Crossing the Disciplines: Explorations at the Interface

Papers of the doctoral conference
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edited by
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Foreword by Professor John Drakakis, University of Stirling, Scotland

The Centre for Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies is a unique focus for interdisciplinary and international study at postgraduate level. The Centre runs some eight MA programmes involving a wide range of Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies, two postgraduate certificates, and a full doctoral programme. This wide range reflected in the annual Doctoral Conference, where research student's present papers based upon their ongoing work before their peers and a panel of visiting scholars. In addition, in recent years this has also been the occasion for the Annual Snell Lecture in Translation Studies, and for the presentation of an annual scholarship award by the benefactor Professor Mary Snell-Hornby of the University of Vienna. In the past, the annual conference has been held on one day, but this year, such was the wealth and amount of material offered that it was extended to two days. The following selection represents half of the papers offered during the Doctoral Conference, held on Friday and Saturday, 1 and 2 June, 2007, and they testify strongly to the variety of approaches encouraged by the Centre.

Cassandra Adjei's paper on mixed race identity in Modern Britain draws its theoretical energy from the fields of post-colonial studies, and contemporary cultural studies. Adjei throws down a challenge to traditional methods of determining racial identity, and in a timely analysis of the multiple signifiers that function to destabilize essentialist accounts of 'mixed' identity, the argument unpicks neatly what was traditionally accepted as a homogeneous 'Britishness'. In the wake of devolution, various waves of immigration, and the critical re-appraisal of multi-culturalism, it is important to undertake a re-evaluation of the category of 'race' and to chart the ways in which new, more complex cultural identities are represented historically in literary texts. It is unusual to see treatments of Anglo-Welsh and Anglo-Scottish writers alongside those of African, Indian or Caribbean descent, and it is even more unusual to find the kind of alignment theory with actual practice that is neither reductive nor synthetic. Adjei's paper is not afraid to challenge the ways in which we think about 'race' and 'identity', and the call for a new focus on 'mixed race' protagonists in literary texts, extends the discussion beyond the familiar terms of post-colonial 'hybridity'. 'The view from the fence' may not offer the most comfortable of perches, but it is the only place from which to assess this new cultural phenomenon.

Bohdan Piasecki's paper on 'Translating Literatures' represents the distance that Translation Studies has travelled, particularly since Susan Bassnett's pioneering of the so-called 'cultural turn' that extends practice well beyond the matter of locating linguistic equivalents in one language for the texts of another. Piasecki's focus on the problematic category of the Poetry Anthology is an adventurous one, particularly in view of the fact that of all the genres, poetry moves away from contextualisation and towards generalisation, let alone separating particular poems off from the oeuvre of the writer. In addition to the ideological process of canon formation, Piasecki also notes the larger contexts that to a very considerable extent shape and determine the fates of anthologies of translated

poetry. In addition to an anthology producing new cultural configurations that can transform aesthetic perception, he notes the roles of editors, publishers, and markets, over and above those of author and translator in the process. The focus is mainly on modern Polish poetry, but the evaluation of what Piasecki calls 'peritextual' material: introductions, biographies, notes etc., alongside the actual arrangement and sequencing of anthologised texts, all provide the cultural commentator with a body of semiotic material. Taken along with some of the problems involved in trying to find strategies for dealing with particular constellations of poetic 'voice', this paper pulls together a series of complex but overlapping strands of a publishing phenomenon that deserves to attract more critical attention.

Georgina Collins' paper represents a narrowing of focus in what is otherwise a much larger field that she addresses in her recent published anthology of translations of Francophone African women's poetry, *The Other Half of History* (2007). In the introduction to this pioneering volume, Collins aims to "carry the target reader to Cameroon or Algeria metaphorically, by transferring aspects of the culture as represented in the language of poetry" (*The Other Half of History*, p.xxv). In her paper, Collins sets herself the complex task of investigating what she calls 'orature' and what it implies for the task of translation. The theoretical underpinning of her enquiry traverses the discourses of social anthropology, post-colonialism, and feminism, and her focus on Mame Seck Mbacké's poetry provides an example of a writer who occupies a position on the cusp of the transition between the 'written' and the 'oral'. Collins's argument raises a number of pertinent questions that arise from the need to adopt a range of strategies for translating 'oral' poetry, not least of which is precisely how the rhythms of a source text can be translated without engaging in an act of 'tidying up'. Collins' paper is an exemplary account of the ways in which the detailed decisions of the translator can be made to operate within the larger cultural context of a particular species of source text, and her erasure of disciplinary boundaries is amply justified by the results that she has so far achieved.

Giorgia Carta's paper explores a very different terrain, namely the relationship between Translation Studies and Children's literature. Unlike Collins, who is engaged in raising consciousness of a literary output that has hitherto all but been hidden from history, Carta acknowledges the international literary dimension of her own work. She negotiates her way deftly through the existing secondary literature, and in particular, through the conceptual impasse derived from the observation of the paradox that 'Children's Literature' is something that adult writers provide for children, so that in a very real sense the category 'does not exist'. Carta's case study is Italian Children's Literature, a field that requires some adjustment of the criteria adopted for the study of Anglo-American Children's Literature. Her approach is historical, but also comparative, and she explores interestingly the problems of translation from an Italian perspective, where particular histories and cultural preferences have conspired to push this genre to the margins of academic study.

Both Collins and Carta are concerned to foreground writing and translation that in different ways, and for slightly different reasons, have become marginalised. With La Tasha Amelia Brown's paper, we return to a particular manifestation of the concept of 'hybridity' that Cassandra Adjei raised in the first paper of this collection. Except that here the focus is on music and its place in the shaping of identity in the African Diaspora. Also, rather than looking eastwards to Europe and Africa, Brown takes as her focus Britain, the West Indies and, to a lesser extent, the United States. This is as much a cultural and linguistic, as opposed to a musicological, study, and it takes on the vexed question of a 'universality' but avoids collapsing it into an a-historical essentialism. Indeed Brown's fascinating claim that diasporic subjects (particularly children born in Britain or the USA of Jamaican parents) have shaped what she calls "an intersubjectivity" that extends beyond the sphere of the local "to produce a new trans-national identity". This production inaugurates its own mythologies, but Brown's method addresses head-on the effects of globalisation upon diasporic subjects, as well as their responses to it. The emphasis here is upon what Homi Bhaba would call "cultural translation", a controversial formulation, but one whose appropriateness is amply borne out by Brown's paper as her argument charts the transformations of 'Yaad Hip Hop" as a "multi-lingual articulation of a distinctive Caribbean-ness" open to competing demands and mythologies.

The final paper in this wide-ranging collection, by Cynthia SK Tsui, explores another facet of the relationship between translation and globalisation, this time at a more explicitly theoretical level. As with other papers in this collection, the term 'translation' signifies not only a linguistic *practice* but also a metaphor, opening up the field for the consideration of larger cultural questions. Her argument is admirably direct in stating the claim that 'translation studies' is, by its very nature, uniquely positioned to understand the process of globalisation in that its methodology if forced to enact critically an engagement with the partisan and politically tendentious dissolution of geographical and cultural boundaries. Tsui's paper poses the interesting question of the extent to which 'translation' is, or is not, in itself a colonial strategy that would open its methodologies to the academic discourses of Post-colonialism. This is a good question, and it is one that, in certain respects, all of the papers in this collection touches upon in various ways. Her paper explores the application of the Derridean concept of 'difference / *difference*' to the problem of translation, and in particular the notion of 'the supplement' that the actual process of translation fails to eradicate, and that empowers the 'subaltern' text. This process, it is argued, extends from the translation of texts, to the formation of the post-colonial subject, thus rendering identity an internally fraught process. Tsui's paper resists the pressure of a homogenizing globalisation process and her weapon is the powerful linguistic tools that Deconstruction furnishes. Indeed, what happens within languages, also, her argument, suggests, is what *a fortiori* happens *between* languages when they enter into the kind of negotiation with each other that is translation. There is a complex politics at work here that extends beyond this collection of papers, and into a world where 'difference' is anything but egalitarian.

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The distinctive feature that characterise this energetic collection of papers is a real sense of adventure that spans a wide range of pressing current concerns. This is an academic community (a rare configuration in the 21st century) pushing back boundaries, reformulating agendas, combining a rigorous professionalism with a clear understanding of the wider social impact that these ideas make outside the academy. All of this work is ongoing, and is an exciting response to the merging class of bean-counting bureaucrats determined to reduce intellectual activity to the mere packaging and co-modification of 'information'.

This is a collection of papers that rekindles and re-directs thought; from a Centre whose own extraordinary collegiality - as well as its impressive collective academic achievement - is immediately evident on occasions such as the one that has stimulated these papers.

Foreword by Professor Mary Snell-Hornby, University of Vienna, Austria

The annual Doctoral Conference at Warwick's Centre for Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies has turned out to be one of the highlights of the academic year – not only for the students, but also for their teachers, the specialist discussants and any visitors who are lucky enough to be invited. The most recent conference on 1-2 June 2007 was no exception. It had the challenging title "Crossing the Disciplines: Explorations at the Interface" and the discussions were gripping - of the fifteen papers on the programme, six are presented here, and the spectrum is broad indeed.

The selection opens with Bohdan Piasecki's study of translated anthologies "Translating Literatures. An Attempt to Establish a Methodology for the Analysis of Anthologies of Translated Poetry". Concentrating on translated Polish poetry, he focuses on problems such as the multiple decontextualization of a translated poem and then discusses the roles of those responsible in the process of creating such anthologies: authors, translators, editors and publishers. The envisaged analysis ranges from important elements such as peritexts to the complexities involved in the research behind reception studies.

In a theoretical study on "Discerning Globalization through Translation as Postcolonial Identity", Cynthia Tsui takes up the issues debated over the last two decades in that vast area of conflict. Going back to Benjamin Barber's sombre but prophetic vision of 1992, "Jihad vs. McWorld", which foresaw a future dominated by tribalism on the one hand and globalism on the other, she goes into sensitive issues such as neo-colonialism (through globalization), "difference" as Derrida's *différance*, and Said's "Orientalism", all of them in their relationship to identity and translation which "represents a space for differences to negotiate".

The next three contributions all present examples of such postcolonial identities and are at the same time case studies in "crossing the disciplines". In her paper "The Universal Being the Local without Walls", La Tasha Amelia Brown explores "the construction of identity for adolescents of Jamaican descent" against the background of Reggae and Hip-Hop Music in the African Diaspora. Taking the *yaad* as an allegory of home, the essay shows how music cultures evolve, from the marginalized Kingston "rude bwoy/boy" via the Rastafarian culture to the emergence of reggae music "as a vehicle that carries the message of the Black masses" - now localized in the urban fringes of Britain and New York.

The theme is carried on in "The View from the Fence" by Cassandra Adjei, who investigates the literary representation of mixed race identity in modern Britain. She first goes into the various difficulties underlying the term, concept and category of "race" and then discusses the literary representation of "mixed race". The main part of the paper is the case study and analysis of Lucinda Roy's *Lady Moses*, which portrays the intricate identity problems experienced by the protagonist Jacinta, who has "a fair-skinned mother and a dark-skinned father":

torn between various relationships and locations in the UK, USA and Africa, she eventually opts for a home in the "black" camp in the USA.

"Beneath the Branches of the Baobab" by Georgina Collins is a study of how research into traditional African orature assists in "postcolonial" translations of the Senegalese writer Mame Seck Mbacke. The concept of "orature" is first described as part of the (Francophone) African woman's traditional way of life. Then an extract from Mbacké's poem *Lel* is cited as an example of a postcolonial hybrid text (in French) and translated into English by the author (in two versions). Specific translation problems are then discussed: rhythm, rhyme, orality and register, intensity of sound and mimicry, and the version respecting "the full cultural background of the source text author" is given preference.

The final paper, "Translation Studies and Children's Literature" by Giorgia Carta returns to a European context. The first part of the essay gives an overview of previous research on children's literature in general, particularly within Descriptive Translation Studies, and the second part concentrates on children's literature in Italy, from the second half of the 19th century to the present, taking the two well-known books *Cuore* and *Le avventure du Pinocchio* as examples. Finally, the position of translated children's literature within the target system is discussed, with special reference to the impact of the "Harry Potter phenomenon".

These brief sketches might indicate the richness of the material presented at the Warwick Doctoral Conference, and it is especially gratifying that during the last few years the Annual Snell Lecture in Translation Studies has been embedded in it. The speaker in 2007 was Michaela Wolf from the University of Graz, and her subject fitted in unusually well with the overall theme: "Babel from a Habsburg perspective: Translation as a Contribution to Culture Construction". We can only hope that the Centre will continue to solve the problems of Babel by further achievements in transcultural communication and wish staff and students every success in their endeavours.

Translating Literatures
An Attempt to Establish a Methodology for the Analysis of Anthologies of Translated Poetry

Bohdan Piasecki
University of Warwick

Anthologies of poetry as such are relatively rarely studied – a handful of journal articles do deal with the subject, but a list of books devoted to investigating anthologies would be a short one indeed. Even fewer texts deal with anthologies of translated verse. Isolated ventures, such as the Göttingen project conducted in Germany the 90s, tend to focus on specific periods and cultures, and create theoretical frameworks suitable for their own purposes. In this paper, I will try first to show, in a short introductory section, why anthologies of translations deserve a closer look, then go on to indicate the areas whose study might be most profitable, in an effort to lay the foundations for a methodology for their analysis.

Why study anthologies: an introduction

Multiple Decontextualisation
One of the ways in which anthologies of poetry are frequently criticised is that they tend to remove a text, or a number of texts, from their environment, which is the body of work of an author. (Korte, Schneider and Lethbridge 347) The selected poem is removed from the company of the others in the collection, and surrounded by other texts; its context changes, all the more so because extratextual information is frequently provided, by means, say, of a biographical and/or critical note; and the reading of the poem is heavily influenced by the general tone of the anthology itself. As publishing director at Penguin Tony Lacey put it, "[one] argument against anthologies (…) is the wrenching of the poems out of context (…) The new context may be a bizarre or inappropriate one; or, if the editor is any good, it can be a fresh, interesting context." (333) You could argue this gives the poem a new life, but the same process makes it easier to manipulate, as everything about it can be altered by the makers of the anthology in subtle or explicit ways – from the historical context, through the text's aesthetic categorisations, to its very words.

Now, if this applies to anthologies of poetry in general, the phenomenon is even more conspicuous in the case of anthologies of translated verse, where original poems are subjected to a triple decontextualisation. First, just as in monolingual anthologies, they are removed from the body of work of the author; second, they are removed from their original culture; and third, they are removed from their very language. This creates space for countless potential changes, both intended and accidental, in the text's significance, literary value, and status, as perceived by the anthology's readers.

Marketability

Anthologies are also eminently marketable. "All publishers," Lacey states, "know that single volumes of poetry by individual poets are among the hardest books of all to sell. (…) Yet anthologies can sell, and do so in big numbers." (335) The reasons for the popularity of anthologies are manifold: they provide great starting points for new readers, who could otherwise be daunted by the selection of volumes on the shelves in bookstores; they cater to the needs of those interested in specific periods, cultures, or themes, rather than individual authors; and, last but by no means least, they tend to be used as handbooks in educational institutions.

Because they represent a relatively safe investment in publishers' eyes, anthologies constitute the vehicle of choice for foreign poetry. Indeed, in the case of translated texts from less dominant cultures and languages, anthologies frequently become the only way for poets to reach readers. Granted, there are also literary journals, but these tend to be targeted at very specialized audiences – and are, as has been argued by Eva Hung, nothing more than types of anthologies themselves (cf. Hung 239-250). In other words, this means the books people are most likely to reach for are the ones that, as we have established earlier, provide the greatest opportunity for manipulation through the decontextualisation of the collected texts: "most readers – 'common' & academic ones – know poetry from anthologies, which provide the most comfortable and affordable access to poetry." (Korte 7)

Canonising function

As mentioned above, anthologies are frequently used as school texts. Many are, in fact, created with a target audience of students in mind. Even those who are not intended to be used in schools or at universities are expected to have been compiled by experts in the field, people carefully selected by publishers for their knowledge of the period, area or topic that the anthology covers. This combination of educational connotations and an aura of expertise ensures their standing as definite, objective, and authoritative sources. An anthology's accuracy and representativeness is rarely questioned by its readers. Indeed, as Karen Kilcup wrote, "composing an anthology creates a miniature canon, no matter how resistant the editor is to vexed notions of goodness and importance." (37)

By strengthening a canon, deconstructing it, or constructing a brand new one, anthologies can address stereotypical perceptions of their source culture – that is, strengthen a certain view of the culture or attempt to promote a new image. Again, this is especially visible in the case of anthologies of translations, where the scarcity of material available for comparison frequently forces readers unfamiliar with the source language and culture to rely on the selection and presentation chosen by the anthology's compilers – and to accept their vision. In an article calling for a more in-depth study of translation anthologies, Ton Naaijkens observes that "the role played by the anthology in the canonising process is underestimated. (After all, many poets are only known for their poems

in anthologies, often the sole reason even to include them in a subsequent anthology.)" (516)

Anthologies are thus among the biggest sellers in the poetry world, and that includes anthologies of translated poetry. Their authoritative status, close to that of course books (and the fact that many of them are used as teaching aids) lends them an impressive potential for catapulting texts straight into the canon. They rely on translation, but rarely draw attention to the fact that they are collections of rewritings, thus leaving ample room for manipulation. And yet – there are very few studies that encompass the phenomenon of translation anthologies in all its complexities. The field is not completely neglected: some important work has been done, especially within the framework of the Göttingen project. However, I will try to steer clear of beaten paths, and refrain from creating yet another typology of anthologies (as many have been produced already, by Helga Essman, Ton Naaijkens, and others[1], and of course the field of translation studies offers numerous methodologies and strategies for the analysis of the translations themselves, so I will dispense with those. Instead, I will try to concentrate on outlining the key aspects that must be studied in depth in order to perform a thorough analysis of an anthology of translations, thus establishing a first draft of a methodology. The four areas I have singled out include the people involved in the creation of the anthology, the texts (in the broadest sense of the word), the translations, and the reception reserved to the anthology in the target culture.

The Four Study Areas

Makers of Anthologies
Four roles need to be filled when an anthology of translations is being prepared: the contribution of authors, translators, editors, and publishers is necessary. While I approach them separately in this paper, they may, of course, overlap and be combined. The case of *Altered State: The New Polish Poetry* is a good example: one of its three editors, Tadeusz Pióro, is also the main translator, and he has included his own, self-translated work in the selection, thus assuming three of the four functions listed (Mengham, Pióro and Szymor). Having one person perform more than one function concentrates power in their hands, and makes it much more likely for the anthology to become a conduit for their aesthetic and ideological preferences.

Authors
Those who write the texts that make up an anthology tend to have very little say about what particular part of their oeuvre is selected for publication and how it is presented. Interviews I have conducted so far with editors and poets show that while anthologists occasionally ask authors for permission (and even that, not always), they hardly ever turn to them for suggestions (and tend to disregard

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[1] See, for example, Essmann, Essmann and Frank, Ferry, and Naaijkens.

those that are offered despite not having been requested)[2]. This lack of real opportunity to influence how one's work is represented is especially frustrating since "…even where an anthology is not intended to provide 'representative' selections, the poems included tend to be read 'synecdochally', i.e. as representing the whole of a poet's work." (Korte 12) In other words, authors find themselves in the highly uncomfortable position of having someone else decide how their body of work will be perceived by a group of people frequently numbering many more members than the poet's usual readership. This, understandably, leads authors to distrust anthologies. Lacey remarks, "I have been struck frequently over the years by the degree of hostility shown towards [anthologies] by poets themselves (…) In my experience, the poet almost always disagrees with the choice of his poems that the editor has made." (334)

Translators

The second function with the power to affect contents of an anthology of translations is, of course, that of the translator. Declaring that translating a literary text can result in dramatic changes in a text's style, content, and artistic value would be stating the obvious; as I have mentioned before, much has been written on the subject, and translations collected in anthologies are no exception to the general rules. I will deal with those aspects of translation analysis that are especially pertinent to the study of anthologies later on; for now, I would like to focus on the translator as a person, and the impact which he or she might have on a collection of verse.

One interesting issue concerns the translators' culture. Do they hail from the source or the target culture? In other words – are they broadcasting or appropriating the poems? Establishing this can shed light on the origins of the impulse to rewrite their chosen text. A source culture translator may suggest, for instance, a desire to broadcast the achievements of a home poet to a wider audience or an attempt to preserve and advertise a culture, while a target culture translator could suggest an underlying interest in the source culture, or perhaps a need to learn from the voice of foreign writers[3]. Those are just hypothetical examples, but most translators, whichever culture they hail from, follow their own agendas, be they aesthetic, political, or both. A good illustration would be Peter Dale Scott, who worked with Czesław Miłosz on the first volume of Zbigniew Herbert's poetry in English, and whose translations subsequently appeared in the famous <u>Postwar Polish Poetry</u>, edited by the Nobel Prize winner. When asked about his reasons for translating Herbert's poetry, Scott mentioned his desire to improve his own ability to write politically engaged poetry, and his focus on that aspect of Herbert's work was noticeable in his English renditions of the Polish poems (Scott).

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[2] The interviews I refer to are an ongoing project that constitutes part of my doctoral research. As of now, neither of the five interviews with editors of anthologies of contemporary Polish poetry has been published.
[3] See Bassnett (173-183) and Lefevere (41).

<u>Postwar Polish Poetry</u> can also serve as a fitting example of another aspect of the translator's persona that can prove important to the reception of an anthology: the status the translator enjoys in the target culture. Though Czesław Miłosz was at first known amongst Anglophone readers as Zbigniew Herbert's translator, his Nobel Prize for Literature brought him prominence. His <u>Postwar Polish Poetry</u> anthology became the seminal collection of Polish verse, and was reprinted three times, in slightly modified versions, over a period of thirty years. The patronage of a high-profile translator such as Miłosz can have an important influence on how canonising the book will be – and, as attested by <u>Postwar Polish Poetry</u>'s reprints, how well the book will sell.[4]

Editors
Similar criteria apply to editors – their culture of origin and their status are important for determining patronage, and also affect the power and influence of an anthology as well as its sales. While translators occasionally simply engage in commissioned work, editors are often the ones who suggest compiling an anthology in the first place. They are the ones who, for one reason or another, decided a certain book should appear on the market. In the words of Rod Mengham, co-editor of <u>Altered State</u>: "there is always an agenda, no matter how hidden" (Mengham).

Editors also decide on the categorisation and ordering of texts, write introductions that set the tone for the whole book, and provide (or opt not to provide) biographical notes, cover blurbs, a glossaries, explanatory footnotes, etc. Editors' ideas are reflected in the book's constitution, and in what Gérard Genette calls peritexts: the devices that mediate a book to its readers and are very much part of its structure. Such annotations, speaking as they do with an authoritative and frequently impersonal voice, encourage certain perceptions of a text and strive to evoke in readers reactions that match the editor's reading of poems.

Crucially, editors are responsible for the selection of texts and establishing the selection criteria. It is important to note that there are almost always criteria beyond those explicitly stated in forewords and introductions: an editor may claim to strive for representativeness within a given period of time, but additional filters such as personal taste or the elusive notion of translatability usually come into play as well. In fact, the frequent contrast between advertised and actual standards and policies used when selecting texts makes for a fascinating source of insight into the book's intended purpose and its real function.

Publishers
The choice of publisher (or, more frequently, the choice by a publisher to print a certain book) is perhaps the most underestimated factor in assessing the impact

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[4] More on the concept of patronage in Lefevere (11-25)

of a book of translations. As André Lefevere noted, publishers determine the length of the book:

> *"publishers invest in anthologies, and publishers decide the number of pages they want to invest in. The 'limitations of size' or 'space' ritually lamented in almost all introductions to all anthologies are not a natural given. Rather, they reflect the anticipated demands of the marketplace." (124)*

Publishers are also a responsible for a book's tone: such elements of the peritext as cover design, format, layout, paper and print quality, and other aspects of the book's presentation are all their domain, and while these aspects tend to be ignored in analyses, they are certainly not without their role in establishing a reader's perception of the book and the culture it represents (Korte 1-32).

The elements of book design listed above are also part of another broad area: marketing, which is also, of course, under the control of the publisher. Channels of distribution and expenses on promotion can occasionally determine a book's fate to a far greater extent than the quality of the poetry it contains; and concerns over marketability can have an direct impact on an anthology's contents. A case in point: David Malcolm, editor of *Dreams of Fires: 100 Polish Poems 1970-1989*, had originally selected 95 translated poems for his book, but found himself looking for five additional texts after his publisher decided a round number would make for a catchier subtitle (Malcolm)*.*

Publishers also have some bearing on an anthology's content, and this, too, is often forgotten or omitted, or attributed to editors' decisions. To matters similar to those burdening editors, such as aesthetic and political programmes, publishers add apprehensions related to marketability, cost and copyright. Some works can simply prove too expensive to include in what readers will then perceive as a representative anthology. Cost and projected returns will also determine the number of copies printed. The people who will read the book will be recruited from among the publisher's usual readership; small, specialist or local presses will reach different audiences than big, prestigious ones, not just in terms of numbers. The prestige of the publisher cannot be ignored, either: "Having the most potent publishing brand means that those charming and seductive four words 'The Penguin Book of … "are dangerous too. They imply immense authority and status." (Lacey 336).

Texts

Peritexts

I have already mentioned peritexts and their importance. They can contain explicit statements of intended function and listings of selection criteria,

information on historical and cultural context, literary criticism[5], reasons for publication, and, if they focus on a subject already treated in previous volumes, their relation to other collections (after all, as we have established, anthologies are inherently canonical and authoritative; and since the previous ones were really collections of the best and most representative work, why publish a new one?). It should be noted that peritext of all kinds is strongly authoritative, and the general reader perceives it as "by tradition unsigned, impartial, more or less objective, disinterested discourse." (Leitch 178) This makes it, at least potentially, a perfect tool for manipulation.

An anthology's canonising potential can be further increased by inviting famous authors or scholars to provide introductions[6] Introductions and prefaces can range from simple, short notes offering a brief historical or cultural overview of the source material to long, heavily politicized manifestoes – a fascinating example is the anthology entitled <u>Dreams of Fires: 100 Polish Poems 1970-1989</u> (Joachimiak, Malcolm and Scott) which mentions murder, tanks, invasion, police violence, economic chaos and a militant Catholic church in its introduction (and on the dust jacket) only to present readers with the introspective, restrained, frugal poems of the poets associated with the New Privacy movement.

The mere presence of additional texts other than introductions (biographical notes, glossaries, footnotes and annotations, etc,) betrays the intentions of the anthologist (and influences the reading of the texts) through identifying the book's target group. As an example, the presence of a glossary and extensive explanatory notes suggests an intended audience of students, or at least an educative ambition on the side of the editor. Titles are also often telling, as in most cases they hint at an anthology's purpose: a good example could be the obvious political marketing and catering to needs fuelled by news stories in the case of the collection entitled <u>Witness Out of Silence: Polish Poets Fighting for Freedom</u>, published in 1981, when Solidarność, Lech Wałęsa and martial law were making headlines in the west. Perhaps the most frequently repeated manoeuvre is to select a title that suggests both representativeness and innovation; examples such as <u>Altered State: The New Polish Poetry or Young Poets of a New Poland</u> abound). To conclude in Barbara Korte's words:

> *"For the scholarly study of anthologies (…) peritext is a most welcome element, since in many cases a preface or introduction is the only source from which one can derive information about the anthologist's intentions and intended audience, his or her prime criteria of selection, or – unfortunately very rarely – what difficulties he or she encountered in obtaining permissions and other problems of that kind." (20)*

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[5] It should be noted that in the case of translation anthologies, literary criticism usually refers to the original texts, not on the translations; as a consequence, the reader could potentially be made to look for features that might not be there.
[6] See, for example, David Weissbort's preface in <u>Dreams of Fires</u> (Joachimiak, Malcolm and Scott 17-23).

Structures

Another important type of peritext in an anthology is the arrangement of the texts it contains. Be it chronological, thematic, alphabetic, aesthetic, or hierarchic, each arrangement has its consequences with tangible consequences for the impact of the book as a whole. A seemingly innocuous alphabetic ordering (as opposed to a more traditional chronological structure) can further weaken the connection of the poems to their source culture by depriving them of their historical context. Omitting the source text and only printing the translations strengthens the illusion of reading an original, and makes it impossible even for the small percentage of bilingual readers to refer to the source language version. A more subtle tactic is to place the work of a particular poet at the beginning of an anthology to inform the rest of the book. An example of this last practice can be found in the role Kuba Kozioł's poem "In this Poetry" plays in <u>Carnivorous Boy, Carnivorous Bird</u> (Baran). The text mocks the customary reduction of poets' work to slogans and soundbites printed on book covers, and stresses the editor's own ironic approach to traditional categorizations, which permeates the whole collection. Some editors go to great lengths to make the sequence of texts in their anthology comply with their vision:

> *"In some cases, however, the arrangement is not obvious and one has to read the whole anthology to make sense of the text arrangement. This is the case, for instance, with Fritz Adolf Hünitch's Buch der Liebe (1946), in which the arrangement of the anthologized texts reflects the development of love from its first beginnings to the loss of a loved one." (Essmann 156, 157)*

Structural features can also be meaningful without necessarily being conscious decisions of the editors, reflecting instead trends and mindsets prevalent in the source culture (or the part of the culture the editor belongs to) at the time of the book's compilation. An obvious example is the representation of particular poets, of movements, of genders and ethnic minorities as shown through the number of poems included in the collection. For example, when asked why he decided to include so few texts written by women in <u>Altered State</u>, Tadeusz Pióro answered that there were simply few good women poets in the age group he wanted to represent. While such a statement may be taken at face value or investigated further, it can doubtlessly shed some light on selection criteria and cultural context (Pióro).

Poems

An analysis of the poems that make up the anthology can be fruitful in many ways, not least because it can show the true selection criteria both for authors and for poems. Let me return to the case of <u>Dreams of Fires</u>, and quote directly from the cover blurb, which promises "political murders, tanks on the streets, the threat of invasion from the Soviet Union (...) brutal police violence, strikes, economic chaos, a bankrupt Marxist ideology, a militant Roman Catholic Church (…) a day-to-day struggle to survive with some measure of dignity and integrity" (Joachimiak, Malcolm and Scott). Meanwhile, reading through the poems

included in his anthology suggests that aesthetic interest in a certain movement, rather than presenting poetry as glorified shock journalism, was the true motivation of the editor. In an interview, David Malcolm confirmed this impression, stating that he was especially interested in poems from the "Three Cities", Gdańsk, Gdynia, and Sopot, and the movement called "New Privacy" that many of the poets local to those seaside cities adhered to (Malcolm).

Translation

When anthologists explain their choices in introductions, one of the most frequently cited criteria turns out to be translatability. They might, for example, explain including more poems by a certain poet than by most others by arguing that his poems translate well; this was the case with Zbigniew Herbert as presented by Miłosz in *Postwar Polish Poetry*. This, of course, begs the question about their definition of translatability – if obtainable, such a definition can give invaluable in determining the anthologist's approach to his material. There are many ways to describe "good translations", ranging from "the translated text can be understood without footnotes", as used in *Witness Out of Silence* (Graham 5), to "the translated text must be a good poem in English", a criterion applied when compiling *Altered State* (Pióro). Of course, the search for definitions does not end here – someone must determine, respectively, whether the text is intelligible and whether its quality is satisfactory.

Another translation quandary faced by makers of anthologies entails finding a strategy for the handling of multiple voices. This usually revolves around the number of translators working on the anthology. A single translator may have unifying function and produce a highly uniform, homogeneous anthology. In theory, this approach could suit a book with a particular aesthetic agenda. However, adopting it means risking to represent a group of artists (and, in the case of anthologies claiming representativeness, a whole culture) as speaking in one monotonous voice. Such accusations have been levelled by Polish critic Kacper Bartczak against *Altered State*, wherein Tadeusz Pióro translated the vast majority of the poems. (Bartczak 436-451) Multiple translators, on the other hand, have a diversifying effect, as different voices and varied translation strategies coexist within one book. This can result, in theory at least, in some poets being better served by their translators than others, and a possible shift in perceived quality of the work of the represented authors may ensue.

While analysing the translations in an anthology, a distinction needs to be made between recycled work and work that has been commissioned for the book. Second-hand translations appear frequently in anthologies. This strengthens the existing canon, as poems once selected and translated resurface in subsequent books. While it allows the publisher to save precious time, this approach does occasionally raise permission and copyright issues, and may make new translations less likely to reach readers. As for commissioned work, it is liable to

be influenced by the intended function of anthology, as editors and publishers strive to make translators adjust to their vision of the book[7].

Function and Reception

Function

As already noted above, the intended function of the anthology can be established by studying the peritext, the anthologists' and publishers' known cultural and political agendas, and the structure and contents of the anthology. However, it is vital to realise that these intended functions are not always realised. The poetry may not fit the mould into which the anthologists try to recast it; the readers may reject the vision of the editor and focus on the text themselves; or, quite simply, the book may not be read. As Anthony Pym asserts in his essay on translation anthologies,

> *"If a text is translated and anthologized but not distributed and read (…) then that text cannot be really said to have transferred into the receiving culture. The printed page must be analyzed, but it is not in itself proof of transfer. One must somehow assess how many printed pages went to how many actual readers." (267)*

Having established the intended function of an anthology by an in-depth analysis of the book itself and the circumstances of its creation, it is fascinating and, I think, important to open the field of analysis wider, so as to include the world outside of the book, in an attempt to establish the anthology's actual function, and the real efficiency of the translation process.

Reception

This, however, is an arduous task. One method that might facilitate reception studies would be the analysis of data obtained from publishers: information concerning print runs, sales numbers, and tactics employed in the promotion of the anthology would be a priceless source of feedback. However, publishers are notoriously uncooperative, and obtaining such figures might prove, in many cases, nearly impossible. A more realistic strategy could consist of observing publishing trends; if the appearance of an anthology is followed by a spate of similar publications, it might be interpreted as a sign of the book's commercial success. On the other hand, the appearance of one successful volume collecting

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[7] This idea of translations reflecting an anthology's intended function is a hypothesis i formulated while studying the history of Zbigniew Herbert's poetry in English. Close reading of his poems' translations showed traces of conscious and unconscious decisions made by translators during the translation process that encouraged a political reading of the text matching the intended function of the publication, as defined by, for example, Al Alvarez, who tried to prove to genteel English poets that it was possible to write good political poetry (Herbert, Miłosz and Scott 9-15), or Czesław Miłosz, who sought to explain what he saw as Poland's special position on the literary map by its history of oppression and poetry's role in the resistance movement (Miłosz ix-xv, 121).

translations of poetry from a relatively less popular culture my deter other publishers from producing other volumes focusing on the same country, area, or period, as they may assume that whatever niche may have existed on the market has been filled by the first collection. In such a case, perhaps the best source of feedback can be found in professional magazines for publishers and booksellers, where market analyses are occasionally published and commented upon.

Reactions can also be assessed by analysing reviews gathered by the book. The very number of journal reviews (both print and online) is a testament to the impact of the anthology, and their content, tone, and focus showcase the reactions of the critical world. Another medium that should not be overlooked are newspapers, as their reviews tend to reach far greater audiences; if any appear, the book can be assumed to have reached a larger readership, extending beyond the narrow group of experts in the field. The hardest task, however, could prove to be establishing the response of actual readers, as opposed to specialists and those who were paid to review the book. While reader surveys are logistically nearly unfeasible if they are to be in any way representative and statistically meaningful, a potential mine of direct, unedited reader feedback can be found on online bookselling websites and readers' forums. While time consuming, a search of selected internet sites can yield invaluable material in the form of actual, not idealised, reader response.

Finally, an anthology can be judged by the influence it exerts on its target group or culture. While also difficult to judge, possible signs of a book's impact on the scholarly world can include its adoption as handbook in academic circles or in schools, and the number of times it is cited it enjoys in essays, journal articles, and books. An anthology's impact on artistic circles may prove much more challenging to assess – in fact, it seems nearly impossible for newer books. However, if imitations and reactions against a certain book crop up over the years, it can be assumed not to have gone unnoticed by writers and poets from the target culture. This, however, is usually part of a broader phenomenon, and can be harder to trace to a specific book, unless the poet in question acknowledges his source of inspiration explicitly (as, for example, Seamus Heaney did with regards to Herbert's poetry in Miłosz's collection[8]).

Conclusion

I tried to show, in this brief overview, that anthologies of translated poetry are extremely complex phenomena, whose many facets require a multi-pronged approach if one is to perform an in-depth examination. This paper is a first attempt at highlighting the areas most worthy of further analysis and will, I trust, develop with time into a fully fledged methodological tool, which I hope to be able to use for my own research purposes and make it possible for me to create a comprehensively analysed corpus of anthologies of translated Polish poetry.

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[8] Heaney referred to Herbert's verse on a number of occasion; a good example of his approach can be found in his essay *Atlas of Civilisation* (Heaney 63-65).

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Discerning Globalization through Translation as Postcolonial Identity — a theoretical study

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates how the issues raised by globalization in the dimension of cultural values, conflict and identity will be more appropriately addressed by cultural studies criticism when it is enhanced by translation studies theories, in particular the concept of "postcolonial translation". In this regard, the term "translation" in this discussion will be used in a wide range of meanings, not only as the product (for example, a translated text), the process (the act of translating) or the name of a general subject field but importantly, also as a "metaphor" in the cultural or postcolonial sense. This orientation will be further clarified later in several instances where necessary, especially when related topics are involved.

It certainly makes sense to look into globalization culturally, hence the cultural studies perspective. The first question to raise is then: why translation? Given that globalization involves "increasing multi-directional economic, social, cultural and political global connections across the world", "associated with the institutions of modernity and time-space compression or the shrinking world" (Chris Barker 441), the role of translation as a practical activity meeting the translingual and transcultural needs of the global world today is comprehensible. Crucially, based on the culture-oriented approach in Translation Studies, translation can be seen as an independent third entity overarching the source and target cultures and an autonomous agent in itself, a competent subject that manoeuvres among possibilities and reaches beyond linguistic, cultural and national boundaries.[1] This enables translation studies to serve a higher plane of theoretical exploration in the current globalization debate. As stated in Michael Cronin's *Translation and Globalization*,

> [T]ranslation, and by extension translation studies, is ideally placed
> to understand the transnational movement that is globalization and
> the transnational movement that is anti-globalization. Translation is
> rarely suited to the binary reductionism of polemic (for or against

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[1] To elucidate, translation is often, conventionally and narrowly, seen as a secondary product by the need of turning the "original" into another language. The culture-oriented view, by contrast, treats translation as an intermediary process between the source and target languages and cultures, which is prerequisite if further sophisticated theoretical discussion is to take place. For example, Lawrence Venuti's idea of "the violence in translation", or André Lefevere's "translation as rewriting" in Translation Studies are otherwise unapproachable without this understanding. Hence, the use of the term "translation" in this paper may mean different things in different circumstances. In line with the culture-oriented approach, the meaning of "translation" in its widest sense will be adopted, sometimes as a practical activity, sometimes a cultural transfer, or a metaphor, which will be specified for each use.

> globalization)… that is the particular strength of the activity and why is it so important to contemporary self-understanding. (Introduction1)

The next quest concerns the pertinence of postcolonialism to globalization. Despite its universal appeal and omnipresence in economics, politics, society and culture, globalization is regarded by some critics as, if not the continuance of old colonialism, at least a form of neo-colonialism. Although much debate about globalization can be contentious, this neo-colonial perspective is worth considering if the cultural dimension of globalization, especially when the question of subject agency and identity in cultural politics and power relationships of the global era, is to be examined here and in later discussion. As Graham Huggan claims, "one of the major functions of contemporary postcolonial criticism is that of a thoroughgoing critique of global capitalism in the late imperial moment" (27). Along this line, critics from the Marxist school of thought like Paul Smith sees globalization "in many aspects the continuation of colonialism and imperialism by other means" (19), while Neil Lazarus considers the impact of globalization on the postcolonial world to be "a consolidation of the historical patterns of bourgeois class domination" (19). Nonetheless, Huggan also points out the value of seeing globalization as a form of neo-colonialism, as he summarizes the postcolonial approach of Lazarus, in that such a view "may provide a medium for national self-affirmation and localized—also translocal— forms of cultural resistance".[2] This acknowledges the parallel between the "colonial global" and the "postcolonial local", making the premise of postcolonialism as a project of emancipation and self-formulation for the "colonized subject" useful and valuable to the globalization question. Moreover, Lazarus's view that globalization facilitates "national self-affirmation" and "localized and translocal forms of cultural resistance" alludes to the importance of "cultural identity" in the question of globalization. In fact, Mary Snell-Hornby, alert to the global crisis envisioned by Benjamin Barber of polarized values and regional hostility, puts forward that "cultural identity" can be a hope in negotiating the global and the local,

> Benjamin Barber's vision of a globalised world governed by 'universalizing markets' and a tribalised world torn apart by 'parochial hatreds' is somber indeed, but between the two extremes there is a phenomenon than can be viewed more constructively: the notion of *cultural identity*. This indicates a

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[2] Here, Huggan is referring to Lazarus's view in *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World*. Although a Marxist reading will offer their unique political focus and materialist position to the question of globalization, Huggan holds that the work of Lazarus (and that of Gayatri Spivak) has an advantage in that "it reclaims a place for Marxism *within* rather than, as has become more customary, *against* postcolonial studies while registering awareness of the contradictions that have historically shaped the field" (29). Moreover, Lazarus's approach towards the "global-postcolonial" is highly relevant and crucial in this discussion since he "conceives of the relationship between postcolonialism and globalization, […], as dialectical rather than merely adversarial or mutually exclusive" (Huggan 30).

community's awareness of and pride in its own unmistakable features—and an individual's sense of belonging to that community, whether by birth, language or common territory—but implies that it is still able to communicate with and exist in harmony with other communities in the world around (hence it is not bound by either the uniformity of globalism or the destructive aggressivity of tribalism). (Schäffner ed. 13)

Cronin also agrees with the relevance of identity to the contemporary debate about humanity, "If previously ideology had been the principal way of structuring political communication, identity has now taken over. … issues such as marginalization, dispossession, powerlessness were increasingly mediated through discourses of identity."

Cronin's comment has highlighted how the notion of identity now becomes the focus of much intellectual dialogue. However, it can also be argued that "identity" and by extension "cultural identity" are powerful because, besides being self-definitions, they can communicate differences when the respect for "the qualities that make up oneself" is being extended to the others. This recognition of differences between oneself and others through mutual respect and is fundamental in preventing the rise of extreme ideologies in those adversary situations such as Barber describes. At the same time, the idea of "translation", in the sense of movements that carry ideas through in both linguistic and cultural aspects, is at an advantageous position in explaining this kind of intercultural communication.

Having explained the position of "translation" and "postcolonial" respectively, it would be sensible to align the strengths of both. The integration which is called "postcolonial translation", apart from the pertinence discussed so far, has its own distinctive proposition derived from uncovering the long-established power relationship of cultural politics in colonialism and translation respectively. As Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi state,

> For Europe was regarded as the great Original, the starting point, and the colonies were therefore copies, or 'translations' of Europe, which they were supposed to duplicate. Moreover, being copies, translations were evaluated as less than originals, and the myth of the translation as something that diminished the greater original established itself (4).

This parallel between colonialism and translation where Europe is the superior "original" and the colonies "inferior translations" is of great importance to the usefulness of the premise "postcolonial translation". It is because it allows the employment of translation as a "metaphor" that opens up a knowledge horizon in discerning the globalization phenomenon in its social and political dimensions while exploring the phenomenon as ethnic and cultural transfers. In other words, the following discussion will encompass special models such as the "translation"

of cultures and the "translation" of "postcolonial / local" subjects, drawing theories, critique and comments from the resource of Translation Studies, the postcolonial approach and related disciplines.

In the next section, a theoretical experiment that aims to establish the perspective of "postcolonial translation" will be conducted in two steps. First, it will bring cultural studies and the concept of translation together in addressing the identity question of the global age by examining the relationship between "identity" and "difference". Next, the notion of *différance* by Jacques Derrida and the "deficient" target language observed by Annie Brisset will be used in theoretical investigation, which will eventually lead to Edward Said's critique on "Orientalism" as a case example.

2.   *Différance*: Translating Languages, Translatable Differences and Translational Deferral

In the well-known article "Jihad vs. McWorld" by Benjamin Barber published in 1992, a portrait of an antagonistic world marked by two extreme sets of principles is shown. On the one side, there is the realm presided over by globalism or globalization,

> […] by the onrush of economic and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity and that mesmerize the world with fast music, fast computers, and fast food—with MTV, Macintosh, and McDonald's, pressing nations into one commercially homogenous global network: one McWorld tied together by technology, ecology, communications and commerce. (53)

> Then comes its antithetical sphere reigned over by,

> […] a retribalization of large swaths of humankind by war and bloodshed: a threatened Lebanonization of national states in which culture is pitted against nature, people against people, tribe against tribe—a Jihad in the name of a hundred narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality. (53)

In view of the world today, it seems Barber's vision near the end of the Second Millennium, to a large extent, has proved to be prophetic in the early 21st century. Indubitably, the McWorld he described reflects vividly the everyday life of global society today, while the rise of fundamentalism in the Islamic world poses a considerable challenge to globalization. Side-stepping the international politics and nation-based interests, speaking from the wider scope of global cultural conflict, this crisis can also be examined as an enormously divided difference in terms of cultural identity. For differences in cultures produce different views of the world, and different worldviews lead to ideological differences.

The discerning of difference begins with an idea or a concept which is "a tool to think with", serving the four important functions of "categorization", "representation", "comparison" and "evaluation" of the mental process (Stuart Hall, *MIMS* 186). In this regard, translation is apposite because it is an activity which primarily deals with the difference between concepts. On the surface of turning one language into another, it "compares" the difference in concepts between each word in the source and target texts and their cultures, "evaluates" the equivalence between the two, "categorizes" the results in the target linguistic and cultural system and finally, "represents" it in the target text. Given that difference is the mechanism for the generation of meaning, translation should be able to provide some clues to the question of difference in cultural identity, since the idea of difference is also the precondition for identity formation, for the subject to make sense of the world and the subject's relation to others.

To investigate the importance of the concept of "translation" in discerning the issue of "difference" in identity, Brisset's observation of the "deficient" target language in the translation process and its association with Derrida's *différance* and will be focused upon.

2.1   On Brisset: The "Deficient" Translation Language and *Différance* in Identity

In "The Search for a Native Language", Brisset remarks that the target language in translation is always "deficient" as an equivalent to the source language in the reproduction of target texts,

> Such deficiencies can be clearly identified as, for example, lexical or morpho-syntactic deficiencies or as problems of polysemy. More often, however, the deficiency in the receiving code has to do with the relation between sign and their users, a relation that reflect such things as individuality, social position, and geographical origin of the speakers. (338)

Brisset's opinion may have been influenced by Derrida's post-structuralist position of *différance* on the meaning in the "text".[3] However, it indicates that the search for an unfixable target language in translation also slides down as a never-ending process. Following the logic of "surplus in meaning" of *différance*, she accounts for the phenomenon by pointing to an absence of "subcode equivalent" in the target language, which is precisely the unique way the source language has generated the source text. The deficiencies in the translation language, whether linguistic or cultural, suggest the absence of a peculiarity originating from the margin of difference, whereas the deferral of a constantly anticipated new language denotes a creative proxy that allows change and possibility. The translating language in operation highlights that *différance*,

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[3] Derrida, in *Of Grammatology*, describes the instability of textual meaning as *différance* that implies both "difference" and "deferral", holding meaning can never be fixed and slides down as a never-ending process of signification.

meaning both differing and deferral, induces the "negative" in the self which is pivotal to the issue of identity. Lawrence Grossberg takes this negativity straightforwardly as the main characteristic of *différance* and explicates its function in identity formation,

> The figure of *différance* describes a particular constitutive relation of negativity in which the subordinate term (the marginalized other or subaltern) is a necessary and internal force of destabilization existing within the identity of the dominant term. (90)

This ontological differentiation by means of recognizing the "negative" in self-definition obviously evokes the idea of "otherness", the great "Other" or the act of "othering" in post-colonial criticism.[4] Indeed, while the infinite deferral of meanings through the play of signifiers is usually emphasized in *différance*, it is otherness as a form of "differing" in *différance* that provides a temporary closure to the self and the other where the emergence of identity is most evidently shown. Regarding this, Grossberg proposes two modes of "othering" through *différance*,

> Notions of 'supplement' locate the other outside of the field of subjectivity as it were, as pure excess; notions of 'negativity' locate the other within the field of subjectivity as a constitutive exotic other. (90)

Interestingly, Brisset's observation of the "deficient" target language illustrates a reversal in scope to these two modes: for it is rather the "deficiency" in the target language and the "positivity" in search of a new language for translation that locates the source language as its Other, though this "Other" is equally constitutive and exotic. This is because Brisset has taken the target language rather than the source language as the subject position. In view of the logical validity of Grossberg's comment applying to Brisset except for its positionality, the agency of translation originating from a kind of negativity is certainly thought-provoking in any definition of subject position in identity. At any rate, the problem of "deficiency" in the target language examined by *différance* indicates that the articulation of difference is of crucial importance in the identity formation process. As such, the subject coming into being is close to what Hall labels as the "sociological subject" who is always formed out of relativity and otherness in context.[5] Yet, Hall has provided an explanation on identity formation through the operation of difference as well,

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[4] For Lacan, the great "Other" is "in whose gaze the subject gains identity". Spivak has coined the idea into the verb form of "othering". (Ashcroft, *Post-colonial Studies—Key Concepts* 170-3)

[5] The "sociological subject" is "not autonomous and self-sufficient, but was formed in relation to 'significant others', who meditated to the subject the values, meanings and symbols—the culture—the worlds he/she inhabited" (Hall, *MF* 275).

> Like all signifying practices, it [identity] is subject to the 'play', of différance. It obeys the logic of more-than-one. And since as a process it operates across difference, it entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier-effects'. It requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process. (*WNI* 3)

Relating Brisset's case to this comment, the major heuristic significance brought about by translation as identity on the issue of *différance* can be put as an exemplifying function. Despite the fact that the "deficient" target language is a conceptual borrowing from the "play" of *différance*, the constant discrepancies between the source and target languages concretely visualize the circumstances of "boundary marking" and "frontier-effects", while the original can be readily comprehensible as the perpetual "constitutive outside" of a translation. By looking at the unconventional relationship between the source language and the target language illustrated in Brisset's case—in which the articulation of difference reveals the "deficiency" in the target language, yet still assigns agency to the target language based on its "negativity" by locating the source language as the "Other"—translation can be said to enable the major ideological concept of differentiation in identity formation to be verified and materialized, and forcefully re-strengthens the idea of negativity as indispensable in identity formation. This theoretical outcome is going to be substantiated by a case example in the next section.

2.2 On Said: The Translating Process called "Orientalism" and Translatable Differences

The indispensable role of negativity in identity formation is far from being purely theoretical. This is because in reality there is an applicable as well as extremely influential example, which is, "Orientalism". In the following discussion, the concept of translation as a "cultural metaphor" will be applied to the case of "Orientalism". Taking Edward Said as the point of departure while combining Brisset's observation of the "deficiency" of the target language in translation, I will try to suggest that differences, especially cultural differences, are actually "translatable".

To start with, the inference of translation as the "negative self" for its differentiation and identity-building function provides a most instrumental interpretation in reading the opening pages of Said's critique,

> The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of civilization and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture. (*Orientalism*, 1-2)

As seen, "Orientalism"[6] as delineated by Said is aptly to be called a "translation process" for the special purpose of cultural identity definition. In the translation sense, the Orient as a "source" in the civilization and language aspects, a "cultural contestant" and the "material" being incorporated into the European paradigm all suggests that it is the "original", "source culture" or "source text". The Orient is a foreign source text which has been translated by Europe into a target text called "Orientalism". Furthermore, Said's hypotheses on Orientalism, paraphrased from various positions such as "a way of knowing Europe's others" (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia 57), "Europe's representation of the East" (Bayoumi 63), "a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the 'East'" (Ashcroft *PCS* 167-8) and so on, all indicate that Orientalism approximates the concept of translation in one way or other. For translation is primarily motivated by the need to "know" language and translation as a signifying practice that constitutes reality as a "representation", and translation leads to culturally and historically specific productions for definite goals via a "restructuring" activity.

In this respect, the second meaning of Orientalism, expounded by Said as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident' (2)"[7], is deemed most appropriate in investigating the working of difference in cultural identity through the notion of translation. In the first place, Orientalism is such a prominent and exceptional success when we consider it as a "translated text"—not merely for its far-reaching cultural impact, but also in its illustration as the foremost counter-example that overturns the conventional view on translation as a "secondary activity" or "derivative existence". More interestingly, using the traditional translation criteria again, Orientalism falls short of what a "good translation" should be: being an extremely target-oriented text exceedingly glossed over by domestication, it bears very limited "faithfulness" and "equivalence" to the original, and is perhaps more suitably called, rather derogatorily, a "free rendering" or "distinct adaptation".

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[6] In this discussion, the use of the term "Orientalism" mainly refers to the totality of the kind of "Orientalizing" cultural practice which Said analyses in his work *Orientalism*, but not entirely confined to the historical context of the term. In other words, a broader conceptual meaning of "Orientalism" will be adopted. As a reference, Chris Barker's definition will be useful, "That set of western discourses which constructed an Orient in ways that depend on and reproduce the positional superiority and hegemony of the west. A system of representations impregnated with European superiority, racism and imperialism that brought the idea of "The Orient" into western learning" (444). However, it is not at all the case that this discussion pays no regard to the history of the term "Orientalism" and related studies. To complement this aspect, one may consider to read Fred Halliday, "'Orientalism' and Its Critics" in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*; Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents*; or Alexander Lyon Macfie, *Orientalism*.

[7] The other two meanings are Orientalism as "academic institutions" and as "the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient" (Said 2-3), which will be discussed later.

A hint at a contradiction as such lies in that Orientalism is, from the outset, a "cultural" or "conceptual" translation. In transferring abstract ideas about the East to the West, or in the differentiation between the Orient and the Occident, it works chiefly and subtly on the "ontological" and "epistemological" levels. Consequently, it generates effects on its receivers on the same horizon. What is remarked on by Said on Orientalism as "a style of thought" fully discloses the huge potentials of translation in appropriating perception. In other words, translation is seen being able to offer source materials as the impetus for the human imagination. Furthermore, when we look at Orientalism as a "translated text", the process of "cultural translation" from which it was created has actually been taken as an "innocent", neutral activity—the "indisputable" cognition—by western civilization as a whole.

This message brought about by Orientalism is extremely important in revealing the relativity and fluidity in the nature of difference, which is, although the "mechanism for the generation of meaning", is "not an essence or attribute of an object but a position or perspective of signification"(Barker 439). This idea of meaning as the outcome of signifying practices is precisely the cutting edge where the concept of translation is found to be constructive.   It is because translation explicates a crucial aspect in the operation of difference, which is a condition considerably deviated from our common sense that meaning is essentially embedded in language or in other ways of representation. Although differences are usually thought to be intrinsic and fixed, they can also be viewed as dynamic and changeable entities under the scope of translation. If we look at what Brisset has termed the "deficiency" in the target language which tends to fail in carrying through certain meanings in the source language because of constitutive differences, then it becomes clear that what is revealed is actually a proxy of discrepancy and disintegration which allows the "position and perspective of signification" within the differences that make up ideas and concepts to negotiate, exchange and reorganize.

This translation space usually remains unseen when it functions well, hidden in the smooth rendering and assumed translatability in translation. It is an occasional "failure", brought about by the "deficient" target language noticed by the translator's meticulous consciousness that gives away its existence as well as importance. From this space of translation, the way in which difference generates meaning is shown—on the surface, its role to "differ" dissimilarities and variance in concepts; in the deep, it lies in the huge potentials of difference in appropriating perception. This is because since difference is not an essence but a position, it is rather offered as materials, as the impetus for imagination, and the process of differentiation is being taken as the faculty of knowing as reflected by the case of Orientalism. This epistemological aspect provides a sense of substantiality for what is conceived to be "objective" meaning and reality by the supporters of Orientalism, which is a useful case for us to reflect on the question about what actually constitutes "knowledge". Significantly, the gap in meaning between translating languages has not hindered the fact that translation can still takes place. This evinces that the relativity and fluidity between differences

makes them "translatable" and makes differentiation a "translation" process of searching for new attributes and establishing new perspectives.

As Said claims, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self (3)". Since Othering is held to be the central thesis accounting for the mode of knowing in Orientalism, there is a ground for exploring it in relation to translation and difference in cultural identity. To start with, Othering corresponds to the process of meaning differentiation between the source and target texts in translation.[8] Yet, rather than confined by the source text dominance, Othering in Orientalism is intensely subjective and self-defining, and alludes to the vast autonomous space in translation. To go further into the issue, it will be necessary to follow Said's critique on the consequence of Othering, the mutual influence of knowledge and power.

The intimacy and partnership between knowledge and power is Said's core argument concerning the Western authority, manipulation and control over the Orient.[9] In his analysis Said has resorted to two cultural critique notions, namely "discourse" by Michel Foucault (3)[10] and "hegemony" by Antonio Gramsci (7)[11] in elucidating the sophisticated mechanism by which Europe produces and dominates its Other. Observed as a discourse, Europe's knowledge of the East in which "the Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks", "in a sense *creates* the Orient, the Oriental and his world (40)". In this sense, even the so-called knowledge or truth at any rate is solely a representation.[12] Meanwhile, the target language and culture, instead of being the linguistic vehicle and the receiving end, are the true entities effectuating the discursive formation of a translation. Discerned as a hegemony, Orientalism has a "cumulative and corporate identity". Its result has been "a sort of consensus: certain things, certain types of statement, certain types of work have seemed to the Orientalists correct (202)." When Orientalism is seen, riding on the power of discourse, subject to a hegemonic authority of becoming objective knowledge and

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[8] A comparison with Orientalism in this sense of something "other" can be made when Said states, "For Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (Orient, the East, "them") (43)". The parallel in differentiation between Orientalism and translation is evident, though it can be argued that the former serves to maintain boundaries more than to negotiate meanings for textual production as in the latter.

[9] As Said relates, "knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control" (36).

[10] For Foucault, "discourse constructs, defines and produces the objects of knowledge in an intelligible way while excluding other forms of reasoning as unintelligible" (Barker 439). Discourse is applied by Said on Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3).

[11] For Gramsci, "hegemony implies a situation where an 'historical bloc' of ruling class factions exercise social authority and leadership over the subordinate classes through a combination of force and, more importantly, consent" (Barker 441). Said infers that "it is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and strength" (7).

[12] This is derived from Said's later querying if a true representation would be ever possible (272).

unquestioned truth, the potential of translation in contributing to ideological prominence is envisioned. The variable that determines the final success of a "conceptual" or "cultural" translation as powerful as Orientalism, is actually the degree of prominence of the set of historically specific discourses in the target culture which are involved. In this regard, Bill Ashcroft and Pal Aluwalia offer an inclusive comment on the nature and practice of Orientalizing,

> The very term 'Oriental' shows how the process works, for the word identifies and homogenizes at the same time, implying a range of knowledge and an intellectual mastery over that which is named. (57)

This suggests to the philosophical implications in the act of naming. The agent who gives name to someone or something assumes the role of master over who or what is being named. As such, the act of naming exercises in terms of power a kind of superiority and dominance; and in terms of the signification of language a kind of intellectual control on the subject by offering it a specific identity. The "name" itself that carries the identity, suggests the homogenization of knowledge about self-definition as well as outside perception of the subject being named. In the case of Orientalism, what can be added here is that the act of naming is also a combined action of translating and differing, which is consequential. It is because from "what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world (12)" becomes an intelligible cultural form, Orientalism, like translation, is a textual creation that brings a subject from the cognitively unknown into being by relying on a signifying process similar to that of naming. What deserves attention though, is the long distance this translational process is able to transit between two vastly different "conceptual" or "cultural" world; and by its form-giving and manipulative abilities through language and context, able to find an "aptitude" which fulfils the "magical" task of naming. This aspect of translation may explain the mysterious effect in the speech act of naming. In addition, naming functions as a differentiation process for it is inseparable from the hegemonic subjectivity of the agent in setting up an ontological position, as well as the discursiveness in granting the chance of identification for the subject being named. Yet, as mentioned before, differences between entities (for example, the "East" and the "West") are neither essential nor attributive, but relative and translatable. This accounts for the immense power, as well as the philosophical vulnerability, in the very act of naming. A point to this connection is when Said discerns that "Orientalism is a school of thought whose material happens to be the Orient (203)".

To sum up, alongside the theoretical basis on difference from cultural studies in deconstructing the Othering effect in Orientalism, the metaphor of translation has proved to be valuable in rethinking Orientalism as a dynamic space of differentiation, a "great target text" in which cultural identity is produced and presented. It shows how initial representations which may be as minimal as the act of naming, when developed into hierarchical constructions, could reach the height of a transformation into a corporate institution, spreading across various

disciplines of knowledge, affecting ways of thinking and being accepted as reality and truths.

2.3   On Derrida: *Différance* Revisited as a Translational Deferral

Returning to the inquiry at the outset on the identity crisis envisioned by Benjamin Barber's "Jihad versus McWorld", Orientalism offers a basis in comprehending the complex operation of difference for the prevailing debate of "the West and the Rest"[13] that characterizes the neo-colonial aspect in globalization. In brief, the Othering effect in Orientalism built on dichotomic differences has been challenged by the idea of translation as attributive and changeable, although in the case of Orientalism a "fixed" and "truthful" representation of the East has been reinforced because of the socio-historical context. The cultural crisis in concern, represented by Snell-Hornby as a polarized world where "globalism /globalization" vs "retribalization", "[f]or these 'two axial principles of our age', whereby the planet is 'falling precipitantly apart *and* coming reluctantly together at the same time"(Schäffner ed. 12), hence, may be considered from a new angle. When Hall claims,

> Within the discourse of global consumerism, differences and cultural distinctions which hitherto defined *identity* become reducible to a sort of international *lingua franca* or global currency into which all specific traditions and distinct identities can be translated. This phenomenon is known as cultural homogenization. (*MF* 303)

It is alleged that a homogenized global culture has led to a homogenized cultural identity, with local differences and distinctions being undermined or diminished. To be "translated" here means a rather undesirable diminution. However, it is precisely this translation possibility in the sense of an interchange that may point to a resolution to the identity crisis. Kevin Robin's view depicts the other side of the coin of the same phenomenon,

> [A]longside the tendency towards global homogenization, there is also a fascination with *difference* and the marketing of ethnicity and 'otherness'. There is a now interest in 'the local' together with the impact of 'the global'. Globalization (in the form of flexible specialization and 'niche' marketing) actually exploits local differentiation. (*MF* 304, summarized by Hall)[14]

While Hall maintains that global consumerism promotes hegemony and eliminates differences, Robin sees the commercial needs in globalism as a

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[13] For detail, see Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest—Discourse and Power" in Hall et al., *Modernity—An Introduction to Modern Societies*, p. 184-227.

[14] For detail, see Kevin Robin, "Tradition and translation: national culture in its global context" in Corner & Harvey eds, *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*. London: Routledge, 1991.

potentially positive drive of local differentiation. Both observations are indisputably valid in their respective points of view. The "global" and the "local" here makes up an ambivalent philosophical condition derived from a complex reality where the two forces are in the paradoxical relationship of being mutually exclusive as well as mutually constitutive. In this situation, the greatest difficulty in going beyond a purely descriptive account lies in how to cope with the oppositional differences between the two forces. What is needed is a new way of comprehension before any sensible discussion can continue. "Translation" is perhaps one of the rare ways of thinking where an intermediary position as such can be established. Under the scrutiny of translation, differences are precisely the usual state between entities and are always relatable and changeable. The possibilities, practically, associate with the designated purposes which provide directions and modes of change. This changeability, theoretically and translationally speaking, is fundamental in all forms of existence. Thus, the "global" and "local" in themselves are never absolutely contradictory to each other, but mutually independent and causative. What is significant is that while "translation" may mean a leveling of differences, as reflected by Hall, it may also possibly mean an accentuation of differences, as discerned in Robin. Translation is always a two-way concept, just as any interchange in real life is always a two-way device. It offers a hub for differences to transcend their fixed and limited positions, into even more philosophical possibilities. The problematic of the present global crisis in cultural identity, in the new sense of "translation" discussed so far, is one which is brought about by the confinement to universalistic identification, shown by an ideological tendency to believe in generalized amplifications and unitary wholeness. This is in turn a result of a circumscribed mentality on the notion of difference, thinking essentially in terms of binary oppositions which are seen as essential oppositions.

To this end it will be worthwhile to reconsider the implications of *différance* by Derrida. As known, *différance* embodies the two senses of "to differ" and "to defer". To "differ" is at the same time "to defer".[15] To summarize, "[m]eaning is said to be unstable and never complete since the production of meaning is continually deferred and added to by the meanings of other words"(Barker 438). Through this play of signifiers, meaning is being constantly substituted and supplemented. This process is highly comparable to the nature of translation. In search of a target language which is considered "deficient", imperfect and discrepant, translation points towards to a space of newness, openness and surplus sliding down to a theoretically transcendental entity called "equivalence" to the source language. However, there is also an aspect where translation poses a contrast to the deferral in *différance*. For its involvement in two

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[15] As Derrida explains the term *différence*, "We know that the verb differer (Latin verb differre) has two meanings… Differer in this sense is to temporize, to take recourse consciously or unconsciously, in the temporal and temporizing mediation of a detour that suspends the accomplishment nor fulfillment of "desire" or "will," and equally effects this suspension in a mode that annuls or tempers its own effect. … The other sense of differer is the more common and identifiable one: to be not identical, to be other, discernible, etc." (*Différance*, trans. Alan Bass).

languages, for the linguistic differences and cultural differences of the two systems it carries, on each point of the deferral process, the translating language undergoes a continuous renewal which is functional—it produces "meaning", or a temporal and spatial representation, with reference to the differences compared, interchanged and restructured. In spite of its insufficiency to achieve "equivalence" it still produces "meaning", and from these outlets along the deferral in translation the action to "differ" is performed to transcend a differentiation purely for the purpose of binary dichotomy. This is because in translation difference is deemed to be understood in pluralistic forms of attachment and belonging, otherwise, the application of a "translational" act will not be plausible at all. If the deferral in *différance* shows in translation a play of "deficient" target languages, revealing the nature of translating as an infinite pursuit; then *différance* in the sense of deferral can also be put as "translational", encompassing a mechanism for difference to be translatable. An alignment of the two, "translational deferral" is fundamentally against any form of binary oppositions that implies hierarchy and antagonism and any dichotomic view of the world that treats cultural identities as absolute and reducible. In view of the global cultural conflict between the "local" and the "global" in question, Hall's critique on the discourse of "the West and the Rest" itself can be thought-provoking,

> [T]he discourse, as a "system of representation," *represents* the world as divided according to a simple dichotomy—the West/the Rest. That is what makes the discourse of "the West and the Rest" so destructive—it draws crude and simplistic distinctions and constructs an oversimplified conception of "difference". (Hall, *MIMS* 189)

To conclude, if a way to perceive difference is divisive and simplistic, there might also be another possibility to receive it as componential and collaborative. The drive to ease the tension between the "local" and the "global", lies in a change of attitude in the fundamental understanding of difference in this age of globalization when cultural flows and contact are numerous, inevitable and consequential. Through the "deficient" translating languages in operation, difference is brought out to be relative and fluid perspectives and is thus "translatable". Departing from links between translation and differentiation, translation at a first glance shares similarities to the deferral in *différance.* Yet, its functionality also disputes the idea showing the deferral itself, arguably at each point of the process, can be "meaningful" by producing spatial and temporal representations for designated purposes. At any rate, in translation there is a starting point for contemplating difference positively for a new global as well as a new local identification. Translation represents a space for differences to negotiate, exchange and reorganize even though there are always constraints of circumstance. Translation, hence, stands for a mentality that works towards understanding, cooperation and harmony in cultural identity.

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The Universal Being The Local Without Walls:

Yaad/Yard-Hip Hop Identity ~ Reggae and Hip-Hop Music in the African Diaspora

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Introduction

This paper is part of a larger research project that seeks to examine how first-generation[1] Jamaican-American and Jamaican-British[2] children constructed their identity during the 1980s and the 1990s in the United States and Britain. This paper will then show how the shifting boundaries, sense of dislocation, and loss of rootedness are grounded in the construction of what I have coined as *yaad/yard-hip hop* identity. *Yaad/Yard-Hip Hop* represents a space where a new Jamaican identity is formed. It is the disconnection between location of residence/or *farin/foreign* and location of home/or *yaad/yard*[3] that produces a longing for and expectation of return whether physical or imaginary. It is a site where social realities are situated within a model of personhood, which goes beyond the notion of place and space. At the very core of this identity lies a hybrid form of reggae (Jamaica) and hip-hop (United States) music and culture, which emerged out of a diasporic urban context. *Yaad/yard-hip hop* is a multilingual articulation of a distinctive Caribbean-ness that is reconfigured into a Jamaican-American and Jamaican-British identity that relies heavily on language, idioms, and the ability to recreate a memory of home within a new social and cultural context (Chevannes, 2001). Moreover, it demonstrates how first-generation Jamaican-American and Jamaican-British children defined the intersection of globality and locality into the construction of their selfhood.

In order to ground this study of identity construction within a larger African-Caribbean diasporic framework, it is essential to analyze critically the Jamaican context from which it emerged. The following bodies of work will be considered in this research: the political, economical, and social history of Jamaica after-independence in 1962, the Rastafarian culture vis-à-vis the emergence of reggae

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[1] First-generation is defined as children born outside of their parent/s birth place.

[2] The positioning of the terms Jamaican-American and Jamaican-British denotes the cultural heritage of their parent/s, in ways that would describe the cultural manner in which they were raised. The later term physically situates their identity within the new locality, where further socialization and education (both formal and informal) takes place into the dominant cultural ethos of the host country.

[3] *Yaad* is a metaphor for home and/or place of origin. The metaphorical space of the 'yard' becomes synonymous with the border process of self-definition that occurs within the new urban locality; whether it is in North America or Britain. *Yaad* is then recontextualized within a new site, where linguistic devices and cultural references are used to reconfigure a particular identity that is readily associated with an 'authentic' Jamaican self. (See Chevannes, 2000, Brodber, 1975).

music, and the migration patterns from the early 1960s through the late 1970s. The second source of materials to be examined is the dispersal of Jamaican-ness beyond the geographical confinement of the Caribbean. The research will focus on reggae music and several artists, as primary agents in facilitating the movement of *yaad/yard* identity across borders. A close reading of the rhetorical repertoire and riddim/rhythm used in the construction and the delivery of the music will decipher how theories of identity and reality are entangled into a web that seeks to find and/or inform values, briefs, and socio-political histories of this group being studied. Lastly, in physically situating *yaad/yard-hip hop* identity within an urban context of a host society, it is crucial to analyze the configuration of 'ghetto' communities in Jamaica, the United States, and England. Moreover, the children born of Jamaican parentage in those urban spaces have created/invented an intersubjectivity that goes beyond the confinement of the decaying urban walls to produce a new transnational identity. This identity bridges the movement of people, who migrated to farin/foreign sites both voluntarily and/or involuntarily from the past and present. Finally, the significance of this study is to demonstrate how the 'authentic' claim to West Indian-ness or more specifically Jamaican-ness within the glocalization[4] paradigm provides both those in the yaad/yard and those abroad with a vehicle, in which to assert their personhood.

Yaad Identity

The social-psychological effects of memory and *re*-memory in the construction of identity, points to the intersection between the individual's memory of personal and primordial experiences and that of the collective/or group socio-political memory. Memory of both temporal and spatial events are actively *re*worked, *re*interpreted, and *re*inscribed over time in the development of the subject's identity. It is through this process of *re*transcription and *re*translation that the individual is able to reconnect with their larger cultural group/or diaspora.

In the case of Jamaicans living in host societies, the process of memory and *re*-memory is captured in the metaphor of the *yaad*. *Yaad* is *re*-conceptualized as a 'surreal' or 'ideal' place and space in their imagination; whereby, the desire for

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[4] "Glocalization is the notion that removes the fear from many that globalization is like a tidal wave erasing all the differences. ….Glocalization involves blending, mixing adapting of two or more processes one of which must be local.… Glocalization to be meaningful must include at least one component that addresses the local culture, system of values and practices and so on…." (Khondker, 2004, p). Carolyn Cooper (2003) goes further to identify how glocalization is essential in the description of reggae music influence on global level. "'Glocal' signifies the local specificity of reggae in its indigenous context of first production – Jamaica. 'Glocal' simultaneously acknowledges reggae's global dispersal and adaptation in other local contexts of consumption and transformation" (xxvi). For further reading on the methodology of 'glocalization' see Khondker, Habibul Haque. "Glocalization as Globalization: Evolution of a Sociological Concept." *Bangladesh E-Journal of Sociology*. 1. 2. (2004): 1-9.

home (or *yaad*) resides outside of the realms of their existence. Similarly Avtar Brah (1996) argues that:

> …. 'Home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin.' On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality… [Therefore,] the question of home is intrinsically linked with the way in which processes of inclusion or exclusion operate and are subjectively experienced under given circumstances (192).

As a result of such, yaad was and continues to be intrinsically linked to how Jamaicans in the diaspora seek to define themselves. It was and remains to be a crucial part in how they maneuvered the socio-political struggles of belonging within the host society. Nancy Foner (1977) reaffirmed this position, in her study on the cultural and social changes among Jamaican migrants in Britain, by arguing that Jamaicans viewed their relocation abroad as temporary. Thus, this process of emigration for them developed in twofold. One was to acquire enough capital to sustain their families back on the island, while abroad. The other was to save a sufficient amount of money to improve their economical and social situation upon their return. Therefore, the notion of return or as Foner (1977) describes the "homeward orientation" provided an alternative space for Jamaicans to exist in the host society.

> The homeward orientation seems to shield [Jamaican] migrants from some of the stings of racial prejudice: if [the United States or] England is not their real home, then they can more easily endure discrimination. Also, [Foner] sense that the homeward orientation appears to minimize some of the migrants' disappointments with their own failures and anxieties over their children's success by focusing on the return home (138).

In considering Foner's (1977) argument on the "homeward orientation," Barry Chevannes (2001) goes a step further to demonstrate how this orientation points to how *Yardies*, Jamaicans defined themselves in relation to the archetypal *Yaad*, Jamaica. Chevannes points out that in order for Jamaicans to navigate their way abroad (i.e. the United States and/or Britain), it was crucial for them to conceptualize a "homeward orientation."

Yaad as an allegory for home was transplanted into urban centers of North America and Britain, during the 1960s through the 1970s, where it shifted from being a metaphor to a way of being, an identity. This shift in definition and symbolic meaning of the word resulted from a high outflux of Jamaicans to foreign localities along with the global recognition of Jamaican popular music. The emphasis here is placed on, the rising popularity of reggae music and key individuals and groups that propelled the music to an international audience during this period.

For Jamaicans in the diaspora, it was from this position of being outside of the geographical location of their place of origins that many choose to draw heavily upon an identity that was readily associated with their island culture within the global context. In doing so, many sought to authenticate their identity through the symbolic nature of lyrics and idioms conveyed through reggae music. Thus, the appropriation and the transfer of a particular type of Jamaican-ness to other localities stemmed from the positionality of the artist/s in conjunction with their social and economical background. Many singers during the 1960s and the 1970s and even today have cultivated a unique Jamaican sound, which rested upon their humble beginnings in the urban spaces of Kingston, Jamaica. Moreover, the urban space in Jamaica could be exemplified as a:

> … way of life characterized by wretchedness, subnormal educational development, unstable family patterns and a heavy involvement in such predatory activities as violence, gambling, prostitution, robbery, conning and living off one's wits, which are some of the traits historically associated with a way of life that is 'lumpenproletarianized' (Pryce, 1979, 280).

Therefore, the claim to an 'authentic' Jamaican identity for those living abroad was grounded on the lived experiences of the marginalized Black population. They took familiar objects, mannerisms, and language from the Jamaican Black lower-class, in order to provide themselves with the reassurance and the claim to an 'authentic' Jamaican self in the diaspora. However, in spite of that fact, many who claimed this identity while residing abroad, quickly disassociated themselves from the urban Black population while within the context of Jamaica. The social and political negation of the lower-class by the dominant Jamaican society stemmed from their colonial past, which equated high culture with whiteness and low culture with blackness.

> Black skin has long been devalued in Jamaica. This stems from Jamaica's history as a plantation colony based on African slavery. Whites were, in the days of slavery, masters, and throughout the colonial period, rulers. Indeed, a [W]hite bias has permeated the entire society since the eighteenth century: in the eyes of most Jamaicans, [W]hite stands for wealth, privilege, and power. To most lower-class Jamaicans-who not only comprise the majority of the population but who are, by and large, [B]lack- being [B]lack is another symbol, along with their poverty, of their low social position. Indeed, [Foner] argues that it is mainly because being [B]lack stands for being poor in Jamaica that so many [B]lack Jamaicans place a negative value on [B]lack skin (Foner, 1977, 129).

For Jamaicans in the diaspora claiming such an identity aided them in negotiating a space in which to insert themselves. Thus, it afforded them the opportunity to situate the "homeward orientation," as well as, to solidify their positionality within

the new urban space. Therefore, Kingston's music culture was the pathway for those abroad to uncover a diaspora Jamaican cultural identity. Whereby, the music unified those situated on the borders with a deeper understanding of their cultural heritage and place in the world.

The Rude Bwoy/Boy Stance

The formation of the 'rude bwoy/boy' or 'badman-ism' was the result of a considerable numbers of young men of African ancestry in the 1950s and the 1960s migrating from rural communities to urban spaces in search of economical and social opportunities. The conceptualization of the rude bwoy/boy or badman-ism emerged as a direct result of their frustration with not having avenues in which to advance themselves socially, politically, and/or economically in the Jamaican society. Consequently, the sense of antipathy grew among them towards the ruling system as a result of the ways in which resources were allocated in the society (Gray, 1991, 73; Lewis, 2003, 85-86; Nettleford, 1970; White, 1967, 30). Therefore, the cult of rude bwoy/boy or badman-ism developed out of the trenches of the disposed Black male urban experience in Jamaica.

During this period in question, the rude bwoy/boy character and image in the urban spaces of Jamaica can be described as a group of young men ranging in age from fourteen to twenty-five, who spent most of their time on the street corners of West Kingston. They were predominantly unemployed and angry with the lack of opportunities that Jamaican society had to offer. Further that anger climaxed to a point where violence became a daily recurrence in their struggle over basic resources for survival. Moreover this required the carrying of German ratchet knives and hand guns, in order to escape the pitfalls of urban life [5] Moreover, Obika Gray (1991) further demonstrates this point in his recent research on *Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960-1972*, by asserting that:

> Self-consciously identifying themselves as 'rude boys' or 'rudies,' this contingent of young males adopted exhibitionistic forms of behavior which made them the bane of those charged with summoning the subordinate classes to the dominant ideology. In inventing what might be called a culture of resistance, the youth selected those aspects of the moral codes most cherished by the middle and upper classes and inverted them. In the matter of speech, dress, comportment, forms of salutation, and even the etiquette of courtship, the rebellious youth reversed the official codes" (Gray, 1991, 73).

Gray (1991) argument emphasizes that the collective agency of the disposed Black urban male and their assertion of 'ghetto morality' and thus, their rejection

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[5] (White, 1967, 39; Hebdige, 1987, 72).

of the larger colonial and the near post-colonial affirmation of a 'respectable' Jamaican identity.

Subsequently, the rude bwoy/boy created a culture within a culture that reflected their positionality in the society; more specifically their angry in being marginalized, while simultaneously inserting themselves in the dominant discourse of Jamaica's cultural and social history. As such, the rude bwoy/boy rejected any notions of conformity to the larger society and ultimately created new rules in which to govern their existence. The Slickers' 1970 recording of *Johnny Too Bad* depicts the rude bwoy/boy's stance:

> Walking down the road with a pistol in your waist
> Johnny you're too bad
> Walking down the road with the ratchet in your waist
> Johnny you're too bad
> You're just robbin' and stabbin' and lootin' and shootin'
> You're too bad
> You're just robbin' and stabbin' and lootin' and shootin'
> You're too bad

Their identity was carved out the helplessness, the rejection, and the degradation they experienced by the larger Jamaican society. Subsequently, their mannerism and posture reflected a renewed sense of self-confidence and self-empowerment as fostered by the ghetto streets of Jamaica. Moreover, this way of being was accompanied by an identifiable style of dressing, which formulated into a distinctive urban flair for the rude bwoy/boy.

> The rudies wore very short green serge trousers, leather or gangster-style suit jackets, and their eyes were often hidden behind moody pairs of shades. If they were 'rough, tough' and rich enough, they would ride around on light, stripped-down motor cycles which were covered in chrome. Apart from stealing, scuffling or hustling, the rude boys might spend their time playing an aggressive game of dominoes or 'tram hopping' – leaping (sometimes backwards) into the bars at the rear of the trams as they rattled through the city streets. The point was to be as cool as possible (Hebdige, 1987, 72).

Further, the rude bwoy/boy temperament radiated an aura of self-confidence and self-assurance, which equated to 'coolness.' This was later depicted in the 1972 film, *The Harder They Come*, through the characterization of Ivanhoe 'Ivan' Martin.

The film *The Harder They Come* staring Jimmy Cliff, as Ivanhoe 'Ivan' Martin, encapsulated the rude bwoy/boy persona, which became synonymous with the Jamaican Black urban culture. The dramatization of Ivan's character in the film ushered in a public image and personality of the rude bwoy/boy in Jamaica and

abroad. "The rude bwoy/boy personified the blurred dividing line between reality and life on the silver screen that is so quintessentially Jamaican, by modeling themselves on the heroes or villains of cowboy film (especially the mid-1960s) and Hollywood's juvenile delinquents" (Salewicz and Boot, 2001, 42). As a result of such, this identity and culture evoked a long history of Black inequality and poverty within the Jamaican society, which unleashed an uncontrollable terror not only to the established government, but also to the urban dwellers found in those communities. Therefore, the ghettoization of Jamaica's shantytowns produced a culture based upon the social dislocation.

The rude bwoy/boy identity was first imported into Jamaican popular culture in 1966 with the emergence of new a riddim/rhythm called rock steady.[6] Rock steady was a sub-style of Jamaican popular music, which revolutionized the previous form called ska.[7] In the same year that rock steady was introduced into Jamaican popular culture, the Wailers' produced a track, entitled *Rude Boy*, which cemented the alternative spaces of existence found in the urban centers into the popular music scene. Dick Hebdige (1987) argues that there were earlier recordings of 'rude bwoy' tunes dating back to 1962 by Rolando Alphonso[8]. However, the argument can be made that the 1966 release of the Wailers' recording signify a shifted in the cultural fabric of the Jamaican society. It was four years after Jamaica gained its' independence from Britain and the illusion of upward mobility and economic prosperity for all was lost. Moreover, the unemployment rate continued to increase and the conditions of the urban poor worsen with the passing of years.[9] The true significance of the record was

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[6] Hebdige, 1987, 72. The beat of rock steady music is roughly half the speed of the standard ska beat, and the texture of the instrumentation is much less dense. Also, in rock steady the reggae accent patterns started to emerge. The guitar was played on the second and fourth beats of the four-beat measure while the bass guitar emphasized the first and third beats. The role of the drums was absorbed by the percussive playing of the guitar and bass, so the drummer's role was diminished. Additionally in rock steady, the ska horn section was largely replaced by the use of a keyboard player (Moskowitz, 2006, 257).

[7] Ska surfaced in the earlier 1960s during, which time Jamaica was on the verge of gaining its' independence from Britain. It replaced previous trend in how music was composed. Ska was considered to be the first indigenous type of Jamaican music, which encompassed: a core of singer, guitar, bass, and drums, with the addition of a horn line of varying size. At barest minimum, the horn line included a saxophone, trumpet, and trombone. The style itself was a mixture of influences including Jamaican mento, American rhythm and blues, jazz, jump bands, calypso, and others. For that reason, there was a strong interest by many leading up to independence in 1962, in asserting Jamaican national identity through this genre. Ska dominated the music charts for five years until the mid-1966 (Moskowitz, 2006, 270; Hebdige, 1987, 54-70).

[8] However, it is important to note that, this identity was firmly planted into the psyche of Jamaican culture long before the emergence of new form of popular culture; whether it was acknowledge by the general society of not.

[9] For further discussion of the social, political, and economic situation in Jamaica after independence see Water, Anita M. *Race, Class and Political Symbols: Rastafari and Reggae in Jamaican Politics*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1985 and Gray, Obika. *Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960-1972*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1991.

connected to the individuals that comprised the group and the ways in which they contextualized and voiced the concerns of the voiceless. The Wailers included Bunny Wailer, Peter Tosh, and Bob Marley all of which grew up in the ghettos of Jamaica. Their music conveyed the collective agency of the Black underclass, which was previously concealed and/or ignored by the larger Jamaican society. The later international popularity of the Wailers, Bob Marley, Jimmy Cliff, and others solidified as well as validated the identity and culture of the Jamaican lower-class through their music. Their music intertwined pulsating riddims/rhythms coupled with insightful lyrics conveying the struggles of the Black collective; whereby, their experiences were thrust into the public domain for public consumption. Thus, a new chapter in Jamaica's history, culture, and music was born.

Rastafarian Culture vis-à-vis the Emergence of Reggae
Reggae music has altered the national cultural identity of the island of Jamaica. "The birth of reggae music in 1968 signaled the beginning of wholesale embrace of the Rastafarian faith and more radical political themes in Jamaica popular culture" (King, 2002, 46). Unlike the Rastafarian predecessor, the rude bwoy/boy, the movement provided an alternative African vision of life and how it should be lived in Jamaican for the marginalized Black majority. The Rastafarian movement was and continues to be a site where the oppressed collectively mobilized for the attainment of securing both mental and physical liberation.

From the mid-1960s through to the 1970s, Rastafarians captured the minds and the spirits of the urban poor youth.

The amalgamation of the Rastafarian ideologies and the collective experiences of a degraded Black community constructed a protest movement that expressed their alienation from the economic and cultural opportunities. This expression of condemnation of blackness and economic resources propelled individuals towards the Rastafarian movement. It led many Black Jamaicans to affirm that Jamaica and the Western world was a symbolic representation of Babylon. (Forsythe, 1999). Thus, the movement's theology impacted the social and cultural development of Jamaican culture on the island and the wider diaspora. Leonard Barrett (1998) asserts that the movement is rooted in a strong religious folk culture that became an alternative to the vapid preaching of the established religious institutions, which ignored questions of social injustice, class, and color as well as the life of crime on the urban streets. The uninspiring theology of the church lacked the vitality that was necessary to sustain groups of young men and women, who began to question the role of the government and traditional Christian dogma in their life. The movement provided impoverished Blacks with the opportunity to rise up against the social and political injustices of the land through constructive means. Moreover Chevannes (1994) asserts that the Rastafarian movement provided the social and ideological framework for the resistance of oppression, which in turn led to the growth of the movement. Similarly, Dennis Forsythe (1999) notes that the Rastafarian movement took on the responsibility of addressing the individual Black identity by consciously asking

and answering the fundamental cultural and human question, *Who am I? or What am I?*.

The Rastafarian movement facilitated the birth of reggae music, which was developed out of the collective strength of Jamaica's Black lower class. This cultural production (the music) that manifest was a result of alternative ways in viewing the Jamaican Black identity, which in turn called for a new diasporic Black identity to emerge. For that reason, the music represented "an interior space of [the] imagination which is itself comprised of thoughts and feelings" of the oppressed (Adams, 2000, 31). Many reggae artist pioneers were able to captivate their audiences by communicating themes of oppression, poverty, slavery, human rights, and apartheid. The movement carved out a site for the cultural production of Rastafarian ideology to be infused into reggae music, where an infinite amount of cultural transcripts came to be developed. These transcripts took on many forms. Music was one form that developed from the psychological space of the oppressed.

Reggae music continues to be a vehicle that carries the message of the Black masses. Reggae music has consistently integrated the humanistic principle of compassion for human beings. "The humanistic principles evolved out of resistance to the common oppressive conditions faced by many who resided on the borders of Jamaican society's social, political, and economical structures. This systematic oppression faced by many Blacks in Jamaica and in the greater African diaspora weaved the common thread of "frustrations with being social outcast; a smouldering rage against the establishment that squeezed them to the fringe; limited economical, educational, and political opportunities; and an alive connection to their African heritages through music and belief" (Foehr, 2000, 43).

Moreover, "the music heard [and developed] in the Kingston's slum followed in this tradition in that it serves as a daily newspaper, a bulletin board and an early warning system" (Foehr, 2000, 44).

Reggae music pioneers utilized the Rastafarian ideology in crafting message in their music by incorporating slogan and symbols of *WORD, SOUND, AND POWER*. [10] The artist denounces the rhetoric of Jamaican society by positioning themselves in opposition to the status quo as conveyed by the government and political elite. Still, the attempts made by many to voice the cries of the voiceless in empowering the Black diasporic identity within the context of capitalism and imperialism have been regarded as cries of noise by many who hold an invested interest in maintaining the dichotomy of superiority and inferiority.

New Urban Localities
Jamaicans in the diaspora are the middle person in the transmission of material goods from the host society back to their place of origin. For that reason,

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[10] Chevannes, 1994.

remittance functioned as a means in which individuals residing abroad could financially sustain and/ or assist their families in their home country. As such, the interconnectedness that lies between Jamaicans in urban localities in the United States and Britain with Jamaicans in the home country has been proven to be a valuable asset to both those in the yard and those in foreign sites. The direct connection to their place of birth created a reciprocal relationship where one party is receiving monetary funds and/ or material goods or both from abroad and the other is able to maintain tangible notions Jamaican-ness while residing elsewhere.

However, in time this link for Jamaicans abroad is ultimately fractured because of how they were able to reconceptualize and reestablish their identity in their new space. Therefore *yaad* as the archetype of Jamaican culture was no longer positioned and viewed as central to how Jamaicans in the diaspora defined themselves. The Jamaican enclaves found in New York City and London aided the process of decentering Jamaica as the place and space of a lost identity.

The Hyphenated Identity: A Claim to Jamaican-ness
Yaad occupies a "space where lineage identity is constructed and maintained, where the circle of life opens with birth, matures with living…." and continues to be constructed and re-constructed from generation to generation (Chevannes, 2001, 131). For American and British born children of Jamaican descent *yaad* became a site where linguistic devices and cultural references coupled with the physical situated-ness of their foreign positionality fostered how they carved out an identity that was associated with Jamaican-ness within the global and local context. For them the psychosomatic understanding of *yaad* was re-established through the memories conveyed to them by their parent/s as well as the cultural manner, in which they were raised. What becomes imperative to their understanding of *yaad* was understood in their consumption of reggae music.

Reggae music and the culture that ensued provided an informal and at times formal teaching tool that aided children of Jamaican parentage in the construction of their identity in foreign sites. Reggae music imparted references to abstract ideas about Jamaican culture as well as informed them about the place and space.

For example, it provided an intimate look into the social and political history, as well as alluded to how gender identity, sexuality, and race (color stratification) were defined on the island along with infusing the latest slang words and/or phrases of the period. In that sense, reggae music operated as kind of newspaper offering information and commentary about the current political and social issues of disenfranchised Black communities. The music blended the memories retained by Jamaicans in the diaspora along with the sense of disconnectedness over a pulsating riddim/rhythm. For them, it restored a sense of connectedness to a physical space and place, whereby tangible notions of a Jamaican identity were re-established within their urban context. The

metaphorical lens, in which they viewed *yaad* was transformed and a new imagery and understanding emerged. Moreover, the ways in which Jamaican-American and Jamaican-British children came to define *yaad* was compounded with the socialization and the education (both formal and informal) they received within the location of their birth. As a result of such processes, *yaad* became *yaad/yard*, thus creating a new sense of self and culture in the wake of their modern experiences and new conceptualization and understanding of themselves and their heritage. The reconnected-ness first-generation children of Jamaican parentage found in reggae music fostered the desires to anchor themselves within the larger society, more specifically within the sub-culture of their urban context. They sought to define their space and place through the collective agency of other marginalized voices found within their communities.

The collective agency of the post-immigrant generation found in the metropolitan areas of North America and Britain in the 1980s and the 1990s facilitated the emergence of a new transnational identity.

The United States and British –born children of immigrants of this period in question were coming of age in a era that reflect changes in the political, economical, and social fabric of the host society. The general composition of this new transnational identity that I am calling *yaad/yard-hip hop* was ultimately manifested in ways that were interconnected between the two localities, which was grounded on the collective experience of migration and the physical detachment from the place of origin. However, the deployment, as well as, the daily engagement of this identity within the host society reflected the individual country's own social and political histories. Ultimately, the manifestation of this identity evolved in dissimilar ways that challenged notions of race, class, ethnicity, and nationhood in both locations

Urban Spaces ~ New York City
The post-immigrant children of West Indian descent more specifically of Jamaican parentage coming of age in the urban spaces of New York City in the 1980s through the late 1990s constructed an identity that reflected the location of their birth as well as culturally identity of their parent/s coupled with the various ethnic and racial groups they engaged with on a daily bases in their community. First-generation children of Jamaican parentage during this period in New York City were particularly concentrated in the Bronx and Brooklyn.

In 1992, the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) conducted a research project designed to study the adaptation process of the immigrant second generation which [was] defined broadly as U.S.-born children with at least one foreign-born parent or children born abroad but brought at an early age to the United States. The original survey was conducted with large samples of second-generation children attending the 8th and 9th grades in public and private schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale in Florida and San Diego, California (from the website description of the data set).

According to the initial data collected by Alejandro Portés and Rubén Rumbaut in 1992, as shown in pie graph:

> the largest proportion of the sample (41 percent) chose a hyphenated-American identification; a forth (27 percent), identified by national origins; 17 percent selected pan-ethnic minority identities; and 11 percent identified as plain 'American.'[11]
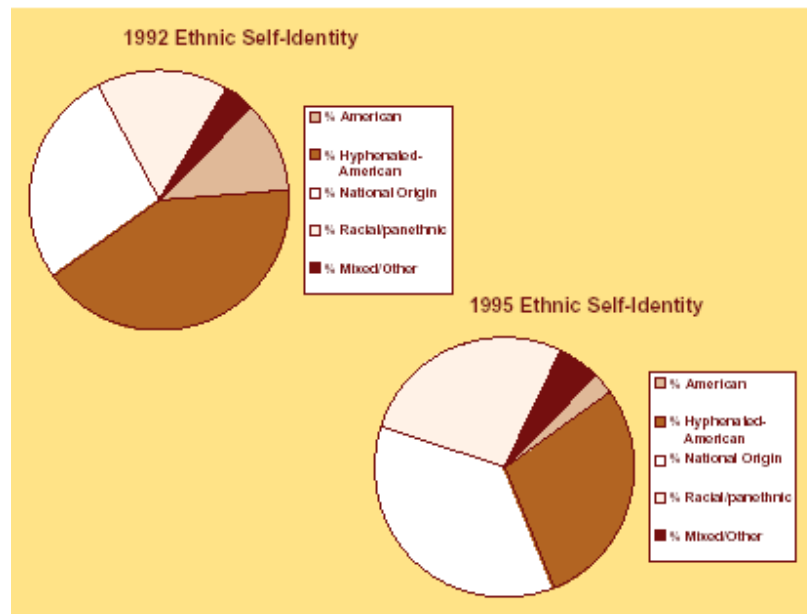
Source Rumbaut, 1997, 4.

> In South Florida, (Miami and Fort Lauderdale) by contrast, the biggest gains overall were in pan-ethnic identities such as 'Hispanic' and 'Black,' doubling from 17 percent in 1992 to 38 percent in 1995. This change was notable mainly among the Latin Americans and the Jamaicans, while the percent identifying by national origin remained unchanged at about a fifth; a plain American identity dropped sharply from 19 percent to less than 4 percent overall, and hyphenated-American identities fell from 41 to 30 percent. The Haitians were the sole and interesting exception in Florida…[12]

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[11] "Whether the youth was born in the U.S. not made a great deal of difference in the type of identity selected: in 1992, the foreign-born were four times more likely to identify by national origin (43 percent) than were the U.S –born (11 percent); conversely, the U.S.-born were much more likely to identify as American or hyphenated-American than were the foreign-born. Those findings suggested an assimilative trend from one generation to another" (Portés and Rumbaut, 1997, 4).

[12] "…The proportion selecting a non-national pan-ethnic identity decreased, while the proportions identifying as 'Haitian' and 'Haitian-American' increased notably. This response was given in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion of Haiti in the Fall of 1994, and suggests, in a very different way, the importance of the sociopolitical context in shaping ethnic self-identities" (Rumbaut, 1997, 4).

Rumbaut (1992 and 1995) research concludes that the:

> Change over time has, this, not been toward assimilative mainstream identities (with or without a hyphen). Rater, it has been toward a more 'militant' or nationalistic reaffirmation of the immigrant identity for some group (the Mexicans and Filipinos in California, the Haitians in Florida), and toward pan-ethnic minority group identities for almost all others, as these youths become increasingly aware of the ethnic and racial categories in which they are persistently classified by mainstream society (6)

Conclusion

Through the volume of historical research on the Caribbean region is vast, relatively few books and articles have dealt in-depth with first-generation Jamaican-American and Jamaican-British children in how the have constructed their personhood. The research presented in this paper is an effort to explore the construction of identity for adolescents of Jamaican descent, who were born and raised in the United States and Britain and how they have utilized contemporary forms of Jamaican and Euro-American popular culture during the 1980s and the 1990s to forge a space to affirm their personhood.

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The View from the Fence: Definition, Belonging and Literary Representation of Mixed Race Identity in Modern Britain.

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Towards the end of the twentieth century the public perception of England, and its UK neighbours, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland underwent a metamorphosis. In the past, as J.C.Young suggests, the UK was 'represented in terms of fixity, of certainty, centeredness [and] homogeneity' (2), but the contemporary view is now of a mixed, hybrid group of nations, where a multitude of lifestyles, religions and cultures interchange and overlap. Many still fear this hybrid landscape, viewing it as a danger to their homes and their heritage. Yet, there are also those whose arguments concern the merit of a diverse society and welcome it. In the midst of such opinions and discourses of multiculturalism is the field of "Mixed Race Studies". This paper aims to introduce a number of issues regarding mixed race identity, and to comment on the literary representation of those who find themselves positioned on the fence.

Before approaching the topic of mixed race it is essential to understand the changing meaning of race. The dictionary describes race as: 'According to various more or less formal systems of classification: any of the major groupings of mankind, having in common distinct physical features or having a similar ethnic background' (OED online). Yet over the centuries race has been used as a key factor in defining not only a person's (or a group's) physical appearance, but also their personality, their capabilities, and even the degree of their own humanity. Race in this way has been socially constructed.

This immediately creates a number of problems when discussing the topic of "mixed race". If race is just a man-made fiction, and does not really exist, should it be used as an indicator of identity? Equally, even if race exists, the term "mixed race" relies on the concept of 'pure' race (Parker and Song 10) to juxtapose with it. In a Britain which has seen invasions (from the Romans to the Normans) prior to the British Empire becoming a prominent fixture, not too mention vast periods of migration and immigration throughout its wide and complex history, the existence of a race that has remained unmixed is impossible.

Due to such problems, some academics have opted to use alternative vocabulary. Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe for example, chooses the word métis(se) for her academic writing as she feels that the 'redeploying' of this term enables her to: 'de-centre 'race' as a primary identity marker' and thus 'clear space for the interplay of other hierarchically positioned signifiers such as ethnicity, locality, generation, gender and social class' ("Re-Membering Race" 44). In the public sphere too, words such as bi-cultural, dual heritage and mixed parentage have served a similar purpose in challenging racialisation and have been deemed by

many individuals, governmental bodies, and the education system to be politically correct. [1]

But, despite all this, as Mark Christian argues, race today is still an important element of modern life (4). On a positive level, black achievement in the UK is celebrated through events such as the MOBO Awards or Black History Month. Yet simultaneously, there is a constant dialogue between the media and the nation about the "trouble with the black and Asian communities", and in many areas of the country racism is still rampant. Until such issues are addressed it cannot accurately be suggested that race is irrelevant, and that it does not affect self-perception. Therefore, the term "mixed race", although flawed, does encapsulate to an extent, the reality of such individuals' position and for this reason I have currently chosen to employ it for this paper and for my own research.

It must also be noted that there are a number of derogatory terms such as half-caste and coloured that are still in current usage. Although these words generally remain unacceptable, occasionally they can be reclaimed by those whom they have been used against, and appropriated. This has occurred with Ifekwunigwe's métis(se) ("Re-Membering Race"43) which was previously considered to be the French equivalent of the aforementioned, but it has also happened in the US with the term mulatto which was traditionally used for 'defining a 'little mule"- half donkey/half horse (Christian xxvii).

This paper has briefly established the technicalities and constructions that surround the terms connoting the mixed race position, but what about representation and public perception? Arguably, there are a number of branches of thought regarding mixed race identity. The first views mixed race as a threat. Primarily in the time of colonisation, this related to "white superiority", an element deeply seated within notions of imperialism. Mixing, in this situation, was seen to contaminate the white race, producing inferior beings, predisposed to criminal activity and treachery.

From around the 1850's supposed "scientific" discourses begun to emerge in support of such ideas, heralding an era of 'scientific racism' (Gilroy 8) which produced theories that linked skin colour and other phenotypic features to intellect and ability, whilst also creating a grand metanarrative regarding the existence of the human race. Even once these had been disregarded as inaccurate, sociology stepped up to take its place in the 1930's through writers such as Everett V. Stonequist.

In The Marginal Man: A Study of Personality and Culture Conflict Stonequist adopts the concept of the marginal man, a term developed by Lord Lugard (Olumide 49) to describe the African physicality and "Western reason" of the African elite, and extends it to theorise 'those individuals who fall between two

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[1] These phrases are also problematic because they are non-specific, arguably encompassing a wide range of identities such as French/Spanish for example.

major racial or cultural groups' (Stonequist 2). Although Stonequist attempts to right the wrongs of the pseudo-biologists, the claims that he makes still appear to be based on a prejudice foundation. This is illustrated when he discusses the personality traits that are the result of social marginality:

> Possibly this ambivalence, together with the nervous strain, is at the root of most if not all of the behaviour which has frequently been viewed by the biologically minded in terms of "racial disharmony", "the clash of the blood", "unstable genetic constitution", etc., when considering mixed-blood persons. The apparently irrational, moody, "temperamental" conduct of racial hybrids is often paralleled among the racially pure cultural hybrids, but the lack of obvious biological difference has made such explanations less applicable in their case (147-148).

This extract seems quite characteristic of Stonequist's analysis with regards to the racial hybrid, as although he attempts to dispel assumptions ungrounded in sociological evidence, he simultaneously perpetuates a number of the existing negative attitudes about the racial "Other", whilst also condemning those that he categorizes as "cultural hybrids" as well. [2]

Ideas concerning the dangers and the detrimental effects of hybridity are also found in social studies as Paul B. Rich writes when discussing the 1930 Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports by M.E Fletcher. The report outlined the impoverished living conditions of the generation of children originating from the relationships formed between black seaman and local white women. Yet once again, as Rich suggests, the report blames the 'process of moral decline' observable in 'British cities' on the 'presence of 'half-castes' (133) and not the poor economic state of the area.

So has much changed? In 2006 Trevor Phillips the then head of the CRE[3] (Commission for Racial Equality) commented in his opening speech at the Race Relations Convention that as an ethnic minority group, mixed race Britons:

> exhibit the highest rates of lone parenthood and family breakdown, in some cases three times the average. […] We don't know why this should be so, though many people talk now of identity stripping - children who grow up marooned between communities' ("Opening Speech").

Although the speech had much to say about a multicultural Britain that was both positive and encouraging, Phillips's remarks regarding mixed race seem to perpetuate the notion that the very construction of mixed race identity is somehow responsible for, or equitable with, social deterioration. Such comments, as Laura Smith wrote in The Guardian, 'provoked anger' ("Silent minority"). Since

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[2] Cultural hybrids are those who are hybrid as 'a consequence of cultural diffusion' or 'a product of migration' (Stonequist 54).
[3] Now known as the CEHR (Commission for Equality and Human Rights).

'stereotypes about mixedness [still] abound', Smith, like many others, felt that the statement simply 'rehashed old assumptions' ("Silent minority").

Challenging these assumptions does not mean denying the complexity of the mixed race experience however. Recently writers such as Maria Root have set out to explore the ways in which individuals navigate this psychological/social space. In her analysis entitled "Border Crossings"[4], Root breaks the routes available for the mixed race identity down into four separate possibilities.

The first, she suggests, is 'having both feet in both groups' (xxi), when an individual is actively involved in two (or more) racial categories. Secondly, mixed race people can choose to constantly shift between the 'foreground and the background' (xxi), i.e. stepping back and forth over imaginary borderlines. Thirdly, the individual in this position can sit 'on the border' (xxi), claiming neither racial group specifically as their own, but dwelling somewhere in between. Fourthly, and finally, the mixed race person can 'create a home in one '"camp"' (xxii) where they pass as one race or the other.

Whereas individuals may have a degree of choice over which of the above positions they adopt, it must also be remembered that both society and nation are often accountable for selecting positions and super-imposing them upon the mixed race individual without consent.[5] This was certainly the case in the USA for example, where a "single drop of black blood" meant that a person was automatically considered to be black.[6]

Yet despite all of the difficulties and issues that are associated with the mixed race identity, there is also a positive view of mixed race. Here, it can be seen as a demonstration of the ability of races to interact, and a position of possibility, unconfined by conventional boundaries. From a theoretical perspective, writers such as Homi Bhabha have argued that hybridity is a means of challenging hegemonic discourses in a way that 'does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty' (58). But for the mixed race individual it can also be an adaptable and creative site of cultural exchange, where one group's ideas and values may be translated to another's, promoting understanding.

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[4] See the introduction of <u>Multiracial Experiences: Racial Border as the New Frontier</u>.

[5] It should be pointed out that, although this paper focuses on the UK, there are substantial variations in mixed race experience all over the world.

[6] I refer here to the 'one drop rule', a term which was first used to describe non-whites by the Unites States government in the Fourteenth Census in 1920. According to the Census 'the term 'white' as used in the census report refers to persons understood to be pure-blooded whites. A person of mixed blood is classified according to the nonwhite racial strain'. Thus, 'a person of mixed white … and Negro … is classified as … a Negro … regardless of the amount of white blood" (Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology)

Such a view, however, is the result of hard work and prolonged campaigning, and public perception on the matter, or indeed a positive formulation of self, may not have occurred had it not been for three groups of people. Firstly, passionate individuals who have set up organisations such as Intermix, established in 1999, and People in Harmony created in 1972, which offer support and raise awareness about mixed race issues through websites and arranged events. Secondly, academics, who have created the independent subject "Mixed Race Studies". Rooted in a variety of disciplines such as politics, sociology and history, "Mixed Race Studies" aims to explore and challenge public and academic understanding and highlight mixed race issues. Heading this field in the UK are academics such as Barbara Tizard, Anne Phoenix and Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe; however, research has been more extensively undertaken in the USA. (Part of my aim is to bring the study of literature, which at present does not feature highly within this innovative field, to the forefront). Finally, there are the contemporary British writers. Such writers may also have participated in academic work but through fiction they provide a unique perspective on this topic. This brings the paper to my area of research: literary representation.

The Literary Representation of Mixed Race

In many countries around the world there has been a tradition of mixed race characters in novels. A prime example of this is in the USA where the stereotype of the tragic mulatto/mulatta has made a frequent appearance in texts written by both black and white writers, and was particularly prominent in writing that promoted the abolition of slavery such as William Wells Brown's Clotel, published in 1853. In the UK however, literature featuring the mixed race protagonist as an essential element of the textual narrative appears to be a relatively new phenomenon, and therefore has not had as much critical attention[7].

Some texts, such as Zadie Smith's White Teeth, have acquired popular success, but many equally interesting novels have (like their subject matter) remained somewhat marginal, dwelling on the outskirts of the modern black literary canon. Such texts can be found in a broad range of styles and can represent different aspects or offer alternative positions on mixed race identity. Two examples of this are Brixton Rock and Trumpet.

Alex Wheatle's Brixton Rock is a novel which is set in Brixton, just prior to the riots of 1981 when the 'aroma of uprising and revolution [was] in the Brixton air' (180). Employing social realism to provide a sense of "authenticity" in his account of mixed race identity at this historically specific moment, Wheatle draws the reader into the text through his third person narrative which adopts the colloquial dialect of his main characters.

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[7] This is the assumption. However, I intend to explore the possibility of earlier mixed race characters in British Literature through my research.

Stuart Hall, in his influential essay "New ethnicities", writes that in this period blackness 'came to provide the organizing category of a new politics of resistance' (441), allowing ethnic minorities an umbrella term through which they could create a collective identity against white society. For the mixed race individual however, this both provided an opportunity for potential acceptance, but also brought greater conflict too due to their physical affiliation to whiteness. This, Wheatle represents in his novel through Brenton Brown who wishes to be 'fully black' (34), as although white society sees him as such, and treats him with prejudice and distain, for the "black community" it is his white 'features' that are clearly evident (34).

Along with the political, Wheatle also explores a more personal reason for Brenton's uneasy relationship with his mixedness which relates to his upbringing. Throughout the twentieth century, there was an 'overrepresentation of first and second generation [mixed race] children in care' (Ifekwunigwe Scattered Belongings 65). This was largely due to the fact that interracial relationships were deemed socially unacceptable and thus mixed race children frequently faced abandonment. In this way Brenton comes to serve not only as a representation of "black youth" in a particular era, but also as a channel through which Wheatle can convey the psychological implications of an identity that has led directly to parental rejection.

Although in Brixton Rock the reader observes the reunification of Brenton Brown and his biological family, thus learning how his past came to be his past, in Jackie Kay's novel Trumpet the main protagonist Colman has been adopted by Joss and Millie Moody without any knowledge of his previous life as William Dunsmore. In a way, this is a starting point for a very different type of novel to Brixton Rock.

Like the characters whose stories are revealed, the narrative of Trumpet is disjointed and fragmented. Here, mixed race becomes one of many expressions of how identity is multi-faceted and is used as a tool to express a post-modern vision. Without the set boundaries of race, characters are seemingly free to construct themselves and create their own histories as illustrated by Joss's conversation with Colman: 'He said you make up your own bloodline, Colman. Make it up and trace it back. Design your own family tree' (58).

Yet this liberation is virtually impossible to achieve due to the influence of a society which, through language, enforces rigid social categorization. Colman is constantly asked questions relating to his dual-heritage position as people attempt to fathom out where he is from: 'Hey are you from Hawaii? I dunno, I says' (58) and Joss (the trans-gender trumpet player) who spends his days concealing his true female form from the outside world can only ultimately be free from all constraints and barriers through his trumpet playing:

'So when he takes off he is the whole century galloping to its close. The wide moors. The big mouth. Scotland. Africa. Slavery. Freedom. He is a girl. A man. Everything, nothing.' (136).

Lady Moses: A Short Case Study

Unlike Brixton Rock and Trumpet, in Lady Moses Lucinda Roy's mixed race protagonist, Jacinta starts her life with a positive outlook on her mixed race identity, feeling that she is 'blessed with a fair-skinned mother and a dark-skinned father'(10). This view has been engendered in her through the supportive and loving relationship of her parents, and their cross-cultural lifestyle which sees the family sitting around listening to the BBC radio broadcast, and participating in traditional African story evenings when the house is filled with people from 'Nigeria and Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Congo' (12). Nonetheless, even though it can be said that Jacinta is a perceptive and confident child, in this protected environment she remains somewhat unassuming and innocent.

This environment is irreversibly altered however with the death of Jacinta's father, an event which acts as a tragic trigger, propelling Jacinta into self-doubt. This insecurity is instigated at an early stage in events when her father is in hospital- the symbolic location of division and loss in the text. While Jacinta waits for her mother she is insulted by a small boy who says that 'his ma wouldn't let him play with wogs' (20). This causes Jacinta some surprise, but she remains unperturbed, convincing herself that she is a 'genius and not a wog after all' (20). Yet later, when her mother in a stress induced state comments that the nurses were 'right not to let 'coloured' children into the wards if they didn't know how to behave' (22), Jacinta feels herself 'shrivel up inside' (122). That is the night that her father dies.

The loss of Simon Moses becomes a central turning point in the novel in which Jacinta experiences a fracturing from her previously formed self. As is the case with a number of texts that have mixed race primary characters, the father appears to act as a "cultural signifier" and his absence results in the disintegration of the protagonist's (and often her/his mother's) state. After Simon's departure from the narrative, Jacinta becomes entrapped in the racial discourse of society, coming to define herself in terms of "the Other". This is illustrated in her diary entry where she comments: 'I am a coloured girl living in a white country' (38).

The sudden self imposed segregation impacts on the relationship that she has with her mother, as although on occasion she does align herself to the white aspect of her identity: 'My mother was white, after all' (43), for much of the text she comes to detest whiteness, associating it with racism, and the loss of the father. As physically white, therefore, her mother does not escape association.

In addition, the response of society to the mother/daughter mixed relationship also proves harmful to Jacinta and her mother Louise; as Olumide writes, such reactions have 'the primary effect of questioning and reducing social legitimacy' (108). When in hospital Jacinta observes how the other mothers stare at her and

Louise: 'They expected my mother to look like me. But she was white, with a straight little nose and small lips with a lipstick smudge, and I was a coloured girl' (57).

Due to the disassociation from her mother, Jacinta looks for ways to find a niche by attempting to "darken" her identity. In this way the friendship with Alison Bean, the Jamaican girl with the 'darker-than-dark skin' and 'African hair' (88) becomes a useful alliance. Together in relative safety, they mock the white world and try to build some self esteem. It is not until much later in the text however, when Jacinta is an adult that the possibility of a more functional relationship with "whiteness" presents itself in the form of Emmanuel J Fox.

Manny, the charismatic American, arrives in the text when Jacinta has entered a period of stagnation. After completing her degree, Jacinta finds herself working in a bookshop with few future prospects for promotion or change. Attractive and intelligent, Manny lures her in with his sense of grandeur that emanates from his aristocratic sounding name and his flourished speech, and unlike other men who seem 'hemmed in by race' (165), Manny remains aloof from his white heritage, claiming an 'African spirit' (201). But, as one of Lucinda Roy's central themes in the novel is fiction verses reality, she is careful to make it clear to the reader that Jacinta is more in love with the concept of Manny and the possibility of freedom, rather than the actuality: 'I loved what he represented' (170).

This proves detrimental as far from being the 'key to the jail' (170), Manny is in fact the jailer. Soon Jacinta discovers that she is subjected to his turbulent behaviour and grows increasingly passive; her subservience emphasised symbolically through the loss of her physical body weight. After the gradual disintegration of the relationship Jacinta starts once more to look hopefully towards Africa- her father's homeland- as a site of a prosperous life for her and Lady, her young daughter: 'I could take my daughter back to where my father came from. We would be happy there, in his land, among his people' (253).

However, on arrival, Africa is a complex location. A place of extreme beauty and extreme pain, the continent holds nothing of the mundane life of Lavender Sweep with its wall paper that has absorbed Jacinta's past, and she feels as if she has 'come home' (266). Yet soon she finds that once again she is not fully accepted; most people misidentifying her as an American. Her "Africaness" is also challenged by the vivacious singer Esther, whom Jacinta describes as 'Africa distilled' (278). Against Esther, Jacinta feels like an inauthentic fake, and questions her blackness: 'I thought of a chess game - Esther Cole as the black queen, me as the white one. I couldn't be black because she was; I was metamorphosed into her opposite' (278). If, as Ifekwunigwe suggests, mixed race 'subjects can and do negotiate, challenge and subvert all of the subject positions - "One" (White), the "Other" (Black) or "Neither" (Scattered Belongings 21), with the constant raising of binary divisions as alluded to in the above image, it is evident that Jacinta struggles to find adequate space in the novel to do this.

Nonetheless, the confrontation with Esther raises Jacinta's awareness of the unbalanced relationship between Africa and the 'West', demonstrating how even in a post-colonial society the colonial lifestyle and the mentality live on. At first, Jacinta believes that her 'willingness to accept the land and the people on their own terms' (268) is sufficient, and feels that she has adapted well to her new environment. However, she soon comes to realise that her behaviour is more like that of a white coloniser, living high up on a hill station to 'get away from the blackness of the city' (287). This discovery makes the quest to find her 'father's country' (267) more urgent and so her encounter with John, who helps her to locate her father's 'signature upon the land' (158), comes to hold great significance.

When Jacinta first meets John she is automatically warmed by his reaction to her and Lady. On introducing herself she says 'I am African. My father came from here' (331) and John responds by saying 'welcome home' (331). With John, acceptance is readily given and simply applied as he jokes that Lady must be an African since she enjoys cassava leaf soup: 'John said she was a real African if she liked cassava leaf. That was the main test of heritage, he claimed. And she had passed' (331).

Jacinta's attraction to John is quite problematic however, as primarily it is steeped in predetermined gendered notions, illustrated when she ponders on 'the depth of the dark in his skin' (334) and questions his possible promiscuity.[8] However, much of the relationship that ensues relates to her desire to get closer to Africa and her lost father. Whereas Manny in the text has become increasingly associated with patriarchy, the colonial order and the whiteness of her mother: 'they looked like mother and son' (171), John is the missing link, whose patient and enduring concern draws her nearer to Simon Moses: 'I feel him when I'm with you' (372). John is also the one to lead Jacinta to her father's 'place of birth' (341) where she is able to finally re-assemble a positive outlook on her identity, and to bring her own narrative, and that of her family's full circle through the meeting of those who once knew her father, and the retelling of stories: 'the circle had come home. It would never be broken again' (373).

It is somewhat debateable as to whether Jacinta finds an ample equilibrium between her black and white self in the novel as by the end of her story, although she has made peace with her mother, Jacinta's "whiteness" seems to be acknowledged but not particularly embraced. As a self defined 'woman of color' (5) Jacinta in effect 'creates a home in one '"camp"' (Root xxii) (in this case the black one) and chooses over all three locations in the text (UK, USA and Africa) to settle in the USA where she believes the African Americans have been able to take the 'land as their own' (216), unlike the black British who she feels are 'always aliens' (216).

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[8] The presence of John also creates additional issues regarding the seemingly uneven distribution of   positive and negative attributes among black and white characters in the text. This is an aspect that I will need to explore further when undertaking more extended analysis of the novel in my research.

Lady Moses is an interesting and creative novel which attempts to challenge notions of culture, race and the essentialized self, whilst simultaneously investigating the way in which geographical movement and personal experience affect mixed race identity. Although at times the narrative may slip into unconscious perpetuation of previously conceived racial attitudes concerning both "blackness" and "whiteness", and some generalisation over what constitutes Africa and African identity, it does have some beautifully written passages, and ultimately illustrates how the mixed race identity is never simply about the 'bringing together of opposites' (300) but so much more.

Conclusion

Exploration into the mixed race protagonist in contemporary British literature is growing. Thought provokingly, authors such as Jackie Kay and Charlotte Williams are exploring Scottish and Welsh identity alongside mixed race identity adding another dimension for discussion, but on the whole (though not exclusively) such literature tends to explore English/African or English/Caribbean identity, with central protagonists having one black and one white parent. (Hanif Kureshi's The Buddha of Suburbia may be viewed as an example of the exception). Nonetheless, there is a pressing need for further development and articulation of identities that do not contain a white element as well as those that do. For example, I have not yet discovered writing about people who are African/Indian and born in the UK.

However, such literature for the first time explores the mixed family unit, identifies an array of gender issues relating to a variation in experience between mixed race men and women, and perhaps most importantly, presents a number of positive aspects of the mixed race identity (particularly in the case of literature written for children such as Hero by Catherine R. Johnson or Kay's Strawgirl) which counteract previous negative representations and aim to deconstruct stereotypes that remain present in Britain today.

The 'mixed race condition' (2), as Jill Olumide terms it, is highly complex. Immediately raising a multitude of questions, it challenges how we as a society define ourselves, from a national level, right down to our own personal identification. Disputed and contested for centuries over a number of different subject areas, the mixed race individual has been objectified, theorised and stereotyped. But through Mixed Race Studies, through the work of enthusiastic supporters of diversity, and through the fiction of contemporary British writers, the mixed race position has been redefined, demonstrating how the view from the fence has the potential to be both fascinating, and enlightening.

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Beneath the Branches of the Baobab: An interdisciplinary study of how research into traditional African orature assists in the postcolonial translation of Senegalese writer, Mame Seck Mbacké's works.

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Redressing the Balance

According to tradition, the griots or griotes, transmitters of African orature,[1] are often buried within the huge, hollow trunk of the great Baobab tree of Senegal, and with them aspects of the history of a culture and of a people are frequently put to rest. However, whilst much effort has gone into preserving male orature and studying its form and, for this purpose, its effects on postcolonial literature, very little has been done to investigate the influence of women's storytelling in Africa, above all in the Francophone world. Further, just as the traditional oral poetry of women has been marginalised, so too have more modern postcolonial texts. The main aim of this paper is therefore to do a unique study of these two genres – orature and Francophone literature – with the intention of outlining any resulting implications for translation. This will be achieved by means of a case study focusing on a text by Senegalese writer, Mame Seck Mbacké.

Mame Seck Mbacké and other contemporary female Francophone African writers are rarely the focus of studies of this kind, and that is why my secondary aim is to form part of the small but growing body of critical works on the subject of Francophone African women. Ada Adeghe remarked on the lack of attention that African women have faced up until now, saying that "such indifference to their writings, they find, extremely demoralising…This neglect is evident in the oral genres as well. Yet women have traditionally displayed considerable talent in this field" (123). A study such as this one is therefore of utmost importance when it comes to raising the profile of the genre and the women writers and works which form part of such a fascinating corpus. Adeghe added that "to register socially and acquire value and meaning writers have to be discussed and this involves publishers, critics – activities and institutions beyond the individual writers" (123). Francophone African women have until now been seriously under-represented within the world of literary criticism and under-representation can mean misrepresentation. Whilst this paper will make a small step towards redressing the balance, it will also form part of a much wider study into the translation of works by Francophone African women writers, which I am undertaking as part of my PhD thesis.

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[1] The Oxford English Dictionary first recognised the term "orature" in 1976 ("orature"), when Jerry Ward used the word in the *Journal of Black Studies* to describe a creative medium of communication in which "speech not writing" is employed (201). More recently the term was used by Osa Osayimwense in the spring 2001 edition of *Research in African Literatures* (168).

According to Ihechukwu Madubuike, "a woman's education prepares her for life in the home, a man's education prepares him for leadership in the outside community" (68), and whilst French is widely spoken outside the home, in the Senegalese capital of Dakar less than one percent of households speak French at home with their children (Wioland 607). Furthermore, women appear to be very close to their traditional way of life, often using orature to communicate their feelings. In traditional societies it accompanies most of their daily tasks, whether pounding grain, fetching water, feeding a baby or relating bed time tales to their children (Sidikou 82). Whilst men have in the past benefited from more education and freedom, Aissata Sidikou claims that under the constraints of a patriarchal or colonial society, women have found oral literature both oppressive in its representation of daily toil, but also liberating as an outlet for expression:

> West African women rely on their verbal art and rituals because these events provide a site for presenting the daily internal struggles aimed at subverting the authority that oppresses them as girls, sisters, wives, and mothers, and mothers-in-law (171)

This concept of "subverting authority" is also present in the use of postcolonial literature by African women. The constraints imposed on the French language by the Académie Française can be very restrictive, and the lack of attention to the genre is very disheartening, but Francophone African women writers are liberated by their use of a language which can reach a wider audience, also stamping their mark through manipulation of form and sound to make texts more 'African'. Bring all these facts together, and they indicate that women generally are more actively involved with both their native language and oral traditions.

This provides further grounds for studying orature with the aim of assessing the degree of impact on women's Francophone works. Moreover, Judith Campbell stated that "translators of poetry have traditionally tended to take far greater liberties with a poetic text than with other types of texts" (151). I intend to show that whilst poetic translators of literature may manipulate texts more than translators of other genres, by studying orature, a high level of accuracy can be achieved. I say accuracy, not meaning scientific and precise as Susan Bassnett described the seventeenth-century attitude towards translation (*Comparative* 149), but rather 'thorough, considered and truthful to all aspects of the text'.

An Interdisciplinary Approach

The interdisciplinary nature of my research means I can draw upon a wide range of theory and experience in the fields of cultural transfer, social anthropology and postcolonialism, for example, in order to provide good quality translations. By quality, I recall Paul Selver, who said that the quality of a poetical translation will be judged on the extent to which it reproduces content, rhythmic structure and verbal effects (21). More recently, James Holmes stated that, apart from those rare translations that break rules and norms to become primary texts in a

polysystem,[2] most translations which are accepted by the target text culture "conform to the receiving polysystem's notions of what literary texts, or at least translations, should be like..." (108-109). He then lists those conforming features, including form, style, concepts and themes. In other words, a poem will be judged according to whether it is perceived to be a good poem in English, adding a further layer of difficulty to the translation process. This approach will enable me to offer insightful guidelines to others considering the translation of Francophone African women's literature.

However, before I can progress the study, I need to define the term orature. Orature has many different names, such as oral poetry, folklore, oral literature and oral tradition. I have chosen to call it orature because it does not assume a particular type of Western genre, such as poetry or prose. It is a native African art form where men and women sing, chant or perform works, often memorised and passed down from one generation to the next. Orature is highly embedded in African culture, but it is also evolving and moving beyond tradition, as stated by Jack Mapanje:

> ...far from dying under the impact of western ways, oral literature remains a vigorous art, rooted in rural communities but flourishing too in the towns. It is adapting to modern circumstances just as it adapted to and reflected change in the past (1)

Mame Seck Mbacké has been chosen for this study because, to me, she represents this change. Her work provides a perfect example of the interface between tradition and modernity, between the written and the oral. Born in Senegal, she speaks and writes in both French and the native African language of Wolof, and has lived and worked in both France and Senegal. Moreover, according to the poet and anthologist, Hamidou Dia, her Francophone works are heavily influenced by traditional initiation rites and her animist roots (445). Mame Seck Mbacké acts as a mediator, just like the translator who works between two worlds and who has to find a balance between source and target text:

> In being a mediator the translator is not alone, in fact the very first acts of mediation start from the post-colonial writer himself/herself, as he/she is importing his/her own culture to the domination world (Hadj-Moussa 145)

The fundamental difference is that the translator needs to understand the numerous dimensions of a source text to be able to choose which aspects she will

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[2] Established by Itamar Even-Zohar, polysystems theory outlines the function and development of literary systems and the position of translated literature within them (199).

portray in the target language, whereas the source text author only needs to think of herself.

Translating Hybridity

In order to demonstrate how an interdisciplinary study that takes into account research into African women's orature can assist in the analysis of texts for translation, I have taken an extract from Mbacké's poem Lel, which I believe offers many different examples of how tradition blends with modernity to form a new style of writing in postcolonial texts:

LEL

Ecoute les lourds sanglots du Tam-tam

Dioung.-Dioung...

Ecoute-Ecoute Un circoncis est mort !

Dioung !

Les fusils de traite se sont tus

La chèvre aux deux têtes Dont une seule visible

aux humains La chèvre aux quatre yeux Dont

deux visible aux humains La chèvre aux huit

pattes Dont quatre visible aux humains Et qui

plane Quand la terre accouche de ses nains La

chèvre aux deux nez A saccagé une âme à

l'épreuve Dans le Bois sacré

It is a hybrid text, mostly written in the language of the colonisers, about African culture and incorporating strong influences of oral tradition. In his recent book on *The Francophone African Text*, Kwaku Gyasi asks:

...in the domain of literary creation, is a foreign language capable
of translating in an entirely satisfactory manner an imagination
that has its roots in an alien culture? (3)

At this point it is necessary to establish the purpose of the translator – the Skopos, as defined by Hans J Vermeer (227) and Christiane Nord (27), among others. For example, is the translator's intention to foreignise the text by staying

more closely to the source language, phrasing and form, producing a text that may appear out of place alongside most other English language texts, or is the translator's aim to domesticate the translation by adapting it to the target language and style, and therefore creating a text that is often more appealing to the target language reader? If either of these strategies is selected, to what to degree is it employed? Gyasi's point about a "satisfactory translation" is purely based upon the assumption that a translator will attempt to retain as many features of the Source Text in translation. I believe this is possible if a translator is willing to commit to researching both the native language and culture, including orature. This will form the basis of my translation decisions for the rest of this paper.

According to Ronald Rassner, "The analysis of oral narrative begins with the rhythm of the narrative" (234). We can add rhythm to the poem by performing it, as is the tradition with native African works. If the poem is read out loud, the second half of the text has quite an obvious rhythm; the length of the lines and number of syllables allow the poem to move at a regular pace, and each line flows into the next because the text is written in a way that stops the reader from pausing between phrases. The first half is much more disjointed, with large gaps on the page between words and phrases. I believe that when performed, this section of the poem demonstrates "sprung rhythm," a term used by Femi Oyebode to acknowledge that:

> ...pauses properly timed are part of the construction meter.
> Regular meter has a monotonic quality to the African ear; there is
> a felt need to alter the rhythm both within lines and between lines
> probably because the African ear demands rhythmic complexity
> (93)

This type of analysis is essential, as it can directly affect translation. Whilst we can only judge these pauses according to our own interpretations and not exactly as the source text author may have intended them, the idea of individual interpretation is reminiscent of orature. Oral tradition is passed on from one generation to the next via word of mouth, and it is accepted that in time elements may change and individual performances will differ according to the character who is relating the tale. We must therefore accept that each translator will also vary and interpret the pauses slightly differently. I believe Mbacké has tried to recreate on the page, the pauses that would naturally occur had this been orature. Nevertheless, this is only possible to a degree. According to Femi Oyebode, the eye cannot register certain elements such as the variation in vowel length or tempo, and on the page we cannot see facial and hand gestures that would be observable in an oral performance (93). These would only be replicable if the writer were willing to significantly distort the standard language of the text or turn it into a dramatic text with stage directions. However we interpret these pauses within Mbacké's works, the fact remains that it is important that they are preserved if the translator wishes to keep all possible interpretations open to the target reader.

Mapanje states that "it is the curse of oral literature that translators cannot resist the urge to tidy up the text!" (6), often altering form, so it appears something like this

LEL

Ecoute les lourds sanglots du Tam-tam

Dioung.-Dioung...

Ecoute-Ecoute Un circoncis est mort !

Dioung !

Les fusils de traite se sont tus

La chèvre aux deux têtes

Dont une seule visible aux humains

La chèvre aux quatre yeux

Dont deux visible aux humains

La chèvre aux huit pattes

Dont quatre visible aux humains

Et qui plane

Quand la terre accouche de ses nains

La chèvre aux deux nez

A saccagé une âme à l'épreuve

Dans   le   Bois   sacré

It now has a more Western form, but has lost its original rhythm – an integral part of the text. These days, not all texts written in Africa are written to be performed. It is the role, therefore, of the translator, to judge the degree to which the text has been written with a performance element in mind, making a decision on the importance of form. I have decided to keep the form of the original text in translation, and this in turn affects my choice of words and line length to maintain rhythm**:**

LEL

Listen to the intense sobs of the Tom-tom

Boom-Boom...

Listen-up, listen-up A circumcised boy is dead!

Boom!

The trade guns have died down

The goat with two heads Just one visible to

humans The goat with four eyes Just two

visible to humans   The goat with eight legs Just

four visible to humans   And it hovers   When the

earth gives birth to its runts   The goat with two

snouts   Has destroyed a soul on trial   In the

Sacred Wood

Moreover, when a strong element of orature is detected in a poem, repeated phrases can often be a key feature of the source text under consideration. Use of repetition varies greatly amongst writers and from culture to culture, and translators may be tempted to amend repeated lines to give texts more variation. However, what may appear to be the dull repetition of lines such as "Just one visible to humans," "Just two visible to humans" etc, is not dull to the ear in performance, and besides it is not up to the translator to impose Western values or judgments upon the text. Kwame Anthony Appiah stresses this in his paper entitled "Thick Translation," which looks at the complexity of translating native African texts. He emphasises the need to challenge Western assumptions of cultural superiority and instead acquire "a thick and situated" understanding of oral literature in order to access the truth inside the material being translated (400). Whilst Appiah is discussing the translation of native African texts, I have already established that postcolonial texts often contain many of the same features as traditional orature and therefore the translator of Mbacké's works may wish to cast aside any preconceived ideas and biased opinions based upon Western ideals.

Rhyme is also a crucial ingredient. Robert Bly stated that he believes in working as much as possible with internal rhymes, whilst not insisting on reproducing end-rhymes (44). I disagree with his obvious imbalance between the importance of formal elements of the Source Text, and think that the same attention should be

given to both - one cannot insist on the attention to detail including sound and tone within the sentence, only to disregard it at the end. Further, when the text does not take a Western form, where are the internal rhymes and where are the end rhymes? I am not saying that rhymes are always possible, but we should not be defeatist. For the purpose of this translation, I considered the need to find a suitable substitute rhyme for "nez, saccagé and sacré." Although they are 'eye rhymes' and not exact auditory rhymes, I find that the words "destroyed, Sacred and Wood" perform this function well, because the endings of the words provide a consistency in sound, allowing the lines of the target text to flow as well as those of the source text.

In a paper written on Algerian postcolonial writing, Leila-Hanane Hadj-Moussa claimed that "translating a postcolonial writing is a double procedure where the translator has to make of his task more than a translation process; it has to be a pedagogic dimension where he/she transmits the author's message in a faithful way, despite the aesthetic and lexical obstacles" (148). Whilst the word 'faithful' is a constant source of debate, which we don't time have time for here, the idea of going beyond the ordinary translation process, opening the mind of the reader to something new, whilst attempting to convey what is perceived to be the author's wishes is a valuable translation strategy, which defines what I am trying to do here.

One example of this strategy is to look more closely at how language is applied. When translating a text highly influenced by orature, one needs to be aware of the difference between the use of oral and written language. Jack Goody states that "writing encourages elaboration" (Goody 285). The temptation may be to poeticise in translation by substituting 'accoucher' with, for example, 'bring forth,' or 'Dont une seule visible aux humains' with 'one of which is visible to humans.' Clearly here, in English we are moving the register up a level, which is unnecessary if we want to retain the oral form in the English language.

And language is the key to studying postcolonial women's literature. The native African language of Wolof plays a large role in the works of Mame Seck Mbacké, the title of this text, Lel, meaning "circumcision" in Wolof. I have not translated this, for if we continue the strategy of foreignisation, it should be as foreign to an English reader as it is to French one. Furthermore, it is necessary for the translator to make every effort towards understanding how native languages may impact more subtly upon postcolonial texts. In her study on the politics of translation, Gayatri Spivak comments that in order to fully understand the culture of a woman whose works you are translating, it is essential to learn her mother tongue (474). I have begun to study the language of Wolof, and the results are definitely worthy of consideration when translating postcolonial texts.

It is clear that Wolof has a very strong and intense sound, and this influenced my translation in places. For example, I decided to continue the phrase "Just two visible to humans" instead of "two can be seen by humans," which sounds much weaker. If I combine my knowledge of the sound of Wolof with that of orature, I

can take my understanding of the poem to another level. Mapanje talks of women's oral tradition in which words fit the the rhythm of pounding grain. "Without that regular thud-thud-thud of pestle on mortar the songs lose the very basis of their form," he says (Mapanje 4). This idea of words fitting the rhythm of a real act is evident in the line "Les fusils de traite se sont tus," where the short single-syllable words mimic the abrupt sound of guns spitting out bullets. I therefore chose the words "The trade guns have died down" in the English translation, because they also mimic this sound.

Finally, to translate the poem properly, the meaning has to be clear, and researching the possible background to the poem within the field of orature, helps the translator make crucial decisions. The text by Mbacké is clearly about a negative experience during initiation with the references to circumcision, the goat (often sacrificed at initiations), and the Sacred Wood, where boys would gather with spiritual leaders during the initiation process ("bukut"). Ruth Finnegan claimed that "praise poetry often plays an essential part in rites of passage" (121). Mbacké's text may not take the exact form of a praise poem, but it does feature aspects of this genre; the call for individuals to listen as the drums begin, before launching into a rhythmic performance, reminding translators who research orature of the griot who arrives in the village with an important story to tell. For this reason, I chose to translate "Ecoute," the second time it is used, as "listen-up" rather than just "listen." It is much more a call for attention.

In an article entitled *Telling Tales,* Susan Bassnett talked of bringing the work of a writer to a new reading public, and trying to "ensure that the pleasure of reading is reproduced in the second language" (114). I believe that much of the pleasure gained from orature and postcolonial writings influenced by it can be lost in the Target Text if the translator does not fully research traditional African works. I have demonstrated already how orature can impact upon translation, but what happens if we do not take orature, the native language and tradition into consideration? I believe that the end result would produce a poem that appears something like this:

CIRCUMCISION

Listen to the intense sobs of the Tom-tom

Boom, boom!

Listen, listen

A circumcised boy is dead

Boom!

> The trade rifles have subsided
>
> The goat with two heads
>
> Only one of which is visible to humans
>
> The goat with four eyes
>
> Two can be seen by humans
>
> The goat with eight legs
>
> Four of them are visible to humans
>
> And it glides
>
> When the earth brings forth its dwarves
>
> The goat with two noses
>
> Has destroyed a tested soul
>
> In the Sacred Forest

Whilst neither version is strictly incorrect, and I have deliberately created this poem for the purpose of my argument, I think you will agree that some of the decisions made in the second version could easily be made by a translator not considering the full cultural background of the source text author, and that Gyasi's idea of a "satisfactory translation" is only achieved in my original translation.

Secrets and Traditions

So, in conclusion, the study of orature can be an incredibly useful aid in making translation decisions, increasing the awareness of elements that may not have the same value in a Western text, for example, hidden rhythm or the mimicked sound of the native language. The interdisciplinary methodology has succeeded in providing a unique study into translating Francophone African women's work by drawing upon issues of cultural transfer, anthropology, linguistics, translation studies and postcolonial research. Just as the postcolonial writer and the translator mediate between two or more cultures, the translator of Francophone African poetry must mediate between disciplines in order to establish the most effective methodology for translation:

> ...whatever theory it is we apply in analyses is one which must itself foreground new *processes* and *procedures* of investigation located at the meeting place of different disciplines...to help us grapple with the full complexity of both orality and of literature" (Quayson 115)

I believe that in using an interdisciplinary methodology for translating Mame Seck Mbacké's poem, I have been able to outline a preliminary stage by stage process for translating postcolonial women's texts of this nature.

Quality and accuracy have also been achieved against the objectives defined by Paul Selver and myself. The poem may have been manipulated more than a standard literary text, sometimes compromising on literal meaning as we understand it in the West, in order to convey elements of performance. However, performance is an intrinsic part of the meaning in traditional African orature, so it should be given equal consideration in translation. I do not believe that it is a matter of taking "far greater liberties" as Judith Campbell commented (151). It is not a liberty, but an essential strategy in translating this literary genre.

My secondary aim was to raise the profile of the genre of Francophone African women's poetry by contributing to the body of critical works on their literature, and I have certainly done so. Now, I am in the process of building upon my initial research by analysing further women's texts from Senegal and delving deeper into the African women's world of orature. This can only be done by travelling to Senegal. For decades, ethnographers have been trying to analyse the cultures of others, but to what extent do translators do this when it comes to postcolonial texts? Do we stop short of throwing ourselves into the culture of the 'other' purely by reading books and theory, and not truly immersing ourselves in the target culture?

In a recent talk at Warwick University, Nigerian writer, Wole Soyinka spoke about the translation of one of his plays written in English. Despite the fact that many critics stated that Soyinka's works are hard to translate into a native African language, Soyinka's translator said it was easy to translate into Yoruba for it had been written in Yoruba in the first place. The translator needs to be able to see this. So, only by immersing oneself in the native language and culture, including orature can a translator ever truly see all the secrets and traditions hidden within a postcolonial text, just like those secrets and traditions buried beneath the Branches of the Baobab.

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Translation Studies and Children's Literature

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Introduction

There is an international literary dimension to the study of both translation and children's literature. Accordingly, the meeting between the two fields has resulted in a fruitful exploration of their interface raising interest in children's literature in translation. Nevertheless, seminal works devoted to this topic (Even-Zohar, Shavit, Oittinen, Puurtinen) seem to struggle to enter established discourse on children's literature and remain circumscribed within the sphere of translation studies. The relationship of strong dependence between children's literature and other areas, such as educational sciences, sociology, child psychology, etc., may account for the reason why new contributions meet difficulties in permeating the field. Most researchers into children's books come from those domains and they apply to their study criteria and evaluative methods specific to their own disciplines.

These particular circumstances make urgent the plea for an interdisciplinary-based rethink of the field. Systematic studies on translated children's literature conducted within national contexts may represent one of the possible ways to fill the gap between diverse approaches and represent the missing link between a scholarship mainly interested in the super-national features of children's books and another exclusively concerned with developing a specific national perspective.

This paper attempts to give a hint of the richness of suggestions that the aforementioned viewpoint may produce. In the first part, the focus on the differences between children's literature and adult literature as subjects of research will highlight some of the ways in which the study of the former has been conducted until now. In the second part, the history of Italian children's literature, from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present, will serve as a background to show how the analysis of the interface between original and translated (mostly English in this case) children's literature might enable us to rethink significant aspects from a comparative perspective. As examples, a book, a historical event, an author or a tendency will support the idea that the construction and development of original children's literature cannot be approached without considering the impact of translations.

Translation Studies and Children's Literature

Although "internationalism" (Tabbert 303) is thought to represent an intrinsic feature of children's literature, ". . . comparative literature largely ignores children's books, and children's literary studies too seldom work with comparative methods" (O'Sullivan 1). Emer O' Sullivan calls for the use of a specific comparative procedure built on the characteristics that differentiate children's books from adults' (2). As Peter Hunt points out "Children's literature is defined by its audience in a way that other literatures tend not to be. . . ." (8), and this accounts for the fact that one of the main differences between children's and adults' literature lies in the role played by the reader. Furthermore, if the readership heavily conditions the production and reception of this body of literature, the world surrounding it seems to be even more influential. Jack Zipes looks into the way in which US books for children are produced and distributed, by whom and, above all, under which constraints and he refers to what turns around them as "the institution of children's literature" (37). O'Sullivan paints an overall picture of this:

> The definition of children's literature - she claims - is not determined on the level of the text itself . . . but on the level of the actions and actors involved: texts are identified by various social authorities as suitable for children and young people. These include educational institutions both ecclesiastical and secular, figures active in the literary market (publishers, distributors, etc.) and those who produce the books (editors, authors, etc.). Adults, therefore, assign texts to children and, in the process, transmit dominant morals, values and ideals. (13-14)

The great complexity of the issue, therefore, makes it clear that research on children's literature can not be conducted following a predetermined path. For example, the fact that some children's books easily transcend linguistic boundaries is not due to their assumed high grade of transferability and adaptability from one culture into another, comes from a different attitude to translation. Zohar Shavit suggests that the translation policy adopted in children's literature is a symptom of the inferior account in which books for children are held in a literary system (112). The fact that often cultural elements are removed in translations and abridgements strengthens the idea that books for children, instead of being regarded as culturally representative, like books for adults, are only treated as products (equally to toys) created for people (children), who are not supposed to deal fully with foreign referents.

One of the most paradoxical characteristics of the current status of children's literature in translation emerges here. Translations are meant to accompany children to new places, imaginary or not, to enrich their knowledge with new information (Klingberg 14) and to increase their "degree of internationalism". However, if these advantages are not available to them through translation, which

other criteria are meant to be satisfied by the act of reading a children's book? And, does the role of children's literature need to be redefined as different from that played by the rest of literature? What is certain is that the lack of specific methodological tools to evaluate texts for children, or, from another perspective, the lack of proper recognition accorded to them, influences the way of translating them and researching this subject.

The cultural turn in Translation Studies, rethinking the relationship between comparative literature and translation studies (Bassnett), has also affected research into the translation of children's literature. Among different theoretical frameworks polysystem theory has provided useful instruments (i.e. the concept of norms) to look into the reception of both original and translated children's literature in the target literary system and its influence on a wider socio-cultural context.

In "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literature Polysystem", Itamar Even-Zohar traces out some patterns of behaviour that he considers to be commonly followed by translated literature within different specific polysystems. In claiming that translations form a system in themselves, he tries to identify the position (central vs peripheral) occupied by them within the target polysystem, the way in which they interact with elements belonging to other co-systems and factors responsible for changes in position (46).

Even-Zohar's general model has been applied to children's literature by Zohar Shavit, who shows how strongly the position of the system of children's literature in the literary polysystem determines the behaviour of translated books for children. Focusing on texts that, firstly created for adults, have been re-addressed to children and texts that appeal to adults and children at the same time, she discusses translational norms to unveil constraints imposed on them when entering the system (112).

Any comprehensive study of children's literature has to consider the interfaces with other fields taking into account specific historical and cultural coordinates. Therefore, the notion of translational norms developed by Toury has been extremely useful in its ability to recognise interactions between different systems. As Tiina Puurtinen highlights, "The advantage of the Tourian approach is that it provides a framework for the study of literary translations in their immediate environment. A translation of a children's book, for instance, generally has to operate in the target system like an original" (57).

An answer to the need to establish precise criteria to study children's literature was given in the 1970s by scholars of English who ". . . noted a lack of literary scholarship in the field of children's literature . . . . In the end, they formed a professional organization dedicated to research and scholarship of children literature" (May 24). The creation of the Children's Literature Association has prompted the publication of outstanding works from critically challenging and often controversial angles. This approach has also developed "the idea of manipulation"

involved in the market of children's literature. For example, in the paper "Why Children's Literature does not Exist", quoted above, Zipes argues that children's literature does not exist because it does not really belong to children; the use of the genitive is illusory. He goes further claiming that:

> Thus the concept of a children's literature is also imaginary, referring to what specific groups composed largely of adults construct as they referential system. Within that system children [...] do not particularly want to possess what we adults, especially those of us who specialize in children's literature, mean when we use the term *children's literature*, which, if anything, is used to distinguished or cast distinction on adults who take privileged positions in determining the value of a literature for young readers. (40)

The relationship between children and adults is also a central issue in Jaqueline Rose's reflection on children's literature. In <u>The Case of Peter Pan. Or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction</u>, she suggests that:

> Children's fiction is impossible, not in the sense that it cannot be written (that would be nonsense), but in that it hangs on an impossibility, one which it rarely ventures to speak. This is the impossible relation between adult and child [...] There is, in one sense, no body of literature which rests so openly on an acknowledge difference, a rupture almost, between writer and addressee. Children's fiction sets up the child as an outsider to its own process, and then aims, unashamedly, to take the child *in*. (1-2)

The fact that most of these critical approaches are centred on British and North American children's literature, accounts for the central position occupied by that literature in the literary polysystem. The situation visibly changes when national children's literature suffers from a low status and is in a peripheral position. In the Italian case, for example, where children's books are relegated to the periphery of the literary system, criticism and research still heavily relies on education.

The Italian case

A gradual change in the notion of childhood begun in Western Europe in the seventeenth century, accelerated by the process of industrialization and by the emergence of bourgeois class in the eighteenth century, led to childhood being seen as separated from adulthood, and children finally started to be perceived as having different needs to adults (Ariès, Shavit). This new cultural understanding aroused curiosity and interest in children affecting the way they were brought up and educated, and, one consequence led to children's literature entering the educational apparatus as a didactic vehicle.

Two well-known Italian children's books of the second half of the nineteenth century, Cuore and Le avventure di Pinocchio, illustrate the role that children's literature played at that time as a mirror where contrasting forces operating in the Italian socio-cultural system were reflected. The unification of Italy in 1870 and the resulting urgency of reaching political, administrative and especially social cohesion , involved contrastive forces (the Church, democrats, liberals and socialists) in a struggle to impose their own respective interests. Bourgeois families were identified as the nucleus of the emerging modern society and their offspring were recognised as the means through which they could be politically influenced and indoctrinated (Borghi 8-17). As a result, education was used as an instrument for political propaganda, and children's literature became one of the favourite vehicles for ideological and moral education.

Edmondo De Amicis's Cuore (1886) is the account of an academic year at a primary school in Turin from the point of view of a boy. According to socialist ideals, the schoolroom is here depicted as a microcosm where children learn to live within an egalitarian society and where, along with teachers and parents, they become active participants of social renewal (Cambi). Only three years before the publication of Cuore, Le avventure di Pinocchio (1883) had been launched. Carlo Collodi subverts the predominant social and literary norms of the time sweetening any didactic intent with a strong entertaining ingredient. Moreover, as a precursor of modern pedagogy, the Tuscan writer includes the child into the educational process; Pinocchio makes mistakes in order not to repeat them. Both Cuore and Pinocchio have been translated all over the world, but while the former received international recognition entering the canon of many communist countries mainly as a medium for specific political ideas, the latter became known for its original and entertaining qualities.

Meanwhile, in the rest of Europe there seemed to be uniformity of intent in importing children's books. Both works already recognised as classics for adults (Stevenson, Swift, Dickens) and works regarded as suitable for children for their didactic and moralizing aims were frequently translated. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a slight change occurred, and the tendency to write and publish books that would have met the approval of educators and parents started coexisting with a conscious attempt to free them from these constraints.

A look at children's magazines and women as writers and translators as two vehicles for importing foreign literature seems to exemplify the essential role played by translation in Italy at the time. Magazines and journals for children developed the entertaining potential of children's literature and often proved courageous in advancing their progressive policy. For example, Il Giornale dei Bambini, the first Italian children's magazine, came out in 1881 and published Le avventure di Pinocchio when Collodi's work was not even regarded as suitable for a schoolbook. Il Giornalino della Domenica (1906-1927) benefited from the influence of foreign models through many translations, and Il Corriere dei Piccoli (1908-1995) was innovative in being the first comic-strip journal edited in Italy.

Through it, many American comic-strip characters became known to the Italian audience giving a boost to the original production of the genre (Boero).

At that point, translation represented a means of importing new literary models and ideas without overtly threatening predominant norms, but yet sowing the seeds of change. Despite their major contribution, women's involvement in translating children's literature has always been read as symptom of the peripheral condition suffered by both children's literature and translation. However, their strong presence in the educational system between the two centuries made them become the main protagonists of writing and publishing children's literature. Since, as writers, they were asked to conform to the dominant educational and social ideology of the time, for many of them translation functioned as a means through which they could import new ideas and publish what they liked. Camilla Del Soldato (1862-1940), for example, who as an original writer wrote many didactic books addressed to girls, in 1908 translated Lear's Nonsense for an Italian adaptation of the The Children's Encyclopaedia by Arthur Mee. Moreover, during the first decades of the twentieth century, women started to gain more freedom and weight not only as writers and translators, but also as promoters of educational initiatives (Bernardini Napoletano). Maria Pezzè Pascolato (1869-1933) created the first Italian youth library in 1925 following the American library model (Scotto Di Luzio 123-7) and she was also well known as a translator.

Only a few years later, during Fascism, this healthy injection of foreign material gradually slowed down, and throughout the second decade of the dictatorship censure of imported literature was rigidly enforced. Attention on children became obsessive in fostering them as future soldiers, obedient to the regime. The idea underlying the building of the perfect 'Italiano' was that children, free from any previous political conditioning, would be more ideologically pliable than adults (Guerrini e Pluviano 121). As a result, original and imported children's literature was not only kept under strict control, but was often rewritten to meet fascist expectations, support propaganda and banish any possible negative influence. The list of the most harmful authors compiled by fascist authorities included not only writers such as Lewis Carroll, Louisa May Alcott, Pamela Travers, but also American comic strips and Walt Disney's cartoons, all rejected as coming from enemy states.

After the Second World War, both external and internal factors positively affected Italian children's literature. Firstly, the recognition of children's literature studies at an international level with the creation of the Jugendbibliotek (Munich, 1949), the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY, Zurich 1953) and the Fiera Internazionale del Libro per l'Infanzia e la Gioventù (Bologna 1964), favoured a desire of renewal, led to a considerable increase in the import of translations. Secondly, in the 1960s, a perceptible change in the socio-cultural notion and image of the child occurred, inevitably influencing the development of future children's literature.

Gianni Rodari (1920-1980), educator and writer for children, whose works, translated into many languages, gained an international reputation (Andersen prize in 1970), looked at children from an innovative perspective introducing a new way of talking to and approaching them. According to his thinking, children play an essential and active role not only within the family, but also in the wider socio-cultural system (Giancane 115-16). The educative intent is still present in his works, but there is no room for authoritarian tone: adults and children are on the same level (Cambi 137). Rodari's ideas radically transformed Italian children's literature and paved the way for other Italian writers and for the permeation of foreign authors whose way of telling stories has differed from the traditional Italian norm.

From the second half of the 1980s up to the present many factors have encouraged innovation in Italian children's literature. In particular, the emergence of new themes introduced by writers such as Bianca Pitzorno and Roberto Piumini, the attention paid by publishing houses to foreign trends, and the increasing number of periodical magazines (Andersen. Il mondo dell'infanzia, Li.B.e.R.) devoted to international children's literature, have enormously contributed to refreshing and strengthening literature for children in Italy.

From then on, the number of translated children's books, especially from the UK and US, has impressively increased and according to the annual "2007 Rapporto sull'editoria per ragazzi" on 2294 new children's books published in Italy in 2006, 53,5% has been represented by translations and among them 22,71% are from the UK, 11,07% from the US, 8.76% from France and 4.27% from Germany (Bartolini e Pontegobbi). Several publishers claim that the reasons why preferences are given to foreign books rather than originals are due both to the need for a wider market offering interesting alternatives and to the high level of professionalism found abroad (Seveso 40-1).

The Italian publishing industry of juvenile literature is currently dominated by the best-seller hunt, the most sought-after products being serial books and long-sellers like classics. The negative effects of this tendency (i.e. the low qualitative degree of imported books) are under debate. In order to minimise risks from both sides, publishers import works that children have already known through a massive media and advertising campaign and, at the same time, they promote Italian writers who follow foreign models already tested as successful (fantasy, detective, and witches stories), to cut costs of copyright and translation (Bartolini e Pontegobbi 2-3).

The impact of the 'Harry Potter phenomenon' cannot be ignored. An observation of the way in which the saga has been received, reveals much about the target system, where 'Harry Potter's reception' could be used as a tool for systematic investigation. From reading articles and books devoted to this issue, the presence of two main schools of thought emerges; on one side there are those who blame J.K. Rowling's works for being too commercial, lacking any literary merit, and on the other there are those who appreciate it because it has brought children and

young people back to reading. The former opinion is well expressed in the words of Harold Bloom:

> And yet I feel a discomfort with the Harry Potter mania,' he argues, 'and I hope that my discontent is not merely a highbrow snobbery, or a nostalgia for a more literate fantasy to beguile (shall we say) intelligent children of all ages. Can more than 35 million book buyers, and their offspring, be wrong? yes, they have been, and will continue to be for as long as they persevere with Potter. (Wall Street Journal)

Zipes expresses his scepticism about Harry Potter's assumed power of encouraging children to read: "Yet book publishers argue that as long as these books get children to read, this is good in itself. In other words, the habit of reading (one habit among others, like watching TV or going to malls) is a virtue in itself" (7). Many child psychologists, on the contrary, are pleased with the positive message they claim the story of the wizard transmits especially if regarded as a modern *bildungsroman* (Motta 25-28) able to help children to cope with the fears of growing up (Ricci).

Even inside the Church, constantly alerted by anything that exerts influence on youngsters and their families, Harry Potter has provoked contrasting reactions (Olivero 37). Although those who acknowledge the values expressed by the saga as values close to Christianity are in the minority, they strongly argue that at the end of his adventures Harry always succeeds not only by means of his magic, but especially thanks to his human qualities and virtues (Rotondo 5-11). The spokesman for the opposing faction is Pope, Benedict XVI, who, as cardinal, wrote to the German author of Harry Potter: Gut oder Böse in 2003: "Es ist gut , daß Sie in Sachen Harry Potter aufklären, denn sie sind subtile Verführungen, die unmerklich und gerade dadurch tief wirken und das Christentum in der Seele zersetzen, ehe es überhaupt recht wachsen konnte" (http://www.LifeSite.net).

The little attention paid to the way in which Harry Potter books have been translated reinforces the idea that they are far from being only mere literary events. Comments on the translations remain restricted to articles in specialised journals and translator's notes. The website of Salani, the Italian publishing house for Harry Potter, presents a brief Nota alla traduzione italiana where some of the strategies used to translate toponyms and the names of the characters are explained, but the name of the translator is not even mentioned (Daniele).

As proof of the fact that children's books easily transcend cultural and linguistic boundaries for reasons that often have nothing to do with their literary value, it is useful to recall that Harry Potter was the first book for children to enter the books' hit parades of many European countries in its original language (Arca, 350). Surprising as it may seem, the feverish excitement preceding the launch of any book of the saga has also made Italian fans impatient to get a copy of the book even if it is written in a language that most of them are not able to understand.

Conclusions

Since children's literary studies and translation studies have come together they have given us new insights into the fascinating field of children's literature in translation. Children's literature has struggled to gain proper academic recognition and its low status has affected the way in which it has been studied. Being "used" for so many different purposes (educational, entertaining, commercial etc.), literature for children has never been thought of as a unicum, but only as a component part of other areas.

Like any other cultural phenomenon, children's literature spreads over many aspects of society, but it is not clear whether this damages or benefits it, constitutes its strength or contributes to keeping its status low. However, it is exactly this ubiquity which makes children's literature a great resource for studying and understanding other issues closely related to it. For instance, the attention on the child as the implied addressee of these texts leads to explore its role as a reader, and the instrumental view on children's literature brings to consider the social function assigned to childhood according to different expectations (didactic, ideological, commercial etc.).

The complexity of the subject does not provide a convincing excuse for the lack of research in the field and difficulties in understanding, defining and doing research on children's literature have to be faced at some point. This paper has tried to go through some of the aspects raised by translation studies in order to look closely at children's literature in translation in a specific target system. It is undeniable that research on translated children's literature has turned out to be very challenging: it exposes scholars to the danger of relegating children's literature in translation into a condition even more peripheral than that suffered by children's literature itself. However, studies on this subject have had the merit of unveiling constraints, bringing to light unexpected interfaces and enforcing the comparative dimension of children's literature.

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