the Canadian news media, the authors realized the importance of quickly producing a concise public record of the negotiations between the NAJC and the Canadian State from the perspective of Japanese Canadian activists[91] (interview, Miki, June 1993).

In contrast, Itsuka, set in contemporary Toronto, focuses on the transformation of the post-WWII Japanese Canadian chronotope where the community member exists in a fragmented, private, psychological world as the "silenced" individual. But the dominant narrative that Kogawa utilizes is patriarchal and Christian. While perhaps it is too hasty to claim that the novel completely closes down this chronotope, in addition to the other chronotopes and discourses that it draws on, nevertheless it is clear the dominant narrative is concerned with the development of the central protagonist, Naomi, an individual Japanese Canadian woman. In order to socially overcome her child-like status within the Japanese Canadian community, as a shy and naive virgin in her forties -- as well as symbolically, within the Canadian nation as a passive and inarticulate Japanese Canadian.[92] Naomi becomes sexually

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[91] Roy Miki is currently in the process of producing a book that presents a more detailed analysis of the redress movement.

[92] For a discussion of the way in which the stereotype of Japanese Canadians as inarticulate and passive is reproduced in the novel, Obasan, see Roy Miki "Asiancy:

and spiritually involved with Father Cedric, who first appears to be an anglosaxon, Christian, heterosexual, male figure of authority, though later it is revealed that he is part Métis.

In the novel's plot, the redress movement is subordinated to a setting which allows Naomi and Father Cedric to meet. In short, through her union with Father Cedric, rather than through, for example, her political involvement, she becomes completed as a human being. If Father Cedric was anglosaxon, Christian and heterosexual, Naomi's union with him would have been problematic because he is the epitome of a figure of authority, in particular a figure of authority representing the government that attempted to deracinate the community. Her union with him would have implies a passive "assimilation" into mainstream society, embracing the values that lead to the incarceration of the community. But the fact that he is part Métis, makes her union almost even more problematic. As Robert Linsley argues with respect to the Aboriginal artist Roy Vickers, Father Cedric's white side makes him approachable to the middle-class readers and his Indian side guarantees his spirituality (Linsley, 1991: 239). Kogawa could be criticized for reproducing what Marcia Crosby describes as "the West's assumed right to use native figures, myths and visual arts for various purposes -- including the colonization of native culture -- in a search for its own "roots". (Crosby, 1991: 272)

And while <u>Itsuka</u>, as with her earlier novel, <u>Obasan</u>, refers to the way in which incarceration smothered her family through death,

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Creating a Space for Asian Canadian Writing", conference paper, Asian American Association Conference, Ithaca, June 2-5, 1993 and Scott McFarlane "Covering Obasan and the Narrative of Internment", conference paper, Asian American Association Conference, Ithaca, June 2-5, 1993.

disappearance. breaking down familial bonds and the loss of a common language. in Itsuka these problems are resolved. or rather sublimated. through her relation to Father Cedric. Yet. while the dominant narrative is far from emancipatory. Itsuka still shifts the focus from the incarceration to developments in the contemporary community.

How does "With Our Own Eyes" make meaning in the context of the established political historical narrative? Alongside of Itsuka and Justice in Our Time. the video can be regarded as part of an effort to destabilize the ontological primacy granted to the incarceration and the subsequent deracination of the community. It focuses on the contemporary community. For example. the video's application for funding emphasized that the subject of the documentary was the *tour itself*. unlike political historical texts. such as The Enemy That Never Was or Nikkei Legacy. which present themselves as documenting *the* history of *the* community. By documenting the *tour*. the video underlines the role of contemporary events in the development of the community. Nor does "With Our Own Eyes" define contemporary developments in the community as lamentable effects of the past (ie the internment). The video identifies the contemporary community as an active site where there is potential for community members to address the past and direct their future development. Specifically. like Justice in Our Time and even Itsuka. "With Our Own Eyes" presents the efforts of the contemporary community to address the injustices they experienced during and after 1942. But rather than documenting the process of addressing these injustices as a completed process. whether via the redress movement or via patriarchal and Christian paradigms. the video *re*-presents the community's ongoing effort to articulate and rework the effects of the

past injustices. Specifically, the video documents the way in which the community has appropriated the concept of "the bus tour" as a familiar vehicle from mainstream Canadian culture to publicly revisit and to begin to find ways to address the incarceration on both a personal and community level.[93]

But the political historical narrative is not the only dominant narrative with which "With Our Own Eyes" must contend. It must contend with the narrative that is specific to documentaries. Conventional film documentaries put forth an argument in order to persuade audiences to think in certain ways or do certain things. They attempt to achieve this by presenting their arguments "as self evident, unified and noncontradictory" (Cook, 1985: 190-191). Granted with the social function of educating people (Cook, 1985: 190-191) they work to reveal unknown facts or contest commonly held interpretations. As such, they assume viewers who either lack knowledge or hold common misconceptions. This format tends to reduce the activity of the viewers to reception, rather than elaboration, exploration, questioning, contesting and so forth.

Instead, "With Our Own Eyes" does not assume that its viewers lack complete knowledge or hold misconceptions about the event. Instead, the video assumes that the viewers, as participants of the tour

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[93] As well Roy Miki has suggested that the bus tours have a "ritualistic" dimension in that they recall pilgrimages to a sacred site. This points to the religious aspect of the Japanese Canadian community, an aspect that has not been researched. He also pointed out that Japanese Americans also organized bus tours to the sites where they were incarcerated. But these were large scale tours that took place on a regular annual basis. (Roy Miki, interview, Vancouver: July 1993) Jerald Zaslove notes here, that Bakhtin's work offers ways to desacralize the myths of places through polyphonic forms that reveal the multiplicity of experiences around myths (Jerald Zaslove, discussion, August, 1993).

and as members of the Japanese Canadian community, share a particular knowledge of the event -- knowledge to which Truly, as the director of the documentary, does not necessarily have access. In other words, it is not concerned with constructing an exposition for an audience who lack the necessary "evidence" or "information" to either understand the significance of the event or alternately, believe that it occurred. Moreover, because the director was concerned with encouraging discussion, it was important to structure the video in a way that accommodated multiple readings. Thus it avoided the conventional documentary narrative which imposes one interpretation and draws on the various accounts, shots in order to provide proof for its argument. And unlike the tendency of cinéma vérité documentaries, the video did not treat its subjects with contempt (Thomas Waugh, 1985: 235). For example, given the probability that it would be distributed within the homes of friends, family and publicly in the larger Japanese Canadian community, it was necessary to use a certain amount of discretion in terms of the way the event was presented. And by making a "snapshot" of every participant, while not making anyone the centre of attention, the video follows the recognized social etiquette within the community.

Here I am not suggesting that the refusal to impose a dominate narrative means that the director has given up her critical voice. Truly neither "[disavows] the complexities of voice, and discourse, for the apparent simplicities of faithful observation or respectful representation, the treacherous simplicities of unquestioned empiricism"; or by forfeiting her "own voice for that of others" (Nichols, 1985: 261). In particular, she refuses to use the cinéma vérité's technique of purporting to simply "capture people in action, letting viewers come to conclusions about them

unaided by implicit or explicit commentary". (Nichols. 1985: 260) Nor does she fall into cinéma vérité's implicit trap. of focusing on certain participants -- not even those who willingly gave accounts to the video crew -- and developing them. Hollywood style. into central protagonists. (Nichols. 1985: 262: Kleinhaus. 1984: 321. 325) And she also does not use the "direct address" format. whereby the viewers are encouraged to uncritically accept the accounts presented by witness-participants who step before the camera(Nichols. 1985: 266).

As I will discuss in the next chapter. the narrative she uses is dialogic in that she critically articulates the voices of others in order to critically re-read the history of incarceration into British Columbia's landscape. In this context. the video can be understood more in the tradition of what Thomas refers to as "committed documentary": "a declaration of solidarity with the goal of radical socio-political transformation"; and "intervention in the process of change itself" (Waugh. 1984: xiv) It is also can be aligned with the video activism of the 60's and 70's where it was viewed as an organizational tool for community groups and political movements (Boyle. 1990: 59).

With the limited cultural production in the Japanese Canadian community. the actual heteroglossia has been presented only in very limited terms. if at all. Thus there is a need to develop narratives. forms and syntaxes. that articulate and critique the different understandings. experiences and issues. Addressing this need. *With Our Own Eyes* can be seen as an effort to build from what the various participants of the tour presented to the tour group as well as the video crew. Essentially it can be viewed as an effort to. in Mikhail Bakhtin's terms. represent heteroglossia in order to invoke dialogism.

CHAPTER 6

A DIALOGIC ANALYSIS OF "WITH OUR OWN EYES"

"With Our Own Eyes" documents the bus tour of fifty Japanese Canadians returning to Lemon Creek, the site where they were unjustly incarcerated by the Canadian State over forty-five years ago. Emphasizing the process of reclaiming history, "With Our Own Eyes" re-reads British Columbia's contemporary landscape through the recollections of the participants. As the participants journey in real-time from Vancouver, through BC's steep coastal mountains, across the dry interior savanna into the idyllic Slocan Valley, they travel back in memory to a past that the Japanese Canadian community had painfully attempted to forget until the movement for redress. In this idyllic valley, there were eight incarceration camps that held over 6,500 Japanese Canadians from 1942-1945. (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 30) But while Truly underlines the political violence aimed at the Japanese Canadian community, she does not reproduce the dominant discourse of victimization which interprets Japanese Canadians as passive and naive victims.[94] Instead she underlines the perseverance of Japanese Canadians in the face of the Canadian State's attempt to deracinate their community.

Truly destabilizes dominant interpretations of history through an innovative narrative strategy whereby she draws out the complex and changing socio-political forces that have shaped the lives of Japanese Canadians within British Columbia's changing political terrain. Unlike

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[94] For a critique of the discourse of victimization, see Scott McFarlane and Kirsten McAllister, "Reflections of the The Pool: Interning Japanese Canadian History", The Bulletin: A Journal for and about the Nikkei Community, December, 1992: 25.

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conventional documentaries. "With Our Own Eyes" does not reify their accounts, shaping them into evidence for a central argument. Rather, Truly uses what could be termed a dialogic narrative. On the one hand, dialogism challenges discourses produced by dominant institutions, such as the legal system and the news media, and on the other hand, it generates new understandings. In order to expose the limitations of the dominant discourses, what Mikhail Bakhtin refers to as "monoglossia", dialogism attempts to represent "heteroglossia". He defines heteroglossia as the diverse range of world views belonging to historically specific socio-political groups which monoglossia struggles to repress. How is "With Our Own Eyes" able to represent heteroglossia when monoglossic discourses are bound up with institutions that have a monopoly over the production of knowledge?

1. The Representation of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia's Dominant Discourse

In order to discuss the way in which Truly represents the heteroglossia of the Japanese Canadian community, it is first necessary to outline how dominant discourses in British Columbia have worked to signify Japanese Canadians in narrow, racist terms. Around the early 1900's, British Columbia was caught in a contradiction typical of all colonies. On the one hand, as a British Colony, it desired "white", "British" settlers. But on the other hand, because of labour shortages, it drew on Asian workers from China, Japan and India to do the dangerous, dirty work of building its transportation systems, developing its primary industries and clearing its land (La Violette, 1948: 286-287). In sum, Asian labourers were economically needed but socially unwelcome. Class

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was articulated through historically specific constructions of "race" (Gilroy, 1987: 28). In particular, Japanese and Chinese labourers were positioned in the discourse of the "Yellow Peril". This discourse evoked the fear that unrestricted immigration of "Orientals" would encourage

> a vast colony, exclusive, inscrutable, unassimilative, bound together in a secret offensive and defensive organization, with fewer wants and lower standards of living that their neighbours, maintaining intact their peculiar customs and characteristics, morals, and ideals of home and family life, with neither the wish nor the capacity to conform to the civilization upon which they have intruded, and gradually, by the mere pressure of numbers, undermining the very foundations of the white man's well-being (Victoria Times, August 16, 1907, quoted in Adachi, 1979: 78).

Within the Yellow Peril discourse, people of Chinese and Japanese descent, were perceived as a threat to Western society's cultural, social and economic integrity. Caught between the contradictory pressures from Anti-Asian groups and the need for cheap labour, the historical solution to "racial tensions" in British Columbia has been either to limit or bar the entry of Asians (the Chinese Head tax, the 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act and the curtailment of immigration from India after the 1907 race riots), deracination (the incarceration and forced dispersal of Japanese Canadians during WWII) or expulsion (the deportation of Japanese Canadians after 1945).[95] Thomas Reid, Liberal member of Parliament for New Westminster presents the sentiment underlying this position with regard to Japanese Canadians in a speech to the East Burnaby Liberal Association, January 15th, 1942:

> Take them back to Japan. They do not belong here, and there is only one solution to the problem. They can not be

[95] The State used similar measures of varying degree to "deal with" other "racialized" groups, such as the Ukrainians and Italians during WWII, but they were mostly violently used against the People of the First Nations.

assimilated as Canadians for no matter how long the
Japanese remain in Canada they will always be Japanese.
(NAJC. 1985: 6)

In contemporary British Columbia, class continues to be articulated through "race". The discourse of the Yellow Peril, though transformed, still circulates, working to define Canadians of Chinese, Japanese and now Vietnamese, Korean and Filipino descent, whether fourth generation or recent immigrant, as problems within the Canadian nation. Asians are deemed as threats. They are alternatively viewed as unemployed, illegally employed, part of the working "hoards" and at worst -- as powerful owners of capital. For example, the local news media carry stories citing growing social tensions and problems due to "Asian" street gangs (unemployed or illegally employed), investors and home owners (powerful capital owners) -- without context.[96]

The media suggest, for example, that street gangs are "racially" specific problems, rather than rooted in socio-economic conditions; that Asian investors are inherently inclined towards "buying up" properties and businesses, rather than being guided by the logic of capital and encouraged by government legislation. The media also suggest that the supposed Asian predilection for "monster homes" and cutting down trees is an atrocious violation of Vancouver's cultural and social landscape. I would agree that the recent changes in the "racial" composition of neighbours such as the British Properties and Point Grey, where either through bylaws or "gentlemen's agreements" non-whites and the lower classes were excluded until the late 1940's (Anderson, 1991: 127) is *socially* significant. But the physical changes represented by tree cutting

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[96] For more discussion, see Yasmin Jiwani. "'Race' as News: Asian Representations", in By Omission and Commission: 'Race' and Representation in Canadian Television News", Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Communication, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia. 1993.

and house sizes are minor changes, especially compared to way in which the developers and the municipal governments in the lower mainland have violated low-income neighbourhoods by, for example, cutting them up with major transportation routes and rezoning them for high density commercial use.

2. The Representation of Heteroglossia

In the context of this historically established discursive field where Asian-*looking* features are immediately implicated in the discourse of the Yellow Peril, how does "With Our Own Eyes" re-present the heteroglossia specific to the Japanese Canadian community? In order to work against generalizing tendencies of the Yellow Peril, Truly focuses on the particularities of the Japanese Canadians who participated on the bus tour. The video manages this by the use of what Bill Nichols refers to as testimonials. Nichols points out the significance of the "oral more than literary, personal more than theoretical" aspects of testimonial in his discussion of testimonials in the documentary "Unfinished Diary" by Marilu Mallet. He argues that Mallet's

> ...refusal to make herself into the figure of the tour guide that most first person commentary in documentary evokes, pointedly identifying for us the larger truths and bigger issues exemplified by her particular experience all propose a radically distinct model for documentary representation (Nichols, 1990-1991: 19).

Nichols claims that testimonials work against the reifying tendency of conventional documentary narratives that use personal accounts as examples or evidence for a general argument because the significance of testimonials resides in their particularity, not in their typicality (Nichols, 1990-1991: 19).

One of the ways in which Truly underlines the particularities of the participants is by drawing on footage of the participants introducing themselves at a reception held for the tour group in Vernon, BC. These introductions work against stereotypes that categorize all Asian-*looking* people as, for example, foreigners. Rather than just incorporating their visual images, with short accounts from the most typically "Japanese" sounding, moving or dressing participants, the video presents each of the participants with their divergent characteristics, many of which run counter to those that are stereotypically "Asian".[97] But because Asian-*looking* features are so strongly lodged in the motifs and narratives of dominant culture, initially the close shots of their faces call up Asian stereotypes. But then the participants speak. Their manner of speaking does not conform to the expected stereotypical forms supposedly typical of the Asian: for example, broken English; using l's instead of r's; for tough men, gruff barking; for, older women in positions of authority, high pitched yelling etc. Instead their use of words, pronunciation, gestures, accents and vocabularies, in addition to their informal joking and uproarious laughter, are more identifiably North American than stereotypically "Asian". Notably their diverse facial features, ways of dressing, moving and talking do not conform to those defined by the discourses that are foreign and "Asian".

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[97] For further discussion on Asian stereotypes in visual media, see Yasmin Jiwani, "'Race' as News: Asian Representations", in "By Omission and Commission: 'Race' and Representation in Canadian Television News", Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Communication, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, 1993; Tom Engelhardt, "Ambush at Kamikaze Pass", Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian Americans, Emma Gee, ed. n.d., n.p.; Kirsten Emiko McAllister, "Asians in Hollywood", CineAction, #30, Winter 1992: 8-13.

All of this suggests that stereotypes are not only based on static physical features, but on "performance" as well: habitual ways of moving, intonations, gestures, interacting, holding the head, facial expressions and so forth. Mainstream media have discursively secured certain physical features such as, black straight hair and unpronounced brow bones, as stereotypically Asian by having actors marked by these physical features perform them as Asian-of-the-Yellow-Peril variety. As such, I would argue that the Asian stereotype has been ground into the bodies -- the physical features -- of actual Asian peoples and is discursively struggled over through "performance".

By presenting differences among the participants, the video presents the participants as diverse, their characteristics pointing to historical and social events that shaped their lives rather than making them confirm mainstream stereotypes. For example, there is the shot of a middle-class looking participant with a twangy Virginian accent and her older Caucasian husband. Out of the tour group, she is the only Japanese Canadian who moved to the United States and "intermarried" with a non-Japanese Canadian. Given that the intermarriage rate to Caucasians is very high in the Japanese Canadian community, the question arises as to why they are the only intermarried couple on the tour. The lack of intermarried couples points to the fact that intermarriage is still a contentious matter within the community at a public level.[98] Yet, nevertheless, the other tour participants are

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[98] For some samples of the different views on the status of "intermarriage" or inter-racial relationships in the Japanese Canadian community, see Ruby Truly's documentary, "Homecoming Conference 1992: Inter-Racial Couples" Vancouver, 1992; Terry Watada, "Is Inter-marriage Still a Taboo Subject?". Nikkei Voice, October 1990: 5; Michael Ross, "Too Much Made of Intermarriage" Letter to the Editor, Nikkei Voice, January 1991: 7; Kirsten Emiko McAllister, "The Changing Face of the Japanese

inclusive, encouraging the husband, despite his hesitations, to introduce himself to the group. He introduces himself *as the husband of* his wife and uses her Japanese Canadian "maiden" name to address her. His respectful deference suggests that Japanese Canadian identity is not necessarily wiped out through intermarriage as some community activists would argue.

And what about the fact that she married an American? This seeming anomaly begs questions: how long has she lived in the US, how did she moved there, how did she meet her older American husband. If the viewer reflects on these questions, different explanations arise that in turn trace the historical circumstances the Japanese Canadian community faced during and after WWII. For example, her strong accent is aural evidence that she has lived in the United States for a long time. She states that she was in Lemon Creek for four years and in Japan for four years. If she arrived in Japan around 1945, considering that Japan was occupied by the US from 1945 onwards, and given that many US servicemen married Japanese war brides, she could have met him there.

In contrast, there is the self-introduction by a participant who says that he is "made in Japan". While he is not much older than the other participants, his style of presentation, from his way of speaking to his way of dressing differs from most of the others. He comes the closest to fitting a familiar Asian prototype with his accent, slow quiet way of speaking and stiff gestures. Again, questions arise. Why is he more "Asian" than the others? While it is possible to imagine the other participants in mainstream Canadian professions such as accounting,

Canadian Community: Children of Intermarriage -- An Ambivalent Issue?", The Bulletin. May 1991: 7.

what would this participant's occupation be? Questions of class, occupational and cultural differences arise. If he was "made in Japan", unlike most of the other participants who were born and raised in Canada, he is a first generation Japanese Canadian, an issei who was born in Japan during the Meiji era.

In the Japanese Canadian community, these are socially significant differences. In the community, this participant might be viewed as an "old-style" Japanese Canadian, perhaps having worked in one of the typical pre-WWII occupations, such as fishing. By representing his particularities, the documentary brings forth another way of living, one that was common before the war. The contrast between participants points to the different social positions that resulted from the divergent histories -- the heteroglossia within the contemporary community. While some were able to work towards establishing themselves in Canada's mainstream, others returned to economies and lifestyles more typical of the pre-WWII period.

Moreover, given that the video supposedly documents a "reunion", the fact that the participants needed to "introduce" themselves is significant. During the introductions the group responds with amazement at the different directions everyone's lives took, rather than with recognition. This points to the fact that most participants were unfamiliar with each other. And in turn, this points to the way in which the constant uprooting which forced families to resettle and re-establish themselves again and again, made it difficult to remain in contact with other community members.

The format that the participants used to introduce themselves is significant. They all choose a similar format. They began by stating their

names. The women stated their "married" names, indicating their current social identity, in addition to their "maiden" names, indicating their social identity in the community before the government forced Japanese Canadians to disperse in 1945. Following this, they identified where they were born and lived before the State uprooted them (town or city and in some cases the neighbourhood with the address); the sites where they were incarcerated (some being moved to as many as three different sites from 1942-45); and then the town or city where they moved under the State's policy of forced dispersal. Each then concluded with the location where they now "reside".

This format differs from the usual means of identification, typically used in conventional Canadian public forums, such as meetings, conferences, workshops and reunions. For example, people in the video did not make reference to conventional markers of status, such as occupation. Nor did they present their "mandates": personal statements outlining their expectations and purposes for participating on the tour. These details would have affiliated the participants with particular social and political institutions, such as business associations, church groups, clubs, particular schools, neighbourhoods or government departments. Instead, the participants choice of format suggests a strong identification with geographically located communities and family units.

The participants' choice of format suggests not only a strong identification with geographically located communities and family units but also the way in which community identity is related to actions of the Canadian State. For example, the fact that the places where the participants lived before WWII centred on primary industries, reflected the fact that the state had passed laws which barred Japanese

Canadians -- as well as other "racialized groups", such as Aboriginal peoples, Chinese Canadians and South Asians -- from entering certain professions, such as pharmacy and law[99] (Adachi, 1979: 52). And the fact that the majority of participants went to Japan or east of the Rocky Mountains after 1945 reflects the State's effort to stop Japanese Canadians from returning to their previous homes and communities along the BC coastline by extending the War Measures Act after 1945 through orders-in-councils.

Tracing their displacements in *a narrative of chronological relocations* not only indicates that this narrative is significant for the identification of "who the participants are" within the community. It also presents their varied histories of displacement and incarceration as it was resulting from the actions of the Canadian State, pointing to the fact that their identities are in part intertwined with the legislative acts of the Canadian parliament.

Truly intercuts the participants' self-introductions into the chronological series of events that the video documents along the real-time of the tour's trip into the BC interior. They work as introductions to the freeze-frame cameo shots that she has made of all the participants. In doing so, she underlines their historical presence is the landscape of BC. She also uses them to introduce the shots of participants who share their recollections with the video crew. Nichols' discussion of testimonial also applies here in that the significance of the participants' recollections is their particularity, not their typicality. For example, one of the

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[99] And because the State required students and apprentices in these professions to be registered on the voters' list, barring "racialized" groups from the voters' list meant that they could not enter these professions (Adachi, 1979: 52).

participants recalls the wage labour he did cutting trees at Lemon Creek. He gives a detailed account, describing, for example, the workers' wages, and a strike they organized. As well, in noting that the workers did not know where the trees were going for processing, he indirectly suggests the blackout of information in regard to even the most basic levels information about their conditions of living.

This account contrasts with other stories. For example, another participant from Lemon Creek chooses to describe her experiences as a young adolescent within a discourse of "adventures of Canadian youth". She recounts wiener roasts, swimming in the river and hiking. This again brings up questions. How is it that she was able to have "fun" while in an incarceration camp? An answer is offered near the end of the documentary when an older participant who identifies herself as a one of the camp teachers, makes a dedication to "the mothers". When this participant sings a Japanese song that honors "all mothers", the other participants fall completely silent. While she sings, the camera slowly pans the many, many small faces of children who have lined up in row upon row for a photograph of a community event in Lemon Creek taken forty-five years ago. With the recorded electronic music accompanying the singer welling up and down dramatically in the background, it is an emotional moment when the viewers realize that these children are the adults who are now participating on the tour.

The well-being of all these children during incarceration and the subsequent dispersals, was due in part to the women -- the mothers, wives, aunts, grandmothers -- who played central roles as care givers and community leaders. The importance of their roles was heightened during this period due to the fact that the men lost their ability to protect and

provide for the community as bread winners and liaisons to the larger society. In contrast, the women could continue their roles in supporting their families and communities. By shielding their children from the horrors of history and by making sure that their families were provided for in terms of food, clothing and education (which the State attempted to deny them), the mothers, (as in the pre-WWII community) were essential for the survival and development of the community (interview Truly, July 1993).

The contrast between these accounts points out again that people were circumscribed by different relations to the State, depending on their age, community role and gender. These differences translated into divergent experiences during incarceration -- not to typical experiences. While children could not negotiate the terms of their incarceration, the labourers had the possibility of going on strike and mothers were able to reproduce their roles as care givers, providing support and sustenance.

Through these recollections another important aspect of the video's narrative structure becomes evident. It does not rely on a narrative structure that is based on the dominant form of "literacy" in the West: text, the written word as the dominant infrastructure of knowledge. This type of literacy privileges the "...authorial 'I' that speaks to and on behalf of a presumed collectivity" (Nichols, 1990-1991: 19). In conventional documentaries the authorial "I" is constructed in a number of ways. There is the use of voice-over/voice-of-god narration; the accounts of the authoritative witness or expert; footage of the everyday lives of the particular people that is edited into dramatic fiction-like "found" stories that relies on romantic individualism (Nichols, 1985: 262; Nichols, 1990-1991: 19). In contrast, the video demands forms of reading that rely on

visual and aural literacies. The viewer must draw on meaning that is
embodied in the participants' ways of speaking, moving and intonating,
forms which are part of communication systems distinct from established
written systems of communication.

For example, the participant who discusses labour relations at
Lemon Creek, speaks as if he were telling an anecdotal, nonchalant story:
walking along railway line he tells the video crew:

> ...they're cutting all these small trees, up on the hill here.
> Then -- I dunno what they used them for -- mine props or
> something? We had a big pile here. Load it on box cars, I
> dunno where they sent it. All the workers -- they got about
> 25 cents an hour. 17 cents? Someone was saying about 15
> cents -- so they went on strike!
> (participant's account, in "With Our Own Eyes", 1991)

The participant presents details more as he seems to recall them, rather
than by using an established format for describing historical events: for
example he does not present a chronological series of events, nor does he
begin by describing the political and economic context. This informal,
"by the way" form of address identifies a culturally specific set of social
relationships. There are at least two different groups that he is
addressing. There are the interviewers who are younger people, and
there is the video camera which, in its capacity of public documentation,
represents the larger community. In both cases, it is not appropriate to
directly make critical statements, specifically, to claim that the
internment was wrong, or to state what should be done. At the same
time, this participant's lack of direct criticism and informality does not
mean he is withholding an analysis or critique. His account
demonstrates that he is aware of the labour relations, specifically that his
experience during internment was of forced labour and the fact that it
was possible to negotiate some of the conditions of labour through

strikes. And by panning a series of archival photographs of young Japanese Canadians posing for what looks like school pictures. Truly underlines the way in which incarceration and this forced labour would have disrupted the lives of young men in the camps: they would have been either just graduating or starting to enter the work force. establishing families and homes.

So Truly brings various world views conveyed by the representation of different participants into interaction in order to draw out some of the historical and political forces that structured their experiences. Against mainstream discourses that immediately lodge anyone who is Asian-*looking* into narratives that identify them as threatening foreigners in Canada. the video presents world views on various aural and visual levels. views that are usually reified or suppressed in monoglossic dominant culture.

3. Dialogism in Operation

But dialogism does not operate simply by re-presenting various Japanese Canadians whose individual positions embody world views that have been structured by various historical. social and political relations. Dialogism requires that the *different world views come into contact in such a way that they interilluminate each other with their particular contentions. contradictions and valuations.* The ability to re-articulate these world views so they interilluminate each other in such a way that they critique and bring new understandings to each other and subsequently the viewers -- is dependent on the way in which the video's narrative articulates the different world views.

Ruby Truly articulates social voices that have been absent from the Canadian public realm in order to bring new meanings to the common motifs of British Columbia's everyday landscape. These motifs are lodged within established State and mass media discourses. "With Our Own Eyes" does not reconstruct Canada's official history by including Japanese Canadians in its conventional narrative of a linear chronology of events. "With Our Own Eyes" uses another form of narrative. Truly does not use one dominant discourse that reifies the different voices, fitting them into its narrative to merely exemplify its main points. Rather Truly draws on the multitude of both unofficial and official world views to read the familiar BC motifs. As such, the world views act in counterpoint to each other -- working to interilluminate each other as well as the viewer's understandings.

Specifically Truly uses the motif of the road as the documentary's main organizing principle. As Bakhtin argues, the road is an open motif that offers multiple readings. At one level it sets up a chronology of events that occurs as the "traveller" journeys along the road towards a particular destination. Accordingly the documentary, at one level, is organized along the real-time travel of the bus tour from Vancouver to the internment sites, and specifically Lemon Creek, ending back in Vancouver. The real-time travel represents a chronotope situated in the post-redress Japanese Canadian community. But the video represents the way that this chronotope is embedded with chronotopes from the past as well as the future.

The fusion of chronotopes is in part, a function of the narrative in which the motif of the road is situated: the personal journey of discovery and transformation. Here the journey is not only into the unknown

future, but into the past, into memories that are infused with the community's history of incarceration. In real-time the documentary starts off in Vancouver, where in the past, people were corralled into Hastings Park before they were sent off to incarceration camps and beet farms. But Vancouver was where there were also several bustling pre-WWII Japanese Canadian communities. An epicenter of recollection. The tour then proceeds into the interior to the incarceration camps, into their memories, to their childhood and youth.

It is impossible to escape this fusion of chronotopes. For example, the basis of this post-redress bus tour is the shared experience of incarceration during WWII. Yet at the same time that the present is being lodged in the past, the video represents the participants moving into the future in the real-time of the tour. As viewers we are uncertain what the participants will find as they venture to sites that were familiar to them during their internment forty-five years ago. Thus, as they move into the future along the real-time of the bus tour, they move into the past. But the familiar sites have been changed, as have the participants' relations to the sites. On the one hand, the sites exist in the present as altered forms of the past; but on the other hand, the sites continue to exist in the past as unaltered, in the sense that they permanently affected the participants' lives.

Against the personal journey of transformation, the motif of the bus tour itself evokes the discourse of the tourist. In this discourse, the internment camp locations are articulated as motifs of "Beautiful BC": magnificent wilderness of spectacular proportions. Tourist brochures, advertisements and State sanctioned culture represent BC as the pristine heart of the country tamed by white settlers. The discourse of the tourist

is based on a reification of the motif of the road: it turns the journey along the road that leads the traveller to adventure and transformation into a commodity. Accordingly, safe access to the awesome sights and transformative experience offered by a Nature yet unspoilt by "man", can be purchased from the tourist industry.

But "With Our Own Eyes" tarnishes the discourse of the tourist. Throughout the documentary, Truly cuts in personal accounts and government documents which recount the racist history located in BC's landscape. In any case, the road on this particular journey, is infused with too many other memories to be easily reified. Specifically, for Japanese Canadians, the road through the interior of British Columbia is indelibly etched with the fact that many roads in BC were built by incarcerated Japanese Canadian men. Starting in 1942, with less than twenty-four hours notice, the RCMP split many families apart, shipping the men off to road camps, leaving the community in a state of "[chaos], terror and disbelief" (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991: 27). Families were reunited after one year, only when the men, fearing for the safety and well-being of their families, threatened to revolt if they were not allowed to join their families.

The road also falls within the discourses of BC's primary industry economy. The journey from Vancouver, the site of many pre-WWII Japanese Canadian communities, is also the heartland and "civilized" urban centre: just as the interior, the site of incarceration where the pre-WWII community was socially, emotionally and economically disrupted, also represents BC's hinterlands and the site of "uncivilized" Nature. This melding of chronotopes draws the dominant narratives of the

traveller, tourist and staples economy into interillumination with the Japanese Canadian history of incarceration.

The chronology of events and encounters set up by real-time travel along the road presents a narrative that is more open than the linear enigma-resolution narrative typical of Hollywood films that is propelled by the actions of a central character. The encounters along the road are key vehicles for the production of meaning. Rather than making the series of discoveries and reunions evidence for the argument of an authoritative voice-over, these encounters become sites for contesting established discourses. For example, throughout the tour, the video documents the participants as they visit a number of British Columbia interior towns where they are seen at potluck dinners, laughing and meeting old friends. This calls up the motif of the reunion which implies the status quo values of the middle class whereby aging is marked by gathering together to recollect and reaffirm passages through private and public institutions (e.g. school systems, the military). But the text and narration interspersed through the video inflect this popular North American motif with another meaning.

As the bus comes up to each town and the ensuing reunion, a black screen pulls across the "live footage" of the tour -- in a sense stepping outside of the experiential dimension of the tour conveyed by the handheld camera documentation -- and the name of the town scrolls onto the screen. The black screen marks a movement into the domain of the Western world's dominant mode of literacy: the written word. Naming the town, the written text places it in the realm of nomenclature, of cataloguing and categorizing that is bound up with the infrastructures of political jurisdiction. As the video pauses in the domain of the written

word. Truly reads federal documents written in 1942 that call up the official voice of the State. Specifically, her narration cuts the Federal government's use of the War Measures Act to remove the civil rights of Canadians from "Japanese racial origin" -- into the motif of the reunion, dismantling it as a seemingly apolitical gathering of retired "middle class" people.

The documents she reads identify the towns where the tour stops -- as incarceration centres. The documents list the number of evacuees, the number of original residents and the type and amount of facilities available in each centre, bringing to light the way in which written text operated as a political instrument. But while Truly underlines the irrevocable effects of the government's racist legislation, she does not privilege past government actions as the only determining force in the development of the community. By using her own voice to narrate the documents, rather than the typical authoritative male voice-over, she infuses the government documents with the community's political struggles and the role of women in the community.

As a member of the Japanese Canadian community, her voice situates the documents in the community's own process of researching government archives done, for example, by Roy Miki, Audrey Kobayashi, Cassandra Kobayashi, Ann Gomer Sunahara during the drive to redress the injustices suffered during and after WWII. This research aimed to narrate the incarceration of Japanese Canadians, in addition to the contributions that Japanese Canadians made towards the development of Canada, into the official history of Canada. The sound track also underlines Truly's political reading of this journey. Music is by Katari Taiko, a Japanese Canadian drumming group that was formed in the

70's by Sansei (third generation Japanese Canadians) trying to reclaim their history. In this way, Truly brings forth the cultural-political struggles of the post-WWII generation into the participants' journey.

Against the years of disavowal by official history, the participants themselves also search for ways to reaffirm their presence in incarceration camps forty-five years ago, a presence which seems to have also been wiped out of BC's contemporary landscape. Ironically, the shots of the participants searching for traces to reaffirm and find proof of their presence, suggest the discourse of anthropology: a discourse of invasion and containment. After years of being under the surveillance and control of the State, the participants now use the discourse of anthropology back against the State to find proof of their incarceration. But they use techniques and evidence that are based on community knowledge, rather than on scientific disciplines which are based on control and the centralization of knowledge.

The participants do not re-read British Columbia's landscape by excluding other discourses, but by bouncing their readings off and thus bringing out the limitations of the official voices. For example, the video documents participants visiting a local museum which houses a permanent display on the incarceration of Japanese Canadian in Greenwood. The museum constructs a linear historical narrative of the internment using artifacts, reified as evidence. The participants reappropriate the artifacts by pointing out people they recognize in the archival photographs and recalling the community stories surrounding the crafts and government documents displayed in the museum. But the participants find most traces of their history through the older Japanese Canadians who remained in the interior after the last restrictions on their

rights as Canadian citizens were lifted in 1949. When the bus tour stops to visit these Japanese Canadians, the participants encounter the living memories of the community's history. While now quite elderly, in addition to retaining some of the incarceration shacks as historical markers, these communities maintain small Buddhist churches and commemorative Japanese gardens. And at their receptions, the elderly Japanese Canadians greet the participants with foods and formal speeches typical of old style Japanese Canadian gatherings.

When the participants reach Lemon Creek, an incarceration camp that held over 2,500 Japanese Canadians -- all that seems to remain is a huge empty field. But they fill this field with memories, finding their own "artifacts". During this section of the tour, Truly occasionally cuts to pans of archival photographs and maps of the camp, emphasizing not only the massive size of the Lemon Creek camp, but the amount and intensity of activity. Truly refrains from over-dramatizing this moment -- the return to the site of incarceration. She takes a few dramatic long-shot pans of the participants, most of whom are clearly excited, spreading out across the field to find the places where their families were housed. In terms of close and medium shots, the camera follows only those who address it, respecting the participants' personal space. Many participants approach the video crew, some pointing out the names of various streets, others making jokes about the large holes which they indicate were former outhouses! In somewhat of a cinéma vérité style, the video crew follows a group of participants who have called them over to the edge of the field to document their "find". If there is a climax in the video, this is it. In the underbrush the participants unearth the rusty objects, which as a group they excitedly identify as parts of stoves, cans,

door handles and lamps. The significance of their discovery is summed up in the opening comment in the video documentary which was made in an address by one of the participants during the last night of the tour:

> ...we signed up for this tour. A lot of people said, what do you want to go on the tour for? There's nothing to see! Well I know what I am going to tell them now! Because I have seen a lot! (participants account, "With Our Own Eyes", 1991).

Somehow, these articles, familiar articles that were part of the participants' everyday lives in Lemon Creek, worked to confirm this period in their personal and communal histories.

Like activists in the Japanese Canadian redress movement, Truly understands that political struggle necessarily involved a discursive struggle against the dominant discourses that place Japanese Canadians outside the history, specifically outside the landscape of British Columbia. But the video does not simply identify the correct "facts" about the community, facts which mainstream media has overlooked or misconstrued. To do so would be to fall into the trap of mimesis where the society is conceptualized as a static set of "real" facts: basically reifying social and political relations. Instead, Truly situates Japanese Canadians within BC's contradictory political terrain, by drawing on the heteroglossia within the community. The testimonials of different Japanese Canadians participating on the bus tour undermine the generalizing tendencies of the Yellow Peril discourse. Their particularities, not only in terms of what they share with the viewers, but in terms of how they speak, move and interact, point to the historical forces that shaped their lives, in a sense making their bodies, terrains inscribed by social and political forces.

"With Our Own Eyes" suggests that these forces are not contained in "the past" but structure the present. By reworking common Canadian and BC motifs, such as "the road", "Beautiful BC landscape", "the reunion" and "bus tour", Truly melds their life histories with BC's dichotomous chronotopes, such as the heartland-hinterland chronotope, highlighting the way in which the forces that shaped the lives of Japanese Canadians, also shaped BC's economic and political configuration. But unlike the political historical narrative developed by the Japanese Canadian redress movement, Truly does not give the past ontological primacy. As the tour moves along the road in real-time, towards the site where the participants were incarcerated forty-five years ago, in their memories they move back into the past, uncertain of what they will find, how they will feel, what it will mean. It is here that Truly underlines the contemporary community's agency. It is the participants of the tour who reclaim their past -- in their own terms. They read the landscape to us, pointing out the significant traces that indicate their presence, some sharing their memories.

What is clear is that the tour is a "reunion". It is a regathering of people who, while forced together, and apart by racist legislation aimed at deracinating their community, actively have/are reworking those relations in the present with the rest of the Japanese community, family and friends: granting to the present the site of agency and hope.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the role of cultural production in the development of alternative political practices. In particular it is concerned with the development of political practices that are not only aimed at undermining systems of subordination and self-destruction as they are currently configured under the capitalist mode of production, but with developing political practices that in themselves offer non-coercive and nonviolent ways for people to socially and politically organize themselves. Drawing on Raymond William's definition of culture from his book, The Long Revolution. I argue that culture, as the historically specific process of producing ways in which to conceptualize our conditions of living, has a necessary role in formulating new political practices. But the question is -- what is the direct relation between culture and political practices, if political practices are defined as the means by which people either maintain or change socio-political systems?

I found that Jürgen Habermas's model of the public sphere offered a useful way of theorizing this relation. By privileging the role of rational discourse in the development of the bourgeois public sphere, he foregrounds the necessity of developing new cultural forms in the development of new political systems. Specifically he describes the way in which rational critical debate was central to the development of the bourgeoisie as new "historical subjects". Rational critical debate allowed them to articulate their common concerns as property owners. Once conscious of their class interests, the bourgeoisie began to contest the

feudal system of rule which they argued restricted their freedom as private individuals. They argued for a new model of political organization that would "dissolve" feudal relations of domination. In its stead, they claimed that rational critical debate offered a system of decision-making where reason, rather than status or coercion were the basis for political action. In this way, Habermas underlined the relationship between political transformation and the development of new political discourses.

But while the public sphere offers a useful model through which people could gather together to articulate, deliberate and address issues of common concern, I argue that practical discourse, as outlined by Thomas McCarthy -- a form of communication that Habermas later developed from rational critical debate -- is limited in its capacity as a particular cultural form to address the contradictions in which people are situated. Habermas argues that in order for a group of people to identify their common concerns -- to develop a normative system -- they need to strip away their cultural, social and historical specificities: all those aspects which constitute their definition of a "good life". Practical discourse offers the means to do this. In the political context of global capitalism, it may well be necessary to develop a normative system through which people can coordinate political action that is directed towards developing non-violent, non-destructive, self-sustaining socio-political systems. But in contrast to Habermas, I argue that the world views and knowledges of particular groups are critical resources in this project. Rather than being stripped away, they should be used.

The reason for this is that the limitations of conceptual systems that reproduce relations of domination are most easily detected by those who were negatively positioned in them. The experiences of

subordination produce insights that the experiences of domination do
not. I have argued that all cultural forms -- including practical discourse
and revolutionary praxis -- are produced by historically specific relations.
As such, they embody ideologies specific to those relations. But because
ideology operates in part by naturalizing itself, it is difficult for groups to
perceive their own ideological frameworks. The problem that needs to be
addressed at this juncture, is to develop a means by which a group can
critically evaluate the ideological tenets of their political discourse. This
is a cultural problem.

In order to address this problem, I turned to Mikhail Bakhtin's
theory of dialogism. Bakhtin's theory of dialogism theorizes cultural
forms that draw on historically and materially specific world views in
order to reveal relations of power in addition to developing "relativized
consciousness". Bakhtin argues that every discourse/language is limited
in its capacity to comprehend the world because it is produced from
historically and materially specific sets of relations. In order to develop
what he calls "relativized consciousness", he argues that it is necessary
to bring the discourses of different groups into interaction -- this is the
only way that the limitations of each of the world views can be revealed.
Thus, on one hand, dialogism undermine the veracity of dominant
discourses. And on the other hand, by articulating a diverse range of
world views with their various conceptualizations, histories,
ambivalences and so forth, dialogism generates new understandings.

This raises the question of how would dialogic cultural forms be
aligned with the process of decision-making in the public sphere? If the
public sphere was broken down into the processes of articulating,
deliberating and addressing common concerns as well as the

contradictions in which the group in question was situated -- then, dialogic cultural forms could be involved at the level of articulation. In order to develop the appropriate means to address, or in the first place even to identify, the issues, concerns and needs of a group, a means of articulation that has the capacity to acknowledge their systems of valuation is necessary.

Dialogism offers a suitable *method* of articulation because unlike conventional narratives, dialogism does not subordinate the codes it draws on within its own narrative, reifying their ideologies, contradictions and histories. Instead, ideologies, contradictions and histories are central to a dialogic process of producing meaning. They are brought into interaction, specifically into discursive struggle over the interpretation of various motifs and events so that they interilluminate each other, revealing each other's limitations and insights, making underlying and constantly changing historical, economic and political forces evident.

To understand the role of cultural production in the development of alternative practices, I examined this problem in a specific context: the political organization of "racialized" ethnic communities in Canada. I choose to look at the problem in this context because I argue that the way in which "racially" defined ethnic communities address the contradiction in which they were situated potentially presented some insightful strategies for dealing with the role of cultural production in the development of alternative practices. Reworking the definition of mainstream sociology's definition of ethnicity, I suggested that in order to understand the way in which ethnics -- specifically "racialized" ethnics in Canada -- might contribute towards developing a socio-political

alternative to capitalism, it is necessary to outline the contradiction in which they are situated. "Racialized" ethnics are produced when the expansion of capital displaces them from their homelands. In search of economic and political security they flee to the economic north, regions hostile to their presence. In order to survive in these new and often hostile socio-political systems, ethnics are forced to develop new social, political, economic and cultural relations. Clearly, ethnics have/will not necessarily address this contradiction by developing emancipatory socio-political systems.

In order to conceptualize the way in which ethnic communities might address their contradiction in ways that would contribute to the development of anti-capitalist socio-political systems, I outline their structural relation to new social movements and class struggle. "Racialized" ethnic communities differ from those groups that have been mobilized as new social movements. They are culturally distinct socio-political groups that reproduce themselves over several generations, unlike groups mobilized as new social movements who do not necessarily, for example, share a common social and political system that is already distinct from the dominant socio-political system. Nevertheless, I argue that it is possible to regard ethnic communities, and those groups mobilized as new social movements both in terms of what Gramsci refers to as popular-democratic groups. As such, like groups mobilized into new social movements, the contradiction within which they are situated, differs from the contradiction around which traditional working class movements have organized: wage-labour.

Drawing on the work of feminists, such as Carole Pateman and Gillian Walker, I point out that popular democratic contradictions are

important sites of struggle. Socialist feminists have argued that under the capitalist mode of production, civil society has been organized in particular ways, such as the reproduction of workers in nuclear families, in order to ensure the extraction of surplus labour. And as David Harvey suggests, through the new configuration of capital, the wage-labour relation is becoming increasingly difficult to politically organize around. Thus, the contradictions in civil society that address the more general concern of gaining control over conditions of living, in the most extreme case, in order to ward off the destruction of different societies' capacity to support the reproduction of life -- are vital sites of struggle. Moreover, drawing again on Gramsci, I argue that class never exists in a "pure" form, but is always materialized in historically specific ways: it is always articulated with popular-democratic positions. In order to mobilize people against capitalism, their different historical, cultural and political systems need to be taken into account.

The problem of developing new cultural forms to conceptualize conditions of living is particularly evident in "racialized" ethnic communities. Both cultural practices from their former homelands and cultural practices from the economic north do not have the capacity to conceptualize their displacements, their transitions and so forth. I argue that "racialized ethnic" groups need dialogic cultural forms that draw from their histories, systems of values, particular socio-political forms of organization, well as the their new experiences and the socio-political forces that shaped their lives in the economic north. To look at this problem in greater detail, I turn to the post-WWII Japanese Canadian community.

The question of the role of cultural production in the development of a public sphere that not only addresses the concerns and needs, but the contradictions within which the post-WWII Japanese Canadian community is located -- takes a particular twist in the racist history of British Columbia. On December 7th, 1941, when Japan dropped a bomb on the eastern edge of US territory out in the south Pacific, (interview, Miki, June 1993) the lives of Japanese Canadians were radically disrupted. The Canadian State used this military attack against the United States as an excuse to give in to pressures from anti-Asian organizations and racist BC politicians -- to deracinate the Japanese Canadian community. Against the reports of the RCMP, the Canadian State claimed that all people of "Japanese racial origin" were a threat to national security. Using the War Measures Act, the State uprooted, then incarcerated Japanese Canadians, the elderly, the young men, the women, the community leaders, the children -- whether naturalized citizens, nationals, or citizen by birth. After Japan was defeated by the US in 1945, the Canadian State extended the War Measures Act with orders-in-council and forbade Japanese Canadians to return to their homes and communities along the BC coast. Instead they were given a choice of forced dispersal east of the Rocky Mountains or deportation to Japan. Throughout this period, the extended family was one of the few social institutions that was not destroyed. Economically, psychologically, politically and socially devastated -- Japanese Canadians turned to the family for support and sustenance during these times. But without institutions to articulate the different families into a public, Japanese Canadians were fragmented and became "model minorities", "assimilating" into larger Canadian society.

While this horrific violation of human rights remained buried for twenty years, in the early 70's, Japanese Canadian youth began to politically mobilize the community. This mobilization developed into a struggle against the Canadian State for redress. While this political struggle was essential for the development of the post-WWII Japanese Canadian community, I show that the redress movement in itself was not capable of resolving the violations of the past nor issues and concerns that faced the contemporary community. I claim that critical cultural forms need to be developed if the community is going to be able to articulate and thus address its issues of concern. In particular, dialogic cultural forms would be especially useful in the context of the fragmented Japanese Canadian community.

To examine the role that dialogic cultural production might play in the process of articulating the heteroglossia of the Japanese Canadian community, I discuss the video-documentary directed by Ruby Truly: "With Our Own Eyes: A Trip to Lemon Creek". Truly's video is examined at two levels. First, I examine the way in which the video worked with and against the community's existing cultural relations of production. As a historically subordinated community, Japanese Canadians were in the process of trying to rebuild their systems of cultural production, distribution and exhibition. While the redress movement developed a system of communication in order to politically mobilize the community, it functioned to establish one particular cultural form as "the" cultural form that expressed Japanese Canadian experience: a political historical narrative. This narrative was essential if the redress movement was going to narrate Japanese Canadians inside of official Canadian history. But while essential, more varied cultural forms are needed that do not

grant ontological primacy to the incarceration and the pre-WWII community. In this context I discuss the way in which Ruby Truly has introduced new concepts about how a cultural work might politically function. By dovetailing the circulation and exhibition with the community's social networks, she reworks and strengthens existing social relations. In this way she demonstrates that cultural works are a necessary part of building and maintaining communities. As well, by using these networks, she has been able to introduce not only "political" information about the conditions and effects of incarceration in the Lemon Creek incarceration camp, but as well, she has introduced a new cultural form that presents an unconventional narrative -- one that does not reify the participants' personal accounts and also one that takes social and cultural forms of etiquette into consideration.

At this point I conducted a textual analysis of Truly's video. I examined the way in which Truly challenged dominant discourses that situate Japanese Canadians outside the BC's historical and political terrain by re-reading the history of deracination into the landscape of (beautiful) British Columbia through the diverse accounts of Japanese Canadians participating on a bus tour to the site where they were interned. My discussion went on to examine the way in which she challenged the political historical narrative that granted ontological primacy to events in the past. She did this by focusing on the way in which the participants addressed their history of incarceration in the present, on their own terms. As well, at another level, Truly challenged the narrative of chronological progress by melding the temporal progress of the bus tour along real-time, from Vancouver to Lemon Creek with the participants' effort to move back through memory to the historical period

when they interned. Different temporal modes are identified: that of historical progress and that of memory. Each is in turn melded with different understandings of the same chronotopes. such as the road. The road in historical progress represents the heartland-hinterland chronotope. but in the memory of Japanese Canadians. it represents the chronotope of deracination. specifically. in the case of the road. the separation of families when the State shipped men off to road camps is revealed. And in both cases. the road represents a structure of determination as well as discovery and the unknown.

This points to a question that this thesis did not address: the question of subjectivity. I have been working with a Marxist model of consciousness. But the question unaddressed by this model is. if individuals are able to perceive the relations of subjugation. as well as their implications. why do they not readjust their activities. their ways of relating to others? There are several layers that are entwined around this question. a question that could be posed as "the compulsion to act". At one level. because we are social animals. changing our activities is not just a matter of a single individual or group's deciding to suddenly -- not do something and do something else instead. Whole social. cultural. economic and political systems are involved. As working class and new social movements have demonstrated. producing and then reproducing political and social alternatives to the current system is difficult.

But there is another more complex side to "the compulsion to act": the way in which particular discourses -- as they are situated in historically specific cultural. social. economic and political relations -- narrate particular subjectivities. Habermas indirectly refers to this question when he outlines the way in which rational critical discourse

developed a subjectivity particular to the male bourgeoisie. The freedom and equality of rational critical debate is based on the supposed freedom and equality of the bourgeois nuclear family. In the bourgeois family, again in supposed contrast to feudal families, relations were not based on coercion and status, but on free choice, love and equality: this was the bourgeoisie's source of humanity. Thus the next level of analysis would be to examine the subjectivity implied by particular discourses. This would be of particular importance for communities whose histories are entrenched in memory and transmitted orally and aurally, outside the cultural relations specific to "the written word" and the chronological narratives it implicates. As such, there might be much to learn from their particular ways of remembering -- as well as the effort to develop new cultural forms that work to draw on other cultural systems that meld different time-lines, elaborating and critically developing them for contemporary communities.

Overall this thesis has attempted to outline the necessary relation between the development of new cultural forms and the development of new socio-political systems. In particular it is concerned with the role of cultural production in the development of political practices aimed at developing alternatives to socio-political systems organized around the capitalist mode of production. Essentially, I am arguing that culture must be viewed as one of the means by which we not only reproduce our socio-political systems, but one of the means by which we evaluate and redirect the way in which we organize ourselves in the various socio-political and ecological systems in which we live.

As such, we must constantly try to generate new cultural forms. This requires cultural practices, like that of the "bricoleur", who I would

argue is more innovative than the "engineer". The engineer's work is that of immanent creation based on the absolute destruction of what was: a flooding, a burning, a bombing oblivion, extraction 'til depletion. It is based on the determination to reach tabula rasa. In contrast, the bricoleur constructs from whatever is available. Her/his creation is based on an appropriation that infuses new meanings into codes, relations, structures: one that realigns them into new possibilities. Her/his creation is not just concerned with the reproduction of the current social order: forever tangled in a web of reproducing whatever is *as* it is from the "collection of oddments leftover from human endeavors." (Levi-Strauss, 1966/90: 19). The difference is that rather than viewing the conditions of society as constraints, the bricoleur understands them as parameters: the grounds for the symbiotic, the dialogic.

The development of theory needs to address the specificities of our historical, economic and political as well as regional experiences. Uncritically and undialectically using theory to explain our conditions of living can obscure our not only particular relations of subjugation that we face, but the resources that groups amongst us are working to develop. At this level, theory is a cultural form, which I would argue, needs to be dialogic, in that it must constantly draw from the actual changing heteroglossia if it is going to aid us in evaluating and redirecting the way in which we organize ourselves in the various socio-political and ecological systems in which we live.

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