Cultures of Coloniality: Latina/o Writing in Canada

by

Gabrielle Etcheverry

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Canadian Studies

Carleton University, Ottawa Ontario

© 2015

Gabrielle Etcheverry

ABSTRACT

This study examines Latina/o Canadian literature and drama dealing with the themes of exile, migration, acculturation, and hybrid cultural identities, while also analyzing the national and transnational contexts in which these texts are produced. My study contends that the scant critical attention that this substantial and significant body of literature has received is due to its existence at the margins of dominant Anglo-Canadian national cultural discourses and transnational Latina/o cultural formations. In order to understand this relationship between the national and the transnational, I investigate how multilingual Latina/o Canadian writers and texts negotiate their hemispheric positions and affiliations, as well as how essentialized, U.S.-based definitions of *latinidad* obscure specific Latina/o experiences and literary practices in Canada. Further, I suggest that a decolonial hemispheric framework is particularly useful for understanding literature written by Latin Americans in North America and for mapping some of the connections and disjunctures between national and transnational literatures in rapidly changing “post”-colonial societies.

My study of Latina/o Canadian literature considers differing sites, practices, and genres in order to demonstrate both the diversity of this body of writing and its changing place on the sometimes intersecting margins of national and transnational literary and cultural formations. Thus, this study encompasses analyses of exilic poetry, diasporic drama, travel writing, and memoir in Spanish, English, and French from the late 18th century to the present. While such differences in timeframe and genre point to the heterogeneity of Latina/o cultural production and experience, I argue that their shared

thematic concerns nevertheless connect these texts across languages, generations, and national borders. In this way, my study makes a timely intervention in the fields of Latina/o, hemispheric, and critical Canadian cultural studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project has been completed with the help of many people. I would like to especially thank my supervisor, Sarah Phillips Casteel, for her unflagging support, encouragement, and belief in my work. I wish also to express thanks to my long-suffering committee members, André Loiselle and Brian Johnson for sticking it out with me over many years and for always providing helpful and cheerful feedback and support. I have also benefitted enormously from conversations, feedback, and/or guidance from Karleen Pendleton Jiménez, Dalia Kandiyoti, Catherine Khordoc, Eva Mackey, Natalie Alvarez, Eve Haque, Donna Patrick, and David Sheinen. To Samah Sabra and Robyn Green, I will always be grateful for their careful reading of earlier versions of this study and the useful comments and edits they provided.

The School of Canadian Studies holds a special place in my heart for all the support they have provided over the years and for their willingness to accommodate me when I entered the doctoral program with a newborn in tow. We were very fortunate to have found a second home on the 12th floor of Dunton Tower with so many wonderful and encouraging people.

In many ways, my family has been the core of this project. Since a portion of this study relates a piece of history in which they play a small part, their tremendous support has been instrumental in its retelling. I could not have done this work without you. My gratitude exceeds words.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction - Cultures of Coloniality: Situating Latina/o Canadian Literature Within the National and Transnational	1
Chapter 1 – Contesting Canadian Latinities: Carmen Aguirre’s <i>Something Fierce</i> and English Canada’s Institution of Literature	48
Chapter 2 - Of Other Times and Places: Alternative Chronotopes in the Poetry of Chilean Exiles in Canada	94
Chapter 3 - Fear and Loving in Las Americas: Space and Affect in Latina/o Canadian Diasporic Drama	141
Chapter 4 - Writing from Nootka: Exploration, Migration and Indigenization in Two Hispanic American Texts	197
Conclusion	248
Works Cited	250

Introduction

Cultures of Coloniality:

Situating Latina/o Canadian Literature Within the National and Transnational

“Americanity and coloniality are mutually imbricated from the beginning.”
Walter Mignolo

Latina/o Canadian literature is an understudied field, yet one that is significant for the ways in which it exposes the uneven relationships between particular national and transnational literatures. National literatures have often been equated with a specific national culture, language, and identity. However, the rise of ethnic “minority” and migrant literatures in the late twentieth-century has increasingly troubled this facile understanding of national literature. As Walter Mignolo writes, “migratory movements are disarticulating the idea of national languaging and, indirectly, of national literacies and literatures [...] The notion of homogeneous national cultures and the consensual transmission of historical and literary traditions, as well as of unadulterated ethnic communities, are in the process of profound revisions and redefinitions” (236). Mass migration through globalization and other transnational movements, thus, is not only challenging ideas of homogenous national cultures and literary traditions, but also the very idea of a fixed linguistic identity tied to “authentic” culture. Despite these cultural shifts and the supposed demise of the nation in the context of globalization, my research explores the ways in which the national still operates in the literary, particularly in terms of identity construction and the position (or absence) of minoritized, multilingual literatures within significant cultural institutions, such as national arts organizations and

mainstream literary criticism.¹ At the same time, I situate the national within larger hemispheric contexts, especially Latina/o Canadian literature's place at the juncture of national and transnational literatures and cultures. In this way, my study of Latina/o Canadian cultural production also highlights the ways in which the transnational "Latino" identifier is an increasingly unsatisfactory category of socio-cultural classification and analysis.

In order to understand these broader issues of the intersection between national and transnational cultures and identities in a hemispheric context, I examine Latina/o Canadian literature to demonstrate how symbolic markers and material relations of modern identity such as nation, space, history, and language are embedded and negotiated in Latina/o Canadian writing. I argue that the so-called postcolonial nation remains a key site in the overlapping *imaginaries* (Appadurai 5), or culturally constructed identities, in which Latina/o Canadian literature is enmeshed. Moreover, the transnational Latina/o cultural formation with which this literature also intersects imposes an overarching cultural identity that nevertheless elides its particularities and diversity. This literature's specific intersection within dominant Anglo-Canadian national cultural discourses and transnational Latina/o cultural formations, then, ensures its relative invisibility in hemispheric literary and cultural contexts. As such, Latina/o Canadian literature provides a striking example of coloniality—or the "long-standing patterns of

¹ Canadian postcolonial criticism has played a productive and distinguished role in analyzing "multicultural," "ethnic" and Indigenous literatures in this country (see for example Cynthia Sugars, ed. *Unhomely States*). However, it does not for the most part focus on the issue of language and has been widely critiqued for totalizing "post" colonial experiences and identities and unproblematically transmitting the idea that the end of *de facto* colonialism has meant the end of colonial relations of inequality (see Thomas King "Godzilla vs. Postcolonial").

power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations” (Maldonado-Torres 248).

By investigating exemplary Latina/o Canadian literary texts and practices, as well as their encounters with national cultural institutions (the role of universities in canon formation, funding agencies, and government departments) and transnational cultural processes, I ask how specific ideals of Canadian national identity are reproduced in the Anglo-Canadian literary field and how such aspects of identity might be transgressed in Latina/o Canadian writing. I further explore how essentialized, U.S. -based definitions of *latinidad* and Latina/o culture and identity obscure the specific Latina/o experiences and literary practices in Canada. In so doing, I am contributing to a growing body of work in Latina/o studies that has emerged in the United States over the last decade and which elucidates how current constructions of Latina/o identity erase important distinctions among Latina/os within the U.S. itself. Where much of this work has focused on the ways in which the socio-cultural “Latino” category essentializes diverse national, classed, gendered, and racialized experiences and identities within U.S. national borders, I posit that the relative power of U.S.-based forms of knowledge and cultural production also affects understandings of diasporic *latinidad* outside its borders, particularly in Canada, which is typically not associated with “Latinos” but is rather more likely identified by its multicultural and English-French relations.² What kind of literature, then, is considered

² The relationship between U.S.-based Latino/a identity and its Canadian counterpart paradoxically mirrors aspects of English Canada’s “minor” position *vis à vis* American popular culture, which led to the development of Canadian cultural nationalism and a national literature in the early to mid-twentieth century. According to scholars such as Frank Davey, Robert Lecker, Paul Litt, and Mary Vipond this strain of cultural

“national” or “foreign” in such a multicultural, hemispheric, transnational context? How are Latina/o Canadian texts positioned in relation to other multicultural literatures in Canada? How do Latina/o Canadian writers and texts negotiate their transnational positions and affiliations?

There are a number of theoretical perspectives from which to analyze the “place” of Latina/o Canadian writing in the Canadian literary field and multicultural society. I have chosen to situate my analysis within the field of Hemispheric American Studies, or the comparative approach to the study of the history, cultures, and societies of the Americas, because this framework is particularly useful for understanding some of the overlapping findings, as well as significant gaps, in the scholarly literature on the broader field of minority, transnational cultural production, and in the more specific fields of Canadian and Latina/o Canadian literature. Combining cultural and literary studies, the sociology of literature, book history, and anthropology, this dissertation proposes that a decolonial hemispheric framework is best suited for understanding literature written by Latin Americans in North America, as well as for mapping some of the connections and disjunctures between national and transnational literatures in rapidly changing “post”-colonial societies such as Canada. The purpose of highlighting Canada’s relation to the Americas is not to claim a privileged place for Latina/o Canadians in this country. Rather it is meant to provide a new set of discursive and theoretical tools for imagining a Canada within “the Americas as a multipolar and syncretic space” (Kurasawa 354). By incorporating a *decolonial* hemispheric lens, I make links between coloniality in Canada

nationalism led to the active development of Canada’s major cultural institutions including its first literary “canon.” I examine this historical development and its implications for Latina/o Canadian literature in my analysis of the Canadian cultural context in Chapter 1.

and other countries of the Americas. Moreover, in highlighting the articulations and disjunctures between Latina/o identities and minoritized cultural production, I also foreground an ethical and theoretical commitment to exposing ongoing asymmetrical relations of power between different nations and social groups in the Americas. This decolonial configuration of the hemispheric perspective thus allows us to work within a globalized comparative framework for understanding Latina/o cultural production and the different socio-historical contexts in which it has developed.

In my exploration of the relationship between coloniality and national and transnational culture underpinning current understandings of Latina/o Canadian literature, I visit differing cultural sites, practices and genres in order to demonstrate both the diversity of this body of writing, and its changing place on the sometimes intersecting margins of national and transnational literary and cultural formations. Thus, my work encompasses analyses of exilic poetry, diasporic drama, and hemispheric transnational travel writing and memoir in Spanish, English, and French from the late eighteenth century to the present. In order to parse the question of national and transnational identity construction and the role of the nation in this body of literature, I have purposely selected texts that deal with the loss or destruction of what Sophia McClennen (2004) has described as primary (and interrelated) markers of modern identity—nation, space, history (time), and language—through the processes of political upheaval and territorial migration (3). In my research, the nation is the overarching marker linking space, time, and language, which is why I examine how this literature is created within, and unsettles, the linguistic, geographical, and historical boundaries of the nation. However, my work extends McClennen's formulation of the dialectical relationship between nation and exile

in two significant ways. First, I recast the terms of the nation-exile relationship as one between the national and the transnational since many elements of exile McClennen describes can also be applied to other forms of transnational migration and displacement, such as diaspora. My second alteration is more substantial in that I modify and add to her primary categories by, for example, considering how affect and indigeneity are also markers of modern identity, particularly in “New World” contexts.

Since this study also deals with the socio-linguistic conditions of textual production, it can be said to fall into what Gustavo Pérez Firmat (1990) has described as the “meditative approach” to studying the literature of the Americas, in which “instead of juxtaposing texts or authors [of the Americas], the critic addresses texts that place themselves at the intersection between languages, literatures, or cultures” (4). Latina/o Canadian literary texts and culture, I argue, are precisely enmeshed at the intersection of all these. As such, this study focuses on exemplary Latina/o Canadian texts and significant historical junctures of Latin American migration and adaptation to Canada rather than providing a more linear overview of its formal and thematic development. Thus, in my examination of the dialectical transactions between national and transnational identities and cultures in the Americas, I ask how we might understand the role of the literary in national identity construction in the current, globalized context. Do national cultural policies such as multiculturalism and bilingualism impinge on minoritized transnational literatures and identities? If so, how? How is multiculturalism mobilized in national cultural institutions and does coloniality play a role in the various visions and uses of national and transnational cultural identities, and the Canadian

multicultural? Finally, how are these ways of imagining the cultural and multicultural experienced and contested by Latina/o Canadian writers?

Defining Latina/o Canadian Writing

As a result of the presence in Canada of political exiles from Latin American countries, especially since the 1970s, and the continued flow of migrants from Latin America to Canada for both political and economic reasons, the Latina/o Canadian community is increasingly large and diverse. José Antonio Micó (2007) has described this demographic and cultural shift as the “Latin Americanization of Canada,” and Victor Armony and Jack Jedwab (2009) write that, “[I]n 2006 Spanish became the third most widely spoken language in Canada and has now earned the title of Canada’s most important non-official language” (14). The literature under study here has grown since its inception in the 1970s and the first influx of exiles and refugees from the Southern Cone. It is now a robust field that includes writers from Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, as well as Mexico, El Salvador, Bolivia, Colombia, and others. Latina/o Canadian publishers work not only in major Canadian cities such as Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto, but also in smaller centers like Saskatoon and Fredericton. Moreover, this literature now encompasses the work of both first- and second-generation Latino writers across Canada and is constantly being renewed by new immigrants from parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. Its broad thematic concerns range from such classic immigrant themes as the loss of home country/culture and identity and the difficulties associated with assimilating into the new society to second-generation discussions of “mixed” Latino/a and Canadian identity, and formal experimentations with language and genre. It also includes less

typically immigrant or “ethnic” themes and genres, such as crime, science fiction, and historical fiction.

Latina/o Canadian literature continues to grow as a field of cultural production, as is demonstrated by the increasing number of Spanish-language publications produced in Canada, the establishment of new Spanish-language presses, the introduction of a course in Creative Writing in Spanish at the University of Toronto, and a growing number of scholarly articles and research papers devoted to Latina/o Canadian culture.³ This reflects a considerable change of scene from that which prevailed at the time of my initial academic interest and graduate research in this field in 2003, when it attracted little popular or scholarly attention and was primarily considered “marginal” or “oppositional” to mainstream literary production. Nevertheless, this minoritized literature remains largely invisible in the English Canadian literary field and in U.S.-based considerations of “Latino” literature. Now that this body of writing is growing beyond its initial exilic roots, I am interested in how it is being created and received in Canada’s current post-modern and globalized context (i.e., increased migration to Canada from Latin American countries, mass media flows across national boundaries, economic integration in the Americas, and the rise of English as the language of global trade and mass culture). My

³ In addition to the recent press garnered by Chilean-Canadian Carmen Aguirre’s win for her memoir on CBC Canada Reads (2012), Playwright’s Canada Press has recently published an anthology of essays on Latina/o Canadian drama with a companion collection of eight plays, which also highlights work by Aguirre (2013). The University of Toronto introduced a Spanish creative writing course in its languages and translation program in 2011, which is currently still offered (<http://2learn.utoronto.ca/uoft/search/publicCourseSearchDetails.do?method=load&courseId=4717979>). As I discuss in Chapter 1, a journal volume this body of literature has recently been published by Interfaces Brasil/Canadá (2013), and Donna Canevari de Paredes, the Humanities Librarian of the University of Saskatchewan has compiled a preliminary listing of Canadian publishing in Spanish (2009), which she plans to soon publish in a scholarly journal.

research reveals that the nation remains an important force in the creation and reception of this literature, as well as an important subject in itself for a number of writers.

In his comparison of two recent anthologies of Latina/o literature from the U.S. and Canada, Norman Cheadle suggests that the invisibility of Latina/o Canadian literature is partially a result of Canada's marginal relationship to the United States and the U.S. academy's imperial designs on Latin American cultural production (21). In his analysis of these two prose anthologies, he notes that unlike the U.S. anthology (*Voces latinas*), the editors and the majority of the works in the Latina/o Canadian collection (*Retrato de una nube*) do not reflect a dual identity rooted in both Latin America and Canada. In fact, he argues that while many of the works in the Canadian anthology deal with the immigrant experience they do not really focus on Canada at all and could be set anywhere in North America. He further notes that the works in the Canadian collection are written primarily in unadulterated Spanish, not because of a purist view of language, but because the writers exhibit a stronger attachment to their country of origin than they do to their adopted country (30–31). Noting and supporting the Canadian editors' use of the term "hispano-canadiense" in the title of the anthology, Cheadle proposes that this term is more fitting for Latin Americans in Canada than "Latino Canadian" because of their different relationship to both the host and home countries (28–29). However, while much of Cheadle's analysis matches my own, I am more interested in examining the tensions among, and articulations between, Latin Americans writing in the U.S. and Latin Americans writing in English Canada than in making sharp distinctions. Moreover, his attention to a single anthology of works by first generation immigrants ignores the important—and more visible—work of second generation writers and playwrights, such

as Carmen Aguirre and Guillermo Verdecchia, who write in English but address similar issues of immigration (as well as acculturation to the host country) and attachment to a “home” country. The absence of hybrid language forms such as Spanglish in “Hispano-Canadian” literature that he provides as evidence of Hispano-Canadian detachment from the host country (and audiences) does not account for other important hybrid language strategies such as translation, which has been a salient feature of Latina/o Canadian writing since its inception.

For the purposes of my study, then, I use the term “Latina/o Canadian” and define this writing as a body of literature that is produced in English Canada and primarily written in Spanish and English by writers who have come from, or are descended from, people who have come from Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Although this working definition excludes literature from such large and culturally rich regions as Quebec and Brazil, it reflects the demographic / linguistic trend outlined by Armony and Jedwab above and the common experience of migration and transnationalism among Latin Americans in diaspora⁴. Although I am not claiming to be producing an exhaustive analysis of Latina/o Canadian texts, the works that I consider in this dissertation are largely representative of some of the major genres, tendencies, and developments in this body of literature, as well as some of the primary ways in which

⁴ Quebec is also an important cultural context for the development of Latin American writing north of the United States. According to Rachel Adams (2008), “the largest number of Spanish-speaking migrants [to Canada] live in Quebec” (316). Canada’s French-speaking province thus has the largest number of immigrants from Latin America and has a rich body of Latin American writing produced there (by such authors as, for example, Mauricio Segura, Alejandro Saravia, and Marilú Mallet). While an analysis of this context falls outside of the parameters of this study, I am planning a postdoctoral study of Latin American writing in Quebec and its connections to *latinité* in other French-speaking regions in the Americas.

these works are produced, published, and distributed in English Canadian and transnational literary fields, which I discuss in Chapter 1. Throughout this study, however, I also use such terms as exilic, second/1.5 generation or diasporic, and Hispanic American in order to identify different cross-sections of Latina/o Canadian writers and texts. I contend that the level of cultural heterogeneity and (potentially conflicting) affiliations apparent in any attempt to demarcate this literary field is emblematic of Claudia Milian's concept of *latinities*, or the existence of "copious" and multiple Latina/o subjectivities and "identities-in-the making" (3). Where Milian highlights the diverse racial(ized), gendered, linguistic, and national Latino/a identities that are subsumed under the "Latino" category in the United States, I extend her focus to the ways in which latinities are created in Canada, which has its own fraught relationship to the U.S. The politics of language in both countries (English vs. Spanish and English vs. French), I suggest, also impact the ways in which we understand *latinidad* outside of Latin America. Moreover, my restriction of "Latina/o Canada" to writers working in English and Spanish also helps to highlight some of the tensions between U.S. and Canadian latinities, as well as to shift the well-known focus from Canada's French language rights to other forms of linguistic coloniality. By using this umbrella term, I also connect some of the thematic concerns among first- and second-generation writers such as state-led violence, migration, and acculturation despite their linguistic and historical differences.

One of the contributions I am making in this study is to bring different disciplinary viewpoints together to broaden our understanding of Latina/o Canadian cultural production, which I discuss in the following section. If Canadian latinities are largely invisible in Canadian and hemispheric literary studies, they are also masked in the

disciplines that have traditionally studied them. Whereas a recent collection of essays on Latina/o drama emphasizes the grassroots involvement of the Latina/o community in Latina/o drama, as well as its transnational affiliations with Latina/os in the U.S. and Latina/os from various nations in diaspora, other recent works largely focus on first generation immigrant writers working in Spanish, referring to this group as “hispano Canadian” or “Hispanic Canadian.” While I am also interested in documenting the work of first generation writers and their relationship to the “host” language, focusing solely on this group misses important contributions by second- *and* first-generation immigrants who write primarily in English (even though their work may be “accented” with Spanish words or Latina/o cultural references). Moreover, the scholarly works that foreground the “Hispanic” tend to overlook class, gender, and racial differences in their focus on language and national differences among this group.

Culture and Coloniality

Understanding the ways in which coloniality is imbricated with literary production entails an analysis that foregrounds the relationship between the text of a literary work and the conditions under which it is produced. My research into Latina/o Canadian literature and the ways in which it is produced is meant to provide a case study of how official definitions of culture and cultural identity, as well as unexamined ideas about Latina/o diasporic cultural production, are deployed and contested within changing Canadian national and transnational or hemispheric American contexts. Culture and literature are connected to national and transnational identities in numerous ways. The role of literature in the construction of a national community and identity, for example, is

a central concern of Benedict Anderson's influential work, *Imagined Communities* (1983). Anderson foregrounds the role of print communications (encompassing both news media such as the newspaper and more artistic forms like the novel) in the forging of the imagined community, or cultural identity, of the modern nation. Anderson also discusses how certain languages became hegemonic in the process of national state-formation, including those languages that were already associated with bureaucracies and organizational administration, and languages that were more easily amendable to print-type (44–45). Thus, language is not only a key component of culture in the anthropological sense, but also in the symbolic/aesthetic and the political sense since the imposition of linguistic dominance or hegemony has been foundational in colonial and postcolonial contexts in the Americas.

The rise of globalization and transnational cultures and identities at the end of the twentieth century, however, has unsettled these processes of national identity formation, as well as conventional views of culture and identity as being linguistically, geographically, and temporally bounded to an authentic “essence.” As Arjun Appadurai has noted, “the world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination in social life” in which the global imagination, or emerging forms of global culture, have “become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (both in the sense of labor and of culturally organized practice) and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (‘individuals’) and globally defined fields of possibility” (4–5). Such changes have also put the role of the nation in question, particularly in terms of its literary production and practices. Nevertheless, as I demonstrate in Chapter 1, the nation remains a key site of discursive and material power in the production of literature, particularly in English

Canada where the literary has often been employed as a cultural “defence” against perceptions of American cultural domination.

One of the principal arguments I make in this study is that Latina/o Canadian literature is caught at the junctures of various (and sometimes competing) symbolic national and transnational projects, which are based on differing definitions and uses of culture. The concepts of “coloniality” and “the colonial difference” (Quijano 2002, Mignolo 2000, Escobar 2008) explicitly address the deployment and politics of culture in the Americas and are particularly relevant to this study. These concepts refer to the uneven classification of knowledge, space, languages, and peoples in the creation and maintenance of hegemonic global and national power usually associated with European colonialism and modernity. Coloniality is described by Latin American scholars Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, and Walter Mignolo as the “darker side of modernity,” and is the idea that the “achievements of modernity go hand-in-hand with the violence of colonialism” (Mignolo 5). On an economic and structural level, European modernity is enabled by the wealth created from unfettered resource extraction in the “New World” and African and Indigenous slave labour. On imaginary, discursive and ideological levels, the “New World” becomes the necessary Other against which modern Europe can construct its own identity—as civilized, advanced and modern, etc., in relation to the backwards, primitive, uncivilized peoples of the New World. This process of othering involves a “coloniality of power” (initially proposed by Aníbal Quijano in 1992), which entails

- (1) a classification of people aided by “culture”—in close connection with racism and capitalism;
- (2) institutional structures which perform this role;
- (3) the definition of spaces appropriate to the process of classification (i.e. colonial bureaucracies, the academy, etc.); and
- (4) an epistemological perspective to

organize the new matrix of power and channel the production of knowledge.⁵
(Domingues 117)

Such forms of othering do not end with independence from colonial rule or with the emergence of postcolonial societies but instead continue into the present with the incorporation of the previously colonized into nation states and the capitalist world system.

Coloniality helps us to understand how particular conceptions of culture have been influenced by not only Western values and epistemologies but also by colonial and neocolonial attempts to control peoples and resources in the Americas, thus demonstrating how culture is enmeshed in the socioeconomic and the political, as well as in the aesthetic. Thus, I employ a decolonial view of culture as fluid, changing, and increasingly politicized in order to understand how culture and, by extension, literature have been deployed in Canadian cultural discourses and policies to construct certain identities and cultures as more legitimately “Canadian” than others.⁶ In so doing, I propose that the study of Latina/o Canadian literature and its (often invisible) position within national and transnational cultural frameworks can provide some fruitful insights into the continued asymmetrical power relations within and between “postcolonial”

⁵ For example, the Enlightenment, empiricism, and the development of the social sciences that employ what Foucault calls the idea of “finitude” and entails the comparison of *differentiated* entities—in this case, societies (*The Order of Things* 219–220).

⁶ Canadian literature can be understood in such terms since its existence as a literary field is largely based in the mobilization of “high culture” through the creation of arts institutions and policies in the mid-twentieth century as a means of establishing a national identity in opposition to American mass culture. Despite their often meagre funding and low recognition, numerous cultural policies and institutions have been established since the Royal Commission on Arts and Letters (1952) to support, define, and legitimize Canadian literature and “high” art as a mimetic image of Canadian identity. See Paul Litt, *The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1992).

multicultural societies in the Americas. As the idea of culture becomes increasingly “deterritorialized” and fluid through the processes of globalization and transnational migrations, I also examine the uses of “culture” in maintaining and reproducing such uneven relations.

In his elaboration of the changing nature of literary studies and globalization, Suman Gupta describes the changing views of culture within the disciplines: the newly found interest by humanities scholars in “globalization” on the one hand and on the other social science scholars’ interest in the ways in which literature and text not only reflect some of the major cultural changes associated with globalization but also how literary (and other) texts also shape narratives of globalization on an ideological level. Citing the turn to cultural studies by both literary and social science scholars and the (incomplete) collapsing of traditional division between these disciplines,⁷ Gupta turns to the more current understanding of culture—specifically, as it was developed by Arjun Appadurai in the 1990s and his elucidation of the different and sometimes overlapping discursive “scapes” associated with the deterritorialization and cultural flows of globalization. Thus, according to this view, “culture” in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is increasingly understood as a product and a process of localization and dislocation within globalization. This view of culture is particularly relevant for my study insofar as it helps us to understand the ways in which culture is changed through migration and social and

⁷ In his analysis of some of the major debates between social scientists and humanists on the role of culture in globalization and how it is understood by these different disciplinary models more generally, Gupta writes “from the sociological/anthropological perspective culture arises as a result of prevailing ideologies and social relations, whereas from the humanistic perspective culture makes possible and moulds ideologies and social relations” (87).

economic restructuring, as well as how the diverse forms of *latinidad* have emerged in the current context.

The changing views of culture and identity described above are connected to various national and global historical changes but may also be symptomatic of what Susan Wright has described as “the politicization of culture” by politicians and “decision-makers” in the last decade of the twentieth century (1). This politicization is closely linked to what Wright describes as the emergence of new scholarly interpretations of culture arising from anthropology and cultural studies, which posit that culture and “cultural identities are not inherent, bound or static,” but are, rather, sites of contestation and struggle for power over meaning-making (4). Culture, as “a way of life” and as a form of representation through artistic mediation has acquired a new role and importance in the current globalized, commodified and media-saturated context. For example, Wright and Cris Shore argue that culture has become an increasingly important political site for the organization and control of civil society in the shift from the Keynesian welfare state to the neoliberal state model and, as such, is actively used as a means of consolidating state authority and constructing citizen subjectivity through various state policies (7). As Wright points out, various (and often competing) versions of “culture” have been deployed as political tools in the late twentieth century (2).⁸

⁸ This is certainly true in Canada, where discourses surrounding Canada’s cultural identity have, for example, constructed Canada as a “victim” of British and American dominance, as well as a model of multicultural tolerance and coexistence. This is also evident in discourses and policies pertaining to cultural production—where Canadian culture was once officially valued in humanist terms as a means of providing a sense of identity, instilling moral and democratic values, as well as constituting a “defence” against American imperialism (Litt 1992), Canadian cultural discourse has changed over the latter half of the twentieth century to reflect the growing conceptualization and valorization of culture as a commodity (Berland and Hornstein 2000, Dorland 1996,

In this same vein, Sabine Milz suggests that the relationship between national cultural institutions and literary production are increasingly complex in the neoliberal, transnational context. Whereas cultural observers have tended to lament the commodification of culture, the loss of national cultural sovereignty, and national cultural identity through American-led economic integration and free trade agreements,⁹ Milz argues that the nation-state itself facilitates these “losses” by accepting and subscribing to neoliberal values. Although Canadian literary studies are not generally associated with research in cultural policy or institutions, recent scholarly analyses of Canadian literature are linking questions of literary value, production, and circulation to national cultural institutions and their relation to larger global forces.¹⁰ These newer analyses often examine the role of cultural institutions that were created through (and are still supported by) the state and state policies on Multiculturalism, Bilingualism, and the Arts, and their role in the construction of national literature, culture(s), identity, subjectivity, and

Dowler 1996, Godard 1998, Edwardson 2008). Although national culture and literature may still be constructed as being antithetical to mass cultural products in certain areas of national cultural discourse, it may be more productive to understand how these different versions of “culture” have co-existed (albeit in tension) well since the final quarter of the twentieth century in Canadian cultural discourses.

⁹ See Cynthia Sugars’ essay, “Worlding the (Postcolonial) Nation: Canada’s Americas” in Winifried Siemerling and Sarah Phillips Casteel, eds. *Canada and Its Americas: Transnational Navigations* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2010, 31–47).

Notwithstanding this important critique of U.S.-led globalism, Stephen McBride and John Shields (1993) have convincingly demonstrated how the Western neoliberal nation state (including its institutions and underlying ideologies) is an active agent in its own deregulation and in the ratification of neoliberal economic policies, treaties, and free trade agreements, which actively construct culture as a commodity. In my research, therefore, I examine how the neoliberal Canadian nation-state is still actively involved in national cultural production, particularly in terms of its cultural institutions and the construction of certain kinds of cultural value.

¹⁰ See Brydon 2007, Dobson 2009, and Milz 2007.

citizenship.¹¹ While institutions such as the Canada Council for the Arts were initially set up through the humanist and nationalist policy aims of the modern era, they continue to have important functions through pedagogy and the production of knowledge. Despite the neoliberal turn to more stringent “market” values, cultural institutions still confer status and material resources on actors working within them (i.e., increased legitimacy, honours and wealth to those who are given grants, jobs, or tenure), and are also influenced by global forces such as deregulation, neoliberalism, and the rise of global knowledge networks and cultural circuits. Thus, in my research, I conceptualize cultural policy and institutions as key sites, or embodiments of various—often competing—cultural, social, and political discourses.

As I discuss in Chapter 1, one of the Canadian state’s responses to managing cultural difference in the modern era has been the introduction of multicultural policies and programs.¹² Mirroring the politicization of culture more generally, the definitions and interpretation of “culture” in the multi-cultural are flexible and shifting, and do not necessarily understand culture in both the anthropological and aesthetic sense described above.¹³ The contradictions and tensions inherent in such cultural policies and institutions point to the contradictions in state-led forms of multiculturalism and the framing of

¹¹ See *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki, eds. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid UP, 2007). While discussions of the role of national cultural institutions in the production of literature by some of Canada’s foremost literary scholars point to many of the power imbalances and problems that I highlight in this work, this collection of essays on the topic do not actually explain or adequately demonstrate *how* these occur or are enacted. I discuss this in greater depth on Chapter 1, which outlines some of the workings of Canadian cultural institutions and how they affect the development of Latina/o Canadian literary production and practice.

¹² Kamboureli 2000, Bannerji 2000, Bissondath 1994, Mackey 1999, Thobani 2007, Haque 2012, Walcott 2003 (1997).

¹³ See the Preface to the 2nd edition of *The House of Difference* by Eva Mackey (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008).

culture as being both national and transnational, commodity and public good, as well a work of art and part of the everyday—contradictions inherent in the modernization of Canada’s national identity in its trajectory “from colony to nation.” These contradictions also reflect Canada’s particular position as being both a “post” and “neo” colonial state that has carried over many of the unequal colonial power relations between European settler populations, Aboriginal people, and immigrants into its modern make-up. In this way, culture writ large has been central to the consolidation of Canadian national identity out of “difference” through the creation of various state institutions designed to support, develop, and manage particular versions of “culture” and thus reflects the workings of the coloniality of power: first in its use in the construction of English Canada as culturally different from the United States, and then for managing the “cultural” (read racial and linguistic) differences within the Canadian population. Latina/o Canadian literature, I argue, does not easily fit into a vision of Canadian culture as distinct from U.S. culture insofar as “Latino” culture and identities are usually associated with the United States and the Latino population residing there. Its place within Canadian “multicultural” literature is also marginal insofar as it is largely produced in Spanish and relies on hybrid language strategies such as translation to reach non-Spanish speaking audiences. Thus, literature and culture are key discursive tools for classifying people as either belonging to or being excluded from particular national cultures via, for example, specific linguistic and ethnic affiliations.

The National and Transnational in Latina/o Canadian Cultural Production

In order to better understand the role of coloniality in the development of Latina/o Canadian identity and cultural production, I employ four major frameworks that deal with

Latina/o culture, Latin American-Anglo American relations, Canadian multiculturalism, and cultural production more generally: Latina/o and Chicana/o criticism, hemispheric American studies, critical Canadian cultural and literary studies, and book history and the sociology of literature. Many of the research issues and questions taken up by these fields are also addressed in the fields of comparative diaspora studies and transnational literary studies,¹⁴ which are increasingly overlapping with comparative literary studies and scholarship on globalization and literature. Therefore, even though these latter fields of study are not explicitly included within this framework, they nonetheless inform its overall methodology. As my choice of methodologies suggests, this study is largely organized around the shifting relationship between the national and the transnational in the Americas. Rather than using the lens of diaspora studies, I intentionally focus on the links between the national and the transnational for a number of reasons. Since many Latina/o Canadian writers do not consider themselves as writers in diaspora but rather identify with their nation of origin¹⁵ and still write in their national language (Spanish), the diasporic is not entirely appropriate here. My focus on the national and transnational also highlights how the valuation of literature and the literary canon in Canada is, in part, a way of creating a national identity in contradistinction to U.S. national identity. Thus, the relative power of U.S. cultural products on a transnational, international level has had concrete effects on the development of particular national cultures in countries like

¹⁴Some of Canada's best-known multicultural, "ethnic" or "minority" writers include Michael Ondaatje, Dionne Brand, Lawrence Hill, and new or second-generation immigrants such as Padma Viswanathan from former British colonies.

¹⁵ Gonzalo Millán, for example, returned to Chile in 1984 and continued writing there until his death in 2006. He is also labeled as a Chilean writer in that country's national library holdings. See "Gonzalo Millán (1947-2006)." *Memoria Chilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile*. Web. 18 sep 2011. <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-3442.html>.

Canada. Lastly, I suggest that the relationship between the national and the transnational is particularly important for understanding how U.S. versions of *latinidad* influence the ways in which *latinidad* is viewed by non-Latina/os in Canada.¹⁶ Whereas diaspora suggests commonality through the experience of dispersal and re-territorialization across generations, I wish to emphasize both the commonalities as well as the differences within transnational groups based on existing power differentials within and between their host nations, countries of origin, and generations.

I suggest that the relationship between national and transnational cultural production is particularly complex in the case of Latina/o writing in Canada because of the historical links between colonization, settlement, and modern nationhood in Canada and other parts of the Americas, as well as their common experience of economic and cultural domination by the United States. Like Canada, many Latin American countries achieved independence from colonial rule only to find themselves dominated by the United States in economic, political, and cultural spheres, thus sharing a sense of ambivalence if not outright resistance to this global power. The complex cultures of, and asymmetrical relationships among, different minoritized and majoritized groups in this geopolitical region (e.g., European settlers, Aboriginal peoples, African slaves, *mestizos*, *Métis*, Québécois, Chicanos and so forth) have developed out of the region's history of

¹⁶ In her introduction to a special *Topia* issue on Transnational Cultural Studies in Canada, Jenny Burman writes that "Transnational cultural studies, a research area that has grown in popularity over the last decade, is an interdisciplinary body of scholarship that merges the theoretical advances of humanities-based postcolonial studies with a reinvigorated socioeconomic analysis of globalized places. In Canada, work in transnational and diaspora studies deals with a set of circumstances made distinct by official multiculturalism policy; colonization and the ensuing co-presence of anglophone, francophone and First Nations Canadians; and specific immigration patterns and racialization practices" (7).

colonial domination. At the same time, Canada maintains its own neocolonial relationship to other parts of the Americas and is increasingly supporting national corporate interests and non-democratic governments in Latin America. Thus, my application of these frameworks here highlights the asymmetrical relationships and power imbalances across the Americas as well as within particular national and transnational formations.¹⁷

¹⁷ Using qualitative interdisciplinary methods, including critical discourse analysis, historical research, and close textual reading, in this study I employ multi-site ethnography (Marcus 1995) within a decolonial, hemispheric framework. Multi-site ethnography is particularly suited to the study of transnational cultural processes, “new cultural formations” and “the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space” (96). According to George Marcus, multi-site ethnography emerged in the 1990s as a response to the growing impact of globalization (or the “world system”) on local cultures and cultural production (97) and the need for interdisciplinary tools and perspectives in order to better understand them. It uses the methods and methodology of traditional anthropological ethnography in order to trace emerging cultural phenomena and the development of certain concepts across space and time. As such, it incorporates multiple “sites” of ethnographic research in a single study. In so doing, my multi-site ethnography also echoes the method of investigating diasporic *décalage* developed by Brent Edward Hayes in his 2003 study of the literary practices and publics of the Black diaspora in the early twentieth century. His formulation of the *décalage*, or gaps and intervals among this transatlantic diaspora, is intended as a means of articulating (or linking and connecting) the geographically (and sometimes linguistically) disparate elements of Black diasporic thought and literature. Building on the work of Stuart Hall, Hayes explains that “[i]n a transnational circuit ... articulation offers the means to account for the diversity of black takes on diaspora, which Hall himself explicitly begins to theorize in the late 1980s as a frame of cultural identity determined not through ‘return’ but through ‘difference’” (12).

The primary “site” of my research is Latina/o Canadian texts. The method I use at this site is close textual reading/analysis of the works described in the chapter outline discussed at the end of this Introduction. Where appropriate, this textual analysis includes attention to genre and how it intersects with language, particularly the mainstream success and popularity of Latino-Canadian drama, which is largely written and performed in English, in contrast to genres such as poetry and prose, written in Spanish or in translation and which remain relatively obscure.

My second “site” of analysis is Latino-Canadian literary practices and their intersection with both national cultural institutions and transnational cultural processes. This component of my study involves historical analysis in order to map the development of this body of writing and how Latino-Canadian writers negotiate their position within

Latina/o and Chicana/o Criticism

Situating Latina/o Canadian literature within a single national, ethnic, linguistic or theoretical frame is no easy task. As I point out throughout this study, the Latina/o Canadian literary field—and the community that sustains it—is highly diverse and heterogeneous in its make-up, thematic concerns, genres, and writing styles. Some of the writers I have included in my dissertation, for example, would not self-identify as Latina/o Canadian but would instead prefer to identify with their nation of origin, making it difficult to create an appropriate analytical category for “Latino/as.” This diversity not only points to the diversity of the Latin American continent itself, but also to the various motivations and timelines of migration from the South to the North, such as forced exile in the 1970s and ‘80s to voluntary immigration in the post-dictatorship period for economic purposes. In this way, Latina/o Canadian literature and culture have considerable commonalities with Latina/o and Chicana/o experiences in the United States while remaining obscured by the larger and more culturally powerful representations of

national and transnational structures. My graduate research and personal experience in this field have shown that Latina/o Canadian literary practices are highly contingent and “interstitial” (Naficy 1999) in relation to mainstream publishing practices in Canada (Gerson 2000) and are, thus, an important “site” of encounter between the textual and the political.

I also examine a few key Canadian cultural policy documents and institutions in my multi-site ethnography. Here I have applied critical discourse analysis of documents relating to national cultural policy, specifically the Report of the Massey-Levesque Commission on Culture and the Arts (1951), the Official Languages Act (1969), and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1985). The policies that emerged out of the Report of the Massey-Levesque Commission established the Canada Council for the Arts, which in turn, was foundational for establishing the literary canon and Canadian literature as an independent literary field. Official bilingualism and multicultural policies were central in establishing “official” norms of modern Canadian national culture. In Chapter 1, I situate these documents within their social and historical context and focus primarily on how “culture” (national or otherwise) is defined in these documents and institutions, and what effects such definitions have on national and transnational literatures.

these experiences. Other significant features shared by *latinidad* in Canada and the United States generally fall under negative experiences with U.S. economic and cultural imperialism, the emergence of bilingual and “mixed” cultures, and the experience of South-North migration, and racialization.

Despite the use of the term “Latina/os” as a census, sociological, and analytical category in the United States, this population is also highly differentiated along national, regional, historical and linguistic lines: the term is often used in relation to Chicana/os from the Mexico and U.S. border region, *Borriqueños* from Puerto Rico, Cuban Americans, and so on, whose relationship to, and existence in, the United States are highly differentiated. The major national/cultural groups that are typically brought together under this term have also had longer histories of imperial relations with the U.S. beginning in the nineteenth century and the American take-over of newly independent regions or regions fighting for independence from Spain. For example, Chicano/a identity and “border” culture have a long history in North America, which Latina/o Canadians and other Latina/os in diaspora do not necessarily share. Many Mexican Americans or Chicano/as have lived in the territory now part of the United States for generations and only became “foreigners” after the annexation of Texas by the U.S. (1845) and the subsequent Mexican-American war (1846–1848) in which, as Juan Flores explains, “the border crossed them” (612).¹⁸ In this way, the term “Latino/a” brings many disparate

¹⁸ In her essay on the parallels between Chicano and *Québécois* literatures, for example, Monika Giacoppe (2010) identifies a rural/farming past, and the experience and collective memory of dispossession (among others) as common themes between these two bodies of writing (192–200). As Giacoppe observes of these groups, “both cultures have been haunted by a sense of nostalgia, a feeling of exile in what they saw as *their own homelands, the very earth to which they were intimately tied*” (190 emphasis mine). Although she is careful to avoid essentializing the identities of these two groups (and

groups together while effacing important differences. Reflecting on this level of diversity, Flores prefers to tentatively employ Arjun Appadurai's term, "delocalized transnation" (616), to refer to this diasporic group. Accordingly, recent scholarship in Latina/o studies in particular is paying more attention to this diversity of experience.¹⁹

In his discussion of "Latino multiplicity" (611), Juan Flores outlines some of the similarities and important differences among "Latinos" in Latin America, the United States, and beyond, noting that the Spanish language and cultural "heritage" are some of the few (although still contested) unifying factors among this increasingly diverse group (606). Thus, a significant area of overlap between Latina/o, Chicano/a, and Latina/o Canadian experience and cultural production is in language and identity. The uses of multiple languages (most commonly English and Spanish) has been a common feature of Latina/o Canadian, Latina/o and Chicana/o experience and cultural production and, combined with a history of migration and transculturation, has often reflected a dual if not hybrid sense of identity. Although this double sense of identity is often more heightened and prevalent among Chicana/os and second-generation Latina/os than among first-generation immigrant or migrants, Walter Dignolo has described this linguistic hybridity as a process of "bilanguaging," which he argues "redress[es] the asymmetry of languages and denounc[es] the coloniality of power and knowledge" (231) common to border cultures and those cultures that have been dominated through colonialism.

points out that Quebec literature remains a majority literature *vis à vis* immigrant writing in a way that Chicano literature does not), the themes of rural life and dispossession that she identifies in Chicano literature cannot be applied to the vast majority of Latina/o Canadian writers. Perhaps tellingly, her analysis makes no mention of Latino/as in Quebec (or Canada), despite their active presence there since the 1970s and the cultural/linguistic similarities with both Quebec and Chicano literature.

¹⁹ See Milian 2013 and Poblete, ed. 2003.

Drawing on the work and insights of Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherrie Moraga and other well-known Chicana/o artists and writers, Mignolo argues that this relationship to language creates a new form of thinking, being, and creating in the world (i.e., Anzaldúa's concept of the "New Mestiza" and Cherrie Moraga's idea of the "bicultural mind") (Mignolo 267). While this sense of duality can potentially provide new cultural spaces for communication and creativity, Chicana/o scholars such as Richard Rodriguez have also noted how the privileging of English as a "public" language (learned in school, the workplace, and other public venues) in relation to Spanish as a "private" language (maintained at home among family and community members) can also create deep social rifts between families and communities, as well as psychological and emotional estrangements for individuals caught between these two worlds (Rodriguez 130–31).

Another significant point of convergence between Latina/o Canadian cultural production and criticism and Latina/o and Chicano/a production in the U.S. is the experience and representation of migration, particularly within the Americas, subjects that have become part of the "Latino imaginary," and are intimately tied to memory and history (Flores 613). Flores argues that "[c]olonial relations of hemispheric inequality underlie not only the historical logic of Latino migration but also the position and conditions of Latinos here in [American] society" (614). The most common trope in this imaginary of migration is, of course, the border, which resonates on geographical, cultural, linguistic and "racial" registers. Like the different positions on Chicana/o and Latina/o bilingualism, some commentators see the physical and metaphorical border crossings associated with Chicana/o culture as a welcome collapse of "old binary models" while others highlight the extreme danger associated with illegal border crossing

and the actual limited economic and social mobility of people across and within American spaces.²⁰ Despite these differing stances on the various meanings and implications of the North-South border, its significance is undeniable in Latina/o and inter-American history and relations.

The changing interests and socio-linguistic affiliations of later generations of writers along with recent developments in Latino/a diasporic culture have significantly altered the terrain and discourse of Latina/o Canadian literature in recent years. For example, in her essay on Latina/o cultural production in Canada, Michelle Habell-Pallán, a Chicana scholar, identifies a tension among many young Latina/os in Canada who resist being identified with “Hispanics” or Chicana/os from the United States while at the same time using the icons and symbols of Chicana/o and Latina/o culture in the U.S. to offer critiques of singular national identification and affiliations.²¹ Her discussion of the work of a young theatre group in Vancouver, the Latino Theatre Group, and their play *¿Qué pasa con la raza, eh?*, highlights the tension and some of the concerns of this generation of writers that diverge from those of the first generation of exiled or immigrant writers.

According to Habell-Pallán:

To those familiar with the history of Chicanos in the United States, it comes as no surprise that the memories that constitute *¿Qué pasa con la raza, eh?* resonate with the major themes addressed in Chicana and Chicano literature, *teatro*, music, and visual art, themes that include migration and immigration, border crossings, cultural identity crisis, critiques of translational labour exploitation, and the

²⁰ See Guillermo Gómez-Peña, “The World According to Guillermo Gómez-Peña,” in *High Performance* 14.3 (1991) and Dalia Kandiyoti, *Migrant Sites: America, Place, and Diaspora Literatures* (Lebanon, NH: UP of New England, 2009) for different conceptualizations of inter-American borders and border crossings.

²¹ According to George Elliott Clarke (1996) and others, a similar situation exists with respect to African-Canadian literature, in which “African-Canadian writers have sought to create distinctively black, yet Canadian, works, even if they employ African-American intertexts” (56).

struggle for social justice. These themes remind us that it is impossible to take for granted the meanings of nation and citizenship. (212)

Thus, many of the themes of U.S. Latina/o and Chicana/o experiences and genres of artistic production reflect some of the experiences and concerns of Latina/os in Canada, particularly, according to Habell-Pallán, a concern with migrant labour rights, citizenship, and national and cultural identity.

Hemispheric Studies

Like the work created and performed by the theatre group discussed above, second-generation Latina/o Canadian cultural producers are increasingly working in English while retaining wide-ranging cultural connections to Latin America and Latina/os living in the United States. In her essay on the work of Argentinean-Canadian playwright Guillermo Verdecchia, U.S. scholar Rachel Adams echoes many of Habell-Pallán's observations about the hemispheric linkages between Latina/os in Canada and the U.S. She writes that Verdecchia's perspective as a Latin American in Canada is novel because "his reference to the continent positions Canadian themes and settings within a broader American framework" (322). In her view, Verdecchia's strategic deployment of Chicano stereotypes in a Canadian setting works to "deterritorialize" and decentre "the borderlands from their particular location to show how the hemisphere itself has become a crucible for the complex intermixture of Anglo- and Latin Americas" (325). Adams' analysis of Verdecchia's work, and Latina/o Canadian literature more generally, is situated within the hemispheric or inter-American theoretical and methodological framework, which has become increasingly entrenched in the U.S. academy. This framework can be defined as a comparative approach to the study of the history, cultures,

and societies of the Americas. While this perspective can be traced back to the writings of Cuban writer and revolutionary José Martí in the nineteenth century, scholars in the field generally credit the historian Herbert Eugene Bolton as the first North American academic to articulate a hemispheric or inter-American approach to the study of the Western hemisphere in the 1930s (Bauer 234). According to some accounts, “inter-American” or hemispheric studies emanating from the United States have often been critiqued for mirroring or reproducing power imbalances between the U.S. and Latin America, especially in the Cold War context (Bauer 237; McClennen, “Area Studies Beyond Ontology” 180), and, as Ralph Bauer notes, “to the extent that Latin American intellectuals have embraced the notion of one Latin American cultural identity, they have typically attempted to theorize this cultural identity in opposition to, rather than in hemispheric unity with, the United States in the face of that country’s aggressive hemispheric imperialism since the nineteenth century” (236).

Sophia McClennen warns, for example, of a tendency within existing academic and intellectual value systems to privilege U.S.-centred studies and foci over Latin American ones (not to mention, I would add, Canadian or Caribbean perspectives). In her view, there are two interrelated tendencies within the United States when it comes to envisioning the Americas. The first of these is to homogenize difference and rely on essentialist tropes and conceptions of the region and its peoples. Coupled with this homogenization is an ongoing U.S. colonialist attitude towards Latin America. She further contends that this conservative essentialism paralleled U.S. political and economic interests in the region during the Cold War era. Citing unequal power relations between the U.S. and Latin American academics, McClennen asks if inter-American studies really

represent a new form of U.S. expansionism and cultural imperialism. In her view, inter-American studies must overcome a number of interrelated obstacles in order to avoid becoming just another form of imperialism or replicating the uneven power relations in U.S. and Latin American intellectual and cultural scenes (174).²²

The field has tended to be largely silent on Canada's place in the Americas and has generally focused on the relationship between the United States and the Latin American region. Even with the recent interest in hemispheric American studies, English Canada has rarely figured in these analyses and, until recently, has remained mostly invisible. Recent work such as the special issue of *Comparative American Studies* (co-edited by Rachel Adams and Sarah Phillips Casteel) has sought to understand some of the reasons for this absence and give voice to those "Americas" that have previously gone unnoticed here. They point out that although the Americas have commonly been regarded as being divided along an Anglo/Latin axis, with most of the contact between the two cultures occurring at the real and imaginary site of the United States/Mexico border, Canada has long been involved in inter-American cultural activity, hemispheric economic activity and free trade agreements, and, increasingly, hemispheric security measures ("Introduction: Canada and the Americas," 5–13). However, the absence of Canadian perspectives in this field is also partially attributable to Canadian reticence to being subsumed by a U.S.-centred model of analysis. For example, Cynthia Sugars, one of Canada's foremost postcolonial literary scholars, voices her misgivings about placing Canada within this larger analytical framework, which not only has the potential to

²² McCLENNEN sees these obstacles as being: (1) conceptual/ideological in nature, (2) related to semantics or language, (3) historical (in terms of both the history of inter-American study and of the region in general), and (4) disciplinary insofar as the number of disciplines or types of study that are able to adequately deal with *comparative* work.

further marginalize Canada in relation to “American” (U.S.) and “world” literature, but also to delegitimize the continued relevance of the nation as a bulwark against neoliberal, capitalist ideology and policies.²³

Although Sugars’ concern is well-founded and she raises important questions about Canada in relation to hemispheric studies, many of these concerns can be allayed by digging deeper into the existing literature on this perspective, as well as through a more thorough investigation into what is meant by “nation” and its current role in the neo-liberal, free market world order.²⁴ Works by scholars both within and outside of Canada, such as Fuyuki Kurasawa, Lois Parkinson Zamora, and Sophia McClennen, have addressed some of the political and ethical issues surrounding subsuming various national literatures, cultures, histories, and social formations, under the hemispheric or inter-American rubric. Moreover, comparative approaches to the study of the Americas have also been part of larger movements of inter-American solidarity and genuine cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary interest in the histories and societies of the Americas.

Despite her concerns discussed above, McClennen also notes the potential benefits of

²³ See “Worlding the (Postcolonial) Nation: Canada’s Americas” in Winifried Siemerling and Sarah Phillips Casteel, eds. *Canada and Its Americas: Transnational Navigations* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2010, 31–47).

²⁴ Sugars’ focus on John Carlos Rowe’s *New American Studies* as being representative of the hemispheric perspective does not address the myriad voices within this perspective, particularly those that have already dealt with the issues of her concern. Invoking the Canadian “nation” as a site of resistance to economic imperialism, moreover, risks underplaying Canada’s own attempts to ratify bilateral neoliberal trade agreements with countries such as Colombia, whose governments are still waging violence against many sectors of its national population, as well as Canada’s support of undemocratic regimes such as Honduras since the military overthrow of its democratically elected president, Manuel Zelaya. It is liberal, capitalist nations themselves that sign on/agree to neoliberal economic policies, treaties, and trade agreements and then facilitate their proliferation. See Stephen McBride and John Shields, *Dismantling a Nation: Canada and the New World Order* (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood, 1993) for a discussion of Canada’s role in this process.

employing an inter-American perspective, namely a greater awareness of the ways that the cultures of the Americas can be productively analyzed comparatively, as well as the “displacement of U.S. culture as the central signifier in the region” (183). Fuyuki Kurasawa, working from a liberal political science model based in Canadian and Quebecois traditions, sees the inter-American model (or *américanité*) as a fruitful site of rich or thick democratic participation through ongoing debate and recognition of (and ultimately respect for) difference. While remaining aware of the potential pitfalls of employing such a perspective, these scholars have also demonstrated that this perspective can provide analytical tools for understanding and re-imagining changing “world orders,” as well as organize discourse and people around ethical principles and inter-American political solidarity.

Canadian Cultural Studies

Despite its substantial and significant character, Latina/o cultural production in Canada has received scant critical attention in hemispheric studies (as well as in the other frameworks discussed here). Its relative invisibility in Canada, moreover, suggests that the nation remains an important category of analysis for understanding the specific aesthetic and thematic concerns of this transnational group as they develop in different nation-states. And while there are many commonalities between U.S. Latina/o, Chicana/o, and Latina/o Canadian cultural production, some important distinctions remain. These distinctions point to the differences in patterns of migration from Latin American countries to Canada and the United States, the different national cultures of these host countries, and different configurations of acculturation and settlement among

Latin Americans in the countries of *el norte*. Thus, a continued focus on the role of the nation is particularly relevant for understanding differences among transnational groups and the social and material bases of cultural production and practices. However, whereas scholars such as Sugars posit an unproblematic view of the nation as a defence against “foreign” American culture and values, work in Canadian cultural studies tends to view the nation as a site of both ongoing external and internal conflict and struggle for access to social and economic “goods.” This viewpoint is supported in particular by numerous scholars who have examined how Canadian nationalist, government, and literary discourses posit settler societies as the normative national groups and all other citizens as cultural others.²⁵ Such critics have tended to highlight how modern nationalist discourses and policies that have developed out of Canada’s colonial history construct differentiated national subjects based on their affiliation with different ethnic, economic or social groups. Thus, the process of othering is essential to multiculturalism even if the official discourse of multiculturalism presents itself as an “equalizing” or unifying strategy. Rather than being a vehicle for true equality between all of Canada’s cultures, from this perspective Canadian multiculturalism instead privileges the “folkloric” cultural elements and activities of ethnic groups and cultural “minorities” while ignoring more urgent calls for social and economic justice or redistribution.

Following the work of Mignolo and other decolonial scholars, I understand cultural policies such as Canadian Multiculturalism and official Bilingualism to have developed out of specific colonial and postcolonial social structures and relations, which

²⁵ For some of the better-known critiques of Canadian multiculturalism, see Bissoondath 1994, Mackey 1999, Bannerji 2000, Kamboureli 2000, Coleman 2006, Thobani 2007, and Haque 2012.

are based on intersections between race, class, and “culture” (and, of course, gender). As I note in my earlier discussion of coloniality and culture, multiculturalism has had tangible effects in the everyday lives of people living in Canada, including the kinds of art and culture that can now be labeled properly “Canadian.” Literature is tied to the nation in the multicultural project through the incorporation of certain kinds of “minority” literatures into the nation while excluding others. The Canadian literary field, for example, has changed considerably as greater numbers of “ethnic” writers have published critically acclaimed and best-selling novels, and greater numbers of Canadian literary scholars have become attuned to and interested in the particularities of this writing. As Smaro Kamboureli tells us:

Multicultural literature is not minority writing, for it does not raise issues that are of minor interest to Canadians. Nor is it, by any standard, of lesser quality than the established literary tradition. Its thematic concerns are of such a diverse range that they show the binary structure of “center” and “margins,” which has for so long informed discussions of Canadian literature to be a paradigm of the history of political and cultural affairs in Canada. (*Making a Difference* 3)

Diasporic and transnational writers, moreover, have increasingly become emblematic of CanLit, particularly second-generation Canadians and writers from other Commonwealth countries.

Nevertheless, much of this newly recognized writing has been written in English or French, and disseminated through traditional publishing practices, scholarly frameworks, and audience formations that are not necessarily able to incorporate ethnic literatures written in minority or multiple languages, such as Latina/o Canadian literature. In her work on Canadian multiculturalism within an English-French bilingual framework, Eve Haque demonstrates how language within a *bi*-lingual, *multi*-cultural context “becomes a convenient basis for racial differentiation because, even as the universal

nature of language is claimed, the deterministic and immutable origins of separate languages provide the bases for dividing and hierarchicalizing groups of people along cultural and racialized lines” (15). Thus, while CanLit is increasingly multicultural and transnational in scope, it is still largely produced and circulated in the language of Canada’s first European settler communities, suggesting that Canadian audiences value multicultural literature inasmuch as it can be accessed in socially dominant languages and idioms. In this way, allophone cultural production such as Latina/o Canadian literature remains at the margins of a multicultural literary discourse that nevertheless privileges the languages of the original colonizers. Accordingly, Sabine Milz argues that more scholarly attention should be paid to questions of ethics or values in the study of cultural production in the current transnational environment:

[...] instead of worrying about what might happen to “Canadian literature” in the current context of neoliberal globalization, as literary or cultural critics we might want to focus our study of the materiality of Canadian literature on the political and social values that shape contemporary cultural practices and on the question of what it means to have access to and participate in Canada’s public cultural sphere. (102)

Like McClennen’s conceptualization of a more progressive and inclusive inter-American or hemispheric perspective, Milz envisions a Canadian perspective that focuses on questions of value and which accounts for different levels of participation and access to the national public sphere, which is particularly relevant to the study of Latina/o cultural production in Canada.

National Languages in Transnational Fields of Literary Production

Given the potentially large audiences available to Latina/o Canadian writers in the Americas, Milz's questioning of the levels of access and participation in the national public sphere can also be applied to the transnational public sphere. In her essay on transnational book markets in the Americas—which incidentally does not address Canada's place in these markets—Molly Metherd writes:

[T]he most diffuse products of this transnational cultural exchange come from mass media productions packaged for transnational audiences (i.e., Hollywood films, television shows, popular magazines, product advertisements) that tend to homogenize messages, promote stereotypes, and simplify complex issues. However another effort to make sense of shifting relationships in the Americas is coming from a group of U.S. and Spanish American literary figures. (2)

The resonance that Habell-Pallán identifies between Chicana/o/ and Latina/o cultural production and issues in the United States and recent Latina/o Canadian cultural production is not only due to “progressive” Latino/a politics of inter-American solidarity but is also a result of the increased circulation of mass media products from the United States (including those created by and for Latino/as and Chicano/as) through advances in telecommunications and global media systems. Given the dominance of U.S.-based mass culture on a global scale, however, much of this mass culture is produced and circulated in a single language: English (Mosquera 163–64). Thus, while Latina/o Canadian cultural producers, like their Chicana/o and Latina/o counterparts, are increasingly influenced by, critical of, and embedded in global mass media messages and systems, these systems are most frequently created and maintained in only one of the languages of the Americas.

Language is of particular relevance to this study since multilingualism in the Latina/o Canadian literary field is not only one of its salient characteristics; it is also increasingly characteristic of transnational commercial publishing and the reconfiguration of increasingly globalized, multilingual audiences through unidirectional linguistic

practices such as Spanish to English translation and English as a second-language acquisition (Metherd 4; Pollack 347). For example, the sociolinguistic position of Latina/o literature in the Canadian literary context has often meant that this literature has had to be produced outside of mainstream, commercial, or national frames requiring knowledge of more than one language, multiple forms of funding and “creative labour,” as well as national and transnational forms of readership (G. Etcheverry 31). In order to incorporate language into the discussion of coloniality and literature, Walter Mignolo traces the processes of linking particular languages and literary practices to distinct national territories and peoples, arguing for the importance of creating a

frame in which [we can understand literature as] not necessarily the grammar or the phonetic, but the politics of language as far as literary practices have been, in the modern/colonial world system, linked in different ways to the coloniality of power in its colonial as well as national versions, and as far as canon formation and national and Western values have been woven together to produce the linguistic maps, the historical geographies, and the cultural landscapes of the modern/colonial world system [...]. (“Local Histories” 223)

Thus, attention to questions of language is of increasing importance in understanding not only the politics of language and literary practices among English, French, and allophone communities in Canada but also for understanding such relations among “delocalized transnations” in a globalized hemispheric context.

Addressing the cultural politics of language and literary production in postcolonial and multicultural settings is linked to another underlying premise of my dissertation research: namely, that literature (or any other form of art) is not created in a vacuum, but rather is created, consumed, and exists within a matrix of complex social and economic relations, including the national and transnational. In order to flesh out this assumption and demonstrate some of its workings in the Canadian “multicultural”

context, in Chapter 1 I draw on the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his formulation of the social and economic processes that support the development of literary and artistic fields.²⁶ As Mignolo suggests, colonality also affects the development of literary fields in “post”-colonial settings, especially in cases where the language of the colonizers has been imposed on Indigenous inhabitants and new, minoritized immigrants. Rey Chow explicitly supplements Bourdieu’s understanding of the literary field and his formulation of the *habitus* in particular, via the work of Jacques Derrida on colonization and language, arguing that languaging, or the “open-ended process that combines attunement to context, storing and retrieving memories, and communication” (125) is central to colonial and postcolonial relations of power. Linking language and race as colonialist categories of othering, Chow views postcolonial literary practices and values as illustrative of the conflicts and struggles faced by formerly colonized subjects who either live in the interstices of two or more languages (via translation practices or speaking with an accent, for example), or who only know or work in the language of the colonizer rather than their own “native” language (as in Jacques Derrida’s own work on his monolingualism and problematic relationship with the French language, or the famous debate between Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o on the ramifications of writing

²⁶ Bourdieu argues that the social valuation of cultural production and the perception and valuation of art are not only rooted in aesthetic preferences and norms but also in the social and economic. He theorizes that relations of power are reproduced by agents (artists, publishers, curators) who “help to define and produce the value of works of art” (37) and working within specific areas of knowledge and labour (i.e., history, literature, art) or the field, which these individuals will enter or approach according to their *habitus* and in which they will compete for prestige, knowledge, status, employment, and so forth based on the degree of their cultural capital and belief in the aesthetic and social values of the cultural production of the field. Finally, varying degrees of symbolic power are attributed to works of art according to the producers’ and consumers’ dispositions towards, and cultural knowledge of, a given field.

in the languages of African colonizers). Thus, language in its aesthetic, social and subjective dimensions is central to the development of national literatures, postcolonial or otherwise.

Pascale Casanova describes the relationship between language and literature on a global scale (or that of “world literature”) in the following way:

Language is another major component of literary capital. The political sociology of language studies the usage and relative value of language only in political and economic terms, ignoring that which, in the world of letters, defines their linguistic and literary capital—what I propose to call *literariness*. Certain languages, by virtue of the prestige of the texts written in them, are reputed to be more literary than others, to embody literature. [...] Literary value therefore attaches to certain languages, along with purely literary effects (notably connected with translation) that cannot be reduced to the strictly linguistic capital possessed by a particular language or to the prestige associated with the use of a particular language in the worlds of scholarship, politics, and economics. (17–18 original emphasis)

The competition for literary capital, value, and prestige that Bourdieu describes in a single national literary field also exists within larger global/international and postcolonial literary fields, and includes the very language in which texts are written, read, and circulated. As Casanova argues, the language of a literary field has tangible effects on its position in global literary structures and becomes increasingly complex as national identity is no longer strictly confined to a single national territory (206–07). National languages in international and transnational contexts, then, are a key factor in the degree of “success” or prestige a writer will have within the international literary field.

Reading Latina/o Canadian Writing

Taken together, these frameworks allow us to approach Latina/o Canadian cultural production from thematic, contextual, and political viewpoints that take into

account both its national and its transnational dimensions. The works that I have selected for close textual reading represent some of the major tendencies and developments identified in Hugh Hazelton's pioneering study of Latina/o Canadian literature *Latino-Canada* (2007), and builds on this work by discussing the themes outlined in other recent critical works. At the same time, my study also foregrounds some of the primary ways in which Latina/o Canadian texts are produced in Canadian and transnational literary fields. With the exception of Hazelton's book, the study of Latina/o Canadian cultural production has been relatively scarce; there are few sources on this cultural activity and even less literary criticism on Latina/o Canadian texts by CanLit scholars. Many of the studies that do exist, moreover, have been written by Latina/o Canadian authors and often published outside of academia in multilingual or Spanish-language and multilingual literary journals, such as the Ottawa-based *Alter Vox* and Montreal's *Vice Versa*. Scholarly sources on Latina/o Canadian literature and drama are from divergent disciplines with different questions, concerns, methodologies, and outlooks. To date, Hazelton's work is the only book-length study of this literature and provides both historical and thematic overviews of Latina/o Canadian letters and particular analyses of works by ten major writers. Two critical publications since *Latino-Canada* have somewhat updated the information in Hazelton's work: a special issue on Latina/o Canadian literature of the Brazilian journal *Interfaces Brazil/Canada* in 2013, and a collection of essays on Latina/o Canadian drama published through the Playwrights Canada Press's New Essays in Canadian Theatre series in the same year. Although the disciplinary, generational and generic concerns in both collections of essays are quite divergent, taken together, these works provide much needed information on the linguistic

strategies, thematic concerns, shifts in genres, and the publishing and performance practices of this highly diverse group of writers.

The texts that I have chosen to focus on are representative of a number of themes, writers, and genres within the field, and especially foreground the process of dislocation and acculturation and issues of dual identity. The themes of space, time, and language can be identified to some extent in all of these texts insofar as they are central to common conceptualizations of national identity and the experience of modernity, and I refer to all three themes throughout my analysis. At the same time, my organization of the primary texts separates them into distinct thematic groups that highlight their position within the Latina/o Canadian literary field. Although I emphasize the thematic concerns of these texts, the chapters are also organized around specific genres. Thus, my consideration of Latina/o Canadian poetry, drama, travel writing, and memoir is meant to provide readers with a sense of the breadth and generic diversity of this field. As I discuss in Chapter 1, many of these writers work in more than one genre and are therefore actively engaged at the interstices of different nations, generations, languages, and literary traditions. Moreover, while the organization around these themes also mirrors the historical development of Latina/o Canadian literature beginning with considerations of space in the poetry of Chilean exiles in the 1970s, I also subvert this chronological order by concluding my analysis with a comparison of indigenization in a twenty-first century Bolivian “immigrant” text and an eighteenth-century travel journal about Canada’s Pacific Northwest coast written for Spanish imperial aims in this territory. In creating this circular timeline, my intent is to illustrate the longstanding nature of Canada’s hemispheric relations with “Latin America” and transnational *latinidad*, as well as the

problems with European/settler claims to historical primacy in the region. My textual analyses are framed by an opening chapter, “Contesting Canadian Latinities: Carmen Aguirre’s *Something Fierce* and English Canada’s Institution of Literature,” that provides a sociohistorical context for the development of Latina/o Canadian literature from a decolonial standpoint. Rather than taking the power inequalities between different cultural groups for granted, I examine some of the mechanisms for the production, reproduction and negotiation of such relations at the national and transnational level. In so doing, I demonstrate the ways in which prevailing definitions of “culture” in the Canadian literary field are used to classify certain groups as insiders and outsiders, or make them altogether invisible. More specifically, following the work of Juan Flores (2006), Claudia Milian (2013), Eve Haque (2012), Eva Mackey (1999) and others, I examine the ways in which the ideas of culture underpinning U.S.-based *latinidad*, as well as Anglo-Canadian literary norms and the institutions that support them, help to create and maintain a particular settler colonial racial order that does not easily accommodate Canadian latinities. As a case study of the contested place of literary latinity in this country, I examine the reception of the best-selling memoir, *Something Fierce: Memoirs of a Revolutionary Daughter* (2011) by the Chilean-Canadian author Carmen Aguirre. I propose that the constructions of *latinidad* and of Aguirre’s work in the Canada Reads contest and debates revealed that both Canadian and Latina/o identities are ongoing sites of contestation and negotiation.

The first major group of literary texts I consider in this study consists of works by Chilean poets who came to Canada after the 1973 military coup in Chile: Gonzalo Millán, and Jorge Etcheverry. Chapter Two, “Of Other Times and Places: Alternative

Chronotopes in the Poetry of Chilean Exiles in Canada,” considers these texts under the heading of “time” for two reasons: they were written by the first generation of exiled Latino writers who came to Canada and they address the historical events that led to their exile from their home country while also constructing alternative national chronotopes via metaphorical cities. These works are also informed by the Chilean surrealist tradition, which links them not only to an important strain of their national literary culture, but also to the transnational artistic culture developed in France at the beginning of the twentieth century and other forms of experimental poetry in the Americas. The texts I examine here were produced at different moments of the dictatorship—and thus, the author’s exile in Canada—and are written in both Spanish and English, signaling the inception of a bilingual Spanish-English literature in this country. Although these two authors came to Canada in roughly the same period (and under similar circumstances), and their early works were preoccupied with the exile from Chile and subsequent acculturation (or lack thereof), their thematic and stylistic engagement with the idea of history or “time” is diverse.

Millán’s long poem, *The City (La ciudad)* deals with the effects of time/history in relation to the political events in Chile or their re-location in Canada and, as such, displays what McClennen has identified as a fundamental dialectic of exile: “writing about the exile experience reflects the fact that the exile has been cast out of the present of their nation’s historical time. This causes a series of dialectic tensions between different versions of linear / progressive / historical time and the experience that exile is a suspension of linear time” (3). *Tangier (Tánger)*, the other text I analyze in this section, however, somewhat complicates this relationship to time through a fictive creation of the

port city of Tangier, which is not only reminiscent of the “lost” home nation but also recreates a home and, thus history, in experimental poetic language through homage to the Beat writers who also sojourned there. I argue that the focus on urban spaces in these alternative imaginings of the home nation allowed these authors to create alternative national memories and histories to the dictatorship’s totalizing narratives of national identity and belonging.

The third chapter, “Fear and Loving in Las Americas: Space and Affect in Latina/o Canadian Diasporic Drama,” brings the treatment of space into sharper focus. Space is another important marker of modern identity insofar as the modern subject is most often associated with national territory or borders and, thus, space. While it is true that a large part of human history has involved human migration and movement across space, particular attention has been given to the importance of national cultures and identities in the modern era and their loss or transformations in the processes of de-territorialization often associated with the mass migrations of the mid- and late twentieth century. Critical attention to the role of space in the production of identity has focused on national and urban spaces (Massey, Soja, Lefebvre) and the spaces of cultural and capital “flows” (Harvey), often forging connections between the global and the local. The two dramatic texts that I have chosen for my study—*The Refugee Hotel* (2011) by Carmen Aguirre and *Fronteras Americanas* (1993) by Guillermo Verdecchia—highlight these issues in numerous and creative ways. Whereas my analysis of Chilean exile poetry foregrounds the relationship between time and space, in this chapter I examine the relationship between the marginal, transitory spaces (the border and hotel) in which the plays are set and diverging forms of diasporic affect.

In many ways, *Fronteras Americanas* can be considered a “bridge” between the works of first generation of political exiles and Latina/o Canadian literary production after the late eighties and early nineties by economic migrants and “one-and a-half” and second generation Latino/as in Canada. Rather than focusing on a lost homeland, Verdecchia engages with what it is like never to have had a rooted sense of “home” and associated feelings of disorientation after leaving Argentina at an early age and relocating in Canada. These feelings of disorientation and alienation, moreover, are compounded with the proliferation of mass media stereotypes of Latino and Chicano identities, which are then applied to all Latin Americans in North America, regardless of any differences in historical, social, or cultural specificities. *The Refugee Hotel*, while written almost 20 years later, goes back further in time to the experiences of Chilean refugees’ first weeks of life in Canada in the 1970s and the feelings of deep trauma and intense resilience they share.

I end my analysis with a fourth chapter, “Writing from Nootka: Exploration, Migration, and Indigenization in Hispanic American Travel Writing,” compares two texts, *Noticias de Nutka* (1794) and *Lettres de Nootka* (2008) by José Mariano Moziño and Alejandro Saravia, respectively, and their representation of Canadian First Nations and Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations from a “Hispanic-American” point of view. The collection of poems and short prose texts by Alejandro Saravia, *Lettres de Nootka*, uses multiple languages to foreground the role of conquest and colonization by the two founding nations in the construction of the space now called Canada by unearthing forgotten languages and histories, and mixing them with those of the conquerors. In this way, Saravia’s text resists the hierarchical and power implications of vertical translation

in which newer or minority languages are translated into more established or official languages such as English and French.

Saravia's text also implicitly critiques claims of historical primacy by English and French settler societies by exposing the little-known history of Spanish exploration of the western coast of present-day British Columbia and the account of these explorations recounted in the *Noticias de Nutka* by José Mariano Moziño, a Spanish naturalist sent from Mexico to explore the area. Saravia's attempt to highlight the Spanish presence in Canada in the eighteenth century is not meant to suggest a privileged relationship between this territory and Spanish-speaking migrants, but instead reminds us that Canada has long been a "transnational" space where diverse cultural groups have oppressed, collided with or created communities with its indigenous peoples. Both texts, I argue, can be considered forms of travel writing that are based on particular forms or genres of writing and language used to construct ethnographic authority. Whereas Moziño bases his ethnographic authority on his scientific study of the Indigenous people he encounters in Nootka Sound, Saravia uses the tropes of *indigenismo* on which to base his moral authority as ethnographic observer of the Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in Canada.

Chapter 1

Contesting Canadian Latinities: Carmen Aguirre's *Something Fierce* and English Canada's Institution of Literature

Latina/o Canadian identities and cultural production are little known and rarely analyzed outside of Latino/a Canadian communities. While a number of “official” language presses publish Latina/o Canadian texts, the majority are self-published through Spanish-language presses established by Latin American writers and academics in Canada. Similarly, a significant portion of Latina/o Canadian theatre is produced and staged by community arts groups and Latina/o theatre companies. Spanish and multilingual texts are rarely read or performed outside of the Latina/o community and small literary and academic Spanish-speaking circles, and thus their artistic—much less national—value is rarely considered by English-language audiences. Although more mainstream attention has been paid to this community’s artistic production in recent years, it is still relatively unknown in relation to other minoritized “ethnic” literatures in Canada. *Something Fierce: Memoirs of a Revolutionary Daughter* (2011) by Chilean-Canadian playwright Carmen Aguirre is a notable exception to this invisibility and is one of the few Latina/o Canadian literary texts to have received mainstream attention and readership in English Canada. The inclusion of this work in the 2012 CBC Canada Reads literary contest signaled greater inclusion of Latina/o Canadian cultural production in English Canada’s institution of literature. My analysis of this book’s reception in the English-Canadian public sphere highlights the different ways in which more “visible” latinities are constructed and contested through public discourses in this country. Thus, in this chapter, I ask how we can understand the significance of Aguirre’s win and whether

it signals a potential breakthrough or, conversely, a continued form of erasure of Latina/o identities or experiences in Canada. I discuss how the debates and circumstances of the 2012 Canada Reads prize constructed *latinidad* in Canada. Finally, I probe the kind of national identity the contest and related media discourses conveyed in the debates and controversy that erupted about Aguirre during the programming. I propose that this case study reveals yet another facet of *latinidad*'s contested place in Canada and that, furthermore, the very public debates about Aguirre's life history revealed the vicissitudes of Latino/a identity and experiences in Canada, as well as contested visions of Canadian identity itself.

In keeping with Claudia Milian's elaboration of the idea of *latinities* to destabilize current understandings of Latina/o identities, I wish to question how Latina/o literary and dramatic production is understood and emplaced in a Canadian cultural context. While the majority of Latina/o Canadian texts written in Spanish or in multilingual translation remain unknown to Canada's dominant language communities, *latinidad* in Canada is becoming more widely recognized and displays many differences from and similarities to Latino/a identity conceived in centres of Latino/a diaspora such as the U.S. Thus, the terms *latinidad* and *latinities* are used throughout this chapter in two different registers. I employ *latinidad* when discussing "master narratives" about Latin Americans (both within the region and without), and *latinities* to describe the more grounded and diverse experiences of members of this group. As José Esteban Muñoz explains of *latinidad*'s relationship to U.S. national culture:

Latino, a term meant to enable much-needed coalitions between different national groups, has not developed as an umbrella term that unites cultural and political activists across different national, racial, class, and gender divides. This problem has to do with its incoherence, by which I mean the term's inability to index, with

any regularity, the central identity tropes that lead to our understandings of group identities in the United States. “Latino” does not subscribe to a common racial, class, gender, religious, or national category, and if a Latino can be from any country in Latin America, a member of any race, religion, class, or gender/sex orientation, who then is she? What, if any, nodes of commonality do Latinas/os share? How is it possible to know *latinidad*? (67)

While his work is mostly centred on experiences and perceptions of Latina/os in the United States, my analysis here is of the relationship between *latinidad* and emerging Canadian latinities as expressed in cultural production. Rather than framing this openness and fluidity as problematic, in this chapter I consider the sometimes productive and contradictory ways in which the fluidity of *latinidad* is expressed and negotiated in cultural and geographical peripheries such as Canada. Instead of engaging in literary analysis, here I focus solely on issues of production and reception. In this way, this chapter provides a historical and discursive context for understanding the Canadian latinities that I examine in subsequent chapters in my literary analyses of exilic, diasporic, and Hispanic-American latinities.

In the following pages, I contextualize the development of Latina/o Canadian literature and also demonstrate how Canada’s institutionalized versions of culture directly affect Latina/o Canadian literary production. I begin with an overview of the conceptual and discursive constructions of *latinidad* and Canadianness (or Southern and Northern identities) from a hemispheric standpoint. While these poles are often thought of as cultural and geographical binaries, I emphasize their connections through coloniality. The chapter then moves to a brief discussion of official versions of Canadian culture and identity that developed out of this coloniality and how these definitions have been “operationalized” within Canadian cultural policy and institutions. As numerous scholars

have observed, much of this national culture has reified Anglo-Canadian cultural norms and values, despite the country's diverse cultural background, the introduction of official multicultural policy in the 1980s, and subsequent advances in improving access to cultural funding and institutions for ethnic minorities. Although the movement for Quebecois sovereignty and language rights were an important element in the English-Canadian turn to official bilingualism and multiculturalism, I intentionally avoid any in-depth discussion of Quebec here in order to highlight the relationship between "Anglos" and "Hispanics" in the hemisphere, as well as to somewhat shift the angle from which language issues are usually framed in Canada. As I point out, defining the Canadian multicultural within an English-French bilingual framework has greatly constrained the possibilities for Latina/o writers in Canada, as well as our official conceptions of culture more generally.²⁷ Thus, my principal argument in this chapter is that the relative "invisibility" of this group's participation in the Canadian literary field is a product of a number of contradictory factors, particularly English Canada's complicated cultural and identitarian position between the United States and Great Britain, as well as Latina/o Canadian literature's excision from national Latin American literatures, and its place at

²⁷ Since the focus of this study is on the national and transnational tensions in Anglo/Hispanic hemispheric relationships, I do not explicitly explore Latino/a writing in Quebec here. However, I plan on exploring Latina/o Canadian cultural production in Canada's French-speaking province in my postdoctoral research and how *latinidad* converges, conflicts, or connects with the Francophone idea of *latinité* in present-day Quebecois society and culture. In particular, I will consider issues of Latino/a racialization, marginalization, and coloniality in the poetry of Alejandro Saravia; in a novel by second-generation Chilean writer, Mauricio Segura; and in the documentary films of the exile Chilean author and director, Marilú Mallet. My analysis of the Latino/a experiences described in these diverse works will interrogate the limits and possibilities of *latinité* in the geographical, linguistic, and cultural interstices of the Americas. Further, I ask how a hemispheric vision of *latinité* might function when the relationship between "Latin" peoples is not forged in contradistinction to Anglo-Americanity, but rather in emerging contact zones of *latinity*.

the periphery of U.S.-Latina/o culture. In order to develop this argument and to provide a socially situated context for understanding its intersection with the more specifically literary/formal concerns explored in subsequent chapters, this chapter takes a more explicitly sociological approach to Latina/o Canadian cultural production.

In examining the imaginaries of Canadianness and *latinidad* (or North and South) and the materiality of “the institution of literature” in the construction of national culture in a settler nation such as Canada, I interrogate the place of *latinidad* in this country. More specifically, I ask how cultural ideologies and institutions mediate and value Latina/o Canadian cultural production. To affirm as I do here that the literary and the aesthetic are circumscribed by the political and economic is in some ways stating the obvious. However, dismissing this line of inquiry in fact allows many of the asymmetrical power relations in the field of cultural production to go unexamined and so unchallenged. My study thus helps close the disciplinary gaps in the existing scholarly work on Latina/o Canadian cultural production, as well as add a much-needed analysis of one of the ways in which the institution of literature reproduces normative forms of Canadian national identity. In a “post” colonial multicultural context such as Canada, the literary and aesthetic also represent forms of cultural citizenship and access to the dominant public sphere. Limiting access to this sphere and excluding certain forms of aesthetic and literary expression are forms of cultural exclusion that are supposedly at odds with the inclusive values of liberal, democratic societies. This also extends to cultural institutions and attendant values that do not recognize cultural expression outside of dominant cultural norms—whether these norms are expressly “multicultural” or not. Thus, examining some of the mechanisms involved in the production and valuation of

culture allows us to understand the material ways in which politics and economics affect culture, and thus the workings of power in the English Canadian literary field. Because, as I argue, the established practices and structures of English Canada's institution of literature cannot easily accommodate Latina/o Canadian cultural production, I contend that the kind of sociological analysis I am providing here is crucial to our understanding of this literary field. Rather than merely examining the obvious, then, in this chapter, my aim is to reveal what is hidden in plain sight.

Latin@ in Canad@ - *Latinidad* in English Canada

In this section, I return in greater depth to the discussion of *latinidad* in Canada that I raised in more general terms in the Introduction to this study. This renewed and greater focus is especially vital to my contention that Latina/o Canadian invisibility in the institution of literature is largely due to its hemispheric position between English Canada and the U.S., as well as English Canada's contradictory relationship to the more dominant national culture of the United States. According to Natalie Alvarez, "[m]obilizing the term "Latina/o" within Canada's borders is a means of continuing the process of identity formation that was initiated in the 1960s and '70s, reminding us that these markers are not fixed or static but, in transnational and transgeographic contexts, are always contested, processual, and formed as a result of multiple borders that have been crossed or that, historically, have crossed us" ("Introduction" v). Latina/o Canadian literature is situated within sometimes competing yet often overlapping global, hemispheric, and national social, literary, and discursive formations. At the same time, it does not effortlessly fall into a single disciplinary field, such as Comparative Literature, English

Literature, Latina/o or Canadian Studies. The term “Latina/o Canadian” itself brings together two long-held geographical and cultural opposites—North and South—that are not easy to reconcile. These oppositions (both imagined and real) have developed through different histories and patterns of imperial and colonial relations emanating from the West, planting the seeds of our ideas about the North and the South in the Americas in differing imperial projects and visions.²⁸ The supposedly immutable differences between North (read Anglo) and South (read Latin) became further demarcated as these imperial/colonial designs changed into nation-building projects based with varying degrees of “success” in modernization and industrialization, and continue well into present-day discourses of globalization and “development.” Thus, to speak of *latinidad* or Canadianness in their specificity also entails recognizing their inscription in global histories of imperial expansion, competition, *and* hegemony—or their common history of coloniality.²⁹

²⁸ As Claudia Sadowski-Smith and Claire Fox caution (11, 21), there is a danger of homogenizing the varied national histories and narratives of the many Latin American countries in the kind of comparison that I am doing here. However, my purpose is to outline some of the dominant discourses that have developed in the postcolonial era and which continue into the present, even if they are essentialist or reductive. While the aim of this overview is to illustrate how some of these broad conceptualizations of North and South developed over time, these are only some of the more dominant ideological constructions and are not representative of all contemporaneous discourse. Further, these views do not account for the ways in which both these geographic and symbolic locations are largely relative, in particular when considered from smaller regional or national levels, as with the relationship between Canada’s North and its South.

²⁹ This is a reference to Sánchez Prado’s conception of comparative American studies as a way of “engag[ing] the material intersections of Latin America and the United States in terms of the common history of coloniality and oppression” (276). While he is primarily concerned with examining the connections between Latino/as in the U.S. and Latin America through the lens of history rather than ethnicity, I find his formulation of comparative American studies “as a non-colonizing epistemology” (288) particularly relevant for comparing the historical roots of national/regional differentiation in the hemisphere, as well as the historical connections between Latina/os in North and South

In analyzing both the development of Latina/o Canadian literature and the reception of *Something Fierce* in English Canadian mainstream media, I propose that *latinidad* and Latina/o culture, while highly diverse, are not easily assimilated into an English Canadian host culture or literary establishment, especially Spanish-language and multilingual latinities. *Latinidad* is rarely associated with “the great white North” (except in its more circumscribed French counterpart, *latinité*, in the province of Quebec) and is most often constructed in opposition to the “Anglo-Saxon” North. Despite their growing (and diverse) presence in urban centres such as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, Latin Americans residing in Canada are largely invisible or contested identities in official narratives of Canada’s multicultural make-up. Inasmuch as these modes of understanding North and South continue to inform common (self-) perceptions of these regions, I contend that these ideological constructions have material consequences for Latin Americans in Canada in the present, both in terms of their economic and civil status here, and in terms of their inclusion in cultural institutions and participation in the public sphere and, thus, their ability to claim cultural citizenship. While I am focusing on this

America. A commonality in coloniality between the development of Canadian ideologies of national identity and those that developed somewhat earlier in much of Latin America was the uneasy relationship with both modernity and the United States. According to Jack Bumstead’s overview of Canadian nationalist strains since 1867, many of the country’s nationalist ideas were formulated by the cultural elite as a way of consolidating a nationalist identity and common purpose after Confederation. Other views of Canadian national “identity and character” that circulated during this period stressed instead continental commonalities and commercial relations with the United States rather than with other colonies in the British empire, which were seen as being too different from Canada (i.e., referring mostly to the “Asiatic dominion” of India and the “emancipated negro slaves” in the West Indies); as well as a the less popular (and plausible) desire for Canada to remain a member of the British empire and still hold a distinct Canadian identity as a nation with responsibilities and status equal to those of the mother country (20). Nevertheless, these views of Canadian identity shared a belief that being colonial was a subordinate position and that Canada’s dominant language and culture should be English.

latter form of exclusion and misrecognition, the economic and the cultural effects of these ideological constructions are correlated insofar as they reflect the unequal geopolitical relationships between North and South in the American hemisphere, as well as those between host nation and immigrant.

Edmundo O’Gorman’s central thesis that America was not “discovered but invented” (47) points to the ideological moves necessary to create our current understanding of the American “new world.” As Ignacio Sánchez Prado writes, “the continent, rather than being ‘discovered,’ was subject to an ideological process of construction that ultimately led to the incorporation of America into the Euro Christian imaginary” (280).³⁰ The “invention” of America and the discursive differences between South and North that have since developed have been not only inscribed in politics and economics, but also inscribed and reinscribed in culture. Real and imagined differences between North and South have largely been constructed through different histories and patterns of imperial and colonial relations. Indeed, the idea of a distinct Latin cultural identity in opposition to Anglo-American culture has historical foundations in nineteenth-century decolonial and neocolonial struggles, and its redeployment in postcolonial social movements in the United States and Canada in the twentieth century.

³⁰ Ironically, the idea of a “Latin” America developed in the crucial nineteenth century through the aims of another imperial nation, France (Sadowski-Smith and Fox 26). According to Mignolo:

The idea of ‘Latin America’ that came into view in the second half of the nineteenth century depended in varying degrees on an idea of ‘Latinidad’– ‘Latinity’-‘Latinité’ that was being advanced by France. By the 19th century the imperial difference had moved north, to distinguish between states that were all Christian and capitalist. In the Iberian ex-colonies, the ‘idea’ of Latin America emerged as a consequence of conflicts between imperial nations; it was needed by France to justify its civilizing mission in the South and its overt conflict with the U.S. for influence in the area. (*The Idea of Latin America* 58)

In a hemispheric context, “Latinos” have traditionally been thought to naturally reside in the southern continent and their presence in the United States either through territorial acquisition or migration has largely been treated as a socioeconomic problem requiring legislative and sometimes military action. However, as many Chicana/o artists, activists, and scholars have shown, “Latinos” have had a long presence in North America. The popular Chicana/o slogan, “We didn’t cross the border! The border crossed us!” is reflective of the long past “Latina/os” have in the northern hemisphere, as well as of the different kinds of claims to authentic belonging to the land—and strategic claims to origins—that have been used in past political movements and still inform Chicana/o and pro-immigration activism in the southwestern United States. As I discuss in Chapter 3, the division between North and South also denotes the division between wealth and poverty, development and underdevelopment, barbarism and civilization, and, thus, as Nelson Maldonado Torres puts it, between damnation and salvation. These supposed differences have also affected Canadian ideas of hemispheric identity and were already visible in early nationalist discourses about the Great White North that propounded Canada’s unique northern identity in contradistinction to their ‘lazy,’ “effeminate” neighbours in the south (stereotyped characteristics of Latina/os that early Canadian nationalists ironically used to describe their neighbours in the United States).³¹

³¹ Some early Canadian nationalist visions were tied up with modernist value systems such as a faith in progress and technology and, like its Latin American counterparts, it also held contradictory visions of race and indigeneity, which I discuss at greater length in Chapter 4. The “Canada First” movement, for example, was explicitly based on a racist belief in the superiority of “northern races.” Canada’s hemispheric superiority was due to its being founded and made-up of strong northern races, such as the Scottish, English, and Irish (to the exclusion of the French and Americans to the south, who were considered weak and effeminate because they were not northern “enough”) (Bumstead 19). These articulations of Canada’s unique North American identity highlighted

In his essay, “Latin-Americanizing Canada,” José Antonio Giménez Micó describes “the process of transculturation that occurs through the inclusion of Latin American identities into Canadian identities, and the consequent transformation of the latter” (59), particularly in relation to the cultural production of Latin American exiles in this country. By providing an overarching analysis of this process, Giménez Micó points to the multiple experiences of Latina/o Canadians in their interactions with their adopted society and opens up a much-needed space for scholarly discussions of this group’s field of cultural production. However, Canada has often been imagined as a space devoid of a Latina/o presence and the examples of transculturation that Micó describes are relatively minor. Moreover, when *latinidad*’s presence is made visible in English Canada, as with the inclusion of *Something Fierce* in the Canada Reads contest, mainstream media discourses about *latinidad* primarily serve to reinforce existing ideas of Canadian “civility” and foreign barbarity. Despite Canada’s official multiculturalism and once

Canada’s geography and identity as a northern country originally populated by hardy “northern races,” such as the English, Scottish, or Scandinavian peoples, who initially settled the country, and were said to be integral to the construction of Canada’s unique character or “psyche” (Mackey 30–32). The focus on the new country’s “northern” character distinguished it from their counterparts to the south so that the newly joined colonies were no longer primarily distinguished from the United States by their colonial status. This view of Canadian identity, of course, erased Indigenous people from the landscape as it conflated the Canadian landscape with the “whiteness” of the settler nation’s “founding races.” Where many Latin American nations had assimilated the Indigenous population through *mestizaje*, the Canadian government enacted different means of assimilation and erasure, such as the Indian Residential School System, and the use of starvation, malnutrition, and disease to eradicate entire populations or pressure Indigenous peoples to sign treaties that would put Indigenous lands in the hands of the government while confining their people to reserves. See James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: U of Regina P, 2013); Ian Mosby, “Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952,” *Histoire sociale / Social History* XLVI. 91 (Mai/May 2013): 145–72, for some of the more recent scholarly discussions Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in Canada during this period.

robust refugee policies, there is also a highly entrenched idea of a very clear geographical and ethno-cultural divide between Anglo and Latin America. In addition to the highly policed demarcation between the two Americas, there has long been a more specific belief that Canada does not have—and never has had—Latina/os within its borders despite the long presence of Latin Americans in this country.

In Canada's racial economy, Latina/os have been highly *invisible* until the recent increase in immigrants from the region, and greater visibility of migrants from Mexico through labour programs such as the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP).³² However, while these workers may be visible in news stories about unfair working conditions and in the agricultural communities in which they are hired, they are not permanent residents and do not typically live in the country year round. The sense of invisibility is also reflected in the experience of the Latina/o community in Toronto studied by Luisa Veronis. In her work on the spatialized politics of Latina/o Canadian identity in that city, she explains how Latina/o Canadian groups have come together to try to create a community space as a way of asserting their presence in the cityscape. She argues that "new and diverse immigrant groups rely on essentializing and territorialized strategies to forge a common identity and lay claims to equal citizenship rights" (456) and that this community uses of strategic essentialism to overcome their "sense of placelessness and material disenfranchisement" (455). Thus, even though Canada is now a multicultural society and Latin Americans have been migrating here in significant

³² First introduced in 1966, it has seen the number of workers coming to Canada from Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean increase exponentially. There has been a particularly rapid increase in workers from Mexico coming primarily to Ontario since the 1990s. See Jenna Hennebry, "Gaining Perspective on Low-Skill Temporary Labour Migration in Canada," *FOCAL Policy Paper*, August 2011.

numbers since the 1970s, they are rarely considered part of Canada's geographical or social space.

At the same time, mainstream identifications of Latinos in Canada have largely relied on negative stereotypes about Latina/o diasporic communities and Chicana/os in the United States creating a sense of ambivalent racialization; Latina/os are often made visible in official national discourses (and practices) through the repetition of U.S.-based stereotypes while simultaneously feeling invisible on material, social, and political domains. Alicia Arrizón's recent essay on the work of Latina/o Canadian comedian, Marta Chaves, for example, illustrates the ways in which Latina/os are still typecast in such stereotypes. Echoing Guillermo Verdecchia's experience in *Fronteras Americanas*, which I discuss in Chapter 3, Chaves explains that "[a]s an actress, [she] sees herself typecast in the stereotypical 'Latina' roles of cleaning lady, madam, or drug dealer" (20). However, Chaves typifies the diversity of the Latina/o community/diaspora in Canada insofar as her own experience of migration does not follow the more formulaic renditions of Latina/o migration to North America: "her journey as an immigrant is not the story of an undocumented 'border crosser' ... Instead, her middle-class parents sent her to Canada to further her studies (and escape the [Nicaraguan] revolution). The pain of her exile and the consequent loss of identity that Chaves describes, however, are similar to every immigrant's experience..." (23–24).³³ Even though there are notable differences between Latina/os in Canada and in the U.S., a significant point of convergence between Latina/o

³³ In her analysis of Chaves's comedic performances—which often deal with her search for a Latina/o Canadian identity while grappling with her multiple subject positions as a Latina, Canadian, lesbian and comedian—Arrizón proposes that her style of "intersectional humour," like much comedy, is born out of a sense of abjection which, as "a state of transition or transformation" (21) then "becomes a tool of liberation and empowerment" (20).

Canadian cultural production and criticism and Chicano/a studies is the experience and representation of migration and exclusion, particularly within the Americas.

How then are these constructions of North and South and the unequal power relations they imply re-inscribed in Canadian cultural and literary institutions and norms? Do these hemispheric ideologies shift when *latinidad* enters Canada? How does this official view of Canadian culture affect Latina/o Canadian representation in and access to the institution of literature in this country? Finally, how might literary practices further articulate and/or contest these visions? As I explore below, although a considerable volume of work has been devoted to the ways in which Canadian literature has constructed English-Canadianness as the normative national identity, there is still a lack of studies that focus on the various ways in which this normative identity is also reproduced in the institutions, practices, and very materiality of English-Canadian literature.³⁴ In her introduction to the latest collection of essays of the TransCanada Institute, Smaro Kamboureli writes that “Canada and Canadian do not circulate in critical discourses merely as signs of native circumstance, nor do they signify as transparent descriptors; rather, they demand to be read synchronically and diachronically, locally, transnationally, and globally, that is, as cyphers of a plurisignification process that has recalibrated as much the institutional formation of Canadian literature as the critical discourses about it” (4). In shifting attention to the intersecting formations and materiality

³⁴The relationship between ideology, national identity, and facets of the institution of literature such as the canon can be found in early works such as *Reading Canadian Reading* (Winnipeg: Turnstone, 1988) edited by Frank Davey, and Robert Lecker’s *Making It Real: The Canonization of English-Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi, 1995). However, these do not examine the “institution” as a whole, nor the place of allophone writing within this institution.

of English-Canadian literary production, Kambourelli echoes an earlier call by Diana Brydon to examine the “institutional practices and conditions that actualize ideology,” asserting after Jeffrey Williams that “the question of literature is inseparable from our institutional practices and locations” (212, Williams 1 qtd in Brydon 4). Taking Williams as model, Brydon further proposes that “there is value in looking at Canadian literature as an institution in the looser sense of ‘designating an established practice or tradition’ and in the more concrete sense of considering some of ways in which it organizes and promotes its continuance through formally institutionalized structures” (5). And it is precisely the established practices and structures of English Canada’s institution of literature, I argue, that cannot easily accommodate Latina/o Canadian cultural production.

As numerous scholars have pointed out, the very development of English Canada’s institution of literature was tied to nationalist ideals and cultural “defence” against capitalist (i.e., American) economic and cultural imperialism (Angus 17). In the early to mid-twentieth century, literature and cultural production more generally were seen as essential components in cementing a national culture distinct from the more prolific and profitable—and thus, powerful—culture of the United States. In the postwar period, this particular version of English-Canadian cultural nationalism stressed the value of culture in fostering a national community while instilling liberal democratic values and emphasizing inherited British traditions (again in contradistinction to the U.S.).³⁵ This

³⁵ In his study of the Massey Commission, Paul Litt argues that the conflation of Canadian cultural defence with the defence of liberal democracy from the dual threats of crass commercialism founded in unfettered business interests and Soviet-style communist authoritarianism provided nationalists like Vincent Massey with added leverage in their claim that state intervention was absolutely necessary to counter the negative effects of monopoly-building and the erosion of the public sphere: “The state was the only available means of offsetting business power, and it was natural that the cultural elite

English-Canadian cultural nationalism morphed in the late twentieth century, first taking on a more radical stance against U.S. imperialism in the 1960s and 1970s, and then in the 1980s becoming more openly (and officially) multicultural, again stressing its difference from U.S. culture in highlighting the metaphor of Canada's cultural "mosaic" versus the American "melting pot." Since then, multicultural literature, or literature written by ethnic minorities, has become important to the construction of English-Canada's national culture and cultural identity at home and abroad. Numerous ethnic or immigrant writers, such as Rohinton Mistry, Michael Ondaatje and Dionne Brand to name a few, have gained national and international recognition and prestige under this new multicultural regime. Thus, Canada's very diversity and supposed consensus in the face of fractiousness have become symbols of the country's national identity, particularly through official discourses and cultural institutions such as the academy and national literary contests.

According to Kamboureli, the "undifferentiated particularity [and] levelling of differences" in official multiculturalism has not only become central to Canada's revamped "project of national pedagogy"; it has also become an important selling point for Canadian cultural goods in the growing global markets for celebratory multicultural products (*Scandalous Bodies* 51).³⁶ Official multiculturalism and the process of democratizing culture and providing greater access to underserved communities coincided with a greater emphasis on culture as an industry able to compete in a U.S.-dominated market. Whereas conventional research on Canadian cultural policy and

would look to it to foster the humanistic culture it felt was so necessary to the preservation and enhancement of liberal democracy" (106).

³⁶ See Moretti, Siskind, Cassanova, and *n+1* for discussions of the ubiquity of the global novel and World Literature.

discourses has tended to view the current neo-liberal understanding of culture as a commodity as a break with traditional definitions of culture and cultural policy goals,³⁷ other scholars suggest that there is a more direct link between modern, humanist nationalism and neoliberal cultural and economic discourses: namely, capitalism and the rise of the cultural industries. In her essay on Canadian cultural policy-making under neoliberal economic and governmental regimes, for example, Sabine Milz refers to this seemingly contradictory relationship between cultural nationalism and cultural industries as the “nexus of the national and the neoliberal” (86). As funding and cultural institutions became more accessible, one of the effects of the shift to a market model has meant that allophone multicultural literature is not equally supported by cultural institutions or granting agencies and is left to compete in the market without the financial support provided to eligible official language publishers and theatre companies. In concrete terms, allophone writers and publishers in Canada—unlike their French and English counterparts who are still eligible for some government funding—must compete to sell their cultural “goods” in the “free market” on unequal terms.³⁸

³⁷ See Dorland 1996, Godard 1998, Edwardson 2008, Berland 2000, Fuller and Sedo 2006, Milz 2007, Druick 2012.

³⁸ Although culture as an industry had been an important way of framing federal cultural policies and programs since the late 1950s and ‘60s, (Dowler; Dorland 351–52; Edwardson 197), it became much more prominent in the late 1990s with Canada’s ratification of NAFTA in which culture is seen as a “good” like any other. As much as cultural and nationalist groups alike, particularly publishers, resisted this view of culture it is now the most common view employed in government policies. For example, when interviewed about the Conservative government’s \$45 million worth of cuts to arts funding in 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper responded that “the government should play “a fundamental role” in encouraging growth and excellence in arts and culture, but added that the marketplace, consumers and benefactors must also help shape the cultural landscape” (James Bradshaw, “Harper plays populist tune on arts cuts,” *The Globe and Mail*, September 11, 2008). This conception of culture and its attendant funding cuts have affected all forms of cultural production in Canada.

While Canada's multicultural policies, literatures, and demographic make-up should in theory create a favourable environment for writers from Latin America living and working in Canada, in the remainder of this chapter I argue that two oft-overlooked elements of English Canada's multicultural national culture and hemispheric context have in fact worked to restrict the possibilities (and valuation) of Latina/o cultural production in this country and illustrate the vicissitudes of Canadian identity itself: namely, Latina/o Canadian literature's multilingual character, and the negative stereotypes and limited awareness of Latina/o and Latin American culture and politics. I begin by demonstrating how the development of Latina/o Canadian literature and drama in non-official languages or in translation has largely taken place on the margins of English Canada's institution of literature. I then examine media discourses about Aguirre's supposed terrorism and its association with both struggles for equality in South Africa and Islamic fundamentalism in Iran. Thus, even when *latinidad* was made visible and "prized" in the institution of literature and related media discourses, the historical and political specificity of Aguirre's experience and work was effectively effaced. My analysis therefore foregrounds how the institutionalized ideologies, practices, and values marginalize Latina/o Canadian cultural production even as it embraces cultural difference.

An Accented Literature: Linguaging and the Development of Latina/o Canadian Writing

The conflicting values given to English Canadian national culture have had direct consequences for the development of this field, particularly in terms of language. Government arts funding for literary presses, for example, is contingent not only on primarily publishing in an official language but also on following market models of

production and distribution. As these presses start with little funding for publications, they must often turn to writers to pay for their own publications. Because this does not follow industry copyright and contractual standards, thus failing to meet funding criteria, the work is devalued as amateur, vanity or “ethnic” publishing. The lack of funding, devalued aesthetic/commercial status, and natural national/linguistic audiences makes it much more difficult for Latina/o Canadian presses and writers to then find proper distribution channels, leading to lower sales and thus the need to rely again on author-funded publications. Thus, the reliance on interstitial publishing practices has had a negative circular effect on Latina/o Canadian cultural production.³⁹ In his analysis of Iranian exile television and cinema in Los Angeles, Hamid Naficy elaborates the exilic or interstitial mode of cinematic production and how the traces of this mode of production are visible in the content and aesthetic of the films themselves, which he calls an “accented” cinema.”⁴⁰ In this same vein, I propose that Latina/o Canadian literature and

³⁹ In my MA research on a small press established by Chilean exiles and operated from the 1970s to the 1990s, I found that this group employed an interstitial mode of production much like that described by Hamid Naficy, which included low budgets and multiple forms of funding, multilingualism, and the multiplication of labour. Naficy outlines six characteristics of this mode of production that are also applicable to Chilean small press production in the early years of exile: low-budgets and varied or multiple forms of financing (134); the multiplication of labour (136); multilingualism (138); complexity of political and temporal constraints (139); extended lengths of time in the production and dissemination of films (140); and the limited output of exilic cultural products (141). This framework is particularly useful to the study of diasporic literary production in Canada inasmuch as it may share many of the characteristics of exilic cinematic production in the United States, such as self-publication and the creation and maintenance of literary activities and networks within diasporic communities.

⁴⁰ Hamid Naficy’s work (1999) provides a useful corollary of transnational/globalized cultural production inasmuch as he positions the cinematic production of the Iranian exile communities in the United States as alternative practice to the dominant mode of cinematic production. Naficy argues that the exilic or diasporic mode of cultural production can be understood as an *interstitial* mode of cultural production, suggesting that the relative autonomy of the cinematic production of Iranian exiles living in the

drama are “accented” forms of cultural production. Latina/o Canadian cultural production is first and foremost a multilingual and trans- and multi-national literary conjunction for, as discussed in the Introduction, Latina/o Canadian latinities—like *latinidad* in general—encompass a variety of national groups and identities. Its diversity is not only related to its different languages and numerous originating nations but also to the differing generations, the relationship to literature and theatre before migration, the era and type of migration (forced or voluntary) and so on. This literature is also largely “minor” in relation to the national literary and theatre traditions to which it is connected, as well as in terms of how it is produced by small community theatre groups or independent presses, and its publication and performance in more than one language. In addition to multilingualism, some of the major characteristics of this field of cultural production include a thematic concern with issues of migration and transculturation, the predominance of poetry, self-publication and/or contingent forms of funding and production, and “community”-based cultural activity, such as arts festivals for both writing and drama. And, despite the preponderance of poetry, there is currently a growth in the publication of prose, both fiction and non-fiction.

Aguirre's *Something Fierce* is one of the few Latina/o Canadian texts known to the wider English-language public. It stands out from Canada's current body of Latina/o literature in that it is a first-person memoir written in English by a second or 1.5

United States from the economic demands of mainstream filmmaking “is derived fundamentally from its interstitiality within social and economic formations and its marginality within the dominant film and media industries” (129). Moreover, the politics associated with this “alternative” film practice can be found both within and beyond the content of the films produced, most intriguingly in the often “collective,” rather than the capitalist, industrial mode of cinematic production, which can “potentially blur the line that separates producers from consumers” (131).

generation Latin American. Like the other well-known Latin American writers in Canada, such as Guillermo Verdecchia and Alberto Manguel, Aguirre writes in English and does not rely on translation or publish bilingual texts like the group of Latina/o Canadian writers described earlier on in this chapter. Although Aguirre often collaborates with Latina/o theatre companies and groups as a playwright and actor, much of this work is also in English and published by established English-Canadian presses, and is thus able to reach mainstream Anglo-Canadian audiences. In this way, Aguirre's body of work differs greatly from the vast body of Latina/o Canadian literature that I describe below, which is largely written in Spanish by first-generation immigrants who publish and perform in bilingual or multilingual (English, French, and Spanish) formats.

As I have pointed out already, language is often overlooked in discussions (and formulations) of Canadian multiculturalism and minority cultural production.⁴¹ The lack of recognition for multilingual arts communities raises some important issues for allophone literary producers. In his discussion of Latina/o Canadian cultural production, Antonio Jiménez Micó has astutely observed that:

If we look at this idea of multiculturalism in terms of linguistics, we can see that bi- or multilingualism is what is valued: French and/or English plus the language(s) of the newcomer. In sociolinguistic terms, what is thus produced is the phenomenon of diglossia (Ferguson), in which the language of origin tends to be restricted to orality and the sphere of the private (family) or semi-private (community groups), while writing in languages other than English and French is confined to more marginal publications. (60)

⁴¹ As work by Ian Angus (1997), Eve Haque (2005), Smaro Kamboureli (200), Sherry Simon (2010), and others has demonstrated, the role of language in multiculturalism and transnationalism has only begun to be examined in any depth.

Although some multicultural and arts funding policies and programs supported Latina/o Canadian literature,⁴² current federal granting programs such as those administered by the Canada Council for the Arts only fund publishing activities in English, French, and more recently, Aboriginal languages. Publishers' eligibility for translation grants also requires that the publishers' main language of publication be English or French.⁴³

In her careful study of the racist implications of official bilingualism as it was expressed in the findings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963–69), Eve Haque traces the genealogy of the Commission's view of culture and language from one in which language and culture were inseparable and in which ethnic languages were also considered "modern" to one in which ethnic languages were seen as ancestral (194–95). Moreover, despite the various briefs and statements made to the contrary by interested community groups, support for "ethnic" languages was pushed to

⁴² The early Chilean-Canadian press, Ediciones Cordillera, was able to obtain funding for their projects from the provincial government's Wintario Projects' Multiculturalism Directorate as early as 1982 (G. Etcheverry 43–44). While this funding was provincial and tied to the work of a parallel non-profit organization whose mandate included supporting "community and cultural activities for Latin Americans in Canada" (J. Etcheverry 85), this was not a federal or long-term source of support. Many ethnic and Indigenous community groups and associations fought for language rights and support from the federal government before, during, and after the introduction of official bilingualism. One of the outcomes of these struggles was the establishment of the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute in 1987, which was intended to largely promote and facilitate the teaching and learning of "heritage" languages in the public school system. "This initiative failed, however, due largely to the lack of grassroots consultation, most conspicuously with indigenous stakeholders" (Haque and Patrick 10).

⁴³ Some programs and funding for the "promotion and maintenance" of Indigenous languages have started to appear since the federal Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures in 2005. However, in her study of allophone publishing in the early 2000s, Catherine Owen found that "no granting program in Canada provides funds for allophone literary presses" (14) and this is still the case for allophone writers and publishers working in non-Aboriginal languages. See, for example, the funding criteria on the Canada Council for the Arts website: <http://canadacouncil.ca/council/grants/find-a-grant/grants/book-publishing-support-emerging-publisher-grants>).

the private realm while official language acquisition was tied to “social integration” in the Commission’s final reports (202). According to Ian Angus:

Since “heritage” languages have been kept out of the public realm and cultural difference between English Canada and the United States does not revolve around language (combined with the role of English as the language of commerce and technology internationally), language has been generally regarded as merely a neutral “medium of communication” without cultural significance. The status of English has not been open to question publicly and is therefore not widely regarded as an issue for multiculturalism. As a result, there has been virtually no investigation of the consequences of this banal view of language, and perhaps culture outright, either for speakers of minority languages or for native English speakers. (25)

Thus, while multicultural policies and programs ostensibly opened up spaces for cultural citizenship among ethnic minorities and greater access to government aid and programs, “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” functions to instantiate a “racial order of difference and belonging through language in the ongoing project of white settler nation-building” (5–7) (Haque qtd in Smith 144). In other words, language is not a neutral medium of communication in colonial and postcolonial settings but is rather part and parcel of the power dynamics inherent in the classification of peoples and cultures implicated in imperial and nation-building projects in the Americas. Language (and languaging) is one of the various markers of who is the dominant and who is dominated, who are foreigners and who are nationals, literary insiders and outsiders, and, thus, signifies the various degrees of power that are conferred on people who inhabit these binary poles (as well as the myriad positions in between).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ By separating language from culture, Canadian governments have been working with a particular definition of multiculturalism that implicitly excludes writers working in languages other than English or French, such as Latina/o Canadian writers who work primarily in Spanish or rely on translation. As Malinda Smith puts it, “language comes to be the site for articulating exclusions which can no longer be stated in terms of race and ethnicity” (143). This way of conceptualizing language corresponds with Mignolo’s

Translation in multicultural and multilingual societies such as Canada plays an important role in the expansion of the national literary field by bringing together elements of different linguistic, ethnic, and, literary worlds. According to Hugh Hazelton and Antonio Micó (2006, 2007; 2007), multilingualism is a salient characteristic of Latina/o Canadian writing and is also a recurring theme/concern for Latina/o Canadian writers and performers. Much of this work in English has been translated from the original Spanish or, for works written or performed in one of Canada's official languages, Spanish words, phrasing, grammar, or citations are used throughout. Moreover, the multilingual aspect of Latina/o Canadian writing often serves to demonstrate the writers' or characters' alterity with regard to the host nation and its "official" languages and cultures. In his analysis of multilingual identity in Latina/o Canadian writing, Hazelton explains that many of these writers inhabit "multiple literary worlds" ("Polylingual Identities" 225) and that many of these writers adopt various multilingual or "bilingual" strategies in their texts ("Polylingual Identities" 228) in order to reach more than one linguistic audience or attempt to establish understanding and meaning across languages and cultures. At the same time, producing works in either one of the country's official languages also creates more chances of being considered a Canadian author and the institutional recognition and support that such an identity can entail. This linguistic strategy demonstrates what Emily Apter has described as "how certain texts have mobilized translation in the service of

emphasis on "the idea of *linguaging* as cultural practice" ("Linguistic Maps, Literary Geographies, and Cultural Landscapes" 188–89) rather than the idea of language as a static or abstract entity. Viewing language in this way "mov[es] away from the idea that language is a fact (e.g., a system of syntactic, semantic, and phonetic rules) toward the idea that speaking and writing are moves that orient and manipulate social domains of interaction" (Mignolo "Linguistic Maps, Literary Geographies, and Cultural Landscapes" 188).

language politics, thereby illustrating the extent to which transnationalism itself is a by-product of the migration of language communities that sponsor networks of cultural exchange, irrespective of national boundaries” (187). And this is precisely the type of linguistic strategy Latina/o writers and publishers have used since they first began working in Canada.

Since writing and language are so closely linked, many writers continue to write in their mother tongue and rely on translations to reach English- and French-language audiences.⁴⁵ For example, some writers have become their own translators, as in the case of Carmen Rodriguez, who translated her original collection of short stories *De cuerpo entero* in order to “transcreate” the English version, *And a Body to Remember With*. Like Rafael Baretto-Rivera, whose approach to the translation of Claudio Durán’s collection of poems, *Más tarde que los clientes habituales/After the Usual Clients Have Gone Home* (1982) was to “transport” meanings rather than attempt to render true “translations,”⁴⁶ Rodriguez’s approach to translation was to create new versions of the original Spanish texts rather than attempt a “direct” translation of language and meaning from one

⁴⁵ While English has increasingly become the language of hegemonic global domination, it has also been used by Latina/o Canadian writers and presses as a means of fostering intercultural communication and building political solidarity since translation has allowed them to disseminate their texts to wider, non-Spanish speaking audiences and, thus, establish links with other diasporic groups as well as with English-Canadian audiences. At the same time, working in one of Canada’s official languages is also a way for writers to establish themselves in more mainstream literary circuits.

⁴⁶ Durán’s work was published by Underwhich Editions in 1982, with English translations (or “transportations” as he called them) by another Latino/a Canadian experimental poet, Rafael Barreto-Rivera on facing pages. This text is of particular note because of the translator’s relationship to English-Canadian poetry and his use of translation as a means of “transporting” meaning across languages and cultures (see “Translator’s Note”). Originally from Puerto Rico, Baretto-Rivera was a sound-poet and a member of the Four Horsemen poetry group in Toronto as well as being a translator. His translation of this work reflects an experimental approach to language in general.

language/culture to another. Similarly, one-and-a-half- and second-generation writers who may be entirely bilingual might still use Spanish expressions in predominantly English texts or choose to write in Spanish rather than English.⁴⁷ This is also the case in Latina/o Canadian theatre, where it may be present in both the production and performance of certain plays. Well-known English-language Latina/o plays such as *Fronteras Americanas* and *The Refugee Hotel*, for example, use Spanish words, characters with thick accents, and other creative ways of demonstrating their characters' alterity through language. In addition, some community theatres also use Spanglish as a way of engaging both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking audiences (Pitas 96–97).

In the introduction to his valuable book-length study of Latina/o Canadian literature, Hazelton outlines some of the major historical and demographic factors at work in the development of this literature, as well as some of the major thematic concerns of Latina/o Canadian writing, including exile and migration.⁴⁸ He identifies some Spanish-language writers active in Canada as early as the 1930s,⁴⁹ yet concludes that

⁴⁷ Journals such as *Indigo: The Spanish/Canadian Presence in the Arts* have published one-and-a-half generation writers such as Franci Durán and others in Spanish. A more recent arrival, Felipe Quetzalcoatl Quintanilla, for example, continues to write and publish in Spanish even though he was ten years old when his family moved to Canada from Mexico in 1991.

⁴⁸ Hazelton provides a comprehensive overview of not only the numerous publications produced by Latino/a-Canadian writers and presses but also a thorough listing of Latino/a-Canadian literary journals and presses that have been active in Canada since the 1970s (see Introduction, pp. 8–20).

⁴⁹ Although Hazelton rightly notes that there has been a “Spanish” presence in Canada since the early days of European exploration and colonization, which I examine in the final chapter of this study, he writes that “[t]he first large immigration to Canada from the Spanish-speaking world was that of political refugees at the end of the Spanish Civil War, after the fall of Barcelona to General Franco’s troops in 1939” (5). According to Natalie Alvarez, Latin American immigration to Canada in the 1950s and 60s hailed: from the largely industrialized countries of Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, and Venezuela, and was comprised largely of white Latin Americans who were

Latina/o Canadian writing began “in earnest” in the 1970s with the arrival of a substantial number of political exiles from countries in the Southern Cone of South America, particularly Chile (6–7).⁵⁰ According to Hazelton and other critics, early attitudes towards exile in Canada were evident in the experiences documented by such Southern Cone writers as Pablo Urbanyi (1990), José Leandro Urbina (1990), Naín Nómez (1982), and Jorge Etcheverry (1995). In his Introduction to the first anthology of Chilean poetry in Canada (1982), Nómez explained that for Chilean writers in exile:

the Canadian world and the encounter with the new culture gradually begin to appear as an integral part of the world view of narrators and poets. Essential features of the city, work, family, the climate, personal relations, intellectual life, writing techniques, financial problems, communication; all these things are revealed in a special way to the gaze of these immigrants. They must conserve the techniques and structures acquired in their past contact with the culture of their own continent, however. Their task is twofold: they must maintain their links with their native language and culture, and assimilate their experience in Canada and its culture. (x)

privileged due to Canada’s “ethno-centric and implicitly racist” Immigration Act of 1952, which granted entry to immigrants with European ancestry. The revision of these racist policies followed by the immigration amnesty in 1973, fostered a second wave of immigration, which benefited in particular Colombians and Ecuadorians, who accounted for thirty percent of the twenty countries immigrating to Canada between 1973 and 1975. (*Fronteras Vivientes* vii). See “Ethnic Origins, 2006 Counts, for Canada, Provinces and Territories—20% Sample Data,” *Statistics Canada*, accessed March 9, 2015 <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97562/pages/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&Code=01&Table=1&Data=Count&StartRec=1&Sort=2&Display=Pagej>; Alan B. Simmons, “Latin American Immigration to Canada: New Linkages in the Hemispheric Migration and Refugee Flow System,” *International Journal* 48.2 (1992–93): 15–16; and Pilar Riaño Alcalá and Patricia Díaz Barrero, *Forced Migration of Colombians: Colombia, Ecuador, Canada* (Medellín: Corporación Región, 2008) for more information on Latin American migration to Canada.

⁵⁰ Hazelton’s contribution to the study of Latina/o Canadian literature is substantial and goes far beyond the publication of this book. As an award-winning writer and translator in his own right, he is especially sensitive to the multilingual strategies and experiences of his research “subjects.”

Although many of these writers viewed exile as part of the “human condition,” their personal experiences of exile nevertheless led them to reflect on the role of the writer in general and the role of the writer in exile. José Leandro Urbina, for example, explained that writers in exile had to come to terms with the problem of writing in a foreign language, being separated from a national and personal mythology, as well as becoming acutely aware of the social conditions that affected their writing (123–25). Moreover, according to Jorge Etcheverry, this new social situation and awareness often led these writers to work with or engage the wider Latina/o Canadian community on social and political issues (58).

Like Latina/o Canadian cultural production, early literary critical studies tended to focus on the themes of exile, adaptation, and the ongoing political and economic struggles in the home countries of Latina/o writers. One of the few critical studies of this literature is Sylvie Perron’s insightful analysis of two prose works by Chilean authors in Canada (1990). Perron identifies the classic themes of exile literature in these texts: memory and nostalgia (230),⁵¹ and argues that the writers in her study, José Urbina and Hernán Barrios, rework these themes in their own way, particularly insofar as they relate their “present as lived in the new country” (230) and their sense of ambivalence about

⁵¹ Nostalgia, along with political “commitment,” and the avant-garde have also been defined as defining traits of early Chilean poetry in Canada (J. Etcheverry, 1990, p. 298) and will be discussed in my chapter on time in the poetry of Gonzalo Millán and Jorge Etcheverry. Hazelton also confirms that exile and nostalgia have been major concerns for many Latina/o Canadian writers, even though this theme has been explored in different ways and at different moments in these writers’ careers. He writes that “There is generally, of course, an initial period in which the homeland is still uppermost in the writer’s mind, and themes of political struggle, economic hardship, and family relationships predominate. In many cases, this state eventually gives way to the loneliness of exile and the nostalgia for the native land, which is often idealized and transformed into a mythical paradise lost” (20).

both their home and their adopted countries. In her view, Chile (and exile itself) was de-mythologized in these texts as the protagonists came to terms with the acrimonious politics of their homeland and their disorienting situations in Canada. Even though they remained focused on Chile's recent past, the protagonists were also aware of both the liberating and oppressive possibilities of their exile: Urbina's middle-class anti-hero is reduced to an "embryonic" state while in exile whereas Barrios' female protagonist is able to free herself from her dominating husband in her new "home" (Perron 233–34). These texts, then, display the classic themes of much immigrant and exile literature while at the same time communicating the particularities of class and gender in the Chilean exile experience in Canada.⁵²

A focus on migration and exile is also evident in much of the dramatic works produced by Latina/o Canadians. As I discuss in my chapter on 1.5-generation playwrights, Guillermo Verdecchia and Carmen Aguirre, displacement and acculturation are major themes in their works. Victoria-based PUENTE (whose name means "bridge" in Spanish), Canada's longest operating Latina/o theatre company sees using "'theatrical experience as a bridge between cultures'" and working with immigrant artists as part of its mandate (Underiner 66).⁵³ Many of the plays produced by PUENTE, such as *I Wasn't Born Here*, *Crossing Borders*, *Canadian Tango*, *Journey to Mapu*, and *With Open Arms* not only explore the immigrant/exile/migrant experience; they also attempt to build

⁵² At the time of Andrew Machalski's 1988 review of Hispanic writers in Canada for the Department of the Secretary of State, he noted that, "more than 33,000 [immigrants] from the southern part of the [Latin American] continent alone came [to Canada] between 1973 and 1976" (4).

⁵³ PUENTE was established in Vancouver, BC, by Chilean exile Lina de Guevara in 1988. Underiner explains that de Guevara self-exiled herself from Chile in 1976 after the military closed down the theatre school she ran in Valdivia's Universidad Austral (68).

understanding and community between English-Canadian audiences and various immigrant groups (78–79). Plays relating stories of migration, acculturation, and the often traumatic experiences both these poles entail are also part of the regular repertoire of Toronto-based Latina/o Canadian theatre companies, such as Grupo Teatro Libre, Double Double, Apus Coop, Aluna Theatre, and the now defunct Alameda Theatre Company (Pitas; Riley and Knowles; Alvarez). Many of the works performed by these groups relate the experiences of migration and exile to the often-violent political and economic circumstances that forced many people to leave their countries in the first place and connect them with present day economic and political injustice in the Americas and elsewhere.

The number of Latin American writers in Canada increased in the 1980s with the number of overall migrants from the region who were leaving their countries for both economic and political reasons (Hazelton 6). Much of the “literary and publishing activity” that flourished in this period “revolved around five main fields of activity, all of them interrelated: readings, festivals, anthologies, small presses, and literary journals” (10). An example of this kind of work can be found in the literary and social activities of the Chilean community in Ottawa in the late 1970s and early 1980s, who organized poetry readings, *peñas* (or community parties), and Saturday Spanish schools for children to support both the community’s literary activities and to publicize the abuses of the Pinochet dictatorship. Similar events were organized by this community in solidarity with El Salvadorans fleeing the civil war, including the compilation of one of the earliest bilingual anthologies of poetry by writers from that country in Canada in 1982 (G. Etcheverry 42). The increase in these activities and in literary production marked a new

stage in Latina/o Canadian letters and Canadian “ethnic” literature more broadly. As Smaro Kamboureli (2000) explains about anthologies of Canadian ethnic literature in general:

[t]he many ethnic anthologies that appeared between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s marks the first such concentrated unfolding of ethnic writing in Canada. As it emerges from the Other side of Canadian literature’s cultural syntax, this writing brings into play what was previously disregarded. It makes present what rendered it absent; it brings into relief the boundaries that separated it from the mainstream tradition. (132)

However, even though these were (and still are) active and important sites of literary production for these groups of writers, they have also generally been marginal in relation to mainstream Canadian and Latin American literary circles.⁵⁴

According to Natalie Alvarez, these kinds of activities, particularly festivals, were and continue to be important sources of theatrical production and community involvement:

Festivals have proven to be a vital avenue for the advancement of Latina/o Canadian theatre and performance. The Agrupación de Artistas Latinoamericanos,

⁵⁴ Larissa Lai explains that the publication of special issues of mainstream Canadian journals in this era (late 1980s and 1990s) served “functions” similar to minority autobiographies and the boom in ethnic anthologies that Kamboureli describes:

In the late 1980s and early ’90s, special issues of journals offered an imperfect but productive way of bringing into presence histories, experience, and subjects who had little articulated place in the Canadian cultural landscape until that point. These collective, community-based forms of publishing made space for multiple voices to be heard. What was and is productive about the special issue as a form is that it includes a notion of the collective in its conception. Like autobiographies by minoritized subjects, special issues serve the function of “breaking the silence,” creating a forum for marginalized voices to articulate histories and experiences not previously granted legitimacy or space within mainstream Canadian literature. (Lai 151)

According to Canadian ethnic studies scholar, Enoch Padolsky, the work of putting together such publications greatly contributed to Canadian ethnic literature as a distinct literary field, which emerged from the particularities of Canadian immigrant experience “on which alliances have been formed, racism has been fought, and the shifting needs of Canadian ethnic and racial groups have been argued and developed” (26).

an interdisciplinary network of painters, poets, performance artists, dancers, filmmakers, and musicians, organized festivals devoted to Latin American culture until the mid-1990s. One of the country's largest Spanish-language festivals, Toronto's *Festival de la Palabra y de la Imagen*, has been held every year since 1992. Jointly supported by the Cultural Celebration of the Spanish Language (CCIE), now housed at York University's Glendon Campus, as well as the trilingual ANTARES Publishing House of Spanish Culture, the festival features book launches, performances, and concerts, as well as panel and round table discussions across twenty-one days.⁵⁵ (*Fronteras Vivientes* xviii)

In addition, theatre festivals and initiatives, such as the De Colores festival hosted by the Alameda Theatre Company in Toronto, "the Canadian Popular Theatre Alliance festivals in Guelph and Edmonton, the Women in View Festivals in Vancouver ..., the Harrison Hot Springs Festival," and "Toronto's Tridha Arts Association" also provided important opportunities for the development and performance of Latina/o Canadian theatre even though they were not primarily focused on Latin American theatre in Canada (*Fronteras Vivientes* iv). Much like the community-based literary activities organized by members of the exile Chilean community alongside Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, Colombian, and Guatemalan refugees, much of the theatre activity described above has been community-based and community-oriented (see Alvarez, Pitas, Underiner, and Habel-Pallán).

The changing interests and socio-linguistic affiliations of later generations of writers along with recent developments in Latino/a diasporic culture have significantly altered the terrain and discourse of Latina/o Canadian literature in recent years. Trish Van Bolderen notes that the focus on exile and migration has somewhat shifted in the writing

⁵⁵Such festivals are still important forums for the development of Latina/o Canadian theatre, including the The Salvador Allende Arts Festival for Peace, which featured *The Refugee Hotel* by Carmen Aguirre in 2009, which I discuss in Chapter 3, and Rosa Laborde's award-winning play, *Léo*, about the early days of the Chilean dictatorship in 2005: "Founded in 2003 by Tamara Toledo, Rodrigo Barreda, Lautaro Fuentes, and Leonardo Leiva, the festival was organized as a commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the military coup in Chile with the aim of promoting the work of Latin Americans and artists from visible minorities within Canada" (Alvarez *Fronteras Vivientes* xiii-xiv).

of “Hispanic” Canadians since 2007,⁵⁶ noting in particular recent anthologies of short stories in Spanish published by Editorial Lugar Común, including one organized around the theme of romantic love (*Las imposturas de Eros* 2010) and the publication of finalists from the Toronto based Spanish-language short story contest, *Nuestra Palabra* (Editorial Nuestra Palabra) (60). Another example of short stories by Latina/o Canadian artists that do not deal explicitly with issues of migration is the fairly recent publication, *Diarios de Nada* (2012) by a Colombian author living in Canada, Juan Guillermo Sanchez, and a collection of short stories by Chilean-Canadian writer Camila Reimers (*De autoamor y autopistas* 2009). While Van Bolderen suggests that such a shift may indicate that “Hispanic-Canadian literature is now adequately established to support a greater variety of themes, rather than relying predominantly on the writers’ shared (linguistic, national and/ or geographical) backgrounds or a common genre as a means of grouping together texts” (65), it more likely reflects the changing demographics of Latin American migration to Canada and the particular editorial choices of their publishers. Whereas exiles from the Southern Cone, particularly Chile, and later from countries such as El Salvador made up the earliest contingent of Latina/o Canadian writers, this has largely changed as more people have moved to Canada from countries such as Colombia and

⁵⁶ The use of the term “Hispanic” or Spanish writers in Canada belies specific disciplinary concerns and foci. Working from a Spanish-language and translation studies background, van Bolderen, like Cheadle, uses the term “Hispanic” Canadian to define this body of writing. Similarly, Donna Canevari’s impressive listing of Canadian publishing in Spanish includes every press that publishes titles in Spanish, even publishers that do not primarily publish Spanish-language texts, such as Pearson Education Canada and Scholastic. As discussed in the general Introduction and elsewhere in this chapter, I prefer to eschew this linguistic designation because it ignores the important work done by Latina/o writers working in English or French, while simultaneously shifting the focus away from cultural producers with direct links to the Latin American community in Canada that I am examining here.

Mexico since 2001, creating a larger pool of Latin Americans (artists or otherwise) living in Canada (Alvarez “Introduction” vii-viii). Further, as Van Bolderen notes, anthologies of short prose—as well as single-author collections—existed well before 2007, but were mainly published by this smaller demographic group.⁵⁷ Finally, although these collections signal a shift from the more popular poetry genre, many of the writers anthologized in these collections are also known as poets and have published their poetic works elsewhere.

There has also been a slightly discernable shift in Latina/o Canadian publishing patterns in the period observed by Van Bolderen (2007 to 2012), although it is not necessarily as evident in Latina/o theatre. The *Nuestra Palabra* contest and affiliated publication, for example, are sponsored by Scotiabank (see the *Nuestra Palabra* website). The editors of *Editorial Lugar Común* are Colombian and Salvadoran and are affiliated with Spanish departments in Canadian universities, while the publisher of *Nuestra Palabra*, Guillermo Rose, is Peruvian. These editors do not necessarily share the same community orientations, political histories and beliefs, or the mandates of the exilic small presses, theatre companies, and writers’ groups described above. Another important new player in Latina/o Canadian publishing, *Editorial Mapalé*, describes itself as “una casa editorial independiente dedicada desde el 2004 a promover el arte, la literatura y la cultura latinoamericana” [an independent publishing house dedicated to promoting Latin American art, literature, and culture since 2004] (*Editorial Mapale* website, my translation). While these presses are making significant contributions to the development

⁵⁷ Although the short story is a very popular genre in Latin American letters, the novel has also been a popular genre in this community. The works of Pablo Urbanyi, Leandro Urbina, Alejandro Saravia, and Mauricio Segura are some of the most widely known in this field.

of Latina/o Canadian literature, they are less explicitly motivated by the politics, communities, or aesthetics of the more radicalized, Chilean avant-garde in exile that made up the bulk of Latina/o Canadian writing for many years. Nevertheless, these new presses still exhibit many interstitial publishing practices employed by avant-garde or community cultural producers, such as self-publication, funding from numerous sources, and small outputs (J. Etcheverry personal communication January 29, 2015).

Hazelton argues that the combination of an urban focus and technical or formal qualities of Latina/o Canadian writing has often put this body of writing at odds with expectations from mainstream Canadian readers and publishers, who have tended to favour conventional realist writing over more experimental forms (21). Nevertheless, although early Chilean poetry in Canada is known for its surrealism and other experimental styles,⁵⁸ I would add that many Canadian and international audiences have readily consumed experimental literary styles in prose form such as magic realism, and that Canadian authors have also experimented with these. Moreover, in his introduction to a special issue of *Canadian Fiction Magazine* showcasing Latin American writers (1987), Geoff Hancock identified some basic patterns among the work of its contributors, including literary realism. According to Hancock these patterns comprised “a blend of stylistic innovation, social protest, and conventional narration. The writing is more invisible. This new tradition shows less form and technique, a reaction against the flamboyant writing of the Boom years” (5). Realism has been an important convention

⁵⁸ As Jorge Etcheverry (1990) has noted, much of this work was characterized as avant-garde, often combining many different genres and voices, graphic and literary fragments in a single text (such as copies of airline tickets, quotations from song lyrics, news items, and the works of other poets), and often going beyond rationality (305–06). I discuss formal experimentation in greater detail in Chapter 2, which deals with the avant-garde in exilic Chilean poetry.

for many immigrant writers, including Latin Americans, especially in relating classic themes of exile and acculturation (Joseph Pivato 136). As Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith point out, “storytelling functions as a crucial element in establishing new identities of longing (directed toward the past) and belonging (directed toward the future)” (6).

There is a fear among some ethnic writers that the popularity of realist narratives reflects the *host society*’s interest in the themes of migration and acculturation or, put otherwise, that these audiences only value ethnic literature for its sociological import rather than its aesthetic merits (Pivato 136). Nevertheless, literary realism and, increasingly, autobiographical fiction has been an important element of Latina/o Canadian writing, particularly among women writers.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, realism has become increasingly popular among North American audiences, particularly with the “memoir boom” (Gilmore 2) and the increasing reliance on individual life narratives to make sense of larger world events (Rak 2013). Even as the memoir genre has become increasingly popular and commodified in North American publishing, first-person life narratives have long played an important role in social and political struggles (perhaps most notably with the development of the *testimonio* genre) in Latin American letters. In the case of “delocalized transnations” like Latina/o Canadians, this genre can serve both aesthetic and sociological purposes:

In the midst of dislocations and relocations, personal and collective storytelling can become one way in which people claim new identities and assert their participation in the public sphere. It can also become a way of maintaining communal identification in the face of loss and cultural degradation. Or it can be enlisted in witnessing to the failures of democratic nations to realize and live up to their democratic principle of inclusive citizenship, making visible rents in the

⁵⁹ Camila Reimers, Gabriela Etcheverry, Carmen Rodríguez, Nela Rio and Carmen Contreras are some Latina Canadian authors known for this kind of work.

social fabric that undermine unified narratives of national belonging. (Schaffer and Smith 6)

Thus, literary realism and related genres can provide a much-needed venue for transnational identity formation and public sphere participation.⁶⁰

Contesting Canadian Latinity in English

In this section, I examine the reception of Carmen Aguirre's memoir, *Something Fierce*, via the Canada Reads contest and her being labeled as a "terrorist" for her clandestine left-wing political activities in the 1980s and 90s. In particular, I discuss how superficial or stereotyped ideas about *latinidad* based primarily in the U.S. affect how *latinidad* is commonly understood in Canadian literary institutions and the public sphere when it is expressed in the language of one of its founding nations. I contend that a major factor contributing to the invisibility of Canadian latinities is the contradictory way in which this national culture is largely constructed in relation to, or against, U.S. national culture. English Canadian anxiety about the dominance of a similar yet more popular culture south of the border has historically been one of the major driving forces in the work of creating institutions to support the creation and maintenance of a distinctly Canadian culture. While this implicitly recognizes the many similarities between the two nations, one of the primary differences highlighted between the two "postcolonial settler states" is often its demographic make-up. Thus, even though Canada is officially multicultural, certain ethnic or minority groups are more readily associated with this

⁶⁰ Despite the liberating possibilities of first-person narratives and genres such as memoir and *testimonio*, Julie Rak explains that the memoir genre is often critically devalued in relation to autobiography, particularly since it is a genre most often employed by women, "public men" or other non-elite writers (304–17).

country while others are more readily associated with the U.S., in particular “Latinos” and African-Americans. Both these groups, moreover, are most often portrayed negatively in U.S. mass media as Cold War terrorists, gang members, drug dealers, illegal immigrants—sources of social ills engaged in criminal activity. In my analysis of these public discourses, I demonstrate how Latino stereotypes emanating from the U.S., or those that developed through U.S intervention in Latin America, affect English Canadian understandings of *latinidad*, such as the Cold War guerrillera/o or terrorist.

Latin American ideas of national identity in the early to mid-twentieth century were intensely fractious and, in many cases revolved around differing views of national economic development and social justice in relation to foreign economic control of national industries. While many Latin American elites supported the various puppet or populist governments that gave U.S.-based companies such as the United Fruit Company unfettered access to resources such as land and labour, many intellectuals (or members of the cultural elite) supported and attempted land reform and labour regulation as a way of curtailing U.S. exploitation. Factions of Central American and Caribbean nations such as Guatemala, Nicaragua and Cuba, for example, struggled to create a national vision and reality beyond that of the despotic “banana republics.” At the same time, these struggles for national autonomy, of course, became caught up with the Cold War, becoming oversimplified as struggles between socialism and capitalism (or totalitarianism vs. democracy). The liberal and conservative factions that first appeared in the post-independence period were now articulated by conservative elites as divisions between U.S-backed reactionaries and Soviet-led communists both within and without the

region.⁶¹ Unlike the Canadian ideas of national identity, dominant characterizations of the hemispheric South construed it as a zone of economic, political, and social instability sparked by the global “threat” of socialism rather than a region embroiled in long-term struggle for economic and political independence.

Aguirre’s memoir became widely known in Canada when it was chosen as a contestant in an annual national literary contest, “Canada Reads,” hosted by the English-language division of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 2012⁶². The text recounts her experience of growing up in a radical left-wing family living first in Vancouver after being exiled from the Pinochet regime in Chile, and then undertaking clandestine political activities in various Latin American countries. While the “plot” or life history she shares in this book is about her often-dangerous life in the revolutionary underground during the 1980s, much of the emotional backdrop to the story relates to her family’s exile from Chile and her desire to return to the socialist democratic country that was lost with the right-wing military coup. However, as the Canada Reads contest unfolded, Aguirre was labeled both a “terrorist” and a “freedom fighter” before her book finally became the champion, creating a highly publicized controversy about the nature of her clandestine work in which one of the panelists not only questioned the value of the memoir but also the grounds on which Aguirre became a Canadian citizen.

⁶¹ For comprehensive discussions of the relationship between nationalism and the Cold War in Latin America see Greg Grandin, “Chronicles of a Guatemalan Genocide Foretold: Violence, Trauma, and the Limits of Historical Inquiry,” *Nepantla: Views from South* 1.2 (2000): 391–412; Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas* (Durham: Duke UP, 2003); and J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005).

⁶² See the Canada Reads website for information on the other contestants and panelists during 2012:
<http://www.cbc.ca/books/canadareads/2012/nominees.html>.

Much has been written about the ideological work of literary prizes—another player in the institution of literature—in constructing and cementing dominant discourses about national culture and literary value, as well as international distinction.⁶³ In her study of the relationship between literary prizes and cultural value in Canada, Gillian Roberts argues that “legally Canadian writers, having immigrated from elsewhere (and indeed Canadian writers who were born in Canada but are primarily associated with ethnic-minority identities), are in some sense declared Canadian through national prize recognition” (25), which thus confers a form of cultural citizenship otherwise denied. Described as “a huge trans-Canadian book club,” Canada Reads is an annual Survivor-style literary contest hosted by CBC Radio in which five books are selected and championed by a panel of Canadian celebrities. One book is “voted off” on each subsequent program based on the strength of the panelists’ arguments for and against the books. In addition, “Debates and the voting results are broadcast on CBC Radio One daily for five days, while summaries, additional features, and the radio broadcasts themselves are published on the show’s website” (Fuller and Sedo 6). In their ideological analysis of the cultural work performed by national literary contests and national media institutions such as the CBC, Danielle Fuller and DeNel Rehberg Sedo describe Canada Reads as “a reading spectacle for the nation,” designed to “‘forge a bond’ and unify people across space and social difference,” while producing a “media spectacle that requires drama and ‘excitement’ if it is to capture the consumer’s attention and imagination” (19). They further argue that the aim to create an imagined national community through literature via the mass medium of radio and the Internet (or an

⁶³ See James English *The Economy of Prestige*, and Gillian Roberts, *Prizing Literature*.

“interesting marriage of nationalism with media spectacle”) produces “an ideological tension” in which the territorial and economic borders of the imagined national community are simultaneously reinforced even as they are undermined through the series’ use of “communicative media and style [that] is produced and supported by flows of technology and capital that continually breach those “national limits” (19).

Canada’s national broadcaster has a conflicted relationship itself with Canadian audiences because of its perceived role as an ideological state apparatus engaged in promoting a particular kind of Canadian identity. Often seen as promoting the humanist and nationalist values of Canada’s cultural elite, it has drawn both praise and criticism for the Canada Reads contest. As Fuller and Sedo point out, in its attempt to create a mass or collective reading experience for the nation, the CBC has been accused of both debasing Canadian literature by employing the reality television format and, more typically, patronizing its audiences by telling them what they should be reading. Embodying the contradictions of the nexus of the national and the neoliberal described by Milz, even though Canada Reads is a “mass media spectacle”, the core programming outlined in the early program proposal was originally devised around nationalist aims, such as “celebrat[ing] Canadian literature,” “unify[ing] the country”, “reflect[ing] Canadians to themselves through literature”, and “helping publishers of Canadian books” among others (Kavanagh and Vartanian 2001 qtd in Fuller and Sedo 19). Despite these overtly nationalist aims, the contest’s ideological underpinnings are not of course taken up by all audience members/readers in the same fashion, nor do all the books selected for the contest manifest these same ideological tendencies. Nevertheless, the broadcaster’s and the contest’s national and commercial reach is substantial.

The year in which *Something Fierce* became a contestant in the competition was also the first year in which non-fiction publications, including memoirs, were included as contenders in the CBC's "battle of the books." In the broadcaster's promotional material for the 2012 edition, it asked readers/listeners to recommend non-fiction stories for the shortlist that would "captivate the country" imploring listeners to share "Books so riveting you forget they are non-fiction. Books that introduce readers to a brand new world and bring them wholly into it." In addition to these general criteria, they added that the books had "to be in English, in print and Canadian" ("Introducing Canada Reads: True Stories"). This shift to non-fiction from fiction—and in particular, the novel—signaled what could be read as either a further democratization of the contest to include works by authors who were not part of Canada's literati, or as some critics of the show might suggest, a further sign of its attempt to commodify literature and cash in on the memoir boom and high profile popular reading selections (and controversies) such as those made by Oprah Winfrey for her Book Club.

Despite Aguirre's inclusion as a contestant in this popular contest, I propose that Aguirre's—and by extension, Latina/o Canadian—participation in the public sphere via the Canada Reads contest was highly limited by both its nationalist and commercial parameters, as well as the controversy created by one panelist's denunciation of Aguirre as a terrorist. The controversy surrounding the book and Aguirre's life history erupted when panelist, Anne-France Goldwater, known as "Quebec's Judge Judy," accused Aguirre of terrorism and another contestant of lying about her experience of torture and imprisonment in her memoir. Upon reading *Something Fierce*, Goldwater claimed that "Carmen Aguirre is a bloody terrorist" and asked how it was that she was ever let into

Canada in the first place (Marsha Leaderman, *The Globe and Mail* Feb 6, 2012). In a separate interview, Goldwater defended her comments, saying: “Once a terrorist, always a terrorist, that’s for sure,” and added: “We have to be careful who we let into this country; we really do. It’s not funny any more,” (Marsha Leaderman, *The Globe and Mail* Feb 7, 2012). And when the celebrity panelist championing Aguirre’s work, hip hop artist Shad, quickly defended her as a “freedom fighter” like Nelson Mandela, Goldwater responded that Mandela was also a terrorist with “[b]lood on his hands” (Marsha Leaderman, *The Globe and Mail* Feb 6, 2012).⁶⁴ As one *Globe and Mail* columnist put it, “In extending Canada Reads to include works of non-fiction for the first time since the contest’s inception 10 years ago, the CBC has inadvertently transformed a friendly, domestic literary debate into a geopolitical furor focused on volatile questions of truth and justice in distant totalitarian regimes” (John Barber, *The Globe and Mail* Feb 7, 2012).

A typical response made by the same columnist in one of the country’s most prominent national newspapers claimed that “If nothing else, [the debate] reminds readers that the difference between terrorists and freedom fighters is nowhere more fraught than it is here, in the polyglot haven of Canada. And however dim or dubious they may appear, the images created by [Aguirre and other contestants] are undeniably our own” (John Barber, *The Globe and Mail* Feb 7, 2012). Such statements by both the panelist and the national newspaper columnist reveal typical ideological constructions of Canadianness and *latinidad*: Canada is a “friendly” “haven” that must protect itself from

⁶⁴ The memoir was also (less publicly) described as a “brave document” by a reviewer with Quill & Quire: “The book is a brave document, written by someone who is clearly no stranger to bravery” (qtd in John Barber, *The Globe and Mail* Feb 7, 2012).

foreign terrorists aligned with “distant totalitarian regimes” while simultaneously tolerating such terrorists when they become its “own.” Nevertheless, while Aguirre’s family first came to Vancouver in exile from Chile and she has subsequently settled here, nowhere in the memoir does Aguirre refer to herself as being particularly “Canadian.” Much of the history she recounts takes place in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, and Chile, with a few short trips to Vancouver in between. Further, although the Canadian (and English-speaking) background provides Aguirre and her family a convenient cover, Canadianness is never articulated as being part of her true identity. The reason she gives for undertaking clandestine activity has in large part to do with restoring socialist democracy to Chile and furthering the aims of the revolutionary left in that country rather than, say, a quintessentially Canadian commitment to economic and social justice. Moreover, in describing her grandparents’ first visit to see her in Canada, Aguirre invokes an image of her home country that is the basis for her memoir’s very title: “They’d brought Chile with them in their pockets, their suitcases, their eyes and voices. I’d smelled a country on them when we greeted them at the airport, a county that still clung to my own skin and hair. It was something fierce, that country” (63). Beyond the few references and moments of nostalgia for Vancouver and the friends and family she left here (which is a recurring theme for all the places in which she lives and is then forced to leave during this period of her life), the only other factor making the work “Canadian” is its publication here.

While this controversy helped to boost the number of readers and sales of the book—which ironically and somewhat heartbreakingly never materialized into payment for Aguirre when the publisher declared bankruptcy in 2014⁶⁵—the debates about her work

⁶⁵ Carmen Aguirre’s *Something Fierce: Memoirs of a Revolutionary Daughter* won

reinforced a single, fixed version of *latinidad*: that of the *guerrillera* or left-wing terrorist/freedom fighter while evading the book's larger questions about social and economic justice in Latin America, human rights abuses, and the struggle for the return to democracy during the region's era of dictatorships. The general public's knowledge of these issues was not necessarily increased through participation in the debates and the possibilities of Canadian latinities or "identities in the making" were foreclosed in this public discourse, thus reinscribing Latina/o Canadian invisibility at the very moment of making it visible. Finally, the definitions and interpretation of Canadian "culture" in the multi-cultural also proved to be limited insofar as the contradictions and tensions inherent in the framing of culture as being both national and transnational, commodity and public good, as well a work of art and part of the "everyday"—skew the discourses allowable in the national public sphere.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how cultural constructions of Latino/a identity rooted in unequal power relations in the hemisphere are a confounding factor in understanding Latina/o cultural production in Canada. Canada's relationship to the United States more broadly is especially problematic for the development of a distinctly Canadianized latinity since so much of Canada's cultural nationalism is predicated on distinguishing itself from the United States through the production of a distinct national culture. New World latinities, moreover, always already exceed and complicate national

CBC's Canada Reads competition in 2012, planting the book on the bestsellers list, where it had a good, long run. But the memoir was published by Douglas & McIntyre, and when D&M filed for creditor protection a few months later, Ms. Aguirre was owed \$59,521. (Marsha Leaderman, *The Globe and Mail* June 4, 2015).

borders. By bringing attention to the national and hemispheric politics of language, I have made the case that the ideological constructions of Canadianness and *latinidad* that were created in opposition to each other and in differentiated relationships of power with the U.S. at the beginning of the modern/colonial world system continue into the present. My analysis in this chapter of how these ideological and material relations are enacted in the “institution of literature” in particular has primarily highlighted the ways in which English Canadian literary institutions, even while attempting to become more “inclusive” and reflective of the country’s multicultural make-up, are unable to accommodate a *latinidad* based in the Spanish language, and how this has affected the development of Latina/o Canadian writing.

Now that I have established this larger sociohistorical framework for understanding Latina/o Canadian cultural production and the emergence of multiple Canadian latinities, in the remainder of this study I shift to a more thematic and formal analysis of Latino/Canadian texts while continuing to situate these texts historically. Thus, while I continue to emphasize issues of reception and production, I also combine this focus with a close reading of these works. In the following chapter, I turn to a consideration of the poetic production of Chilean exiles in Canada. Whereas the latter half of the present chapter has focused on memoir and public sphere reception of Canadian latinities, I now examine a very different genre and sensibility: avant-garde or experimental poetry. Like Aguirre, the writers I discuss next left Chile after the 1973 military coup and settled in Canada. However, unlike Aguirre, these writers were adults and were already writers in their home country at the time of their exile and already steeped in a literary tradition.

Chapter 2

Of Other Times and Places: Alternative Chronotopes in the Poetry of Chilean Exiles in Canada

“But the city lives by remembering.” Ralph Waldo Emerson

In 2013, Chilean poet and Nobel laureate, Pablo Neruda, was exhumed (again) after allegations that he had been poisoned by the military government that took the country by force in 1973. The poet's status as a world-renowned artist and popular socialist senator in the deposed Unidad Popular government was an embarrassment to the military junta who were eager to erase any signs of the alternative worldview and social order that preceded them. Neruda's stature and very public denouncement of the dictatorship made him an easy target, and his death shortly after the coup from prostate cancer was particularly well timed for the *junta*. Since the plebiscite that resulted in the ousting of the Pinochet regime and the return to democracy, numerous attempts have been made to resurrect otherwise buried people, events, and memories as a way of putting the past to rest and moving forward with social and political reconciliation. Neruda's exhumation(s) and those of other prominent Chilean officials and cultural figures who had been murdered by the military can be understood as part of Chile's attempt to come to terms with its violent history after the return to democracy in 1990. Although it was found that Neruda had in fact died of natural causes, his most recent exhumation belies the ongoing politics of memory and mourning in the otherwise dubbed Latin American “miracle.” Moreover, the fact that a poet who has been dead some forty odd years can still provoke

controversy and political debate in present-day, neoliberal Chile also points to the enormous cultural legacy left by Neruda and other artists of his generation.

In this chapter, I follow some of the threads of Chile's poetic and political legacies in the work of exiled Chilean poets in Canada and their own fraught relationship with their national history. Following Sophia McClennen's conceptualization of the dialectic tensions produced in the exile's experience of being jettisoned from the linear time of their national history, I focus on how two writers circumvent this relationship with time through the realignment or reimagining of space. In particular, I examine how two exilic texts, *La ciudad* [The City] (1982) by Gonzalo Millán and *Tánger* [Tangier] (1990) by Jorge Etcheverry create alternative chronotopes based on two Chilean cities, the capital Santiago, and a major port city, Valparaíso. Although Millán's *City* is never explicitly named as Santiago, the poem imaginatively recreates a Southern Cone metropolis after the coup only to momentarily undo the dictatorship by going backwards in time. In *Tangier*, the poet recreates the experience of exile on the coast of Morocco while transposing Valparaíso to this same site. As McClennen notes, historical events that separate writers from the space of the nation state also separate them from both their national social and literary histories. Since the condition of exile is usually brought about through political violence, the "home" nation is usually invested in erasing the traces of the national subjects it has expelled from within its borders. Moreover, exiled subjects (writers or otherwise) must often assume a marginal position in the host society, also leaving them outside of the adopted country's dominant historical narrative and institutions.

While immigrant, migrant, diasporic and exiled subjects share the experience of migration, there are often significant differences between the motivations and consequences of their movements across nations. One such difference between an immigrant and an exile, for example, is the immigrant's ability to openly return to her homeland without necessarily facing the risk of persecution. In his study of exilic cultural production, Hamid Naficy characterizes exiles as

[I]ndividuals or groups who voluntarily or involuntarily have relocated outside their original habitus. On the one hand, they refuse to become totally assimilated into the host society; on the other hand, they do not return to their homeland—while they continue to keep aflame a burning desire for return. In the meantime they construct an imaginary nation both of the homeland and of their own presence in exile. The difference that sets the exiles apart from people in diaspora is that the exiles' primary relationship is not so much with various compatriot communities outside the homeland as with the homeland itself. (16–17)

Thus, the dialectic tension between home and host nation identified by McClennen is particularly apt in the case of exiled writers. Where diasporic authors, such as those I discuss in Chapter 3, may also have strong affiliations with the home nation, this relationship is always already mediated by their situation in the host country and their connections to other spaces of diaspora. Further, in the case of writers in exile, this relationship to the home country is strengthened through the continued reliance on their national language and literary traditions. Nevertheless, as we will see, the nation/exile binary in the works of the exiled writers under examination here is simultaneously experienced and superseded through the experimental language and urban focus in these texts. In this way, the alternative chronotopes created in these texts both address and overcome the problem of temporal disjuncture stemming from the spatial (as well as cultural and linguistic) disjuncture associated with migration and exile in the late modern period.

The conceptualizations of time via the space of the city in these texts, I argue, are intrinsically linked not only to the experience of exile, but also to the avant-garde aesthetics that inform these poetic works. My analysis demonstrates how modern ideas of time and progress that are also inherently linked to the modern nation and national histories are undermined in these texts through the simultaneous use of utopian and dystopian urban spatializations, and experimental (rather than lyrical) approaches to language. In this way, these texts simultaneously recreate the writers' home nations and their experience of dislocation through formal experimentation, particularly the experimental avant-garde that was popular among some young Chilean poets in the period directly before the coup. As I elaborate in the following pages, important strands of Chilean poetic production before the 1973 military coup used experimental language and avant-garde techniques and themes borrowed from European surrealism and the Beat poets of the U.S., in addition to more local avant-garde traditions such as those developed by Chilean poets such as Nicanor Parra and Pablo de Rokha. Turning away from the lyrical tradition established by Pablo Neruda, later generations of writers like Millán and Etcheverry often published in small, yet important, literary journals in Chile, and worked within relatively small artistic "schools" or groups in urban centres and/or universities. Following McClennen's dialectical model of exile, I envision these texts as bringing together opposites such as North/South, home/exile, utopia/dystopia, nationalism/transnationalism, and modernity/postmodernity in tension with each other rather than in synthesis. This tension is produced not only out of the historical condition of exile itself but also through the national and international experimental styles used by these writers.

Where the previous chapter outlined issues of the position and reception of Latina/o Canadian literature in English Canada's institution of literature, I now turn my attention to the period in which, as Hazelton says, "this literature began in earnest" with the influx of Chilean and Argentine exiles in the mid- to late-1970s. Despite their physical dislocation from Chile and the literary traditions and circles they worked with there, these writers continued working in this vein in Canada. Although this group of writers are most likely to reject being labeled Latina/o Canadian, I include them in this grouping (and, hence this study) because, in many ways, these writers formed a literary and community basis for the development of a full-fledged Latina/o Canadian literature that would develop with the arrival of other Latin American nationals to this country. Their work with small Canadian publishers, Chilean presses, and the eventual establishment of their own presses laid an important foundation and established a venue for the publication of Chilean literature in exile and, later, the publication of works by other Latin Americans fleeing political persecution and civil wars. Moreover, their "leftist" politics and aesthetic sensibilities also influenced the kinds of literary projects and networks they forged in exile. Thus, my examination of these works touches not only on the more general condition of exile articulated by McClennen, it also looks at the specificity of Chilean exile in Canada.

Cities as Alternative Chronotopes: Exile and Heterogeneous Experiences of National Time and Space

In the Introduction to this study, I brought attention to the ways in which the postcolonial nation still figures in both the production and thematic concerns of Latina/o Canadian writers, particularly in terms of such symbolic markers of modern identity as nation,

space, history, and language. In Chapter 1, I then demonstrated how Latina/o Canadian literature and histories remain largely invisible within English Canada's institution of literature and public sphere, partially because a large portion of this substantial body of literature exists in small Spanish and/or multilingual publications, and partly because of long-held stereotypes about Latin Americans and about Canada's being a country largely devoid of a Latina/o presence in contradistinction to the United States. I have suggested that Latina/o Canadian literature is often caught within various national and transnational hemispheric imaginaries, which sometimes intersect and conflict in potentially productive ways. In this chapter, I now explore the "exilic imaginary" of Latina/o Canadian literature and its fragmented representation of time and space through the process of dislocation and forced migration. My reading of these texts and the contexts in which they were produced frames their engagement with these markers of modern identity through the lens of national time/history and its relation to space. As I describe at the outset, I read the metaphorical cities that structure these texts as metonyms for the nations—and national histories—their writers were forced to forsake. Thus, in my analysis I envision the cities in these texts as alternative, and sometimes conflicting, representations of the nation and postcolonial modernity.

Both *The City* and *Tangier* create such metaphorical constructions of the nation through the creation of alternative urban chronotopes. By including various perspectives and relationships to time, history, and space these representations are at once idealized and diminished versions of their national cities and national histories. For example, "En *La ciudad*, la voz poética enuncia desde una casa y desde allí reconstruye la ciudad apestada. Pero no establece vínculos entre el espacio cotidiano de la enunciación y la

ciudad, porque ellas no están en el mismo lugar. La ciudad connotada es la urbe chilena tras la Doctrina de Seguridad Nacional ...” [In *The City*, the main poetic voice speaking from within a house recreates the plague-ridden city. It makes no link between the everyday space of the house and the city for they are not in the same place. The city evoked is the Chilean metropolis as described in the National Security Doctrine...] (Sepúlveda Eriz, 5 my translation). This speaker narrates the city through the different perspectives of various city dwellers (the tyrant, the old man, the blind man, the beauty, the sick man, the newlyweds, and so on, as well as animal inhabitants such as dogs, rats, birds, and fish) mostly structured through poetic fragments (which are numbered up to 68) that play on particular verbs (such as open, circulate, fly, watch, change, fall), and the linking and repetition of nouns as in a grammar book. Through this structure, the poem progresses from the devalued present of the dictatorship to a moment of crisis in which the events surrounding the military coup are reversed using this very same language structure. The “time” of the poem eventually returns to the city under the dictatorship with the impending death of the old man (or principal “narrator/character”). However, the poem ends with a degree of hope and renewed sense of time that is not present at its inception, suggesting that the dictatorship, like the old man’s life and the poem itself, must come to an end.

In similar fashion, the long poem *Tangier* symbolically elides the condition of exile as one solely between home and host nation by transposing the city of Valparaíso to the city of Tangier, and other port cities in general. The poem’s formal structure also reflects the fragmented and fractured present by combining a number of short poems—sometimes in paragraph form and sometimes as only a few lines—with no titles or

numbers. Subjectivity is fragmented and dispersed among male and female “characters” inhabiting or moving through different points or “portals” in space, particularly the principal poetic speaker, who, in a sometimes conversational tone mentions travels or exile in numerous countries and the differences among their major cities. As in *The City*, an old man also figures in *Tangier* and serves as a symbol of historical disjuncture, exhaustion, and endings. Also mirroring Millán’s work, Etcheverry incorporates animals in this poetic landscape, particularly seagulls and seabirds that fly freely all over the world, and who also symbolize the mind’s ability to “pierce” the obscure reality of the exile’s devalued and incoherent present. Despite their predicament, my reading suggests that the exiles in this poetic work can, like the birds that fly from port to port, attain a privileged relationship to space, knowledge, and time precisely because they are not bound to the day-to-day human (read national/rational) existence.

Representations of the city have a long history in Western literature and have appeared in various genres in both utopic and dystopic dimensions. As physical sites in which diverse populations come together in the ideal of the public sphere or where people are separated by urban enclaves, such as ghettos and “uptown” neighbourhoods, literary cities can be useful symbols of larger social and aesthetic concerns. Cities can be represented as totalities (or what Michel de Certeau called understanding the city from “God’s eye view”) or from the fragmented perspectives of diverse city dwellers. Differing visions of the city in the Western imagination have also been constructed between the modern and postmodern era. Whereas the city has often been viewed as a site of human alienation and atomization in relation to older, more “communal” forms of social and spatial organization (or the distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and

Gesellschaft), the postmodern city is often “represented as labyrinthine and full of potential for marginalized existence” (McClennen 234). Thus, when the city is deployed as an alternative metaphor for the nation, writers in exile are able to articulate their newly complex experiences of alienation and marginalization from the home and host nation. The fragmented city, in particular, offers new “historiographic” possibilities to writers who have been forced out of the historical and narrative “time” of the nation through the enunciation of their own memory and historical existence.

These diverging understandings and experiences of time are significant insofar as they coexist in tension within these texts and in exilic literature more broadly. The modern era is generally associated with a radical break from the ancient past and, therefore, tradition, and posits the development or progress of human society towards individual subjectivity, democracy, the rise of the social sciences (empiricism), the rise of the nation state, and capitalism (Mignolo *Local Histories/Global Designs* ix, 77, 439–40). In *The Order of Things*, Foucault also traces this reconfiguration of thought and knowledge in a number of other disciplines and epistemologies, as well as the Western understanding of time. History, and by extension, the “History of Man” become central to our understanding and ordering of reality and our place in the world:

From the nineteenth century, History was to deploy, in a temporal series, the analogies that connect distinct organic structures to one another . . . History gives place to analogical organic structures, just as Order opened the way to successive identities and differences . . . History in this sense is not to be understood as the compilation of factual successions or sequences as they may have occurred; it is the fundamental mode of being of empiricities, upon the basis of which they are affirmed, posited, arranged, and distributed in the space of knowledge for the use of such disciplines or sciences as may arise . . . History, from the nineteenth century, defines the birthplace of the empirical, that from which, prior to all established chronology, it derives its own being. (219)

From a decolonial perspective, this change in historical consciousness, of course, was also tied to the emergence of a European modernity largely underwritten by colonialism and imperialism. In the West, the modern project of History became a means of constructing the West's own identity and the identity of the cultural "Others" that Europeans would encounter through imperial exploits and exploration.⁶⁶

This conception of time has also been central to the development of national imaginaries based on communal geographic and historical origins. In Benedict Anderson's concept of the modern nation as an "imagined community" (1983), for example, the nation or "national" consciousness has been premised on the social and linguistic (or cultural), and temporal (or historical) roots of a geographically specific people. The imagined community of the modern nation differs from earlier religious and dynastic communities through their transformations in language, technology, and economic systems—elements that are also crucial to the creation and maintenance of the modern nation. Such technological and social changes also brought about transformations in literature, most notably the birth of the realist novel, which substituted the existing "medieval systems of dynastic representation" for the "homogeneous empty time" of the modern novel that would eventually come to represent the national imaginary or the "homogenous horizontal community of modern society" (Bhabha 308). In their critique of the essentialist national narratives that emerged in this period, postcolonial scholars have privileged the understanding of the modern nation through narrative time rather than

⁶⁶ See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Other* (New York: Columbia UP, 1983) for a discussion of how the modern conception of linear time and history in Europe has been applied to understanding non-Western peoples' relationship to history and thus their relative cultural advancement or primitiveness in relation to the West.

historical time and the reconfiguration of the social as the textual. However, Anderson's conceptualization of the emergence of the modern nation still presumes some continuity between the narration by national subjects and the dominant narrative of the nation as the very means of creating the imagined community of the nation in the first place.⁶⁷

The focus of postcolonial criticism⁶⁸ has largely been on the nation space (or "strange temporality") rather than time or historicity. Homi Bhabha, for example, envisions a rupture between the narrative of the people and that of the institutionalized articulation of the nation in light of the cultural differences so pervasive in the colonial and postcolonial national experience (299). According to this perspective, essentialist and universalizing ideas of nation, history, and identity are ultimately undermined by the exilic perspective from which originating territories and psyches compete with the new. The cultural power and make-up of the nation is understood to be structured through narrative or discursive practices in which "the subject of cultural discourse – the agency

⁶⁷ Here, the nation is problematized in relation to identity and essentialist discourses of national identity formation. This perspective is most actively taken up by postcolonial theorists, and much of the work from this theoretical standpoint is developed from anti-colonial theory followed by the postmodernist deconstructions of metanarratives, such as modernist nationalist discourses (Scott 12). In keeping with the postmodern attention to the "end of history" and the elevation of discourse, Aijaz Ahmad criticizes postcolonial theorists like Bhabha who consider that the "great projects of emancipatory historical change that have punctuated the [twentieth] century have ended in failure" and with them the "metanarratives of Reason and Progress" such as "anti-imperialist nationalism; left-wing social democracy; and communism" (Ahmad ¶ 22).

⁶⁸ There has been considerable debate about the appropriateness of applying postcolonial theory to the Latin American context (see Amaryl Chanady, "The Latin American Postcolonialism Debate in a Comparative Context," in *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, pp. 417–35). Nevertheless, I employ a postcolonial perspective here since I am not speaking of the Latin American experience in particular but rather some of the cultural effects of Latin American dispersal in postcolonial Canada. Further, my use of the term "postcolonial" here refers to a body of scholarship rather than an historical condition or end of colonial relations of power. Instead, I envision many of the insights from postcolonial theory as useful tools from within a constellation of decolonial theoretical frameworks.

of a people – is split in the discursive ambivalence that emerges in the contestation of narrative authority between the pedagogical and the performative” (Bhabha 299). Thus, the nation exists on two narrative levels: that of the “pedagogical,” that is, the constant, fixed, or institutional narrative of origin and uniqueness, and that of the “performative” or subjective telling and re-telling of the national narrative by the nation’s subjects. As Bhabha elaborates, “the topos of the narrative is neither the transcendental, pedagogical Idea of history nor the institution of the state, but a strange temporality of the repetition of the one in the other – an oscillating movement in the governing present of cultural authority” (307). This disjuncture or “ambivalence” between the narrated and narrating nation is central to the people’s ability to resist essentializing national identifications and discourses. Hence, in the narrated or *textual* life of the nation, the “disjunctive temporality” between these two sides of the “‘nation-space’ becomes a potential site for an emancipatory agency” (Larsen 41).

The traditional concepts of national, community, and cultural identities that have been taken to task in postcolonial criticism have been increasingly fractured and fragmented by postmodern and postcolonial displacements such as exile, which has “been a defining experience of modernity and that . . . continues to offer a crucial articulation of the postmodern condition” (Meek 86). Since exilic literary production and literature do not naturally reside in the migrant’s country of origin or in her adopted country, the discourse of a “national” literature implicitly excludes exilic production because it cannot fit into any homogenous “national” category anywhere. For some cultural theorists, the liminal or interstitial state of exiles, migrants, and diasporic “minorities” calls into question fixed notions of identity (national or otherwise) and the value of living within a

“collective ethos” or centre. According to Bhabha, exilic postcolonial literature and discourses are able to contest “genealogies of ‘origin’ that lead to claims for cultural supremacy and historical priority” (Bhabha 307) through the re-telling of the national in the performative “present.” In this way, the exilic condition has come to resonate in modern and postmodern experiences and cultures through the exponential growth in refugees and exiles from all over the world during the latter half of the twentieth century, and through the various cultural mediations of this experience.⁶⁹

Some of the major features of the exilic experience are loss of home/nation and loss of language, features which also make up a large part of an individual’s *habitus* as described by Pierre Bourdieu (Said 51). Related characteristics include the subsequent quest for home and identity, and the sometimes dangerous and fantastical ideals constructed in relation to the exile’s nation of origin (Peters 19). Edward Said, who was an intellectual in exile himself, brought to our attention the dialectical relationship between nationalism and exile, and the effects of losing one’s nation—from nostalgia and the “fetishization” of exile to attempts at complete assimilation into the adopted society

⁶⁹ Postcolonial theory has most often tended to foreground “the intellectual and artist in exile, the political figure between domains, between forms, between homes and between languages” as the social agent most likely to carry on the anti-imperial tradition of “liberation as an intellectual mission” (Said 332). While “postcolonial criticism, like other orientations on the cultural Left, has ... privileged the ‘responsibility of otherness’ over the ‘responsibility to act’—the opening up of cognitive space for the play of difference over the affirmation of institutional frameworks that embody normative political values and normative political objectives” (Scott 135), the production and dissemination of the very texts and discourses that articulate and enable oppositional worldviews (liberatory or otherwise) occurs within particular legal, economic, and linguistic national boundaries even if their meanings either originate in another nation space or within a “third space.” Sofia McClennen cautions against such celebratory views of exile, explaining that, “Borders are a real concern for the exile, even in the postmodern age of advanced hypercapitalism. The exile does not float free, but must worry about such practical things as visas and prohibited reentry into his or her nation” (244).

(50–51). The exiled subject, he writes, whether in voluntary or forced exile, lives between two worlds: “For an exile, habits of life, expression, or activity in the new environment inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment. Thus both the new and the old environments are vivid, actual, occurring together contrapuntally” (Said 55). Postcolonial theorists such as Said have suggested that the liminal or interstitial state of those in exile calls into question fixed notions of identity and the value of living within a “collective ethos” or centre. The exilic perspective from which originating territories and psyches compete with the new ultimately undermines essentialist and universalizing ideas of nation, history, and identity. As brutal and painful as the experience of forced exile is known to be, it can also provide a range of previously unimagined possibilities since “[t]o be interstitial . . . is to operate both within and astride the cracks and fissures of the system, benefiting from its contradictions, anomalies, and heterogeneity” (Naficy134).

A now more commonly accepted idea is that history is not a value-free endeavour, and that it is intimately tied to power, as both a lived experience and a discursive construct and practice. Moreover, this critique of History as a metanarrative of human progress and Western civilization has also turned to a debunking of the universalizing notion of Western history and time itself.⁷⁰ For example, as Meredith Criglington notes,

⁷⁰ The critique of the modern conception of time and historicity has been well articulated in a well-known passage from Walter Benjamin’s “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in which he contemplates Paul Klee’s 1927 watercolour, *Angelus Novus*:

This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe, which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing in from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such a violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to

“space is no longer considered a passive setting for objects and their interactions but rather a social, historical and political dimension” predicated “on the idea of space-time relativity” from Einstein’s theory of relativity, which informed Bakhtin’s original formulation of the literary chronotope, which I discuss below (130). This view of the relationship between time and space, however, coexists with older, more naturalized conceptualizations of these two elements. More specifically, the relationship between nation and history that is ruptured through exile is largely predicated on the modern understanding of history and time as a linear progression with a definitive past, present, and future. The heterogeneous experience of nation and nation-space is thus linked to other forms of experiencing time and space outside of the nation state, such as heterotemporalities and heterotopias. McClennen writes that “[Exile] texts trace territories as they attempt to narrate an experience in relation to geographical space. They cannot reproduce ‘the reality’ of this history, but they can trace it, using language as their tool. At the same time that they outline the spatial and historical lines of their experience, they also strike out into new and unmapped territory, making marks in the margins” (165). Much like the varied relationships and conceptualizations of time that imbue social relations and reality, this heterogeneous view of space reflects the uneven relationships to space between subjects and spaces themselves.

Concepts such as “heterotemporality” (Mishra and Hodge 397), like “historico-structural heterogeneity” (Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*), help explain the often

which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress. (257)

In her work on New World writers’ preoccupation with establishing origins and in the Americas, Lois Parkinson Zamora writes that Walter Benjamin’s own fragmentary writing style and form of cultural criticism embodies the fragmentary experience and understanding of history that “undercuts rationalist notions of progressive history” (157).

marginal relationship to the time-space of the nation held by postcolonial and exilic subjects in their various and sometimes competing relations to the precolonial past and the (anti-, post-) colonial present. For some thinkers, acknowledgement of heterotemporality in colonial and postcolonial contexts promotes both a critique of the historicism of European Enlightenment thought (Chakrabarty 7–9) while providing a vantage point from which to approach “instance[s] of the Other of postcolonialism and colonialism alike: forces and processes that continue on outside their competing narratives, equally elided by both” (Hodge and Mishra 397). Similarly, Ranajit Guha describes the migrant’s non-linear relationship to time as one of repetition:

The alignment of the migrant’s past with his predicament in the flow of his being towards a future occurs, therefore, not as a process of recovery but of repetition. Far from being dead that past has remained embedded in its time fully alive like a seed in the soil, awaiting the season of warmth and growth to bring it to germination. As such, what has been is nothing other than a potentiality ready to be fertilised and redeployed. It anticipates the future and offers itself for use, and through such use, renewal as the very stuff of what is to come. (159)

Thus, othered temporalities and histories often exist alongside the normative time of national history.⁷¹

This multifaceted relationship to time is also evident in the renewed conceptualization of space as imbued with power and representative of various social

⁷¹ The logic of a coherent genealogy and, thus, origin and history is often confounded for non-Indigenous New World peoples. This has produced what Caribbean writer and critic Edouard Glissant describes as “a tortured sense of time” (144) in the Americas:

We do not see [time] stretch into our past (calmly carry us into the future) but implode in us in clumps, transported in fields of oblivion where we must, with difficulty and pain, put it all back together if we wish to make contact with ourselves and express ourselves. (145)

relations rather than being empty or waiting to be “filled.”⁷² One of the Foucauldian insights into the way in which these relations are represented is the way in which some spaces exist outside of normalized (and normative) spaces yet still contain elements of the normative spaces they negate, “suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect” (“Of Other Spaces” 24), particularly sites such as utopias and heterotopias. Like heterotemporalities, utopias and heterotopias are spatialized modalities of otherness, existing outside of but still in relation to normative spaces. These counter-sites, Foucault argues, have various functions in relation to the normative sites or spaces of society. Utopias, or “sites with no real place,” for example, are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down” (24). Whereas he sees utopias as being “fundamentally unreal spaces,” heterotopias are instead real spaces “that are formed in the very founding of society- which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality” (24).

⁷² Foucault explains the turn from a largely historical worldview in the nineteenth century to the focus on space as a realization that space is not simply empty but in fact represents social relations of power and the ordering of space itself:

The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and knaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another. (“Of Other Spaces” 23)

While such heterogeneous views of time and space have become more common-place in the current globalized, hypercapitalist era, these ways of being in and experiencing the world have been identified as particularly migratory, postcolonial or exilic for a long time. McClennen writes that

the literature of exiles always includes some utopic vision of existence. This utopic impulse in their narrative is also driven by their fears and experiences of dystopia. The nation, which was meant to be a welcoming home, has become a place of torture and violence—a hell. Moreover, this same dystopic nation has expelled the exile and has condemned him or her to exist in heterotopia, a place for those who do not conform to the system. So, often in the case of exile literature, heterotopias are described as utopic borderlands occupied by social outcasts. But these hereterotopias are false utopias, because, as far as these authors are concerned, ultimately, there is no place like home: that is, there is no place that can be home for the exile who refuses to be subsumed by the traditional and conservative ideology of “home” as a symbolic monad for the state. (244)

The exilic heterotopias McClennen describes are utopic insofar as they are inversions of the dystopic nations and ideologies of unproblematic singular national belonging they have left behind. Moreover, the utopic impetus McClennen describes is tied to the experience and writing of exile, which brings together various times and spaces into fragmented unity or contradictory tension.

The creation of such literary counter-sites, however, also entails a consideration of the temporal rift or repetition that Guha theorizes. Heterotopias and heterotemporalities do not necessarily simultaneously encompass both these vectors. Further, heterotopias as they are theorized by Foucault are real spaces, existing in relation to other real physical and social spaces. Therefore, despite the usefulness of these concepts, I propose that Bakhtin’s concept of the chronotope or “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature” (Bakhtin 84) is a more productive way of understanding temporal and spatial

relations in exilic texts. By being located in fictive cities outside of the space and time of the nation, *The City* and *Tangier* provide powerful counter-narratives of the dictatorship and the punishment of exile. As such, these works provide alternative chronotopes to the typical literary chronotope of the nation. In Meredith Criglington's essay on the city of Toronto as a site of immigrant counter-memory, or histories that contest universalized and totalizing historical narratives, she writes:

[...] linking past and present through a specific place is a common feature of memorial and elegiac forms. Memory's relative chronotopic structure provides a critical model for examining representations of the past. The shifting, mediated, and constructed nature of memory challenges more traditional historiographic modes that tend to appear static, transcendent, and naturalized. Close attention to the operation of memory reminds us that all historical knowledge is relational, contingent and situated (Haraway); in other words, history is shaped according to our present needs. Moreover, an awareness that memory is partial, in the double sense of being incomplete and subjective, creates slippages and gaps through which contesting voices, or even silences, can emerge. (Criglington 130)

Thus, alternative articulations of history and memory (or *time*) can be facilitated by their enunciation from specific, sometimes unexpected, physical sites (*space*). Because cities typically bring together numerous diverse citizens within their boundaries, they are particularly useful for representing the larger socio-spatial site of the nation in idealized or dystopic terms.

Such alternative chronotopes are also indebted to a postmodern understanding of the relationship between time and space (and thus, history and nation). Like the exiled writer, the exilic or "uprooted text literally emigrates from the dominant forms(s) of one's native language and immigrates into the form(s) of another. As Jorge Etcheverry has noted of Chilean exile poetry in Canada, many of these works reflect the "situation of the origin of the texts—namely being in a middle land that can turn into a no-man's land—is by the incorporation . . . of different discursive segments that refer to or represent . . .

different aspects of the subjective/objective reality” (305). Emigration does not signify a complete disconnection from one’s homeland; nor does immigration denote immersion in the dominant genres of a host land” (Negahban 63). Since the “uprooted” or exilic text can no longer be written or read from what Negahban calls a dominant chronotope (both the motifs that appear within a text and “the cognitive strategies the writer and the reader apply to the text”) or provide a “dominant structure in which the writer encodes his text and the reader decodes it” (Negahban. 63, 64), it often incorporates chronotopes from both the home and host countries (G. Etcheverry 77–78). Moreover, the hegemonic functions of the dominant chronotope “as an a priori world model” is undermined by the “heterogeneous discourse” instigated by the very process of migration and the simultaneous mediated experience of the here and there (Negahban 64).

According to Criglington, “Counter-memory, as a historiographic model, can be linked to the immigrant’s chronotopic perspective, whereby the ‘here and now’ is understood in relation to other points in space and time” (130–31). A naturalized relationship to national history and time is absent in these works inasmuch as linear time and metanarratives of historical progress are disrupted through the multiple spaces and voices in these works, particularly the old men and the overarching voice of the poetic speakers. In this way, *The City* and *Tangier* provide alternative versions of Chilean national history while they recount their own personal experiences (and thus histories) of exile in Canada symbolized respectively through a house that is unreachable from the rest of the city and a metaphorical port located in an international zone. Both these works construct particular elements of their respective cities in utopic and dystopic terms: the utopic as the reversal of time through language in the hope for a future without

dictatorship in *The City*, and in *Tangier* through the release from the unbearable present through transformation into another species, born to migrate and settle on various shores. At the same time, neither of the visions in these texts entirely escapes the reality of the dictatorship or the condition of exile.

The Chilean Avant-Garde in Canada: A Short History

The theorizations and literary expressions of the exilic relationship to the time and space of the nation discussed above have, of course, real correlates in the lived experience of exiles, migrants and other(ed) postcolonial subjects. In this section, I trace the exilic trajectory of the two authors under consideration here and their relationships to the literary scene in Chile at the time of their departure and the literary environment they helped to create when they arrived in Canada. More specifically, I provide a short historical trajectory of Chilean avant-garde poetic production in Canada beginning with associated literary movements in Chile shortly before the coup and the authors' positions within these movements. I then turn to a discussion of how these traditions were transplanted and morphed, particularly through the establishment of small exilic presses. I then discuss some of the major thematic and formal features of this writing before concluding with some publication background on these two works. In keeping with the transnational sociology of literature that I provided in the previous chapter, my aim in the following pages is to provide a larger context for understanding some aspects of the creation and reception of these texts.

As noted in Chapter 1, until very recently, the majority of Latina/o Canadian writers in Canada came from Chile,⁷³ possibly “due to the high proportion of artists and intellectuals that were exiled, or to the prominence accorded to the writing and performing of literary works, especially poetry, in Chile” (Owen 5). Chileans in Canada have been recognized for their production of poetry, “the genre most represented” (Owen 5) in this group. This predominance is attributable to a number of factors, which are both peculiar to the Chilean literary tradition and exile experience and to minority textual production, in general.⁷⁴ According to Catherine Owen’s extensive reports on allophone publishing in Canada:

The most common literary genre published by allophone groups is poetry. A bias toward poetry could be attributed to quotidian concerns, such as the fact that poetry can often be written in less time and published at a lower cost than prose. However, poetry’s unique ability to express, in condensed form, the experiences of a culture as it shifts from a stable diasporic identity through the upheavals of immigration is a more cogent reason. And if, as is the case with the Chilean community, artists and intellectuals comprise a large proportion of exiles, then poetry is likely to be the primary genre. (Owen 6–7)

⁷³ Anthologies such as the early *Literatura chilena en Canadá / Chilean Literature in Canada* (N. Nómez, ed., 1982), *Compañeros: An Anthology of Writings about Latin America* (H. Hazelton and G. Geddes, eds., 1990), and, more recently, *Northern Cronopios: Chilean Novelists and Short Story Writers in Canada* hint at some of the artistic output of this community.

⁷⁴ While poetry was, and remains, a popular genre in Chile, where Neruda’s first publication *20 poemas de amor y una canción desesperada* is still taught in schools and committed to memory, it has not been as popular a genre internationally as prose after the coup. Although Chilean writers in exile such as Roberto Bolaño, Ariel Dorfman, Isabel Allende, and Antonio Skármeta may also write and publish poetry, they are mostly known for their works of prose fiction. And though, as Pierre Bourdieu tells us, good poetry may possess greater cultural capital or symbolic value than novels or drama, it is more difficult to disseminate among large audiences. Poetry is also notoriously difficult to translate into another language—which is often an important way of increasing the number of readers and, hence, sales—than prose because it is often more reliant on knowledge of particular idioms and plays on words which may be impossible to translate into another language. Another important distinction between the abovementioned authors and other Chilean writers in exile were their location of exile and the kinds of publishing houses with which they worked.

Like the artists and intellectuals Owen identifies among this exile group, the authors under consideration here and many of their contemporaries were already writing poetry and studying literary criticism in Chile and continued to do so in Canada.

Jorge Etcheverry and Gonzalo Millán, for example, were already writing poetry in Chile and were members of poetry groups there. In addition to her work on cultural memory in Chile after the dictatorship, Chilean literary critic Soledad Bianchi has gone to considerable effort to try to reconstruct the urban intellectual and poetry scene that existed there before the coup by conducting interviews with many of the poets of that period both within and outside of Chile (see *La Memoria: Modelo para armar*, 1995). Many of the poets considered in her study were affiliated with universities and/or literary groups in larger urban centres, especially Santiago. The interviewees in her work describe a vibrant literary community in the period from 1968 to 1973, often involved in formal experimentation and avant-garde aesthetics. Although Millán and Etcheverry did not work together or have strong social ties in Chile, they often participated in an important literary workshop at the “Academy of Literature” at the University of Chile, with other writers such as Naín Nómez and Erik Martínez (who formed their own group with Etcheverry), Ariel Dorfman, Ronald Kay, and others. While Millán was associated with the poetry group Arúspice while he was still studying in Concepción, Etcheverry was associated with first Grupo América and, later, la Escuela de Santiago (“The School of Santiago”), whose members would all end up in Canada after the coup⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Millán left Chile in 1973, traveling first to Mexico (where he was denied entry), then Panama and Costa Rica. He ended up in Canada, where he first went to Fredericton to pursue a graduate degree in Hispanic American literature at the University of New Brunswick before moving to Montreal. He returned to Chile in 1984 only to leave again

In their interviews with Bianchi, members of the “School” of which Etcheverry was a member note that their work was influenced by Beatnik poetry from the United States, and French and Chilean surrealism,⁷⁶ as well as influential European writers such as T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Samuel Beckett, and Franz Kafka. They further described their work as being polyvocal, fragmentary, fantastical, and having a largely urban focus and having a formal style favouring long poems that mixed more traditional poetic verses with short paragraphs of prose (Nómez xiv; see also Nómez, Etcheverry, and Piñones in Bianchi 109–14). Although Millán was not a member of this group, he would meet Etcheverry and three other members of this group in Ottawa, where they founded Ediciones Cordillera to publish their works and those of other, largely Chilean, writers in the area. As Bianchi notes:

In fact, Toronto and Ottawa became fundamental places for the “School of Santiago” because Martínez, Etcheverry and Nómez lived there in exile, and, except for Nómez, they still do. In all their activities they would mention their

shortly thereafter to live in Holland until finally returning to Chile in the 1990s where he stayed until his death in 2006. Millán was also the recipient of numerous prestigious literary prizes in Chile (see Millán’s webpage on the *Memoria Chilena* website at <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-3442.html>). Etcheverry left Chile in 1974 as an international graduate student in Spanish literature at Carleton University in Ottawa where he cofounded Ediciones Cordillera and, later, another influential Latina/o Canadian micro-press, *La cita trunca*. He is still actively involved in Latina/o Canadian letters, continuing to publish his own work here in Spanish and in translation, organizing writers’ conferences and symposia, as well as editing collections of Chilean poetry in exile for presses in Canada, the U.S., and Chile. These writers’ pursuit of post-secondary education provided them with a degree of social and class privileges in Canada that many refugees and exiles do not necessarily enjoy. At the same time, enrolling in these programs allowed them to escape the dictatorship without having to go through the formal refugee process that Canada put in place in response to the influx of Chilean refugees and exiles during this period.

⁷⁶ In her impressive study of surrealism in Latin American literature, Melanie Nicholson identifies some important strands of the surrealist tradition in mid-twentieth century Chilean letters (see Chapter 9, “Chile: The Avatars and the Antagonists of La Mandrágora” in *Surrealism in Latin America: Searching for Breton’s Ghost*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

adherence to the School, which reappeared in Canada following a period of relative silence after the publication of their anthology “33 nombres claves de la poesía chilena contemporánea” (33 Key Names in Contemporary Chilean Poetry) in *Orfeo* magazine in 1968. Like most “marginal” groups, no member of the “Escuela de Santiago” had published in book format in Chile before the coup, and then their books started to arrive from afar, in bilingual editions. The [poets] and the prose writer Leandro Urbina and other Chileans were connected with Ediciones Cordillera, the publishing house that in 1981 produced their first books: *El evasioneista*, by Etcheverry, and *Cuentos del reino vigilado*, by Nómez. In 1985, *Tequila Sunrise*, by Erik Martínez, was added to the list of publications. (Bianchi 109, my translation)⁷⁷

Many Chilean writers working in the early exile period formed collectives and links between artistic production and left-wing politics partially out of a desire to create an oppositional stance towards market and “bourgeois” models of literary production and partly because of a lack of other venues for publishing in Spanish. Many of the institutional and personal links that may have connected them with Spanish presses in Chile and abroad were initially lost with the coup and their subsequent dislocation.

Although Millán was not originally associated with this group, his connection to these and other Chilean writers in exile would influence his own writing, particularly a greater engagement with surrealism through his relationship with transplanted surrealist

⁷⁷ The Spanish original reads:

En realidad, Toronto y Ottawa se volvieron lugares fundamentales para la “Escuela de Santiago” porque Martínez, Etcheverry y Nómez vivieron allí en exilio, y allí permanecen aún los dos primeros. En todas sus actividades, ellos nunca dejaron de señalar su pertenencia al grupo que reapareció en Canadá, después del poco conocimiento que se tuvo de él con posterioridad a 1968, cuando publicaron la antología “33 nombres claves de la actual poesía chilena”, en la revista *Orfeo*. Como la mayoría de los miembros de las agrupaciones “marginales”, nadie de la “Escuela de Santiago” había publicado libros en Chile, antes del Golpe de Estado. Sin embargo, desde la lejanía llegaron en ediciones bilingües. En 1981, fueron editados en Ottawa, en Ediciones Cordillera—a la que estuvieron ligados, junto al narrador Leandro Urbina, y a otros chilenos—*El evasioneista* y *Cuentos del reino vigilado*, las primeras obras de Etcheverry y Nómez, a las que se agregó en 1985, *Tequila Sunrise*, de Erik Martínez. (Bianchi 109)

writers and artists such as Ludwig Zeller and Alberto Kurapel, as well as through the work of the poets associated with the “School” and later Cordillera, who wrote poetry that “oscillates between obscure metaphysical echoes based on the Biblical versicle and a telluric relationship of commitment with America” (Nómez xiv). In the case of a number of the writers published by Cordillera, this meant a “methodological conception of their writing” and the creation of “meta-poetic texts” (J. Etcheverry 305), as well as a sense of “being in the middle of two different spaces, no longer being among the meanings and values of the former, original space, but not giving allegiance to the new one” (J. Etcheverry 304). Their work was characterized as avant-garde, often combining many different genres and voices, graphic and literary fragments in a single text (such as copies of airline tickets, quotations from song lyrics, news items, and the works of other poets), often going beyond rationality (J. Etcheverry 305–06). While these works incorporated some thematic elements such as politics, nostalgia, realism, and the “testimonial” styles that are so often associated with exilic or minority writing, the more urgent project for these writers seems to have been experimentation with the formal aspects of writing itself, going beyond “the accepted format and thematics of lyric poetry” (J. Etcheverry 307).

In going beyond accepted norms for exilic or “minority” literary themes and genres, exilic Chilean poetry has often confounded mainstream Canadian academic and public discourses, which seemingly expects minority works to function as “literary sociology,” while it simultaneously devalues these works for their supposed lack of literary achievement. According to one writer, “there is pressure to treat subjects pertinent to exile and acculturation, and a dislike of cultural appropriation” for Chilean

poets who participate in mainstream Canadian literary circles: “While a policy of multiculturalism has helped to shape a multicultural-multi-linguistic society in Canada, it has helped establish certain subjects as almost mandatory, such as the comparison between the ‘here’ and the ‘there’ and the saga of acculturation” (J. Etcheverry 63). This withholding of “allegiance,” not only by the poetic speaker but also by the writer in his insistence on writing in his native language, can be understood as another strategy of exilic resistance. The split subjectivity of the hybrid or exile is re-fashioned or re-contextualized in these works through the very language of its creation. In this way, “the ontological ground of understanding in language, the fusion of horizons and interpretation, cannot explain other, vastly different cultures that do not share our histories” (Seyhan 6). Thus, the incorporation of the outward symbols of the foreign host countries does not necessarily signal either the complete blending or splitting of the writer’s original worldview.

The City is little known among Canadian readers even though it was written and first published in Canada. However, the text is well known in Chile, where Millán would go on to receive many prestigious literary prizes throughout his career. Millán lived in New Brunswick, Ottawa, and Montreal during his period of exile in Canada and initially published with very small Spanish-language presses such as Cordillera that were established by other Chilean authors living in exile during the Pinochet dictatorship. *The City*’s first Spanish-language publication was in Quebec in 1979, then it was published in English by a small Latina/o Canadian press in 1991, and re-issued in Spanish by a Chilean publisher, Cuarto Propio, in 1994, which helped to establish the poem as a part of the Chilean literary canon. Millán’s work has an ambivalent relationship to the national

literature of Canada, the country that made its public existence possible. The relative obscurity of this text in Canada while it has been canonized in Chile says much about the place of writers and publishers who work in minority languages in this country and often rely on translation, given that he completed the poem while living in exile in Canada and the text itself is a powerful critique of the military coup and dictatorship in Chile.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁸ La Maison Culturelle Québec-Amérique Latine, headed by another Chilean in exile, Miguel Aranguiz, first published *La ciudad* in 1979. The small Latina/o Canadian publisher of the 1991 English translation long ago sold the 500 copies it originally published and has no plans for re-issuing the work. Though the original publication and its subsequent translation are not impossible to find in Canadian libraries, they are not easily accessible. According to search results using the Library and Archives Canada portal, for example, only one Canadian library holds a copy of the Spanish-language publication. A search of large academic libraries such as those at the University of Toronto may have many texts by Gonzalo Millán, but they do not have any copies of *La ciudad*. Millán had a relatively high profile in Chile, which he gained largely after moving back there in the 1980s. Thus, PDF versions of the work in both the original Spanish and English translation are available through a Chilean government website called *Memoria Chilena: Portal de la cultura de Chile* (Chilean Memory: A portal to Chile's Culture) that was created and is maintained under the auspices of the umbrella organization, La Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos (DIBAM), which is the administrative body responsible for Chile's Libraries, Archives, and Museums. The Chilean National Library's web portal where these texts can be found is very slick and, in addition to making available some of his publications for downloading as PDF files, the section on Millán includes a complete bibliography with links to the newspaper and scholarly articles available online, a biography, newspaper clippings and interviews, critical articles on selected works, and a "chronology" of his life and work, as well as links to other sites and electronic articles on Millán and his work. The site lists fourteen original works by Millán and provides four of these as PDF files for download, including the two "Canadian" publications (but not, strangely, the Spanish version of the text published by Cuarto Propio). The site also provides information on 167 authors, including internationally known authors such as José Donoso, Antonio Skármeta, and Roberto Bolaño. Interestingly, the portal does not list Nobel Prize winners Pablo Neruda and Gabriela Mistral, nor does it list international best-selling authors such as Ariel Dorfman, Isabel Allende, and Alberto Fuguet. The amount of secondary sources on Millán's work is outstanding, however, it is particularly interesting that none of these sources are from Canadian critics who would have had access to the text in English since the 1990s. The ready availability of this text on Chilean national websites devoted to Chilean national memory and culture on the one hand, and the difficulty in accessing it in Canada is indicative, I would argue, of the differences between Chile's approach to formerly exiled writers and Canada's approach to "ethnic" and/or allophone writers.

publication of *Tangier* had a similar trajectory although it was published much later and does not enjoy the same level of recognition in Chile that Millán's work has received. Originally published in 1990 in Spanish through a co-publication with the Documentas publishing house based in Santiago, Chile, Cordillera received funds from the Multiculturalism Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage in 1997 for its translation into English. *Tangier* has received critical attention in Chilean literary journals such as *Trilce* and also figures in Hazelton's study of Latina/o Canadian literature (see Chapter 1, "Jorge Etcheverry: Vanguard and Cosmopolis"). Significantly, while Millán is considered a Chilean poet, Etcheverry is most often considered a Chilean-Canadian poet in critical works in Canada and in Chile.

In her essay on Chilean poets of the 1960s transplanted in Canada, Magda Sepúlveda Eriz writes that

The Chilean poet avoids references to living in the foreign city. The voices he creates are split into two different spaces: the old country left behind and the new one. The metaphor of being in a dream, watching a movie, living as if retired or an old man comes up again and again in this poetry. When, on occasion, the speaker refers to the host city, he appears as a pre-modern individual waiting for others to help him out or give instructions on how to move forward, but that cannot happen in a place where capital and work are the priorities. The poetry of the man in exile seems to say, "I'm not looking for anything here, I'm just passing through and I don't want to be here [...]." Agency, then, is elsewhere; the poet's personality splits and, instead of being a subject capable of action, he becomes an object. He has been torn from his history and is only waiting to return to it. (8 my translation)⁷⁹

Moreover, these differences are also closely linked to the ongoing politics of memory in Chile, the effects of the transnational publishing practices and markets on Chilean literary culture, the publishing practices of writing and publishers who came to Canada from Chile during the coup years, and their relation to the overarching Canadian literary field.

⁷⁹ The Spanish original is as follows:

El poeta chileno evita representar el habitar en la ciudad extranjera. Las voces que crea optan por la escisión entre el territorio que se dejó y el nuevo espacio. La metáfora de estar en un sueño, contemplar una película, vivir como un jubilado o un anciano se hacen reiteradas en esta poesía. Las escasas veces que refieren a las

I now turn to a consideration of the themes Sepúlveda Eriz identifies in the alternative chronotopes of *The City* and *Tangier* and to the fractured relationship to national history she describes. While much of my analysis builds on the above, I also focus on the exiled poets' relationship to language (in the sense of the formal structure of the works and the subject/object position between two languages). I further propose that these works actually demonstrate a form of agency inasmuch as they use this new relationship to the space, time, and language of the nation to create alternative histories of the dictatorship and exile.

Languaging the Fragmented Metropolis in *The City/La ciudad*

According to one of the few English-language reviews of *The City* to appear in Canada, "The poem relates the story of the dissolution and destruction of the city of Santiago in the days of the coup and its final mythological reversal. But at the same time, this book represents research in language that parodically uses the structure of the language textbooks used in Canadian or American universities" (J. Etcheverry 859). As such, this metaphorical city provides an alternative chronotope of Santiago during and shortly after the coup by rewinding time and imagining its eventual liberation. In addition to the dystopic qualities of Santiago and, hence, Chile, under the dictatorship, the overall

ciudades acogida, el hablante se representa como un sujeto premoderno que espera la donación de otros o instrucciones a seguir, asunto que no funciona en espacios donde lo privilegiado es el capital y el trabajo. La poesía del exiliado parece decir no estoy buscando nada aquí, estoy de paso y no quiero estar acá [...] En conclusión, la agencia está en otro lugar, el sujeto se desdobra y se vuelve objeto. Ellos han sido raptados de su historia y solo esperan volver a ella. (8)

structure of the poem also for the most part conveys a sense of oppression via the relentless march or “progress” of time. The progression of the poem is structured through a play on language in which the long poem is set up like second language textbooks (that the poet would surely have encountered in ESL classes in Canada). As I described at the outset, the poetic speaker who “narrates” from a place simultaneously within and outside the city is able to see the city from the viewpoints of many of its inhabitants. However, this omniscient speaker’s position is circumscribed by language insofar as his knowledge and memory of the city (and its language) is now marked by his place outside of the city and its language. Thus, the exilic relationship to national space and history is here further mediated by the language inasmuch as losing the ability to communicate in one’s mother tongue on a day-to-day basis can also be interpreted as part of the epistemic violence of exile.

Millán more explicitly employs the structure of language textbooks in a section of the poem that mimics and describes the interrogation of one of the city dwellers by the military. For example, a section of the poem where the narrator is being interrogated by the military police, mirrors textbook structures by stating a series of questions and answers about the time and weather:

Were the streets damp?	No, they were dry
Was it cold?	No, it was hot
Was it winter?	No, it was summer
What time was it?	It was late
Was the house dark?	No, it was lighted

 (157)

While the above lines allude to the dictatorship’s repression and climate of fear through the question and answer format, they also signal the epistemological violence of having to learn and exist in a new language against one’s will. The poem’s overall structure

makes the disciplinary rules of language transparent while also playing on these rules when transposed for the writer's poetic purposes. In one fragment beginning with the line "It rains", the poem moves from the fact of the weather to the need for rubber galoshes, balls made of rubber that bounce on the ground like the rain drops, which then form puddles, drip into buckets and so on (69) until finally coming to the old man writing in his home:

The rain soaks.
The rain dampens the walls.
The earth is soaked.
It rains in the city.
It rains in the poem.
The old man writes:
Raindrops aren't pennies.
If only raindrops were pennies. (70)

The narrator's linking of various nouns and actions in the form of second-language textbooks in the many fragments of the poem that make such plays on language, also construct the poem's overall arc.

Using this structure, the poem returns to the theme of the dictatorship in many of its fragments and the effects of the military rule on the city's denizens. In fragment 12, for example, the poet explicitly addresses the condition of exile and associates it with the fall season:

The leaves take leave of the tree.
Tomorrow we leave the city.
They saw them leave at the airport.
The wind carries off the leaves.
It was a moving leave-taking.
Steam leaves the mouths. (67)

This same fragment then moves to a description of one of the poem's characters, "the beauty" who is always aligned with "the tyrant" in the text and represents the hypocrisy

and false promises of the military government. The beauty's "reign" also symbolizes or even brings on the economic and political insecurity faced by the majority of the city's inhabitants under the dictatorship:

A fragrant scent leaves the rose.
The rose reigns over the flowers.
The beauty reigns over women.
A putrid smell leaves the mud.
Misery reigns.
Unemployment reigns.
Fear reigns in the city.

There are no leaves on the trees.
Mushrooms have no leaves.
I asked for an advance.
I was asking for the moon.
Rain announces itself in advance.

The player asks for cards.
The fiancé asks for her hand.
It never rains but it pours.
The tyrant asks for sacrifices.
Winter has arrived. (67-68)

The subjects of economic hardship and fear in the city are taken up again in a later fragment that describes a family sitting down to dinner. The dinner is not only meagre but takes on a quality of depressed silence because it is not satisfying and also because one of the family members is missing, presumably after being exiled or "disappeared," which was a common terror tactic used by dictatorships in Chile and Argentina.

The family sits down at the table.
On the table are soup plates.
The hands grip the spoons.
They serve soup with the ladle.
Bread is broken with the fingers.
The toasted crust cracks.
Crumbs fly.
Crumbs cover the tablecloth.
The teeth bite into the bread.

Man has thirty-two teeth.
Eight incisors.
Four canines.
Twenty molars.
The teeth grind the food.
The food falls into the stomach.
The stomachs are not full.
The family eats in silence.
The family is incomplete.
It rains outside. (76)

This combining of opposites in tension—beauty with fear and hardship—adds to the dystopic feeling of the city. For, while the figure of the beautiful woman becomes the public face of the “tyrant,” her physical beauty conceals the corruption of the metropolis.

Millán is able to create an alternative chronotope to the nation not only in his description of the hardships faced by its citizens during the dictatorship—which at the time of his writing the text and its publication would have been suppressed in Chile—but also in providing numerous and sometimes competing perspectives on the city itself. In one fragment, the dominant poetic voice narrates the events from outside of the city, as in the following passage in which we can see the “God’s eye view” of the city described by de Certeau. At the same time, it also includes various “marginal” perspectives on life in the city. In one of the fragments, the city is seen from atop of a mountain, investing the mountain and the person viewing the city from this vantage point with a sense of power. In one of the lines, the poet states that the dominant colour is grey, thereby linking power and dominance with the colour used in the uniforms of Chile’s military officials.

A mountain dominates the city.
The old man is not a dominant figure.
The old man dominates his passions.
The dominant colour is grey.
You can see the whole city from here. (103)

The old man, who, as I discuss further below, symbolizes the writer in exile, does not

share this sense of power. His power is limited to controlling his own “passions” in contrast to the seeming total power and dominance of the military regime and the mountain that not only looms over the city but also provides a location for quasi-panoptic sight. This vision of the city is contrasted with its underbelly, which is seen by its insect inhabitants, and, obliquely, by the poem’s narrator:

The city is an immense cave never
reached by daylight.
The city is the murmuring darkness of a great
subterranean river.
The city smells deafens hushes stinks.
The city is the tomb of the sea.
The shell to which I press my ear.
A beehive invaded by ants.
The swarms disperse and the queens nest
in my ears. (110)

Such differing, fragmented and sometimes competing views of the city are also illustrated in fragments in which it is described through the senses used by the “character” of the blind man, who must rely on his sense of hearing, touch, and smell to know the city:

“The blind man has a very keen nose.”
.....

The tyrant’s agents smell of rat.
The agents try to coax me.
They threaten me.
They even offer me money.
To them I am blind and mute.
Leave this poor blind man in peace.
Let me play my guitar in peace. (111)

Thus, the metropolis is perceived from above and below, both in terms of the poetic speaker’s physical relationship to the city, as well as through numerous senses.

In addition to the fear and economic stagnation of the city, one of the more dystopic qualities of the metropolis is its “quarantine” due to an infestation of rats that are

identified with the military and undercover agents in the fragment cited above. The epidemic of rats that “reign” over the city, like the dictatorship itself, renders the metropolis unhealthy, cutting it off from the outside world. The last line of the poetic fragment, moreover, states that the plague has not only polluted the space of the city but has also “contaminated” its very language:

The rats infest the city.
The city is in quarantine.
They watch the ships.
The ships are in quarantine.
They spray the buildings.
They exterminate and vaccinate.
They disinfect the city.
The vaccine immunizes.
The city stinks.
The city is unhealthy.
The city is isolated.
Patients with contagious diseases are isolated.
The plague spreads very fast. (113)

The plague is a devastating epidemic.
An epidemic reigns.
The water is contaminated.
The atmosphere is polluted.
The atmosphere is unbreathable.
The language is contaminated. (114)

The dictatorship—or plague of rats—thus threatens even the most basic means of communication and understanding. This contamination is particularly acute for a poet who relies on language to create his art. Being outside of the city, and outside of his own language, the poetic speaker now must develop a new, distanced relationship to language in which the original subjective relationship to language has also been contaminated.

Despite the dystopic qualities of the poem’s principal the speaker, this view is momentarily disrupted in the poem through the process of languaging and the way in which Millán uses the structure of the language textbooks to reverse the events of the

dictatorship and time itself. Halfway through the poem, the author reverses the otherwise progressive (even oppressive) view of time as a succession of days, events, and even seasons by beginning to move backwards, much like watching a video in “rewind.” For example, in Fragment 49, the structure we saw earlier in the short poem on rain is used to undo the present and, thus, oppression of the city. To provide a sense of the effect of how the poem turns back time using this experiment in language, I quote the fragment in its entirety here:

The river flows against the current.
The water runs up the waterfall.
The people start walking backwards.
The horses walk backwards.
The soldiers unmarch the parade.
The bullets leave the flesh.
The bullets enter the barrels.
The officers put their pistols away.
Electricity returns through the cords.
Electricity passes through the plugs.
The tortured stop shaking.
The tortured close their mouths.
The concentration camps empty.
The missing appear.
The dead rise from their graves.
The jets fly backwards.
The bombs rise towards the jets.
Allende fires.
The flames die down.
He takes off his helmet.
La Moneda rebuilds itself entirely.
His skull repairs itself.
He steps out on a balcony.
Allende backs up towards the Moneda.
The prisoners leave the stadium backwards.
September 11.
Airplanes full of refugees return.
Chile is a democratic country.
The armed forces respect the constitution.
The military go back to their barracks.
Neruda is reborn.
He returns by ambulance to Isla Negra.

His prostate hurts. He writes.
Victor Jara plays the guitar. He sings.
The speeches enter the mouths.
The tyrant embraces Prats.
He disappears. Prats revives.
The unemployed are rehired.
The workers parade singing.
We shall overcome! (125–26)

The “rewind” effect of this section of the work creates a dual sense of temporality: like rewinding a video tape, the author and reader are able to go back in time but only through the reversal (rather than erasure or revision) of the events that have already occurred, creating a temporal/historical loop rather than a progressive trajectory.

Nevertheless, in contrast to this undoing of time and the celebratory statement in its last line, much of the poem follows the more “natural” and progressive view of time, in particular through the perspective of the Old Man, who also represents the writer in exile, whom he identifies in Fragment 32 in the lines “The season advances. /The poem advances. /Time advances. /The author is a man advanced in years” (100). Thus, time is represented in both positive (undoing the dictatorship) and negative (old age and exile) lights within the totality of the poem:

The day is declining.
The street lights are turned on.
The city lights up.
Butterflies circle the light.
Strength declines with age.
Years of few lights.
These last years of mine.
We live in darkness.

The old man turns on the light.
Click! go the switches.
The rooms light up.
Television sets are turned on.
The tyrant speaks on all channels.
It gets dark early in winter.

The neon signs blink on and off.
The stores close. (61)

The old man/poet's act of writing on one hand undoes the dictatorship and gives voice to the many marginal inhabitants of the city. Nevertheless, the progression of time does not ultimately relent in the poem, adding to the tension of utopic and dystopic opposites in the poem. The closing fragment, makes clear the relationship between the exiled poet's/old man's declining strength and the ending of the poem's counter-narrative itself.

The athlete reaches the finish line.
The mountain climber reaches the summit.
At the end of the railway line there is a buffer.
The bus reaches the terminal.
The poem reaches its end.
The old man finishes the poem.
His life is ending.
The old man makes his will.
The poem is his last will and testament.
One cannot divine the future.
The year 2000 is a leap year.
February has 28 days in normal years.
February has 29 days in leap years.
The year 1996 is a leap year.
The year 1992 is a leap year.
The year 1988 was a leap year.
The year 1984 was a leap year.
The year 1980 was a leap year.

The old man is still breathing.
The old man is approaching the end.
These are his final verses ... (163)

The poem as a whole has completed a temporal arc from the beginning (the day begins/the poem begins) to where the poem reaches its end, much like the other activities listed in the final fragment, including death. At the same time, however, *The City* does not provide a monolithic account of a metropolis, but rather symbolizes the various fragmented viewpoints of its inhabitants, while also reversing the linear relationship to

time.

The Exilic Cosmopolis in *Tangier/Tánger*

Where Millán recreated a fragmented Chilean metropolis through his experiments in language, Etcheverry's *Tangier* transposes a Chilean port city onto other urban sites, or portals, that connect it to other points in space via the process of exile. The main speaker's connection to these various sites and the people he meets therein further transforms this alternative chronotope into a cosmopolis inhabited by other exiles or people with similarly complex connections to other times and spaces. In the Foreword to the English-language edition, Leandro Urbina writes that, "Irony and parody are used to organize the meaning of this long poem" and, further, that "[t]he imitation of ways of speaking of diverse social strata, resulting in an intermittent change of voice registers, gives the poem a discursive density that underlines its complexity as well as its playfulness" (Urbina 11). The discursive density he describes relates the experiences of the other people across the globe but also further connects it to the port city of Tangier itself. The poem's fictional situation in Tangier, Morocco, not only draws on Beat literary history but also on Tangier's own long history as an important seaport; a Spanish, French, and English colony; and an early twentieth-century international zone. Thus, Tangier's varied "national" history facilitates its mythologization as an expatriate cosmopolis. Moreover, the often fantastical or hallucinatory structure and language of the poem and the spatial indeterminacy of the poetic speakers help to create a universalized experience of exile from the particular experience of Chilean exile in Canada.

Although it is named for a real place, the Tangier of the poem can be read as an

alternative chronotope that exists outside of time and space. As Urbina notes, “Of course here Tangier signals ports and doors (puertos y puertas) and conceals the names of Valparaíso, Chile, and America that at times burst directly, at others, tangentially, into certain verses of ambiguous homage” (11). The principal poetic speaker alludes to this universality throughout the poem, especially when he finds himself in a “parallel life” in exile:

As in all ports
seabirds filled the sky
with the diagonal of their wings, their screeches
awakening me in this other, parallel life

All I can account for are vague fragments
Tatters of coloured light with myriads of images
That tend to dissolve in the concrete light of day
Like hordes of light-roaches struggling to penetrate the orifices
that lead to the brain: two ears, two eyes
the two nostrils (Etcheverry 14)

Singular meaning and coherence are lost in this parallel port where light (or meaning and knowledge) struggles to enter the mind of the subject caught between worlds. The poetic speaker attempts to escape his confusing present by living in the past, since when he is in this condition, further travel and transformation becomes not only a necessity of exile but also a viable alternative to remaining in a devalued present of exile and the singular space of the nation.

Just as the natural order of the seasons in part structured the temporal arc of *The City*, nature also plays a role in the city in *Tangier*. Here, however, the natural world, particularly the ocean, does not so much structure time as connect different points in space. As Urbina states, the sea figures predominantly throughout the poem noting that “the sea, the great symbol of Chilean poetry,” in Etcheverry’s work “is a ‘de-Nerudized’

sea, sensual and dirty” (11). Marine animals and seabirds, moreover, become essential symbols of exile in the no longer idealized world of the poem:

Let us be then like those seagulls, let’s shatter the crystal of the air
with our screeching

Let us be then like those seagulls, let’s fly over the iridescent sea
of reality, spotting fish with our powerful piercing sight (20)

The seabirds’ migration not only recalls the movement of exiles and expatriates across the globe but also represents the way in which an exilic consciousness can “pierce” through the reality of the devalued present. Elsewhere, exiles are again likened to gulls and other seabirds insofar as their travel through “ports that are portals” (Urbina 11) leads them to the cities of the North:

That is how we came to crash against this city half-covered by ice that
nonetheless still evokes by contrast the existence of sunny places.

The cold discourages human interaction in open spaces and cafés flourish like mushrooms. And so it is that people scurry along,
their faces immobile, wrapped up in thickly-lined clothes. And
some, like you, like me ... (24)

Birds are further personified as exiles in the poem as vulnerable to the whims of capital, modern industry, environmental degradation, and economic trade agreements by being scattered throughout the world with fewer and fewer places of refuge:

In what rockeries
In what crevices of what cliffs
may they build their never-permanent nests
always subject to the comings and goings of the tides
the winds
the changes of temperature (30)

.....

Of their being cast like birds with suitcases
selling furniture getting visas

in the cities of the High Plains
the Pampas
the Desert
the Plains (32)

.....

Consecutively
like depleting seas
until the bodies are cast up upon the cities
of the Centre, of the North
enraptured in the beginning
savouring dishes and languages
banding and disbanding
receiving and sending postcards and packages
with weeks of delay
reading newspapers (33)

However, as the above verse suggests, these migratory “birds” are also actively reconstructing the memories and habits of the original homeland through “banding and disbanding” together on the new shores, keeping correspondence with the home port and staying up to date on its day-to-day events in the papers.

The theme of being in two places at once and “not giving allegiance” to the new that both Etcheverry and Sepúlveda Eriz identify in Chilean exile writing is also present in *Tangier*, where the poetic speaker provides an inventory of the cities in which he has lived and that never seemed like home (34). Rather than providing a secure or coherent sense of place in the “other city”, or one of many northern cities in which he finds himself, the poetic speaker is dizzy and disoriented by all the different people he encounters there:

Many faces blurred in the vast underground network of the Paris metro [...] Your recently acquired agility doesn’t manage to allay the suspicion of others or the buzzing that afflicts the interior of your skull

Imagine this other city like a sepia or ochre-coloured beehive on the seashore, among the rocks, riddled with so many different faces, displaying or reflecting countless occupations, countless ethnic origins (40)

The cacophony of the new cosmopolis (and the experience of exile more generally) is also represented through the different voices and fragments that surface throughout the poem. While the speaking subjects are often indeterminate, the poem frequently goes back and forth between the principal poetic speaker and the different voices plotted in different points in space and time, such as that of a young woman who is seemingly a native of an idyllic port town (36–37), and the voice of an old woman (48–50), which are interwoven with the voice of the exile in an unnamed “Anglo-Saxon country” (32).

This fragmentation of the poetic voice and perspective is also accompanied by the main speaker’s consciousness of his own ageing. Like the old man in *The City*, the figure of an aged speaker in this poem connotes the lack of agency—or power—that Sepúlveda sees in the writing of Chilean exiles. As the speaker takes stock of the experience of ageing (or that of exile), he writes that he is “still numbed by this light extinguished in his bygone adolescence / his faculty of realistic perception dulled, somewhat restrained in his *agir*” (56). The loss of youth not only numbs the speaker, it has prompted him to search for a utopia throughout his adult life, as when he states, for example: “Ever since leaving adolescence behind, I’ve been looking, in a way, for Paradise” (59). This process of ageing is also of course linked to the passage of time and the exile’s experience of suddenly existing outside the present time of the home nation. Being outside the linear time of national history, the exile experiences time in a new light:

Who could blame them, marvelous vital machines, propelled only by the instinct for survival. All the radiance available to us comes from this finite condition since we eat to live, and that only for a short time. When you’re beginning to do something, you’re already dying. When the path is opening up, you’re unable to

walk anymore. When you're beginning to see, you start becoming blind. When you're beginning to understand, you're dribbling in senility. Like a vertiginous carousel, the days go round, above our heads, faster and faster (51 italics in original)

However, the diminished physical power of the ageing speaker can serve a double function here insofar as age brings greater knowledge, wisdom, and self-awareness. Moreover, the perspective of an older person is formed by drawing on a longer archive of memories and, thus, history.

As the above passage suggests, however, this is a complex relationship that pulls together both negative and positive opposites. In similar fashion, *Tangier* connects both utopic and dystopic visions of home and host nations/cultures. In one passage, the speaker idealizes Chile as a lost paradise:

Valparaíso is a point of pride for Chileans who, scattered to the four corners of the earth, can suddenly be heard to say: "So-and-so is from the port." All who visit the National Territory after 10 years of being abroad or in exile swim labouriously upstream like spawning salmon making their way through the sandbanks of Utopia, intact and coloured like a bubble, just as fragile and suspended in the air before falling

Before falling, we've said, suspended in the air (18)

In contrast, the state of exile is portrayed as a state of nostalgia and an inability to secure tranquility:

*(If in the comings and goings of private life I've not been able to
attain that so longed-for tranquility, it's not my fault
People are more or less the same everywhere
They express their feelings and problems in no matter what
language
in no matter what ambiance
Every detail of their native soil awakens in them the deepest
resonances
that they notice when they're extremely far away*

A superficial cosmopolitanism poses the illusion of a metaphysical vision:

*Life's the same
here, there and everywhere)* (63, emphasis in original)

However, while the poem constructs the port city of Valparaíso as a utopia and life in exile as dystopia, these are momentarily reconciled near the end of the poem with the ironic statement that “life is the same everywhere.”

Conclusion

The “vertiginous” times, spaces and poetic voices in the works discussed in this chapter point to the alternative relationship to history in exilic literature described by McClennen. By locating the poem in the simultaneously physical and mythical city of Tangier, the poet is able to enunciate his conflicted relation to time. As the speaker states in the closing lines of the poem, “That’s why I’ve situated this encounter in this exotic spot. There are certain things you can’t say or do in the everyday world, above all in a country like this [...]” (74). It is unclear if the speaker’s location in “a country like this” refers to the home country under dictatorship or to the host country in which he finds no place or language with which to properly speak. This liminal state is also a key feature of the speaker’s indeterminate place of enunciation in *The City*. The liminality expressed in these works symbolizes the state of exile and its relationship to time. By providing alternative chronotopes to the historical narratives of both the home and host nations, these works also presage the conflictive relationship to time and space in the works of later generations in diaspora. At the same time, the utopic elements in these works provide a symbolic (albeit temporary) reprieve from the present of exile. In this way, the

utopian strains in these works render them “profoundly resistant to the stultifying temporal logic of a broken-down present” (*Cruising Utopia* Muñoz 12).

Chapter 3

Fear and Loving in Las Americas: Space and Affect in Latina/o Canadian Diasporic Drama

In the previous chapters, I discussed the multifaceted nature of Latino/a identity and experience, and the more specific ways in which Latina/o-Canadianness is both different from, and similar to, the Latino/a experience largely articulated from within, and about, the United States. Following the work of Walter Mignolo, Juan Flores, Claudia Milian and others, I have suggested that the meanings inherent in the term “Latino/a” cannot properly encompass the wide range of Latino/a politics, knowledges, collective memories, and, in particular, experiences of migration, resettlement and community-building. This chapter further explores the idea of multiple latinities by analyzing two different expressions of *latinidad* in Canada in the dramatic works of Guillermo Verdecchia and Carmen Aguirre, and their connections to *latinidad* more generally. My reading of these plays engages some of the spatial and affective registers that inform Latina/o Canadian identity, and how these spatial and affective realms work in shaping and imagining community. Thus, while space is important to my discussion of time in chapter 2 since space and time are inextricably linked, here space is foregrounded still further as a vector of diasporic *affect*. I argue that Verdecchia's *Fronteras Americanas* and Aguirre's *The Refugee Hotel* present audiences with diverging visions of Canadian latinities based on the different affective modes and understandings of relationality between self and other, citizen and refugee, North and South, and non-political and politicized that emerge in the liminal spaces of diaspora. Where the exilic poetry

examined in Chapter 2 created alternative chronotopes (and thus histories) of the lost nation in fictional city-spaces that highlighted both their utopian and dystopian dimensions, the plays examined here are firmly situated in the dystopic spaces of a refugee hotel and the American borderlands.

Verdecchia's award-winning one-man play uses the trope of the border (frontera) to trouble national identities and Latina/o Canadian identity in particular. Unlike the exilic reconstructions of a lost homeland explored in Chapter 1, Verdecchia engages with what it is like to never have had a rooted or singular sense of "home" and self, and the associated feelings of social and psychological disorientation that result. These feelings of disorientation and alienation, moreover, are compounded by the proliferation of mass media stereotypes of Latino and Chicano identities, which are then applied to all Latin Americans in North America, regardless of any differences in historical, social, or cultural specificities. In *The Refugee Hotel*, Aguirre portrays a little-known aspect of the Chilean exile experience in Canada directly following the Pinochet military coup, all the while relating the Canadian experience to the experience of the Chilean diaspora and other displaced peoples. The refugee hotel of the play's title is a small hotel in Vancouver where newly exiled Chileans arrive and live while they try to find jobs, stable homes, and adjust to their adopted country. It represents, among other things, the forging, however difficult, of a new community out of shared experiences, values and circumstances. The symbolic and affective economies of such spaces, I argue, are key to understanding various kinds of latinities and collectivities in diaspora, and how they are articulated differently from ideas of *latinidad* originating in the United States.

As we saw earlier, exile, migration, and dislocation are often associated with feelings commonly viewed as being negative, such as trauma, loss, alienation, anxiety, and so forth (as well as less frequently pleasurable connection with others sharing in this condition). But what of other “feelings” or affective dispositions? How might anger, love, or happiness figure in this condition of subjectivity and how do these emotions/sentiments relate to the reconstruction of memory and the creation and maintenance of communities? In the following pages, I examine the works of these two “1.5 generation”⁸⁰ Latina/o Canadian playwrights and how they express localized senses of transnational and diasporic Latina/o identities and affects. In my interpretation of these plays, I turn from analyses that focus on the role of trauma and collective memory (and in diasporic cultural production more generally) to suggest that the spaces/places in which they are set and the affects that circulate in these places also provide a key to understanding the Latina/o experiences they describe. More specifically, I propose that Verdecchia’s *Fronteras Americanas* displays a highly constrained sense of identity and community even though it is set in the larger geographical and cultural expanse within continental borders. In contrast, the sense of identity and community that develops within the relatively confined space of Aguirre’s refugee hotel is much larger and liberatory. The principal affective registers of these plays, which I am naming fear and loving, signal

⁸⁰ The term 1.5 generation has been used to identify children who left Chile with their exiled parents. Since they were born in Chile and experienced many of the vicissitudes of the coup, their experience is differently marked than the experience of second-generation Chileans who did not live through the military coup and migration to Canada. Moreover, this generation shares characteristics with both first-generation and second-generation immigrants, which is why I also use the term diasporic in reference to this particular group. See “Generation 1.5, Identity, and Politics: A Conversation with Chilean-Canadian Women.” In Daniel Schugurensky and Jorge Ginieniewicz, eds., *Ruptures, Continuity, and Relearning: The Political Participation of Latin Americans in Canada* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2007).

different ways in which *latinidad* is imagined and signified in these works. The negative feelings (alienation, loss, anxiety, trauma) and positive feeling (revolutionary love, resilience) in these plays demonstrate the ways in which different affects link (or disconnect) communities of people across time and space.

Both plays recount the now familiar narrative of exile/forced migration and trying to adjust to a host society—the often confusing sensation of being both here and there or nowhere—while being set in liminal physical/metaphorical spaces of the American borderlands and a hotel for refugees. They are also similar in terms of their language of production/performance (English), subject matter (forced migration as a consequence of political violence in the Southern cone and the attempt to reconstruct meaning, identity, and community thereafter), and inclusion of the child’s perspective. They were written and performed under very different circumstances, however, and taken together do not present a wholly cohesive or unified Latina/o Canadian identity but suggest rather that there are multiple ways of envisioning and enacting Latina/o-Canadianness. The different versions of *latinidad* as they manifest in Canadian space also point to different visions of Canada and *Canadianness*. For, while Verdecchia’s one-man play rests on a Canada that is devoid of cross-cultural understanding and community, *The Refugee Hotel* ensemble piece provides a vision of Canada that is cognizant of the struggles of other minoritized peoples and the alliances or connections that can be forged (whether on a personal or large scale) among such groups.

Despite the contextual, thematic, and formal differences between these two texts, one of my primary reasons for linking them here is because they constitute Latina/o Canadian diasporic texts rather than Chilean or Argentinean exilic texts. The

differentiation I make here between exilic texts such as those examined in Chapter 2 and Verdecchia's and Aguirre's diasporic texts reflects the original language of creation as well as the generation. Both Guillermo Verdecchia and Carmen Aguirre are of the 1.5-generation and have thus grown up in both worlds. Born five years apart (1962 and 1967 respectively), both playwrights left Argentina and Chile, respectively, as children during those countries' periods of dictatorship, and both have become award-winning writers and actors in Canada. The level of familiarity and comfort with the English language—or the language of the host country—and North American cultural idioms in their works is not nearly as prevalent in the works of the generations of writers who came in exile or fleeing dictatorships / political violence as adults.⁸¹ At the same time, their own experience of alterity in Canada differs from second-generation immigrants who do not have the experience or recollection of an earlier life in a different “home” country. In this way, Verdecchia and Aguirre differ from members of other generations (and subsequent immigrants from Latin America) in that, while they may convey many of the same themes in their works, they do so in the language of the host country. And, unlike their Spanish-speaking/writing counterparts, they have received considerable (though sometimes contested) recognition in English Canada's institution of literature. Thus, while there are a number of similarities between Latin Americans in exile and those

⁸¹ Another well-known literary work by a member of this generation, Mauricio Segura, chronicles the dystopic experiences of racism and violence experienced by two boys—one “Latino” and the other Haitian—in Montreal's urban Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood. Written in French and since translated into English as *Black Alley* (2010), it is in many ways a Quebecois counterpart to the works described here. The title of the book in French, *Côte des Nègres*, meaning “Negro Hill”, is a play on the name of the neighbourhood.

living in diaspora, the multi-generational (first, “one point five,” and second) dimension and comfort in English signals a quantitative/ontological difference from exile.⁸²

Drawing on the work of diaspora scholars who are focusing their attention on the Americas, I explore the relation between the spaces of diaspora and their affects in Latina/o Canadian cultural production. Much scholarship has been devoted to the study of diaspora and to widening our understanding of its social and political dimensions, as well as the definition of diaspora itself. Lily Cho, for example, argues that diaspora should be considered as a “condition of subjectivity” rather than “an object of analysis” (14), which helps us to keep in mind the various differences among diasporic subjects while also seeing the historical and subjective connections among different diasporic groups. Although I recognize the dangers of collapsing the differing experiences of exile and migration from several nations and circumstances into one overarching Latina/o diaspora in Canada, grouping these national groups together within a hemispheric framework helps us to better understand experiences beyond exile while also reflecting much of the cultural and political work being done together by various Latin American groups in this country. My comparison of Verdecchia’s and Aguirre’s plays is a case in point, for while the two understandings of Canada as a home/not-home (or host) society that they present differ widely, they share the sense of liminality that accompany spatialized and racialized latinities.

Spaces of Feeling / Feeling Spaces

⁸² See my definition and discussion of exile in Chapter 2 (pp. 106–07) for further elaboration of my use of this term/category.

In my analysis of the exile's relationship to time in Chapter 2, I discussed the ways in which some postcolonial scholars have typically privileged the idea of space at the expense of more fulsome considerations of time. As a corrective to this emphasis, I followed Ranajit Guha's exhortation that the migrant's experience of dislocation from the space of the nation is most acutely felt on a temporal level since ideas of national identity and communitarian belonging are forged in the temporal (i.e., origins, aging, finitude, and the temporalization of "being together" in the present). In this chapter, I build on my discussion of time and space in exilic poetry by focusing more squarely on issues of space in diasporic drama and how the spaces in these texts mediate migratory affects such as nostalgia, anxiety, as well as love and resilience. According to Guha, the experience of temporal dislocation is particularly acute for first-generation migrants and exiles insofar as they are "in a temporal dilemma" in which the migrant

must win recognition from his fellows in the host community by participating in the now of their everyday life. But such participation is made difficult by the fact that whatever is anticipatory and futural about it is liable to make him appear as an alien, and whatever is past will perhaps be mistaken for nostalgia. He must learn to live with this doublebind until the next generation arrives on the scene with its own time, overdetermining and thereby re-evaluating his temporality in a new round of conflicts and convergences. (159–60)

The disjunctive relationship to time, then, is often misread as nostalgia because of the first generation's anxiety of being cut off from one's national history and having to contemplate an indefinite and uncertain future (159). Where Guha sees the migrant's dilemma as being primarily temporal, he also signals that the migrant exhibits particular affects in the face of this dilemma, noting the anxiety of being cut off from the time of the nation, feeling rejected from the home country and excluded in the host country, as

well as feeling daunted and disconcerted by an open ended future in the host country. Thus, the migrant's relationship to space and time is also mediated by particular feelings.

Such affective mediations are evident in both the plays under discussion here. As examples of the "next generation" Guha identifies as having "its own time," these 1.5-generation works display slightly different relationships to time and space than those explored in the work of first-generation exiles. For example, *Fronteras Americanas*'s plot or overarching narrative follows the Argentine-Canadian character Verdecchia as he travels from Toronto to the U.S.-Mexico border and then to Chile and Argentina on his quest to reconcile his already hyphenated Latino/Anglo identity. When we first meet the character Verdecchia (who shares the playwright's name) in this one-man two-act play, he has long been on this search for his "place" and self, and has returned to the "thirdspace" of the U.S.-Mexico border (or a metaphorical Anglo-Latin border as well as his personal border) in order to find himself: "So, I'm lost and trying to figure out where I took that wrong turn ... and I suppose you must be lost too or else you wouldn't have ended up here, tonight. I suspect we got lost while crossing the border" (20). He explains to the audience that conventional tools like maps and compasses no longer work for him, signaling his heightened level of disorientation and dislocation. When Verdecchia arrives at the border, he and the audience meet "Wideload," his fast-talking, free-wheeling alter ego who speaks with the thick Mexican-American accent and colloquialisms that characterize Latinos/Hispanics in U.S. mass media. Wideload acts as tour guide (or *coyote*/trickster figure) for the Verdecchia character and audience both across the multiple borders that Verdecchia must cross on his quest.

The “fronteras americanas” that the split character (and the audience) is confronting are not only the physical borders between the U.S. and Mexico, but also the borders (and enclosures) between Mexico, the U.S., and Canada, as well as, of course, the multiple social and cultural borders that Latin Americans living in Canada must grapple with. Throughout the play, the Verdecchia character is trying to find a cure for an unknown malady, which is sometimes described as travel sickness and sometimes akin to anxiety and depression for which doctors and therapists are unable to locate a cause or cure. Verdecchia seems to think that much of his “illness” is directly related to his feeling foreign in all places, to the feeling of not having a home, hence the importance of the trip back to Argentina to the character’s development and the plot of the play. Thus, the Verdecchia character has largely developed “negative” affects such as depression, fear, alienation, disorientation, and anxiety through his experience of never having belonged to any nation within the border of the Americas.

The affective registers in Aguirre’s work are similarly circumscribed by the experience of migration and resettlement. Although *The Refugee Hotel* was written and performed over a decade after *Fronteras Americanas*, the historical moment portrayed by Aguirre predates the historical context in Verdecchia’s work by situating the play in a period directly after the first major wave of Latina/o migration to Canada. Thus, the space/place in which this later play is set is also significant in terms of Latina/o experiences and histories of forced migration. Refuge in the smaller, temporary space of the hotel allows the characters in this ensemble piece the chance to start anew in another country after their traumatic experiences in Chile. Therefore, the hotel of the play’s title can be understood as the physical space where Aguirre’s characters meet in relative safety

in their new Canadian “home” (and where the play’s action takes place), and as a metaphor for the sense of liminality and in-betweenness that is one of the many feelings associated with such dislocations.

The first characters to arrive at the hotel are the play’s central characters, Fat Jorge, Flaca, and their two children, Manuelita and Joselito. Both Fat Jorge and Flaca have survived imprisonment and torture in concentration camps and, as can be imagined, bear both the physical and psychological scars of their experience. As the dialogue unfolds we learn that the family has just been reunited on the plane to Canada and the reunion is at once joyful and bittersweet as they begin the process of reconstructing their familial relationships and sharing the stories of what happened to them in Chile while parents and children were separated by the military forces. Soon other characters begin to arrive at the hotel after their own, often dramatic, escapes from violent situations in their home country, and much of the play revolves around their struggle to understand the horrors left behind in Chile while they adapt to their new life circumstances in the in-between zone of the hotel. Whereas the Verdecchia/Wideload character in *Fronteras Americanas* is out of place in the various spaces of the Americas, the space of the hotel in Aguirre’s work offers the refugees ensconced there some measure of temporary respite. At the same time, a number of the characters in *The Refugee Hotel* share a common national origin and experience in Canada, as well as socialist political ideology, which I argue that helps them mitigate their experience of dislocation and alienation. Thus, Aguirre’s play neatly illustrates David Sartorius and Micol Siegel’s point that “dislocation conveys not only the despair of the forced migration of refugees or exiles but also their hope for solidarity in new contexts” (104).

By invoking the concept of dislocation in transnational contexts, or what Sartorius and Siegel term “the crises of place,” I argue that these diasporic works compel us to foreground space instead of time, and to consider the affects that circulate in the spaces and places of diasporic dislocation. Like time/history, space is an important marker of modern identity in that the modern subject is most often associated with national territory or borders and, thus, space. While it is possible to argue that a large part of human history has involved human migration and movement across space, particular attention has been given to the importance of national cultures and identities in the modern era and their loss or transformations in the processes of de-territorialization often associated with the mass migrations of the mid and late twentieth century. Critical attention to the role of space in the production of identity has focused on national and urban spaces and the spaces of cultural and capital “flows,” often forging connections between the global and the local.⁸³ As the attention to the flow of culture and capital suggests, modern spaces are also theorized as being simultaneously real and imagined or material and psychic. Received ideas about space also reflect politically and culturally constructed forms of inclusion and exclusion—certain groups of people are thought to belong naturally in some spaces while others are not.

As many scholars have observed, the spatial relationship that is established between the Other spaces of dispersal and the home nation has become more complex in the highly mobile globalized present than in previous eras. The flow of peoples, commodities, capital, and ideas across national borders has supposedly become a

⁸³ See Arjun Appadurai (1996); David Harvey (1999); Doreen Massey (1994); and Edward Soja (1989, 1996) for some of the better-known theorizations of contemporary Western and transnational space.

commonplace—if not a defining characteristic—of the current era. According to Akhil Gupta:

It becomes clear that any attempt to understand nationalism must set it in the context of other forms of imagining community, other mechanisms for positioning subjects, other bases of identity. Some of these loyalties refer to units of space larger than the nation, some smaller, and yet others to spaces that intersect nations or are dispersed. The analytical challenge is to explain why certain forms of organizing space, specific boundaries, particular places, attain the singular importance that they do in a given historical context. Why the hegemonic representation of spatial identity in the world has become that of the naturalized borders of nation-states cannot be understood by just studying the processes within a nation that enable it to be imagined. (75)

Diasporic subjects, who are often seen as also being transnational subjects, are taken as exemplars of this new world order in the critical literature. Early analyses that celebrated these flows and the supposed freedom of transnational experiences and identities have been roundly critiqued, having now been largely replaced with models that seek to understand the complex and heterogeneous relationships between people within and across various spaces. This latter view of dislocation and mobility is of particular relevance to my analysis as it highlights the myriad ways in which de- and re-territorialized peoples make both vertical (hierarchical power relations) and horizontal (connectivity and solidarity) movements within and across spaces, especially in the recognition that such spatialized configurations can have both limiting *and* emancipatory qualities.

Following Dalia Kandiyoti's examination of Latina/o diaspora literature in the U.S., I envision these diasporic plays and imaginaries as representing multiple relationships between what she terms enclosure and translocality (6). Kandiyoti's elaboration of the idea of migrant or diasporic enclosures reflects both the social and the imaginary: "the confinement and containment of ethnoracialized diaspora populations in

bordered areas” (5). Further, enclosure “encompasses racialized spatial segregation and immobilization and literary modalities that ‘enclose’; that is they centre around discursively bordered, particularized loci such as regionalism and urban writing” (5), often providing diasporic literature both its thematic content and its form. At the same time, the diasporic translocality—or the crossing of the linguistic, historical and cultural boundaries of enclosure—displayed in the texts she examines creates a “diasporic sense of place” that is produced through this dialectical relationship between migrant sites. In a Canadian context, Domenic Beneventi has articulated a similar spatial relationship between such sites in his analysis of Italian-Canadian literature, as for example in the relationship between the new space of the host nation and the absent home nation in ethnic ghettos like Little Italies, or what he terms “ethnic heterotopias” (216–20).

Thus, ethnic spaces of enclosure in the Americas are also, as Kandiyoti points out, racialized spaces, which not only denote the migrant subject’s alterity from the host country but also further delineate the racial differences between the migrants and their “hosts.” The racialization experienced by diasporic subjects is linked to space insofar as certain spaces are normalized and designated as belonging to groups that are perceived to be outside of national, generally white, settler populations. As discussed in Chapter 1, Canada is largely imagined as a space devoid of Latina/o presence in contradistinction to the United States. Latina/o invisibility here is linked directly to Canada’s hemispheric relationship with the United States and is enacted through language policy and particular framings of Canadian multi-culture. According to Nelson Maldonado-Torres and other critics working through the coloniality framework, the spatial dimension of racialization is no accident but is rather an economic and epistemological necessity of Western

capitalist modernity and, thus, nationhood. By creating a geopolitics of power and exclusion, Western powers (with complicit non-Western actors) used politics, military force and European-based forms of scientific, religious and philosophical thought to divide the world into spaces of the “damned” and those for the divine (39). The Fanonian idea of the “damned” of the earth reflects the colonial experience of racialized peoples in the modern world system that is still with us today. Indeed, according to this view, “[P]ost-modern spaces may be defined in a post-colonial fashion ... but this does not mean that either race or coloniality have been rendered any less powerful. There could be now, to some extent, an Empire without colonies, but there is no empire without race or coloniality” (Maldonado-Torres 42).

Despite Canada’s relatively privileged position as a former British colony in such a hemispheric context, it shared with the newly politically independent Canada and Latin American nations the status of being economic peripheries to the United States and Europe, uniting these spaces in coloniality. Whereas Alfred J. López has written of the plantation as a key metaphor and way of mythologizing the economic and social reality of the global South (including the U.S. south, Latin America, and Southeast Asia), Canada’s economic and social relationship to the hemisphere and the globe has often been narrated in terms of the hinterlands, or last frontier at the edge of the northern wilderness. Both views of identity depend on spatial/territorial metaphors to explain complex economic and political relationships of geopolitical subalternity that developed over their colonial and postcolonial trajectories. For López, the plantation in seminal texts by William Faulkner (*Absalom, Absalom!*) and Gabriel García Márquez (*100 Years of Solitude*) symbolize both an “engine of economy” and a means of exploitation, joining

the mythic south “in a shared primal scene of devastation at the hands of a predatory metropolitan North and a legacy of solitude” (418–19). The Canadian wilderness and staples economy has been mythologized in its own way as a “garrison” (Frye) or a survival culture (Atwood) at the border between the “centre and margin of western civilization” in which Canada’s national identity developed out of its economic dependency on Europe and its peripheral status as an exporter of raw materials to empires such as Great Britain and the United States (Innis 385).

Recognizing the key place of empire in the U.S. context and the relationship of Latina/o diasporic enclosures with other forms of spatial-racial segregation such as urban African-American ghettos and rural Indigenous reservations, Kandiyoti’s work is particularly useful for understanding the complex relationship between Latina/o spaces and identities articulated in *Fronteras Americanas* and *The Refugee Hotel*. As discussed in Chapter 1, the border is an important trope in both the U.S.-based Latina/o imaginary and in English-Canadian cultural thought, although in Canada it is often conceptualized as either a specifically English-Canadian attitude towards the Canadian wilderness and different ethnic communities, or, somewhat like Anzaldúa’s conception of the borderland/frontera, a site of indeterminate national identity and, thus, potential for greater freedom and knowledge. Despite differing stances on the various meanings and implications of the North-South border, its significance is undeniable in Latino/a and inter-American history and relations. Similarly, the refugee hotel—as both a real and a metaphorical space—is deeply entwined with the experiences and processes of migration in the Americas and elsewhere. Although less commonly associated with a specifically Latina/o diaspora, hotels are also real and metaphoric spaces associated with travel,

migration, and dispersal. Even where hotels can symbolize and embody positive meanings, for example as a site of respite, leisure or adventure, they nevertheless denote rootlessness and contact with fellow travelers or strangers. In contradistinction to the border metaphor, the hotel can signify a coming together of multiple subjects in a single space. Indeed, in Verdecchia's own reading of Aguirre's *The Refugee Hotel*, he sees the hotel as a synecdoche for (multicultural) Canada itself ("Hasta la Victoria Siempre!" 186). In addition, the hotel as a site for receiving a particular kind of migrant subject—the refugee who is fleeing persecution in their homeland—takes on the character of a site of liminality, sorrow, and of hopeful, limited security.

Various analyses of *Fronteras Americanas* and *The Refugee Hotel* have focused on the important work these plays enact in the construction of Latina/o Canadian identity, and diasporic and revolutionary memory (see Adams 2008; Ramirez 2013; Verdecchia 2013). The creation of collective memories in these texts is often linked to the trauma associated with not only the political violence experienced or witnessed in their home countries, but also the trauma of having to flee a home country and start anew in a marginalized existence away from family, friends, and other forms of social and cultural familiarity. Discussions of trauma and memory for diasporic subjects (and more generally) often construct the subject of trauma in primarily victimized terms. The subject of trauma is unable to properly incorporate the memory of the traumatic memory and becomes pathologized as psychologically wounded and ultimately defective (Freud, Caruth, Cho). Similarly, memory is often—though not always—portrayed as a largely passive exercise: victims of trauma are unable to control their memories or have true/full access to the memory of their trauma since, in psychoanalytic terms, the memories are

too painful to relive and are often buried deep in the victim's unconscious. The role of collective memory in such instances is key insofar as it assists these migrant subjects to keep a connection to their home countries and one another, while at the same time recounting the process of migration and translocation to another country.

While I do not wish in any way to deny the deep negative psychological and emotional effects of traumatic experience, I do want to suggest that such constructions of subjects of trauma can further victimize them—they are powerless against not only the forces that caused the trauma in the first place but also against their own ability to mitigate such forces through their own capacity to remember, construct and re-imagine their own lives. Moreover, such constructions tend to universalize the experience of trauma and do not take into account the fact that different people experience trauma in different ways (what might be traumatic for one individual isn't necessarily traumatic for another, one victim of trauma may recover from the experience more rapidly than someone who had a similar experience and so forth). Following the work of Sara Ahmed and Juan Esteban Muñoz, I am curious instead about the ways that negative affects such as melancholia, anxiety, fear, alienation and so forth are linked to other, more "positive" affects, such as love and resilience. Here, I explore how the negative emotions associated with traumatic experience can co-exist with positive feelings that help traumatized diasporic subjects not only cope with their experiences but also further connect them to others in similar situations (regardless of their physical location). As Gupta reminds us, "we need to pay attention to the structures of feeling that bind people to geographical units larger or smaller than nations that crosscut national boundaries" (64). While displacement, dislocation, and dispossession are just some of the (negative) words used to

characterize diaspora in the vast and growing discourse on these social formations, I also wish to explore how affects such as fear and love—in this case, revolutionary love—might also help us view and understand *latinidad* in Canada. Further, I propose that such emotions are intimately tied to the liminal sites in which they circulate and to which refugees, exiles, and diasporic subjects are often confined.

As both plays' titles and narrative elements suggest, the metaphorical/imaginary spaces-places of the Latina/o Canadian diaspora discussed here are liminal or marginal spaces (the borderlands and a hotel for refugees). The liminality or marginality of these spaces (like the social relationships they reflect and reinforce) is often established in their relation to the normalized space of the *Heimat* or home nation (-state). This outsider position often means that diaspora's affective relation to the marginalized space in the host nation and the now lost, or deferred, relationship to the former home nation is often characterized by sorrow, loss, alienation, and oppression. The "negative" feelings often associated with this marginalization and racialization of such diasporas have been defined in a number of ways. Drawing on the work of Bhabha as well as such diaspora scholars as Boyarin and Boyarin, Cho, for example, writes that

[Bhabha's] mapping of the loss of home to the uncanniness of feeling out of place understands dislocation and dispossession as both an affect and an effect. To live in diaspora is to be haunted by histories that sit uncomfortably out of joint, ambivalently ahead of their time and yet behind it too. It is to feel a small tingle on the skin at the back of your neck and know that something is not quite right about where you are now, but to know also that you cannot leave. To be unhomed is a process. To be unhomely is a state of diasporic consciousness. ("The Turn to Diaspora" 19)

This feeling of unhomeliness—and history of dislocation and dispossession—is unmistakably negative, being based in sorrow, loss, and in the sense of being in two places (and thus no place) at once. Further, such affects partially constitute the diasporic

subjectivity that Cho sees as being in some sense constitutive of diaspora: “Diaspora is not a function of socio-historical and disciplinary phenomena, but emerges from deeply subjective processes of racial memory, of grieving for losses which cannot always be articulated and longings which hang at the edge of possibility. It is constituted in the spectrality of sorrow and the pleasures of ‘obscure miracles of connection’” (15).

While she does recognize that there are also “positive” feelings attached to diaspora,⁸⁴ her understanding of the affects involved in diasporic subjectivity largely focuses on their negative aspects.

Elsewhere Cho refers to the collective experience of dislocation and subsequent racialization associated with diaspora as “racial melancholia.”⁸⁵ This sense of racial melancholy is grounded in the unresolved grief experienced by racialized peoples living in diaspora. Arguing against the dominant “generational” view of diasporic assimilation in which the second generation is able to better assimilate into the host society through greater understanding and familiarity, Cho highlights sociological research suggesting that second generation diasporic subjects can in fact feel even greater levels of alienation from the host country than preceding generations. Citing the work of David Eng and Anne Anlin Cheng on diaspora and melancholic affect, Cho proposes that the degree of grief experienced by diasporic subjects is not in and of itself the problem, but rather it is

⁸⁴ The passages that she quotes from Homi Bhabha also reflect both the positive and negative affects associated with diaspora: “In his introduction to *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha explores the “unhomeliness of migrancy” proposing that “[t]o live in the unhomely world, to find its ambivalences and ambiguities enacted in the house of fiction, or its sundering and splitting performed in the work of art, is also to *affirm a profound desire for social solidarity*” (Bhabha 1994: 18)” (19 my emphasis).

⁸⁵ In this work, Cho is making a larger argument about diasporic citizenship and how this affect is intimately tied to citizenship, social production and reproduction, and everyday “material practices of racial melancholia” (2001, 109).

grief's "endless" reproduction through the family (cultural and historical transmission of grief) and the host society (since the racialized diasporic subject cannot fit into celebratory narratives of national unity, inclusion, equality and liberty) (116–17). Thus, "[G]rief is excess. Grievances can be addressed within the realm of civil society but grief cannot necessarily be redressed" (16).

However, like my earlier critique of psychoanalytic models of trauma, Cho also finds these explanations of diasporic melancholia problematic: "If we follow the logic of racial melancholia, where agency is to be found in the refusal to be cured, then the diasporic subject is doomed to the endlessness of melancholia. If we do not, then the diasporic subject appears to be lured by assimilation into becoming a healthy subject whose losses have been successfully mourned" (123). Echoing Gupta's call to pay attention to the structures of feeling experienced by those living in diaspora, Cho turns away from what she sees as a "polarization" in the "temporality of grief" between cyclical violence and progressivist overcoming, choosing instead to focus on the social basis of racial melancholia rather than its supposed locus in individual psychology (124). Similarly, in his essay on affect and Latina/o performance, "Feeling Brown, Feeling Down," José Esteban Muñoz, proposes that the work of Nao Bustamante reflects a "depressive position" that is common if not typical among racialized artists. The "affective circuits" followed in the work of Latina/o performance artists such as Bustamante, he argues, are tied to their racial categorization as "brown" and therefore Other. In Muñoz's elaboration of this affective circuit, he contends that the depressive state associated with "brownness" is directly related to the brown (racialized) subject's alterity to the "default white subject" (675). This affective circuit, however, is not

restricted to feelings of depression. It includes what he calls a form of reparation that he sees as being grounded in love, which he understands (after Melanie Klein) as “a kind of striving for belonging that does not ignore the various obstacles that the subject must overcome to achieve the most provisional belonging” (683). Thus, even though Muñoz claims, like Cho, that racialization and alterity lead to a kind of depression, he sees this affect as coexisting with a form of agency (love) that can bring racialized subjects together through this “striving” for belonging and, hence, community.⁸⁶

Sara Ahmed has similarly made a case for the ways in which emotions such as hate, love and fear circulate in an affective economy in which love of an (Aryan) nation is related to hating and fearing the foreigner or interloper. In her work, she examines how some affects “stick” to some bodies (also collectivities) and “work to align some subjects with some others and against other others” (117). In her view, emotions are not simply an individual or private matter but instead are part of a circuitous movement of emotions between subjects. More specifically, she proposes that “emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities—or bodily space with social space—through the very intensity of their attachments. Rather than seeing emotions as psychological dispositions, we need to consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the

⁸⁶ In Muñoz’s description of “brown” affective circuits of depression, he argues that while critical theory often recognizes how this condition can be gendered, most theorizations of depression as an affective circuit are based on a universalized white subject. In contrast, Muñoz is interested in tracing this affect in “brown” subjects and how depression and other affects circulate among particular, non-normative subjectivities. Thus, while my own analysis does not explicitly deal with race and focuses instead on the othered spaces of diaspora, Muñoz foregrounds race in his theorization of Latina/o affect. Thus, “‘feeling brown, feeling down’ is a modality of recognizing the racial performativity generated by an affective particularity that is coded to specific historical subjects who can provisionally be recognized by the term Latina” (679).

collective” (119). Much like the relationship between hate and love that she foregrounds in her analysis of racist, nationalist discourse, I want to suggest that we can read the emotional registers in Verdecchia's and Aguirre's texts as different affective responses to the condition of diaspora and, thus, different experiences and expressions of latinity in Canada.

Staging Canadian Latinities

The kinds of experience, affects, and communities portrayed and formulated in *Fronteras* and the *Hotel* are, of course, partial reflections of the environments in which their creators were at work and the plays were staged and performed.⁸⁷ Of particular interest are the historical moments in which these plays were first written and staged, as these differences in historical period also reflect different levels of engagement between Canada, the U.S. and Latin America, as well as differences in critical and audience responses. The historical arc that is most pertinent to the context of these plays is the greater economic and cultural integration of North and South America through the North American Free Trade Agreement, which came into effect in 1994, and the tightening of all U.S. borders after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Indeed, Verdecchia has made a similar claim in his examination of the staging of another Latina/o Canadian play, *Léo* by Rosa Laborde, at the Tarragon Theatre in 2006. According to Verdecchia, the play's naturalism and staging at a distinctly middle-class, Anglo-Canadian theatre serve to contain (or “appropriate”) the memory of the military coup in Chile within dominant Canadian ideological terms: the U.S. is the hegemonic villain while Canada is a “liberal, tolerant, and multicultural” peacekeeper (122). See Guillermo Verdecchia, “*Léo* at the Tarragon: Naturalizing the Coup.” *Theatre Research in Canada* 30.1–2 (2009): 111–28.

⁸⁸ See Natalie Alvarez's Introduction to *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance* and Pablo Ramirez's essay on *Fronteras Americanas* in this same volume for further

Similarly, the apex and dissolution of identity politics from the 1990s into the first decade of the second millennium have also affected the ways in which the plays were created by their authors and received by audiences and critics. Since then, numerous bilateral free trade agreements between Canada and Latin American countries have come into effect, with Canadian companies becoming more prominent and aggressive in the region, and immigration to Canada by Latin Americans has increased partially as a result of a hardening of the border between the U.S. and Mexico and partially out of a need for Canadian businesses to pay workers less money in order to remain more competitive in a globalized economy. The shift from a bipolar to a multipolar world since the 1990s, then, has influenced many aspects of these plays outside of our interpretation of them. Such differences in context also signal an important shift from the presence of small Latin American exile communities in Canada to the emergence of a full-fledged, recognizable Latina/o Canadian diaspora made up of different Latin American nationalities, trajectories of migration, and levels of affiliations to both home and host countries.

One of the many results of these macro historical changes has been that Canadian audiences have become more familiar with Latin American cultural products and the primary language of the region, Spanish. There is also now a larger pool of Latin American performers and theatre professionals in this country. In contrast, Canada had a relatively small number of immigrants from Latin America during the last quarter of the twentieth century and even less familiarity with Latin American cultural products such as

music, film, cuisine, or literature.⁸⁹ However, the concern with borders in *Fronteras Americanas*, for example, was very timely and relevant for English-Canadian audiences when it was first performed and published given the heightened awareness (and fear) of border issues with the free trade deal being negotiated between the Canadian government, Mexico and the U.S. At the same time, many of the non-Latina/o audience members may not have been familiar with Latin American culture or history beyond the Hollywood stereotypes and limited histories Verdecchia deconstructs in his one-man performative critique—a dramatic style which was itself still considered to be innovative and fresh in the early 1990s—giving *Fronteras* both an exotic feel and a hard edge at the time of its first staging in 1993.

The awarding of the 1993 Governor General's Award for Drama to *Fronteras Americanas* not only acknowledged its artistic value but also indirectly recognized the increased ties between Canada and the rest of the Americas (as well as perhaps the existence of Latina/o Canadian cultural production worthy of mainstream recognition). In addition to the play's various artistic and social merits, its incorporation into English Canada's institution of literature via the Governor General's Award⁹⁰ indicates that an essential element of *Fronteras Americanas*' success is the language in which it was written and performed: English. In Chapter 1, I showed that the late 1980s and early

⁸⁹ Nevertheless, a very famous Latin American writer and political figure, Carlos Fuentes, did deliver Canada's well-known annual Massey Lectures (Canadian Broadcasting Company) in 1984, which Verdecchia references in his play. Titled *Latin America: At War with the Past*, the lectures mention the long standing cultural and linguistic divide between North and South America but argues that it is critical for the North to learn more about the South and its peoples. Ironically, much of his discussion in these lectures only mentions relations between Mexico and the U.S. and largely ignores Canada's role in the hemisphere.

⁹⁰ The play was also awarded the Ontario Arts Council Chalmers Award for Creativity and Excellence in the Arts that same year.

1990s were fruitful years for Latina/o Canadian writing in Spanish and in translation. As can be imagined, the audience for this work in Canada at that time was quite small as it was largely circumscribed by the ability to access small and micro press publications and understand Spanish. In addition, although there were also many (valuable) English and French translations, these are often seen as “lesser versions” of originals. Similarly, Mayte Gómez contends that the “use of the English language was a necessary strategy for a performance which aspired to criticize the way ‘Saxons’ have constructed Latinos” in North American culture (§ 30). Moreover, “immigrant” art such as Verdecchia’s was often considered amateur (and therefore devalued) in comparison to French and Anglo artistic production. Gómez writes that, “While [the] institutionalization [of English Canadian drama] was taking place, the work of minority artists in Canada (which has often been referred to as ‘immigrant’ art), was considered ‘amateur’. This classification [...] meant, among other things, that this work did not need to be judged by professional standards of quality, because it was only relevant to a reduced community, to an ‘ethnic group’, not to society at large” (§ 23).⁹¹

⁹¹ The primacy of Spanish in Latina/o Canadian letters and drama has changed considerably since the demographics of who is considered Latina/o Canadian is rapidly changing and as English has become a dominant global language in the last two decades. Knowledge of the Spanish language has increased among Anglophone audiences since the 1990s, which also affects the play’s shifting reception. Recalling Armony and Jedwab’s finding that Spanish is now one of Canada’s most widely spoken languages presumably through continued migration, second-generation speakers, and its greater diffusion among non-Latina/o communities, many non-Latino audience members today (as opposed to the early 1990s) are likely more familiar with Spanish and would be able to understand the relatively basic level of Spanish used in the play, making this linguistic/ethnic distinction more difficult to maintain in the present socio-historical context.

Nevertheless, in her 1995 essay Gómez describes *Fronteras Americanas* as “perhaps one of the most successful one-person shows in Toronto in recent years” (¶ 2), citing its intelligent humour and timeliness as key factors in the play’s success with audiences, critics and ticket sales. The play’s staging at the Tarragon Theatre in the 1990s—a theatre that Verdecchia himself describes as not being known for its intercultural programming (111) and as having a “predominantly Anglo-Caucasian audience” (117)—also signaled its ability to cross over with English-speaking audiences to an extent that other Latina/o Canadian works of that period did not:

The fact that the Tarragon became the home for *Fronteras*—not only the work of an Argentinian Canadian but also a theatre piece dealing with intercultural relations—can be read in two different ways. On the one hand, it could be argued that the play was co-opted and contained by a symbol of the English Canadian cultural establishment, *de facto* giving in to the power of acculturation coming from the official culture. Perhaps many Latin American artists and members of the audience wondered why the show was not done in a place which would be recognized as “Latino” or at least Spanish-speaking. Alternatively, it could be argued that to have produced it in a Spanish-speaking venue would have re-established the “ghettoization” of non-Anglo-Saxon artists, for such a place does not exist as part of the professional theatre in Toronto and it would have made the production to be seen as “amateur”. (¶ 24)

As Gómez points out, the play’s staging in English at the Tarragon meant that it was able to enjoy a “professional” status that Spanish-language plays could not enjoy.

Significantly, Gómez argues that its inclusion in the Tarragon signified that it would not be “ghettoized” as allophone “immigrant” drama and was thus able to better direct its social critique to the Anglo audiences. In addition to the language of the play’s production and performance, then, its staging at a theatre that was associated with the institutionalization of English-Canadian drama also had a great deal to do with its success.

Since a significant portion of the play revolves around the multiple physical and psychic borders between national and ethnic groups, much of the play is about the process of Othering and finding ways to deconstruct the borders imposed on people living in diaspora and/or with hyphenated identities. Verdecchia underlines the borders between the audience and the performer (Anglo-Caucasian vs. Hispanic/Latino), between split personality of the main character Verdecchia and Facundo Morales Segundo aka Wideload McKennah, as well as between “North” and “South” in order to creatively dismantle many of these borders in the play’s final passages. When Verdecchia’s alter ego Wideload first addresses the audience (dressed as a “bandito”), he speaks in Spanish as a way of identifying who in the audience is a “latino” and who is a “gringo.” This interpolation of the Spanish-speaking or ostensibly “Latino” audience members serves an important performative function (both artistically and socially) by creating a sense of alterity for English-speaking audiences and further demarcating the distinction between “us” and “them” in which, for once, the Spanish-speaking audience is the “us” and the Anglophones are “them” and thus othered. At the same time, it is also effective in establishing Wideload’s trickster-like personality through the comedy-critique he enacts using double-speak, double-entendre and the numerous role reversals throughout the play. While deploying stereotypes of “Anglos” and “Latins” in order to critique them runs the risk of reproducing them, Gómez notes that Verdecchia was able to use these as “self-reflexive tools” for critiquing the process of stereotyping and the construction of cultural borders in the Americas more generally.

Although the *Fronteras*’ 2011 restaging at Soulpepper Theatre in Toronto gained some favourable reviews in some of the city’s well-known newspapers, other reviews

suggest that this and other devices used in the play are not necessarily as successful in the current historical moment. Canadian audiences have arguably become more diverse, globalized and knowledgeable about the rest of the world, especially in urban theatres where the play has most often been performed. Reviewers for Canada's national newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, and *The Stage Door*, an online theatre review magazine, found the remount to be out of date in terms of content, particularly the issue of dealing with a hyphenated Canadian identity, and in terms of form, suggesting that the once innovative auto-performance or monologic performance-lecture has become commonplace or "stale." Nevertheless, the revival also had more favourable reviews in the *Toronto Star* and *NOW Magazine*, which suggested that the play was still relevant and that its humour continued to appeal to audiences. The attention paid to Hollywood stereotypes of Latina/os, although updated for the 2011 remount, also seemed out of date almost two decades after its original publication and performance. Where once it may have been progressive or even radical to critique media images of ethnic groups and other minoritized peoples, this has become commonplace, particularly with the advent of the Internet and the rise of media and cultural studies.⁹²

⁹² In my experience of viewing the remount, I also found some of the references and performative strategies to be out of place in the current context, particularly the aforementioned use of Spanish to distinguish the "gringos" from the "Latinos" given that many of the "Anglo-Caucasian" audience members in attendance obviously understood Spanish and there are many second and third generation Latina/o Canadians who may be aware of their Latin American origin, but who have never learned to speak Spanish. Although Mayte Gómez also critiqued this contradiction in its earlier stagings, particularly *vis à vis* audience members from other allophone communities, she saw the deployment of the English language and stereotypes of "Saxons" as a critique of "the reality of acculturation into the Anglo-Saxon cultural system which the many 'ethnic groups' in Canada have experienced to different degrees" (¶ 34). Nevertheless, considering the play's success among English-speaking audiences and the setting in which it was performed, this divisive strategy made it now seem as though Verdecchia

Nevertheless, an enduring (though perhaps overlooked) aspect of the play is Verdecchia's discussion of (and challenge to) the limited casting opportunities for Canadian actors of Latin American descent discussed in relation to comedienne Martha Chavez in Chapter 1. The section of the play subtitled "Audition" hilariously captures the real world effects of such stereotypes and the narrow casting options available to ethnic minorities in Canadian theatre and television. In this scene he describes auditioning for a part as a small time criminal called "Sharko" described in the TV-movie script as an "overweight Hispanic in a dirty suit" (65), which is particularly funny and ironic on stage when Verdecchia asserts that he is perfect for the part since he is a fairly slight man. In the parts of the scene where he is speaking directly to the audience, he mentions some of the other similarly ludicrous parts for which he has auditioned: "I speak three languages including English and specialize in El Salvadoran refugees, Italian bobsledders, Arab horse-thieves and Uruguayan rugby players who are forced to cannibalize their friends when their plane crashes in the Andes [...] Actually, I've never played a horse-thief or rugby cannibal but I've auditioned for them an awful lot" (64–65).

was biting the hand that feeds him. For example, the Soulpepper Theatre is located in Toronto's Distillery District, an intentionally manufactured "creative" neighbourhood established by local developers with the support of the city and in cooperation with Artscape, a well-known arts group, which specializes in finding and providing affordable studio space for Toronto artists. Combining condominium properties, fine dining restaurants, gallery, and studio space, the Distillery District is largely promoted to, and frequented and inhabited by, well-to-do members of Toronto's "creative class." But what seemed more problematic in the current context was the use of the Spanish language to differentiate the ostensibly authentic Latina/os from the outsider group, which seemed out of step with the constantly changing nature of the Latina/o diaspora in Canada and the more progressive view of Latina/o Canadian (and other hyphenated forms of identity) that emerges in the final scenes of the play. The print version of *Fronteras Americanas* was also reissued in 2012 by Talonbooks and includes many of these updated pop culture references. The analysis provided in this chapter, however, focuses on the original play, first published by Coach House Press (1993) and then reissued by Talonbooks in 1997.

Even though an overreliance on criticizing media stereotypes seems to outdate the latest performance and version of Verdecchia's play, a recent controversy surrounding the first staging of *The Refugee Hotel* in 2009 indicates that these concerns and experiences are still very much a reality for Latina/o Canadian actors (and actors of other minoritized groups). In her essay outlining the formation of the Alameda Theatre Company, a Latina/o Canadian theatre company in Toronto "designed to give opportunities to Latina/o Canadian artists" ("Realisms of Redress" 147), Natalie Alvarez describes how the creation of this company was motivated by perceived racism in the casting practices in mainstream Anglophone theatres. Alvarez notes that the persistence of identity politics in the first decade of the twenty-first century is quite surprising yet clearly alive and well. Alameda Theatre's founder, Marilo Nuñez, was initially cast as one of the characters in the Factory Theatre's original production of *The Refugee Hotel*. Discovering that she was the only Latina/o—or non-white person—cast in a play about Chilean refugees, Nuñez complained about the casting choices. Carmen Aguirre echoed this complaint and eventually withdrew the play from the Factory, citing "racial and cultural insensitivity" (MacCarthur and Crew, "Factory Theatre")⁹³ when the director, Ken Gass, purportedly justified the casting choices, contending that "there is a dearth of experienced, trained and competent Latina/o Canadian performers to take on these roles" (Alvarez, "Realisms of Redress" 146). Thus, some of the contextual elements of the writing and production of *Fronteras Americanas* are still with us today. Even though Alvarez's nuanced analysis of the controversy and formation of the Alameda Theatre

⁹³ For background on the Factory Theatre and the casting controversy, see Alvarez's article and The Canadian Encyclopedia page on the company at <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/factory-theatre/>.

Company suggests that some of the problems with casting ethnic minorities in Canada have also to do with the predominance of early realist and naturalist drama in its major theatres, it also reveals that identity politics are still salient in the Canadian theatre world even if these politics may have changed since the 1990s.

The Alameda Theatre Company went on to produce the first staging of *The Refugee Hotel* at Theatre Passe Muraille in Toronto, close to six years after it was initially slated to run at the Factory Theatre. Despite the persistence of so-called (or mis-called) colour blind casting and limited opportunities for Latina/o Canadian artists, the creation of this company signals an important change from the time period and cultural milieu in which Verdecchia first staged *Fronteras*. In particular, this development demonstrates the existence of a community of professional Latin-American actors from various backgrounds working in both English and Spanish. While there have been a number of fairly successful Latin American playwrights and theatre companies in the country before, having professional actors working in both languages in a company explicitly devoted to creating opportunities for artists of Latin American origins in Toronto is fairly new.⁹⁴ Latina/o Canadian artists have greater visibility in mainstream Canadian culture than they did in the 1990s, and work across borders and languages with other communities in Canada and other parts of the Americas, thus constituting a larger community of diasporic/transnational artists working in urban centres than existed before.

Aguirre's work reflects this sense of community—as well as the efforts of a community—in numerous ways. The ensemble cast, which was originally made up of

⁹⁴ A recent collection of essays about Latina/o theatre in Canada analyzes the work of numerous theatre companies and artists working in urban centres such as Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. However, the majority are described as “community” or “experimental” (see N. Alvarez, ed. *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance* 2013).

various Latina/o Canadian artists and a Mohawk artist cast as an indigenous Chilean (or Mapuche) character, came together under the auspices of the Alameda Theatre company and included artists who had been cast in non-Latina/o roles in television and in theatre.⁹⁵ Thus, while many of the issues of representation and stereotyping that were present in the 1990s still exist, numerous Latina/o Canadian artists seem to be working together to establish constructive (if not contingent) solutions to some of these issues. For example, English is still the dominant language for Canadian audiences outside of Quebec, and playwrights and performers who wish to reach larger Canadian audiences (or audiences beyond their own communities) must use English. *The Refugee Hotel* manages to sidestep the problem of providing a realist performance of Chilean exile in Canada while using a language that audience members can understand. Written and performed in English, with only one or two words or phrases in Spanish, the play's language barrier between the Chilean inhabitants of the hotel and the Canadians is performed/indicated using familiar tropes such as the use of exaggerated body language, speaking at a higher volume in one's own language even though it does nothing whatsoever to help communication, and in some of the funnier scenes, giving Spanish- or French-like endings to English words in the hopes that the Spanish-speaking newcomers will be able to understand. This permits the performers to conduct the play in a single language while still denoting the use of more than one language and the various means people will go through to try to communicate under such conditions.

⁹⁵ See the company website for casting details at <http://www.alamedatheatre.com>. The Alameda Theatre Company ceased operations in 2014, citing lack of funding as one of the reasons for its closing (see <http://www.insidetoronto.com/news-story/4925034-alameda-theatre-company-closes-curtain-after-eight-years/>).

Some twenty years after its first staging, *Fronteras Americanas* can now be seen as an early articulation of Latina/o Canadian experience that echoed both the experiences of first-generation exiles as well as the experiences of their descendants. It also addresses the feelings of having a hyphenated identity in ways that earlier exilic Latina/o Canadian works would not have considered so deeply. By the time *The Refugee Hotel* was written and performed, many of these feelings and experiences had been expressed by a number of minoritized artists and have become in some ways a defining feature for many people living in the globalized present. Perhaps ironically, where the narrative in *The Refugee Hotel* goes further back in time than *Fronteras Americanas* to the moment of Chilean exile in Canada, its creation and performance in a context of a multi-national Latina/o Canadian diaspora and greater Latina/o presence in this country has allowed for a more multivalent expression of Latina/o experience in Canada than its predecessor. Nevertheless, *Fronteras Americanas* had a considerable impact on English-Canadian theatre and through its original staging helped to increase the visibility of Latina/o Canadian artists. And even as its now familiar narrative has been complicated by subsequent works, it remains an important touchstone of Latina/o Canadian cultural production.

Fear on the Border: Diasporic Affect in *Fronteras Americanas*

In her chapter on *Fronteras Americanas*, Rachel Adams (2008) writes that Verdecchia's perspective as a Latin American in Canada is novel because "his reference to the continent positions Canadian themes and settings within a broader American framework" (322). In her view, Verdecchia's strategic deployment of Chicano

stereotypes in a Canadian setting works to “deterritorialize” and decentre “the borderlands from their particular location to show how the hemisphere itself has become a crucible for the complex intermixture of Anglo- and Latin Americas” (325). Nevertheless, the hemisphere, like the borderlands, remains a space that is already ordered through uneven power relations and the forces of consumer capitalism. Moreover, inasmuch as this new positioning or visioning of the hemisphere and *latinidad* in Canada is unique, the spatial and cultural expansion of consciousness creates a greater sense of alienation and disorientation for both of the play’s “characters”: the lost and neurotic Verdecchia does not see himself or his own experience represented in the Latino and Chicano stereotypes originating in the U.S. while the joking, self-confident Wideload is also seemingly out of place in a non-U.S./Mexico context. As the hemispheric borders in the play go beyond the traditional U.S.-Mexico divide to include Chile and Argentina, Chile functions as both a physical destination and location of similar political trauma, as well as a psychic locus and signifier or synecdoche for the political violence of the Southern Cone in the late twentieth century. Thus, the two characters—the joker and the “straight man” repackaged as the well-known “Latino” stereotypes of the illegal border (and boundary) crossing “wetback” and the depressive wandering political exile—played by the same actor on the stage heightens the audience’s awareness of the complexity of diasporic or transnational identity that the playwright is trying to convey.

Like Kandiyoti’s and others’ acknowledgement of the relationship between space, race and mobility, Ahmed sees a spatial relationship between fear and mobility/enclosure, arguing that “fear works to restrict some bodies through the movement or expansion of others” (127). Discussing the ways in which Black bodies are made “fearful” she writes

that fear circulates between bodies and signs, sticking to certain bodies and signs more than others depending on particular histories in which signs of this affect circulate, rather than depending solely on the individual psyches in which fear might take hold. Hence, “[T]he movement between signs does not have its origin in the psyche, but is a trace of how histories remain alive in the present” (126). In *Fronteras Americanas*, these historical traces of uneven North/South relations persist throughout, contributing to the sense of fear that the character Verdecchia feels at the thought of going back “home” and the fear and discomfort that non-Latina/o audiences will presumably feel towards his alter ego, or manic personality, Wideload. Although it is evident that Verdecchia fears these multiple borders, or at least has mixed feelings about them, Facundo “Wideload McKennah,” as he calls himself, having both straddled the border and lived on the other side, seems untroubled by its presence and instead uses his own marginal position on the “wrong” side of the border to interrogate negative Latino stereotypes and interpolate the audience in numerous instances by questioning the meanings they give to their own identity and how they might participate in the stereotyping of Latinos or other cultural groups. Indeed, the main character(s) of the play—the split character of Verdecchia and Wideload—are indicative of this uneasy relationship. While they may seem at first to be a simple “bi-polar” performative entity, their binary relationship is complicated insofar as Wideload is the ultimate Mexican “wetback” stereotype taking up residence in Toronto, and Verdecchia is a travelling “Latino” leaving Canada to search for roots and identity markers not only in Mexico, but also in Argentina and Chile.

The “fronteras americanas” these characters (and their audience) are confronting then are not only the border between the U.S. and Mexico, but also the borders (and

enclosures) between Mexico, the U.S., and Canada, as well as, of course, the multiple social and cultural borders that Latin Americans living in Canada must grapple with.

Throughout the play, the Verdecchia character is trying to find a cure for an unknown malady, which is sometimes to travel sickness and sometimes akin to anxiety and depression for which doctors and therapists are unable to locate a cause or cure.

Verdecchia seems to think that much of his “illness” is directly related to his feeling foreign in all places, to the feeling of not having a home, hence the importance of the trip back to Argentina to the character’s development and the plot of the play. In the section of the play titled “The Other” Verdecchia confesses:

I would like to clear up any possible misimpression. I should state now that I am something of an imposter. A fake. What I mean is: I sometimes confuse my tenses in Spanish. I couldn’t dance a tango to save my life. All sides of the border have claimed and rejected me. On all sides I have been asked: How long have you been...? How old were you when ...? When did you leave? When did you arrive? As if it were somehow possible to locate on a map, on an airline schedule, on a blueprint, the precise coordinates of the spirit, of the psyche, of memory. (51)

Rather than providing greater alternatives or opportunities for developing a hemispheric identity, the multiple borders of the hemisphere, or the “crucible for the complex intermixture of Anglo- and Latin Americas,” have further enclosed Verdecchia into a particular mode of being through the realization (and constant reminders) that he does not truly “belong” in any of these places and will always thus be the Other. In this way, the shifting and crossing of multiple hemispheric borders makes his journey ultimately more complex and potentially perilous.

Verdecchia’s attempts to orient himself and claim an identity begin with the consumption of ostensibly Latin American political and cultural icons, and cultural

products such food, music, literature, and film. When preparing for his first visit “home” to Argentina since moving to Canada as a child, Verdecchia recounts that:

I have spent fifteen years preparing for this. I bought records and studied the liner notes. I bought maté and dulce de leche. I talked to my parents and practiced my Spanish with strangers. I befriended former Montonero and Tupamaru guerrillas and people even more dangerous ... I’ve spent the past fifteen years reading newspapers, novels and every Amnesty International report on South America. I tracked down a Salvador Allende poster, found postcards of Che and Pablo Neruda. I drank Malbec wines and black market Pisco with a Chilean macro-economist whose cheques always bounced. I learned the words and sang along with Cafrune and Goyeneche. I saw *Missing* three times (37).

Although there is nothing wrong with the consumption of the goods he lists, they cannot make up for his “lost” Argentine (or Latin American) identity. The focus on consumer goods as a way of assimilating an Other identity, moreover, emphasizes the ways in which *latinidad* is most comfortably allowed into Canadian space: namely, through commerce and consumer culture. At the same time, some of the items he includes in the list of goods he has consumed in preparation for his trip also reinforce the more troubling aspects of the loss of his originary cultural identity insofar as they are directly related to or reference the difficult political situation the young Verdecchia and his parents left behind.

The reference to having viewed the movie *Missing* several times in preparation for his trip and his quest to be more authentically Latin American belies another aspect of this complex relationship between American borders. In particular, it indicates the prominence of cultural production about the Chilean coup in the global imaginary about Southern Cone dictatorships and political insecurity. Not only does he consume cultural products about the Chilean dictatorship before his trip, he intentionally stops over in the Chilean capital, Santiago, before reaching his final destination in Argentina. Instead of

calming his anxieties, events in Chile only seem to add to his general fear of “home.” His knowledge of Chile, which he expresses through the consumption of goods, is supplemented by travel information, which paints the country as “cosmopolitan” and “known for its award-winning wines and excellent seafood” (37), making it an ideal destination for sophisticated or privileged travelers such as himself. However, this false sense of security is challenged when Verdecchia explains that “My 1989 Fodor’s guide also tells me that under Pinochet, Chile enjoys a more stable political climate than it did in the early seventies, but reports persist of government-sponsored assassinations, kidnappings and torture. (Tell me about it man, I saw *Missing*.)” (37–38). Even though his visit to Santiago takes place after the dissolution of the military regime, his feelings of fear and insecurity about the trip back home are immediately reinforced when an alleged bank robber is shot and killed outside his hotel window (38). As the Verdecchia character begins to photograph the body and the gathering crowd, he becomes a reluctant witness to Chile’s violence, which he links to the dictatorship in the seeming senselessness of death. He connects the death of the bank robber to the dictatorship through a newspaper item appearing on the same day as his arrival and the shooting death, in which “[t]he headline claimed that former President Pinochet and the former Minister of the Interior knew nothing about the body that had been found in the Rio Mapocho” (68). As witness to both the political violence that forced him to leave Argentina and now the daily violence associated with life in large Latin American urban centres, Verdecchia identifies with the victims, furthering his fear and anxiety about his former “home”: “I saw someone die, I watched him die—that’s what it looks like. That’s where they end up—gunmen, bank robbers, criminals and those brave revolutionaries and guerrillas you

dreamed of and imagined you might be, might have been—they end up bleeding in the middle of the street, begging for water” (67).

Although the depressive “bipolar” character, Verdecchia, is on a quest to find himself (or reconcile / achieve synthesis between his two selves), we learn that he has put off this journey for many years. As a former Argentinean citizen, his fear of the country’s compulsory military service keeps him from visiting until the military government in Argentina is deposed. While the thought of the trip back to Argentina causes him considerable anxiety, it also provides the character with hope: “After an absence of almost fifteen years I am going home. Going Home. I repeat the words softly to myself—my mantra: I am Going Home—all will be resolved, dissolved, revealed, I will claim my place in the universe when I Go Home” (36). However, while he feels a (false) sense of hope about the trip, the fear of return is compounded by his “illness,” which is characterized as both depression and travel sickness. He explains that

I’ve thrown up in the most of the major centres of the western world [...] And it’s not just too much to drink or drugs, sometimes it’s as simple as the shape of the clouds in the sky or the look on someone’s face in the market or the sound my shoes make on the street. These things are enough to leave me shaking and sweating in bed with a churning stomach, no strength in my legs and unsettling dreams. (48)

Although he is initially elated at the fact that he has not gotten sick when he first returns to Buenos Aires, his illness catches up with him and he spends the last days there ailing. The bout of illness not only leads him to think of himself as an inauthentic Argentine but to consult first a therapist and then a *brujo* to help him confront and overcome his fears through the process of remembering. And, among the memories the *brujo* elicits from him is his memory of fear. In particular, he tells the *brujo*, “I remember my fear, I taste

and smell my fear, my fear of young men who speak Spanish in the darkness of the park, and I know that somewhere in my traitorous heart I can't stand people I claim are my brothers. I don't know who did this to me. I remember feeling sick, I remember howling in the face of my fear..." (73).

The antidote to Verdecchia's depressive and fearful character is, of course, his Chicano alter ego, Facundo, who mocks many of Verdecchia's fears and plays on the fears some Anglo audiences might have of ethnic Others. As his full name suggests, the Facundo Morales Segundo (or Wideload McKennah) character represents the border between civility and barbarity. The entrenchment of the idea of distinct cultures and societies of North and South America were made more explicitly (and more famously in the South) in the writings of liberal Latin American intellectuals and leaders of independence movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, perhaps most notably in Domingo Sarmiento's *Facundo, o civilización y barbarie* (and in other works such as José Martí's *Nuestra América*, Rodó's *Ariel*, and later Leopoldo Zea's *Las dos Américas*). This seminal text grappled with the possibilities of modern nationhood from various locations in the fight for independence from colonial and neo-colonial rule and the protracted civil wars that would often follow in the newly formed nations. Not only did Sarmiento position conservatives as barbaric and liberals as civilized through *Facundo*, soon Latin America, or the hemispheric South, was constructed in philosophical opposition to the increasingly imperialist and thus barbaric "character" of its Northern neighbours in similar writings of the period.⁹⁶ From a North American

⁹⁶ This new discourse on the "Americas" also signaled a shift in power relations between European centres and New World peripheries to a relationship that also now included internal colonialism (in terms of the creole elite as related to Indigenous, African, and

viewpoint, however, the Latin American inhabitants south of the U.S.-Mexico border are more likely perceived as “barbaric” in the terms outlined in the previous section on space and racialization. Thus, Facundo’s/Wideload’s physical location in Canada undermines a number of these essentialized (and problematic) binaries and provides a psychic counterpoint to Verdecchia’s fear.

By drawing the Wideload character outside of the expected site of the borderlands or the southwestern U.S., the play is also able to push the limits of multicultural tolerance, particularly by disrupting Canada’s psycho-spatial configuration as a “White” settler-nation as discussed in Chapter 1. The first of these spatial reconfigurations is Wideload’s “move” to a nice Canadian urban neighbourhood. He explains, “I live in de border ... I live in de zone, de barrio and I gotta move ’cause dat neighbourhood is going to de dogs. ’Cause dere’s a lot of yuppies moving and dey’re wrecking de neighbourhood and making all kinds of noise wif renovating and landscaping and knocking down walls and comparing stained glass” (24). Rather than bemoaning the process of gentrification that continually pushes low-income residents out of long-established neighbourhoods for profit, Wideload sees this as an opportunity to move to a better neighbourhood himself—one that is already established by the yuppies he describes.

Ya, a little house in Forest Hill. Nice neighbourhood. Quiet. Good place to bring up like fifteen kids. ’Cause dis country is full of nice neighbourhoods—Westmount in Montreal looks good, or Vancouver you know, Point Grey is lovely

mixed race populations), and neo-colonial relations with the rising superpower, the United States. At the same time, however, many creole “Latin American liberals largely considered the United States a model for the articulation of emancipatory ideals and the process of modernization and industrialization” (Sánchez Prado 274). This contradictory view of the North from the South also entailed a negative image of the South as incapable of building true democratic institutions and overcoming economic dependency, and thus unable to progress towards modernity based in liberal democracy and industrial capitalism.

or Kitsilano it's kind of like de Beaches here in Toronto... Hey mang, we could be neighbours—would you like dat? Sure. I'm moving in next door to you and I'm going to wash my Mustang every day overhaul de engine and get some grease on de sidewalk and some friends like about twelve are gonna come and stay with me for a few... Years... Ya, how 'bouta a Chicano for a neighbour? (25–26)

Here Wideload reveals his knowledge of the way in which racialized subjects are supposed to remain enclosed within certain neighbourhoods whereas white (middle-class) subjects are free to move between and within these spaces uncontested, as well as unproblematically move into “up and coming” neighbourhoods through the process of gentrification. Moreover, by changing the spatialized dynamics of power between who is able to move and who must remain enclosed, he plays on middle-class fears of ruining a “good” neighbourhood (and thus lowering property values) by letting in the wrong kind of neighbour (read working class ethnic).

Wideload further destabilizes these spatial relations of power in this section of the play by suggesting that “Third World” elements can be transplanted into Canadian space. In order to be able to afford a home in such a neighbourhood, Wideload decides to “cash in on de Latino Boom”⁹⁷ in which Latinos are a “hot commodity.” The way of making money he envisions involves opening a Third World theme park on a “big chunk of toxic wasteland up on de Trans-Canada highway” (24). This theme park immediately brings to mind contamination: first, because it will literally be built on contaminated soil, and, secondly, because Canada's status as a developed northern nation should make it a space devoid of Latino presence and other “unclean” Third World elements. Although

⁹⁷ Although the Latino Boom in this passage refers to the late twentieth century surge in Latino Hollywood actors, the term also recalls the first global commodification of Latin American culture through the works of the Latin “Boom” writers such as Gabriel García Márquez, Mario Vargas Llosa and Carlos Fuentes in the 1960s.

Canadians have become accustomed to hearing stories about Third World conditions on First Nations reserves since the play was first written and staged, the park Facundo has planned includes stereotypes of Third World Latin America, such as “guards carrying sub-machine guns,” a policeman “that’s totally incompetent and you have to bribe him to get any action,” “a disappearing rain forest section dat you can actually wander through and search for rare plants,” as well as “drug lords” and “poor people selling tortillas” (24–25).

While *Wideload* provides a welcome reprieve from the anxieties that seem to constantly assail the Verdecchia character, much of the play’s progress revolves around Verdecchia’s ability to incorporate both aspects of his split personality through his assimilation of Argentina’s (and Chile’s) national trauma—which is, of course, also his own. The Verdecchia character must cross multiple hemispheric borders in order to do so, making his journey ultimately more complex and potentially perilous. Thus, while the geographical and socio-cultural expanse of the American hemisphere (or *Nuestra América*) can represent a decentering of U.S. perspectives and hegemony, it can also become a site of greater anxiety and fear for a subject who is forced to cross its real and imagined multiple borders. In using easily identifiable Latino stereotypes in his play, Verdecchia critiques received notions of national identities—both North American or Canadian identity and Latino identities—and also disrupts what we mean by “identity” more generally. The two characters, Verdecchia and *Wideload*, played by a single performer, stand in for well-known mass media Latino stereotypes: the wandering, neurotic exile and the lower class, bordercrossing “wetback.” By simultaneously re-deploying and redirecting these stereotypes, Verdecchia the playwright critiques the

uneven power relations inherent in the process of stereotyping itself. At the same time, he uses Latin American ideas of a unified hemispheric American identity to unsettle unexamined assumptions about the differences between Latinos and Anglos, the way we organize and understand the geography of the Americas, and the ways in which we have accordingly constructed our histories. In the end, when the Verdecchia character returns to Toronto, the *brujo*'s magic takes him back to the border (though he never leaves the *brujo*'s downtown apartment) and there he is able, at least temporarily, to reconcile both his Canadian and Latin-American identities. Thus, the use of the *frontera* or the border as a recurring metaphor for personal, national and hemispheric identity cleverly illustrates many of the assumptions about identity that the play attempts to disrupt. Like many Chicana/o writers and performance artists in the U.S., instead of trying to locate himself on one side of the border or the other, Verdecchia embraces the border as a productive and positive locus of cultural identity. In so doing, *Fronteras Americanas* asserts the existence and viability of a hyphenated "Latino-Canadian" identity and the ongoing *process* of identity construction for Latina/os and other cultural groups in the Americas.

Loving in the Hotel: Revolutionary Affect in *The Refugee Hotel*

The Refugee Hotel imparts a different affective relationship to space from *Fronteras*, although it can still be considered a diasporic enclosure as described by Kandiyoti. While much of this subject matter is dark and painful, Aguirre also highlights the bonds that are forged between the play's various characters as they begin the slow process of taking stock of their difficult past and uncertain present, and, for the most part, healing. The hotel becomes a safe space for the incoming refugees/exiles where they

begin to rebuild themselves as individuals and as a community after the traumas of torture, imprisonment, exile, and losing loved ones at the onset of the dictatorship. In addition to the main characters who were tortured and imprisoned in Chile, we encounter the Chilean characters Cristina, Isabel, Manuel, and Juan, as well as the Canadian “hippy”, Bill, who was in the wrong place at the wrong time and arrested by the military forces and taken to the now infamous National stadium with thousands of others. Cristina, who is indigenous Mapuche and still a teenager, has had her parents taken away and presumably murdered by the military forces. Isabel, nicknamed Calladita, refuses to speak after having suffered (again, presumably) some sort of trauma. Manuel, also still in his teen years, has had a worse experience of torture than the rest and has barely survived his imprisonment in a concentration camp in the south of Chile, whereas Juan made an escape from a prison in an urban centre and then stowed away on a Swedish freighter that brought him to Vancouver.

Like the feelings of melancholia described by Cho, Verdecchia in his role as critic suggests that Aguirre’s body of work could be misunderstood as displaying a similar feeling of “left melancholy.” Quoting Wendy Brown’s updating of Walter Benjamin’s original formulation, Verdecchia writes that:

According to Brown, “[L]eft melancholy represents not only a refusal to come to terms with the particular character of the present... it signifies, as well, a certain narcissism with regard to one’s past political attachments and identity that exceeds any contemporary investment in political mobilization, alliance, or transformation.” These plays and their strong focus on a Guevarist revolutionary code of superhuman voluntarism might appear “attached more to a particular political analysis or ideal—even to the failure of that ideal than to seizing possibilities for radical change in the present.” (Brown 20 qtd in Verdecchia 195)

Although Verdecchia's reading initially suggests that it is possible to interpret Aguirre's body of work as an instance of left melancholy, he counters that "such a judgment could only be sustained by ignoring the many albeit subtle ways in which the revolutionary heritage these plays remember, celebrate and transmit is continually adapted to present conditions" (195). Despite his insistence that left melancholia is not an appropriate analytic frame for understanding Aguirre's work, much of its meaning and significance in this reading is still situated in a historical recollection and the transmission of revolutionary ideals.

Citing the centrality of Latin American politics in Aguirre's work, Verdecchia views her dramatic texts as encoding revolutionary principles and ideals deriving from Che Guevara and the failed leftist liberatory struggles in Chile (and, more generally, worldwide). The memory work in these plays, he posits, is an act of agency, or what Paul Ricoeur calls an "active recollection" or "anamnesis" (qtd. in Verdecchia 195): "The effort engaged throughout the plays is directed precisely against the discrediting, and indeed forgetting, of revolutionary values and politics in our present" (197). Thus, there is a sense of diasporic agency in the act of remembering rather than an infirm inability to let go of some unknown loss or misbegotten past. Following Ricoeur, the rational aspects of recollection and diasporic memory are foregrounded, arguing that Aguirre's work is not typical of melancholia but rather an ongoing "sort of reasoning" (Ricoeur qtd in Verdecchia) that enables an active remembering of the past in the present (196–97). In his reading of the play, this act of remembrance allows Aguirre to keep the revolutionary politics of her parents and other Chilean leftists alive in the Canadian present.

Like the analysis above, my interpretation also views “Guevarist” revolutionary ideals as being central to this dramatic work. However, where Verdecchia’s analysis differs from my own is in the focus on the lived affects of diaspora or, more specifically, how affect might account for such deliberate acts of remembering. Thus, I am more interested in turning my attention to the *affective* aspects of these ideals and their remembrance, and how they circulate within the play. For, if the Guevarist ideals have failed so brilliantly in Latin America and around the world with the fall of the U.S.S.R. in the late twentieth century, what might motivate Aguirre and others like her to keep this memory of failure alive? If we agree that this is not a work of left melancholia and that her plays are an active and conscious work of memory transmission, then what exactly might drive someone to continue remembering such “misbegotten” ideals? Reading Che Guevara’s foundational text, *Socialism and Man in Cuba* into the play, I propose that love, or revolutionary love, is at least one of the driving forces in Aguirre’s dramatic work. The kind of love I want to explore here is not the rose-coloured romantic love of Hollywood movies, but rather what Che describes as a deep love for fellow human beings that will lead a revolutionary to sacrifice her/his comforts, security, family and very life, if needed. This is the love that is supposedly behind the birth of Che’s own revolutionary consciousness and that is the basis for the “volunteerist” and “superhuman” ideal of a revolutionary that are identified as emerging over and over again in Aguirre’s work. In highlighting the ideal of revolutionary love in *Socialism and Man in Cuba* and *The Refugee Hotel*, I do not wish to suggest that this ideal is desirable or that all Latin American Cold War revolutionaries subscribed to or met this ideal. Che Guevara’s views and institutionalized policies on the “new” (socialist) man that emerged out of the Cuban

revolution have been widely critiqued by feminists and queer activists for reproducing and in some cases exacerbating heteronormative gender roles and identities.⁹⁸ I am, however, interested in further understanding how this feeling might circulate in Aguirre's play and its relationship to the other emotions associated with diasporic subjectivity such as fear, anxiety and melancholia.

A key passage in *Socialism and Man* describes the importance of "love" to Guevara's conception of revolution. In his description of the revolutionary struggle in Cuba and the various social and economic aspects of Cuba's then early socialist regime, he writes:

At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality. Perhaps it is one of the great dramas of the leader that he or she must combine a passionate spirit with a cold intelligence and make painful decisions without flinching. Our vanguard revolutionaries must idealize this love of the people, of the most sacred causes, and make it one and indivisible. They cannot descend, with small doses of daily affection, to the level where ordinary people put their love into practice. (Guevara np)

"Love of the people" drives a true revolutionary until death or the triumph of socialism worldwide. Love, moreover, is what binds members of the revolutionary vanguard to one another, to the daily, lived experiences of the masses, and to the unflinching dedication to the revolution itself. He explains further that, as revolutionaries:

We must strive every day so that this love of living humanity is transformed into actual deeds, into acts that serve as examples, as a moving force. The

⁹⁸ For a discussion of Cuban policies and attitudes towards gender and homosexuality see Quiroga, José, "Homosexualities in the Tropic of Revolution," in Daniel Balderston and Donna Guy, eds., *Sex and Sexuality in Latin America: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, New York: New York UP, 1997; Lillian Guerra, "Gender Policing, Homosexuality and the New Patriarchy of the Cuban Revolution, 1965–1970." *Social History* 35.3 (2010): 268–89; Kevin Floyd "Making History: Marxism, Queer Theory, and Contradiction in the Future of American Studies." *Cultural Critique* 40 (1998): 167–201.

revolutionary, the ideological motor force of the revolution within the party, is consumed by this uninterrupted activity that comes to an end only with death, unless the construction of socialism is accomplished on a world scale. (Guevara np)

Whereas this dramatic sense of love may seem at odds with the superhuman myth of Guevara as a macho revolutionary fighter, it nevertheless formed the basis of the revolutionary ideal he describes in this text.

This form of “love” is the very reason for the majority of the characters’ sojourn at the hotel, and what further binds them together during their stay and afterwards. As they slowly begin to know each other and become accustomed to their surroundings, they forge strong bonds such as, for example, the romantic relationships that form between Isabel and Juan, and Cristina and Manuel. Unlike the lonely, lost and alienated Verdecchia figure in *Fronteras Americanas*, these characters partially find strength and meaning in each other. Their identities as Chileans in exile are slowly forged through mutual recognition and support. However, the relations between the refugees in the hotel are not always easy—in the play’s climax in Act 1, Scene 12, Cristina and Fat Jorge have a row about the situation back in Chile. As an indigenous Mapuche, she sees the coup and the population’s complicity through tacit support as part of a larger historical experience of persecution whereas Jorge, a middle-class “White” Chilean whose revolutionary consciousness was “born” in prison, believes that Chileans back home are helping to fight for the freedom of other prisoners and the return of exiles like themselves (70–72). These differing perspectives and experiences signal the diversity as well as the commonality within refugee communities.

The process of healing and adaptation is also experienced by the play's two child characters, whose observations regarding their new circumstances and the drama in the adults' lives are often wise beyond their years. Their experience differs from that of first-generation or exiled Chileans, whose relation to the "home" and "host" countries is such that they do not necessarily identify with the national identity of either country whereas the previous generation would have greater connections to a Chilean "national identity." The children in the play (as in real life) experience a secondary witnessing and trauma from the events that led them to the refugee hotel, as well as conflicted/conflicting feelings about the coup and their parents' involvement with left-wing political groups. Throughout the play, Manuelita shows interest in and knowledge of the politics of her home country and the left-wing ideology her father tries to impart but which Joselito repeatedly, although quietly, rejects. In the second act, Joselito tries to run away from the hotel and the other refugees because he thinks they must be bad people for having been imprisoned and tortured. Manuelita does not share his view of their parents and their new friends, and their disagreement highlights the ambivalence felt by many of the "inheritors" of the coup's legacy. By including the children's perspective and that of various segments of Chilean society (Indigenous, working-class and upper-middle class, rural, and urban Chileans), Aguirre's work speaks to larger questions of Chilean diasporic or exilic identity that connect to issues of *latinidad* and Latina/o identity more broadly. If the refugee hotel can be interpreted as a representation of the liminality of migration and displacement, these various characters, and particularly the child characters—ostensibly the "1.5" or second generation immigrants—represent the possibility of emplacement, of making a new home in the adopted country.

The hotel, which is nicer and has more amenities than any hotel they could afford back home and at which they continuously marvel, is paid for by the Canadian government through resettlement programs, and their social needs are met as much as possible by a social worker who has been appointed to them. Aguirre's play makes clear that the temporary "safe space" of the hotel made room for numerous other refugees coming to Canada. In the play's Epilogue, the adult Manuelita explains that "[T]he [hotel] receptionist filled a wall with photographs, because many, many, many more refugees come to stay at the refugee hotel. From Guatemala, El Salvador, Vietnam, Iran, Ethiopia, Somalia, Yugoslavia, Colombia, Iraq ..." (126). In addition to these cross cultural references, one of the non-Chilean characters in the play, the social worker who helps the refugees move into the hotel and adapt to their new society, often empathizes with them and tells them that she and her family were Jewish refugees escaping Hungary in the 1950s (37, 122) and understands what they—especially the children—are going through. The hotel, then, is a site of transit for numerous "travelers," connecting various histories and experiences of migration, dislocation and dispossession. Whatever moments of pleasure these examples of cross-cultural connection may bring, however, are overshadowed by the reasons for the refugees being there in the first place.

Despite the connections with fellow Chileans and other migrant subjects, the refugees' traumatic experiences in their home country also colour the way in which they see their new situation in Canada. Not all of the characters in the play see the hotel as a real place of refuge. In one scene, Fat Jorge, who has started drinking regularly to help him cope with his experience in Chile declares:

I see it so well! Here we are in, a hotel, a HOTEL—that's just too fucking ironic—in a goddam hotel, in the heart of the monster, as refugees, REFUGEES,

do you hear me? Since when do refugees stay in hotels and watch TV and learn English? I see it now! This is all a set-up! That's what it is! Exiles my ass. If we had balls, we'd be there, we'd be living in the underground, helping out. (73)

Fat Jorge's reaction indicates the ambivalence and mistrust many refugees also feel in their host countries, especially if the host country is also representative of, or in some way supports the ideals and values of their aggressors at home. In this case, Jorge sees Canada as also being part of the "monster" of U.S.-led imperialism, making him question the very "safety" of the hotel. This sentiment is echoed in other ways in the play. For example, the characters who have been tortured in Chile make tableaux throughout the play in which they assume physical positions of torture victims, such as being hung by the wrists from the ceiling while the rest of the cast makes moaning and crying noises, denoting the trauma they experienced in Chile and its physical and psychological effects in the present, Canadian space. In one such scene, Flaca, representing "woman"—presumably a representative of other female victims of torture—asks her husband, now in the corresponding role of "man," "Where are we?" to which he responds, "In the bowels of this country" (87).

While the inhabitants of the refugee hotel are clearly grappling with first-hand, recently lived trauma and the ensuing fear, anxiety, and loss, the dramatic retelling of this experience in the play is infused with other feelings—namely, love and resilience. The play's opening and closing epigraphs, for example, highlight the importance of love. The final epigraph is a quotation from one of John Lennon's anti-war songs, "Mind Games", declaring, "Love is the answer ... Yes is the answer ... Yes is surrender" (np). The first, a quote from the left-wing Argentine filmmaker, Fernando Pino Solanas, reads:

I return to the South, the way one always returns to love. I return to you, with my desire, with my fear. I carry the South like the destiny of my heart. I am of the South. I dream of the South, immense moon, upside down sky. I search for the South, for the open time and its aftermath. I love the South, its good people, its dignity. I feel the South, like your body in the dark. I love you, South. (np)

The use of the word love in both these instances indicates a love that is greater than—though not divorced from—interpersonal or romantic love such as the love of a lost “homeland” or culture (the South) or love in the service of peace and bringing an end to war. The Solanas quotation in particular reflects the circuitous motion between fear and love that Muñoz, Cho, Ahmed and others see as being indicative of a racialized (in this case “brown” Latina/o) affect that emerges from diasporic marginalization and liminality.

In addition to the liminality of the space of the hotel itself, liminality is also portrayed through the “character” of the ghostly male *cueca* dancer who appears at various moments in the play, particularly in scenes of intense emotion or heightened action. In the play’s staging at the Theatre Passe Muraille, his otherworldly figure opened the performance by dancing a *cueca* (Chile’s national dance) under a fogged spotlight. Although the dancer never speaks in the performance and he is never fully seen by the other characters on stage, his ghostly presence is a constant reminder of the difficult national history that the refugees have carried with them into their “new life.” He also signifies the now ghostly Guevarist leftist ideals they have not wholly left behind in Chile. As *El aparecido*, which means “the ghost” in Spanish, and through a key Chilean folk song about Che Guevara’s ghost-like presence wherever there is revolutionary

struggle that is played by the refugees, this figure further underlines both the refugees' liminal status and the significance of a revolutionary love that can cost one one's life.⁹⁹

Indeed, *el aparecido* plays a small yet crucial role in helping the refugees "heal" in the first scene of the second act, one of the few times we see the female lead and staunch revolutionary, Flaca, falter. Following the play's climax in the previous scene (in which two of the characters hilariously fail in their attempts to commit suicide), we find Flaca crying uncontrollably. Up until now, Flaca is known for her strength and her exalted reputation among the Chilean underground for having withstood extreme torture and never divulging information about her "comrades." As her husband tries to stop her weeping by getting her to dance with him, their children enter the hotel lobby and ask what is wrong with their mother. Fat Jorge replies, "She's sad today, Joselito. Just sad. Sadness overtakes everything sometimes, and you just gotta keep dancing till it passes, kids. Dancing till it passes. And it will pass" (83). As he continues trying to get her to dance, Fat Jorge laments leaving his record collection behind in Chile. While his daughter proposes they start their own band instead, the cueca dancer appears with a record of Chilean folk music and hands it to Fat Jorge. None of the other characters see the exchange and Jorge does not try to explain it or rationalize it. Flaca, like the rest of her family, is amazed and is able to stop crying. When they are able to play the record and the song *El Aparecido* by Victor Jara, the moment is both joyous and solemn for the refugees (84–86), signaling also the play's denouement and their eventual settlement outside of the hotel.

⁹⁹ Indeed, the program for the play's original staging at Theatre Passe Muraille provides lyrics to this song and a short bio on its writer and performer, Victor Jara.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated the varying and spatially bounded conceptions of Latino/a and Canadian identity and their relationship to particular affects or emotional registers. Rather than suggesting that one of these dramatic conceptions is more favourable than the other, my aim has been to illustrate how these different framings of identity and space are also rooted in the different eras and locations of their production, as well as how they can help us to understand the often fluid and contested natures of these identities. The physical and metaphorical spaces in which these plays are set represent different visions of Latina/o Canadian and diasporic/migrant/immigrant identity and community, reflecting the way in which different affects inform the construction and maintenance of these two. Both plays highlight these complexities in numerous creative ways by situating subjects (and performers) of Latin American origin in Canada after their exile from violent conflict in their home countries (Argentina and Chile, respectively). Moreover, these overlapping yet distinct experiences reflect the concepts of “Latino multiplicity” and emerging “latinities” advanced by Juan Flores and Claudia Milian respectively, in which “Latino” has become a highly mutable and contested identifier. In her discussion of the work of The Latino Theatre Group in Vancouver, of which Aguirre was a founding member in the late 1990s, Michelle Habel-Pallán echoes this idea of multiple Latino identities and adds a hemispheric dimension to such multiplicity. Both the first-generation and second-generation experiences and representations have become part of the “Latino imaginary,” which Flores suggests is intimately tied to memory and history (613), and the characters produce and reproduce different historical meanings and memories that become part of this larger whole. As

greater attention is paid to Latina/o Canadian cultural production, this cultural work (and the transculturation entailed in its interpretation by non-Latina/o audiences) has the potential to unsettle current assumptions about *latinidad* and thus Latina/o Canadian and Latina/o identity more generally.

Chapter 4

Writing from Nootka: Exploration, Migration, and Indigenization in Two Hispanic American Texts

In this chapter, I add to the historical and generic differences I have signaled thus far by now considering what I identify as travel writing in the work of a recent immigrant from Bolivia. At the same time, I somewhat disrupt the chronological narrative by linking this twenty-first century text to an eighteenth-century Hispanic-American travelogue. In this chapter, I compare two texts, *Noticias de Nutka* (1794) and *Lettres de Nootka* (2008) by José Mariano Moziño and Alejandro Saravia, respectively, and their representation of Canadian First Nations and Indigenous-Settler relations from a Hispanic-American¹⁰⁰ point of view. Moziño's eighteenth-century *Noticias de Nutka* ("News" from Nootka) chronicles his exploration of Nootka Sound for the Spanish, whereas Saravia's trilingual *Lettres* (or "Letters" from Nootka) largely recounts the process of adapting to Canadian/Quebecois society from a Latin American migrant's point of view. While Saravia's text encompasses a larger literary and cultural thematic than Moziño's scientific text, their parallels and divergences are striking in a number of ways. Although these texts are written from very different viewpoints and historical periods, both build their textual authority (scientific for Moziño, moral for Saravia) on their appropriation and appreciation of Indigenous culture and knowledge/experience. At the same time, both texts establish a "Hispanic" presence in the space now known as Canada. Thus, Moziño's

¹⁰⁰ It is likely that neither one of these authors would label himself as such. Given Moziño's historical and social context, it is more likely that he would self-identify as *criollo* (a person of "pure" Spanish descent that is born in the Americas) and Saravia may likely still identify with his national affiliation as Bolivian, or as a Latino-Canadian. Nevertheless, I use the term here to foreground their Spanish cultural and linguistic background in a New World context.

and Saravia's works are not only connected through their overt intertextual relationship but also through the ways in which they unsettle conventional views of Canadian history and national identity and position themselves in relation to the Indigenous people and cultural systems they encounter in Canada. By focusing on these two "New World" texts and their physical and discursive location in Canada, my aim is to highlight the usefulness of a hemispheric perspective to further understand the related processes of exploration, migration, and indigenization as they play out in the different locations and historical moments in the Americas. More specifically, my analysis reveals how the tropes, narrative strategies and modes of representing New World space and Indigenous Others employed in the late colonial "scientific" *Noticias* have been revisited and redeployed in the literary creation of a twenty-first century minority "settler."

Despite the fact that neither work is self-consciously anthropological, I approach them as ethnographic texts insofar as they are both representing the Other cultures and peoples their writers encounter in their sojourns in a new, foreign land: Moziño's scientific discourse and Saravia's poetic construction exemplify different forms of traveling subjectivities and produce different forms of knowledge and meaning-making. At the same time, the introduction of both a Spanish perspective (in Moziño's work) and a Latin American one in Saravia's—what I am here terming "Hispanic"—provides a fresh vantage point from which to view the legacy of Canada's English and French colonial and neocolonial legacies. In using the term "Hispanic American" as an identifier for these writers, my aim is to link their shared cultural and linguistic heritage even though their historical contexts, writing styles and objectives are entirely distinct. Notwithstanding the understandably fraught history of the Spanish (and hence, Hispanic)

legacy in Latin America and the rejection of the term as an identifier by Chicanos in the 1960s and 1970s as I discussed in the Introduction, “Hispanic American” provides a useful counterpoint/perspective from which to analyze the equally problematic legacies of English and French colonialism in Canada, the space from which Moziño and Saravia are writing and writing about.

In my reading of these colonial and postcolonial texts, I propose that Nootka, as both a physical and discursive space, crystallizes many of the contradictions in the colonial and neocolonial narratives/imaginings of the Americas. The Nootka of Moziño’s *Noticias* is a contested imperial space that must be subdued through scientific and diplomatic methods, whereas the Nootka in Saravia’s *Lettres* is now a modern settler nation rife with inequality. Revisiting the history of the Pacific Northwest and the Nootka Controversy (1789 to 1794) that prompted the writing of the *Noticias* reminds us of the little-known / often forgotten history of imperial Spain in the region and the fierce imperial contests and losses that would dictate modern political and cultural boundaries. This Spanish presence and viewpoint are often underplayed in Canadian national histories, which tend to prioritize the British imperial and navigational feats of such figures as James Cook and George Vancouver (not to mention the histories of the viceroyalty of New Spain or the histories of Spain’s decline as a large imperial power). Saravia’s *Lettres* take up this history and further unhinge conventional narratives of Canadian history and nationhood by resituating the Pacific Northwest in a migrant imaginary that is rooted in both Latin American and multicultural, multilingual, modern-day Montreal. I will argue in this chapter that as we begin to untangle these different

strands of history and cultural expression, the continued absence/presence of Canada's First Nations is equally impossible to ignore in each work.

Each of these texts imagines "Nootka" from specific Hispanic-American viewpoints (late colonial and modern, respectively) that engage the figure of the Indigene in ways that reflect their historical conditions of enunciation. For Moziño, the Indigene is a noble savage whose customs, language, and beliefs need to be observed and catalogued in the service of Spain and science. Saravia, however, romanticizes First Nations and their relations with "minority" settlers—particularly Latin American immigrants—as a way of critiquing modern multiculturalism. Although these modes of representing Indigenous people coincide with numerous colonial and settler-nationalist discourses, the treatment of the Indigenous in these texts, I argue, reveals particularly Hispanic-American views of the Indigenous from colonial times to the advent of Hispanic American modernity in which Indigenous people are objectified and utilized for both imperial and nation-building ends. Indigenous people have, of course, struggled to counter such strategies and representations and since the middle of the twentieth century have been writing and circulating their own stories and histories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous contact and relations. Although issues of Indigenous self-representation are a growing and rich field of scholarly inquiry and Indigenous empowerment (see Goldie 1993, Francis 1989, McCall 2011; and Warrior, Womack and Weaver 2006, for discussions of Indigenous representation and self-representation) the focus of this chapter is on how Hispanic-American tropes are reproduced, inverted and sometimes contradicted in these two outsider/insider visions of Nootka.

How can we understand representations of Nootka such as those produced by Saravia and Moziño, which highlight Canada's complex relations of power but also complicate these relationships by indigenizing the Spanish presence and Latino-Canadian experience in Canada? Concepts developed by Mary Louise Pratt in her seminal work *Imperial Eyes* (1992), particularly “planetary consciousness,” “transculturation,” and the “contact zone,”¹⁰¹ are especially useful for understanding the complex social relations that developed through imperialism and colonialism. In her essay on transculturation and autoethnography (1994), Pratt writes that “[u]nder conquest social and cultural formations enter long-term, often permanent states of crisis that cannot be resolved by either conqueror or conquered. Rather, the relations of conquered/conqueror, invader/invadee, past hegemony / present hegemony become the medium in which and out of which culture, language, society, and consciousness get constructed” (26). Following Pratt's work, I conceptualize Canada as a contact zone insofar as its present-day “multi” culture, and social and economic relations have developed from its own colonial histories. Like other decolonial scholars examined elsewhere in this study, Pratt remains conscious of the historical continuities between colonial history and the present in her focus on how European imperialism and colonialism have affected New World cultures, meaning-making, and the production of knowledge. Moreover, her work shares

¹⁰¹ Pratt defines the contact zone as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths ...” (*Imperial Eyes* 7). She explains that she has borrowed the term “contact” from “linguistics, where the term contact language refers to an improvised language that develops among speakers of different tongues who need to communicate with each other consistently, usually in the context of trade [...] Like the societies of the contact zone, such languages are commonly regarded as chaotic, barbarous, and lacking in structure” (8). Thus, language politics and practices are key features of contact zones, Canadian or otherwise.

the decolonial interest in the varied processes of imperialism and colonialism (in the Americas and elsewhere), and their impact on the peoples and cultures that become entwined in such processes.

Indigeneity and *Indigenismo*

In *The Usable Past*, Lois Zamora identifies the “anxiety of origins” as a condition that is common to U.S and Latin American fiction writers working in the modern era (5). According to her formulation, the source of this anxiety lies in the physical and metaphysical status of the Americas as a “new world” in relation to Europe and the associated belief that these territories did not have a true history or singular origin.¹⁰² As Zamora explains, this feeling of lacking a history or true ties to the landscapes of the New World led many writers of the Americas to construct such imagined histories and narratives of belonging for themselves and their readers. One of the more common modes of constructing a past for New World settlers was through the figure of the Indigene. Different forms of Indigenism have developed in different settler and mixed postcolonial nations. However, all these forms of Indigenism rely on an originary Indigenous presence that is deployed by subsequent settler or mixed-race populations to legitimize their claims to New World territories, histories, and cultures. In Latin American literature, this has manifested most notably through *indigenismo* or the incorporation of Indigenous themes, viewpoints, and languages by non-Indigenous writers. While A. Cornejo Polar explains that this “heterogeneous” literature has been taken up by many writers in Mexico and

¹⁰² For an excellent discussion of what has been termed the “anxiety of origins” for non-Indigenous New World subjects, see Lois Parkinson Zamora’s *The Usable Past: The Imagination of History in Recent Fiction of the Americas* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1997).

Andean nations, he also notes that it has been widely criticized for representing the interests of lower-class *mestizos* rather than the Indigenous peoples *indigenista* literature attempts to represent (24). Whereas the early literature of settler states such as Canada relied on the erasure of the Indigenous past and ownership of land as a way of making claim to New World territory, the response by some Latin American writers of mixed Indigenous and European descent has been to incorporate or assimilate the Indigenous past and experience as their own.

Notwithstanding the uneven and frequently devastating power relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Latin America, there has been a greater history of cultural and “racial” mixing in that region than in Canada or other predominantly Anglo settler societies such as the United States, which has led to different conceptualizations of national culture and identity than those that have prevailed in mainstream Canadian society up until the present. Perhaps the most generalized view of differences in the conceptualizations of national identity in the North and South is the idea that the societies in these regions are products of two distinct “civilizations.” From this perspective, differences between these regions can be explained through the differences in their socio-cultural past or imperial and colonial histories. Thus, the United States and Canada become extensions of an essentialized Anglo-Saxon civilization, while Latin America is seen as an extension of an equally simplistic notion of Iberian or “Latin” civilization. While North and South are largely understood as sharing in a cultural and linguistic heritage with their European colonizers, the Iberian-based civilization in the Americas took on a distinctly Indigenized—and thus, racialized—quality that the Anglo-Saxon New World did not.

Although this discourse has recently regained some currency with the introduction of Huntington's clash of civilizations thesis, Walter Mignolo traces these ideas as originating as far back as the emergence of imperial aims and power across the globe: "Behind the apparently neutral description of the "discovery," there is a logic of continental racialization whose definitive form was set up (obviously without a clear design and road map for its future) in the sixteenth century with the drawing of the first maps of the modern/colonial world" (*Idea of Latin America* 22–23). Enrique Dussel outlines this Latin American relationship to race and indigeneity in particular in his philosophical inquiry into the historical and philosophical underpinnings of *hispano* identity or "being in the world *hispanically*," proposing that "the *hispano* always has a certain constitutive, originary reference to the Amerindian cultures" (263). He elaborates as follows:

This referential component is essential. The *hispano* (whether indigenous or mestizo) relates to America as his/her "own" ancestral, originary continent (geographic and cultural) through "Malinche," his/her "mother," who provides the link with "mother earth" ("Pacha Mama" of the Andes, "Coatlicue" of the Valley of Mexico, or "Tonantzin": our little mother). This American land was originally hispanic on the mother's side. It was not the "vacant" land of John Locke or Walt Whitman but instead full of historical cultural significance. More than anyone else, the indigenous person merits the name "American" (*americano*). (263)

However, the racialization of Latin Americans as indigenous not only erases distinctions between *mestizos* or *ladinos* and Indigenous peoples who still struggle for autonomy from mestizo states, this form of racialization also excludes Afro-Latino populations from dominant conceptions of *latinidad*.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Thus, our understanding of the modern world and the differences between (and relations among) the different regions and peoples connected across a discoverable and manageable globe is directly linked to imperialism/colonialism and attendant forms of racialization. While the Spanish Caribbean is often associated with Afro *latinidad*, for

In addition, these ideas of *mestizaje* and the centrality of Indigenous culture and race to modern Latin American nationhood were often ambivalent, if not outright contradictory. While there are many historical examples of *indigenismo* and the celebration of the Indigenous past, the association of Indigeneity with a pre-European past was also entwined with the tendency to view Indigenous peoples and traditions as a major impediment to progress and modernity, particularly in regions with large Indigenous populations and sources of natural wealth. In post-independence/pre-revolutionary Mexico, for example, economic dependency and historical lag were attributed to persisting Indigenous traditions and communal social patterns thought to be out of step with capitalist development and modernity. In his study of the processes of internal colonization and Mexico's development as a "mestizo state," Josh Lund writes that, "From the perspective of an urban, liberal elite seeking desperately to anchor itself in capitalist modernity, the rural, communalist Indian could only be seen as a problem to be solved (or menace to be dealt with), whether by more or less terrifying means. In turn, the indigenous communities could only understand the modernization imposed by the terms of colonization, no matter how friendly its rhetorics, as a threat to their cultural existence" (1420). Like other regions of independent Spanish America, Indigenous and *pardo* (free black and *mulatto*) populations were seen as being both strategically and discursively crucial to the make-up of the modern nation: *pardos* as armed allies in wars against colonial rulers and their supporters, and *indios* for greater access to land for immigrant settlement and capitalist development (Lasso 336; Lund 1421). However, whereas these elite creole visions of modern nationhood rested on the myths of "racial

example, there are substantial African-based populations throughout Latin America, including Peru, Colombia, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Mexico.

equality”¹⁰⁴ and social unity through *mestizaje* (or racial and cultural mixing), scholars have demonstrated how these discourses did not in fact bring about racial “harmony.” As Lund argues concerning the contradictory basis of the modern Mexican state, the country’s “indigenous inhabitants are the authentic source for a cultural patrimony that has coalesced into the nation; on the other hand, that same nation is founded on their abandonment” (1418).

As numerous theorists (Fanon 1963, 1967; Said 1978, 1993; Mignolo 1997; Rama 1996) and previously colonized/subordinated peoples have explained, European cultural domination went hand-in-hand with economic imperialism and exploitation. The textual representation of Indigenous peoples and cultures of the Americas has historically been part of larger imperialist, colonial and nation-building projects often tainted with Eurocentric bias and unexamined assumptions about indigenous inferiority. Moreover, they are largely produced under unequal relations of power between the writers and their “subjects” (Beverley 1998, Coombe, Fee 1989, Goldie 1993, McCall 2011, Mignolo 1995, Pratt 2006, Todorov 1999). As key symbols and communicators of imperial values and norms, linguistic domination and erasure were also part of this process. The fifteenth-

¹⁰⁴ In her comparative analysis of post independence race relations in Caribbean Gran Colombia and the U.S., Marixa Lasso writes:

A close analysis of this period, however, reveals that the ideal of racial equality was not just facile rhetoric. The literature on the intellectual and electoral history of the Spanish American wars of independence has shown that the political changes were the result of serious intellectual and political debates and were perceived by the protagonists as a momentous transformation that challenged entrenched cultural traditions and social hierarchies. The works of Alfonso Mu’nera, Peter Guardino, and Peter Blanchard have also taught us that Afro-Latin Americans were not mere “cannon fodder”; they participated in and influenced the political debates about citizenship in the revolutionary period, sometimes pushing the elites to acquiesce to radical measures they had not initially contemplated. (338)

century Spanish grammarian Antonio Nebrija, for example, (in)famously quipped that “language is the companion of empire” (qtd in Rama 35). This was certainly the case throughout the conquest and colonization of the Americas, including Canada, where Indigenous languages were displaced by not one, but two, imperial languages, as well as European forms of communication such as Greco-Roman writing itself.¹⁰⁵

Despite these relations of European power and Indigenous subordination, these representations are not always completely negative, often reflecting European ambivalence towards the Indigenous peoples they represent and contradictory views and information—an ambivalence that is often understood as a psychological process of simultaneously desiring and abjecting the Indigenous or simultaneously desiring and effacing it (Goldie 1993, Hulme 1998, Todorov 1999). Relatedly, a central concept that Pratt employs in her work is that of transculturation, which she borrows from such turn-of-the-twentieth-century Latin American scholars as Fernando Ortiz and Ángel Rama who attempted to describe the process of cultural mixing and transformation that took place in Latin America over the colonial and early post-independence periods. Pratt defines transculturation as the process whereby “subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture” (2008, 7). Transculturation (and the related idea of *mestizaje*) has been a central ideological concept in the development of Latin American national identities and Latin American struggles for political and cultural autonomy. Accordingly, transculturation has had wider political and social implications in Latin America than in Canada, where related concepts such as

¹⁰⁵ Walter Mignolo discusses the processes of cultural and imperial domination inherent in the imposition of Greco-Roman alphabetic writing and European languages on Indigenous groups in Mesoamerica (see *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995).

hybridity have more often been applied to discrete instances or examples of inter-cultural contact rather than to Canadian society and culture as a whole. For example, the cultural “mosaic,” once Canada’s defining metaphor of multiculturalism and often proudly contrasted with the American idea of the “melting pot,” is also indicative of the different ways in which cultural heterogeneity is perceived or “managed” in (English) Canada and other countries in the hemisphere.

Saravia’s own cultural location as a Latin American in Canada complicates his attempts to appropriate or displace indigenous peoples and cultures in this text. As Amaryll Chanady explains of the Spanish-American context:

Although many indigenist intellectuals advocated the integration of the marginalized indigenous sectors of society and expressed a sincere concern for their continuing exclusion, the symbolic constitution of a specifically Latin American identity based on the indigene corresponded to a need to create a symbolic filiation and historical depth among Creoles (the descendants of white Europeans) who no longer identified with the former colonizer. The symbolic filiation with the indigene was often a conscious strategy with specific political ends, which would explain the continuing contradiction between official ideologies of ethnic inclusion and the actual treatment of minorities. But identification with the indigene also involved a deep desire for rootedness. (89)

In this way, there is still some room to read Saravia’s indigenization of the immigrant figure as re-imagining the Canadian nation—or a new Nootka—by promoting cross-cultural understanding and pan-American, indigenous/non-indigenous solidarity.

Reading against the grain, I highlight such ambivalences and contradictions in these selected “explorations” of Nootka. The textual tradition of indigenization and appropriation described above still informs much of the West’s ideas and constructions of the Indigenous Other (not to mention their treatment in the government policies and practices of settler and “post” colonial nations). In my analysis of these in many ways disparate texts created in different genres, geographies and time periods, I identify links

between both the content and the perspectives of the two narratives. My pairing of a eighteenth-century travel narrative with an early twenty-first century collection of poems is meant to reflect this continuity in mis-representation and what I call a New World Hispanic perspective that both texts manifest. While, as I discuss below, their stylistic and ideological differences are important, so are the commonalities and continuities between the two texts.

Ethnography and the Other: Uniting Scientific and Poetic Travel Narratives

As Pratt discusses in her conclusion to the revised edition of *Imperial Eyes*, “the tropes and conventions of travel writing examined [in *Imperial Eyes*] are still with us, often in mutated form, like the imperial relations they encoded. In this rapidly transforming present, those conventions continue to generate meanings, position subjects, enchant, disenchant and re-enchant the world” (238). Thus, the two different but related “tropes and conventions of travel writing” that I will examine in the following pages—much like Latina/o Canadian experiences and texts more generally—provide powerful examples of the processes Pratt describes, especially with regard to Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations and their representation in New World contexts. Much like the “problem” of race carried over from the colonial period into the modern era, language also became a marker of geopolitical difference and dominance after independence and beyond. The economic and political rise of the United States—the inheritor of the Anglo-Saxon civilization—marked a new era of global dominance and hegemony in which Spain was no longer a major player. According to Mignolo:

Spanish and Portuguese were degraded from imperial hegemonic languages to subaltern imperial languages and superseded by French, German, and English. No

one knew that the racialization of languages and knowledges was at stake, (racialization, as we know, operates at many levels and not just in the color of your skin). Languages, and the instantiation of the hierarchy among them, were never outside the project of the civilizing mission and the idea of progress. (*Idea of Latin America* 71)

While newly formed Latin American nations (much like the colonies that preceded them) continued to privilege the Spanish over Indigenous and creole languages or pidgins within their borders, the Spanish language lost much of its ideological leverage with the Spanish empire's loss of colonial territories and its eventual demise. Where once the Spanish language had been viewed by the Crown's first grammarian of Castilian as "the instrument of empire," it was now primarily one of the many legacies of empire. This new position also presaged the development of English as the most common language of international commerce and trade whose global reach has only increased with neoliberal globalization in the late twentieth century.

The *Noticias de Nutka*, written by José Mariano Moziño in 1794 in his capacity as the official botanist on the Spanish expedition to the Pacific Northwest, places imperial Spain at the center of a critical turning point in Canada's colonial and national history. While Canada's official histories minimize both the Indigenous and Spanish presence in the area, Moziño's *Noticias*, which were meant to be read as a natural history of the region, reveal a microcosm of both imperial competition and cooperation, European disdain *and* respect for the Indigenous people they would eventually displace, and Spanish designs on the area's territory and resources. In this way, Moziño's work was caught up in the development and deployment of what Pratt describes as a new form of European "planetary consciousness" (*Imperial Eyes* 15), which she argues was an important characteristic of the dominant European worldview and knowledge production

that had taken a new turn in the eighteenth century with the development and eventual ascendance of the natural sciences (15). According to Pratt, the version of European planetary consciousness that developed in this period was “marked by an orientation toward interior exploration and the construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatuses of natural history” (15). The “global-scale meaning” that was now derived from European natural history moved from exteriors or coasts to interiors and inlands, and also from multiple centers of geopolitical importance, both new and old—even if the “new” were working in service of the “old.” Pratt writes that “[l]ike the rise of interior exploration, the systematic surface mapping of the globe correlates with an expanding search for commercially exploitable resources, markets, and lands to colonize just as navigational mapping [the earlier form of planetary consciousness] is linked with the search for trade routes. Unlike navigational mapping, however, natural history conceived of the world as a chaos out of which the scientist *produced* an order” (30, emphasis in original). In this context, I would somewhat modify the description of this particular worldview to what could be termed a “Euro-American planetary consciousness” insofar as much of this work was carried out by Euro-American agents of the Crown from within existing, though little known, colonial territories.

Unlike the experience of modern ethnographers, the relations between Indigenous peoples and European explorers in early contact histories were typically more strained and potentially violent than those between Indigenous peoples and early anthropologists in the modern period. As the history of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations demonstrates, moments of contact were marked by cultural and material exchanges that have almost universally led to the decimation of Indigenous populations, ways of life and

the usurpation of Indigenous territory. Despite the unequal power relations and overall negative outcome for Indigenous peoples in the Americas that developed from these early encounters, European accounts also reveal ambivalent and nuanced relations between Europeans and non-Europeans in such contact zones. The Pacific Northwest was not entirely new to European explorers in this period, as Spanish, English, Portuguese, and American ships had already made contact and explored the area earlier in the century. European claims to this territory, however, were still under dispute and had yet to be settled. The European claims to ownership of the land in this time and place were not so much focused on gaining access to, and thus dominance of, the interiors as in Pratt's description of planetary consciousness, but were instead aimed at the strategic dominance of important trade goods and routes to the Pacific, particularly China, from already existing colonial sites. Moreover, imperial agents such as Moziño and other intellectuals and scientists from the New World were also actively engaged in the scientific activities and discourses associated with this new form of planetary consciousness. Captain Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra, the head of the expedition, for example, was also a *criollo*, born and raised in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Despite the continuities between Moziño's *Noticias* and earlier imperial works, the Spanish loss to the English after his sojourn in the Pacific Northwest was an early indicator of their eventual territorial and economic losses throughout North America, and their decline in global and economic dominance more generally.

Poet Alejandro Saravia's *Lettres de Nootka* (published some two hundred years later in 2008) connects Aboriginal and migrant experiences of subalternity in a Canadian context, which also unsettles conventional views of Aboriginal-settler relations in this

country. Saravia's collection of poems is not only named after Moziño's manuscript, it also creatively reconstructs the initial encounter between the Spanish and the people of Nootka Sound, the Mowichat, and the often overlooked story of the Spanish presence in the Pacific Northwest.¹⁰⁶ According to Antonio Micó's prologue to the work, *Lettres de Nootka* is a re-imagining of Canadian society and culture from an immigrant point of view that nevertheless prioritizes Indigenous peoples and cultures (10). The connection Saravia makes between Indigenous and immigrant experiences of marginalization and

¹⁰⁶ Canadian writer George Bowering has also dealt with the characters and implications of this historical event in his satirical and award-winning novel, *Burning Water* (1976). Whereas Saravia's *Lettres* are more concerned with the meeting of cultures and its implications in the present, Bowering's novel has been aptly described as a postmodern take on history and writing in which, among other things, he re-imagines Quadra and Vancouver, the two historical protagonists and imperial rivals, as homosexual lovers. See Edward Lobb, "Imagining History: The Romantic Background of George Bowering's *Burning Water*," *Studies in Canadian Literature / Études en littérature canadienne* 12.1 (1987) for a review of this novel. The English-Spanish encounter in the Canadian Northwest has also been a source of inspiration for contemporary visual artist, Stan Douglas, who made a video installation titled *Nootka* in 1996. In this installation, Douglas superimposes images of Nootka Sound as well as narratives written by English and Spanish sailors about their relations with each other and the Indigenous people of the region. Like Saravia, Douglas emphasizes conflicting narratives and the problematic absence of First Nations in official accounts of Canadian history and mainstream Canadian culture: since the indigenous people did not leave written accounts of their impressions of these first encounters, they remain an implied and ghostly presence in Douglas's work. Saravia's *Lettres de Nootka*, also engages this history of domination and erasure by focusing on the overlapping and sometimes conflicting historical narratives that were recorded in the languages of the "conquerors." As Sarah Phillips Casteel (2007) writes of Douglas's piece, "an indigenous presence is eerily absent from the scene of discovery, but the camera's circling movement and perpetual scanning of the empty landscape draws attention to this absent presence. The unrepresentable—in this case the First Nations point of view on the scene of colonial landfall—is a key concern of Douglas's work" (166). See Phillips Casteel's analysis of indigeneity and Canadian visual art by immigrant or visible minority artists in her *Second Arrivals: Landscape and Belonging in Contemporary Writing of the Americas*, Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2007, pp. 163–90. See also Renée Houlan and Linda Warley's article "Cultural Literacy, First Nations and the Future of Canadian Literary Studies" for their discussion of the continued absence of First nations history and people in mainstream Canadian society and culture, *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34.3 (1999): 59–86.

displacement presents a sense of solidarity between the two. However, his work can also be read critically as a form of diasporic indigenization or indigenous appropriation that reproduces the appropriating gaze and maneuvers of the Spanish and other European settlers and “reinscrib[es] settler colonial narratives of indigenization” (Phillips Casteel 103).

I frame both Moziño’s and Saravia’s works as forms of travel writing or “ethnographic texts” insofar as they are both concerned with documenting (whether in scientific or poetic form) and representing the “Other” cultures they encounter in the “New World” from the viewpoint of a migratory subjectivity and thus cultural outsider. Despite their position as outsiders, both writers generate and share knowledge about the cultural others they encounter and, in different ways, make claims to authoritative knowledge about Canada’s First Nations and their relations with non-Indigenous peoples: Moziño presents himself as a scientific authority about the Indigenous Mowichat he encounters in Nootka Sound whereas Saravia uses his low socio-economic status as an immigrant and visible minority (and his “racial” similarity to Canada’s First Nations) as a way of signaling his moral authority on the question of Indigenous-settler relations in Canada. As James Clifford writes in an essay on the development of the ethnographic method in the discipline of anthropology, ethnographic authority is central to the project of studying and writing about other cultures. Citing the many difficulties associated with constructing a cohesive scholarly piece out of “a garrulous, overdetermined, cross cultural encounter shot through with power relations and personal cross purposes” (120), Clifford suggests:

In analyzing this complex transformation one must bear in mind the fact that ethnography is from beginning to end enmeshed in writing. This writing includes,

minimally, a translation of experience into textual form. The process is complicated by the action of multiple subjectivities and political constraints beyond the control of the writer. In response to these forces, ethnographic writing enacts a specific strategy of authority. This has classically involved an unquestioned claim to appear as the purveyor of truth in the text. (120)

However, unlike Moziño's scientific *noticias*, or news, which are directed to the heads of the Spanish empire, Saravia's "letters" are personal, poetic communications presumably destined not only for readers in Canada but also for other sites and subjects of former empires. In this way, we can understand both the *Noticias* and the *Lettres* as written records of their authors' disparate traveling subjectivities: Moziño as the man of imperial science and exploration and Saravia's narrators/protagonists as exiled or migrant subjects on the margins of society and language itself.

While ethnography is most closely associated with the research tools and methods of modern anthropology, it has historical roots in earlier forms of scientific discourse, travel writing, and colonial/imperial projects. As Pratt notes of travel writing in the eighteenth century more generally, this form of writing became a powerful tool for generating "scientific" knowledge about other cultures. Since its inception as a recognizable anthropological method in the early twentieth century, it has also undergone a number of changes from within the discipline itself, as well as from academics and artists working outside of anthropology (Clifford 1983).

Current forms of ethnography have developed in tandem with poststructural and postmodern theories about reader response and the trappings of colonial modes of representation. As Clifford points out:

It is intrinsic to the breakup of monological authority that ethnographies no longer address a single general type of reader. The multiplication of possible readings reflects the fact that self-conscious "ethnographic" consciousness can no longer

be seen as the monopoly of certain Western cultures and social classes. Even in ethnographies lacking vernacular texts, indigenous readers will decode differently the textualized interpretations and lore. Polyphonic works are particularly open to readings not specifically intended. (141)

Similarly, one of the many cultural phenomena to emerge out of various contact zones and processes of transculturation associated with the colonization of the Americas, Pratt argues, is the “autoethnographic” text, which she defines as

[A] text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them. Thus, if ethnographic texts are those in which European metropolitan subjects represent to themselves their others (usually their subjugated others), autoethnographic texts are representations that the so-defined others construct *in response to* or in dialogue with those texts. (28 emphasis in original)

Language is an important element in her development of this concept insofar as she remains conscious of the often indeterminate reception of autoethnographic texts by the heterogeneous audiences to which they are addressed (29). For example, those who have been “conquered” often write these texts in the languages of the “conquerors,” or use more than one language, and sometimes incorporate non-linguistic forms of signification such as pictographs and drawings. As an example (and exemplar) of autoethnography, Pratt provides *La primera nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, a remarkable seventeenth-century text written by Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, an indigenous Andean who learned to read and write in Spanish from his *mestizo* (mixed Spanish and indigenous) half brother (Pratt 27). Her discussion of Guamán Poma’s text highlights not only its extraordinary political message and semiotic structures but also how its significance was “lost” to the Spanish audiences for which it was intended and to the scholars who would later discover the text in storage.

Saravia's collection of poems uses multiple languages to interpolate (and possibly exclude) different audiences and language communities. In this way, Saravia's text resists the hierarchical and power implications of "vertical" translation in which "newer" or "minority" languages are translated into more established or "official" languages such as English and French.¹⁰⁷ Heterogeneous language practices, identifications, and strategies play an important role in both the writing and *reading* of ethnographic texts. It is tempting to frame Saravia's collection of poems as autoethnography so as to distinguish it from Moziño's "natural history" of Nootka. However, to do so risks reproducing some of the same indigenizing moves that are present in the collection of poems under examination here. Saravia's text can be considered instead to contain elements of postmodern ethnography inasmuch as it addresses both dominant and marginal groups within Canada itself (i.e., English, French, Indigenous, and ethnic minority), while simultaneously reframing these relationships on a hemispheric level by highlighting Canada's colonial and neocolonial connections to Latin America. Given the complex social and historical relations signaled in Pratt's conception of the contact zone and the differences in Latin American representations and conceptualizations of "the Indigene," I want to suggest that it is productive to read these texts in this vein.

The Natural Scientist: Moziño's Scientific Authority

The story of Nootka Sound is like many other stories in the Americas. It is a story of imperial competition and expansion, and of physical and symbolic violence. The

¹⁰⁷ See Hugh Hazelton's "Polylingual Identities: Writing in Multiple Languages" in *Canadian Cultural Exchange: Translation and Transculturation* (2007) for an instructive discussion of the different language strategies employed by Latino/a-Canadian authors.

power of European and print languages to European planetary consciousness is apparent in Nootka Sound's very name. Like many other stories of "discovery" and claim- and meaning-making in the new world, Europeans often superimposed their knowledge of European places onto the new places they encountered. In addition, places were often understood and named based on incomplete information or linguistic or cultural misunderstandings with the native inhabitants. When the Spanish first arrived on the northwest coast in 1774, they named it San Lorenzo. Later, when the British (commanded by James Cook) entered the inlet in 1778, they renamed it King George's Sound. By the time Moziño arrived in the area, it was already widely referred to as Nootka, although he writes that this is not the term used by the Indigenous people themselves:

I do not know through what error this island has been given the name of Nootka, since these natives do not know the word and assure me that they had never heard it until the English began to trade on the island. I suspect that the source of this mistake was the word Nut-chi, which means mountain, since what Cook called Nootka has never among these islanders had any name other than Yuquatl. (Moziño 67)

Thus, an error or misunderstanding would become the basis for the colonial (and postcolonial) naming of the area. Even though Moziño and many of his contemporaries noted the mistake, Nootka's inscription in the maps and diaries of European voyagers led to its forever being known as such.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Possible explanations for this confusion are to be found in the extensive footnotes and secondary source information provided by Iris Wilson Engstrandt, the English-language translator and editor of the *Noticias*:

Martinez wrote that "the name of Nutka, given to this port by the English is derived from the poor understanding between them and the natives . . . Captain Cook's men, asking [the natives] by signs what the port was called, made for them a sign with their hand, forming a circle and then dissolving it, to which the natives responded Nutka, which means to give way [retroceder]. Cook named it in his Diary "entrada del Rey Jorge o de Nutka, " and the rest of the ships have known it by the latter, which is Nutka, for which reason they have forced the

In her Introduction to the *Noticias*, translator Iris Wilson provides us with a brief portrait of Moziño. She writes that Moziño was “the official botanist appointed by the viceroy of New Spain to accompany the expedition of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra to Nootka Sound in 1792, a voyage frequently referred to as the Expedition of the Limits to the North of California” (xxiii). Moziño was a *criollo* of pure Spanish descent born in Mexico, and was an outstanding student at the *Seminario Tridentino de México* where he originally went to study medicine but later decided to specialize in natural science, a new and exciting field at that time, which was experiencing a surge in popularity through the publication of Carl Linnaeus’s *Systema Naturae* (1735). Moziño used his considerable talents and skills on other imperial projects but was handpicked for the expedition to the northwest by the Spanish viceroy in Mexico (xxiii). His success was also partly due to the good fortune of being in the right place at the right time—at the end of the eighteenth century, the reigning monarch of Spain, Philip V, had spurred a renewed and vigorous interest in the sciences and the arts, which was shared by his appointed Viceroy in Mexico (Pratt 16).

The *Noticias*, like many other texts written in this period, are not only a narrative of the author’s travels through a new and “unchartered” land but also represent an emerging form of elite European scientific knowledge and discourse. The historical events recounted in the *Noticias de Nutka*, as well as the purpose and use of the text itself, offer a striking example of the power of print and written languages in Western

Indians to know it by that name; nevertheless, at first the new name always seemed strange; the true name by the natives is Yuquat, which means for this” (Diario, September 30, 1789). Meany (Vancouver’s Discovery of Puget Sound, pp. 45–46) quotes Belgian missionary Father A. J. Brabant that noot-ka-eh is a native verb meaning “go around” and surmises that the Spaniards confused the word for the name of the Nootka village and thus adopted it for the harbor. (67)

colonial and imperial projects, and the popularity of such literary genres as the travel literature that Pratt analyzes in her work. Moziño's research in Nootka Sound was not unlike earlier Spanish "studies" of Indigenous people in the Americas, such as those undertaken by Bishop Diego de Landa, Bartolomé de las Casas, Fray Bernadino de Sahagún (Todorov 1999) and other works by the many missionaries and administrators working for the Spanish empire in the Viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru. Where he differed, however, was in his formation as a scientist and natural historian. The purpose of the "expedition of the limits to the North of California" was twofold: Captain Bodega y Quadra had been sent by the Spanish Viceroy to collect scientific information about the area and to help settle a dispute between the English and the Spanish over a piece of land close to the Sound. This dispute between Spain and England from 1789 and 1794 is commonly referred to as the Nootka Sound Controversy and centred around a piece of land that the English claimed had been given to them by chief Maquinna, the principal *tais* in the region, but which the Spanish claimed to already own. The expedition to the north was also part of the larger imperial competition to reach the Northwest passage and to gain access to the lucrative trade in sea otter fur with the Indigenous peoples in the area and the Chinese—leading to fierce competition between Spanish, English, Portuguese, and Americans (referred to as "Boston men" in the Moziño's account) in the area.

The Spanish were the first Europeans known to make contact with the Mowichat¹⁰⁹ in the Nootka area in 1774. The Mowichat are one of the twelve bands of

¹⁰⁹ See also Philip Drucker, "Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes" and Edward Sapir, "Some Aspects of Nootka Language and Culture," *American Anthropologist*, 18 (1911), 15.

the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation. According to Wilson's note on the name of this

Indigenous group in the *Noticias*:

The 'natives' Moziño refers to were members of the Mowichat confederacy inhabiting Nootka Sound; the term "Nootkan" today is a linguistic designation for members of the Wakashan stock extending from Cape Cook to Cape Flattery. [...]. According to Meany (Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound, pp.44-45), "The name by which these Indians themselves know their village is 'Mowitch-at,' meaning 'people of the deer.'"... The forests literally abound in deer. . . . It is not possible to trace the origin of all the words in the [Chinook] jargon but "Mowitch" means "deer," and it is shown that this came from the Nootka language. (9 n 20)

At that time, the Spanish claimed possession of the entire Pacific Northwest Coast as part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and were keen to keep their political and economic interests in the region. In the end, "the controversy [took] the courts of Madrid and London five years to settle [and so] Nootka Sound became the focal point of a full international crisis and thus the object of political as well as scientific investigation" (xxxiii). In keeping with Spanish imperial aims and the precepts of the planetary consciousness described by Pratt, the purpose of the *Noticias* was to tell readers about the lands and people encountered on the expedition as well as to produce and record systematic forms of knowledge about those people and their resources (i.e., potential wealth).

As a scientist and disciple of this new planetary consciousness, Moziño had been commissioned by the Spanish Crown to produce and order their knowledge of the region and its peoples. The physical and cultural traits of Indigenous people, like other unknown or foreign "species," were catalogued and compared by European explorers and scientists following universally applied criteria. As Wilson points out, "[e]xtending beyond the scope of a scientific report, Moziño's comprehensive account is a unique ethnographic

and historical study of the Northwest Coast. A Nootkan-Spanish dictionary, detailed drawings by artist Anastasio Echeverría, and a catalogue of plants and animals classified according to the Linnaean system supplement the work” (xi). Different sections of the *Noticias*, for example, were organized by articles with such headings as “Description of their houses, furniture, and utensils; of their food and drink” (Article No. 2, p. 17) and, “Certain sacrifices performed by the natives; their occupation in fishing and the movement of their villages according to the seasons; administration of justice; some occupations like that of carpentry” (Article No. 5, p. 38). As these titles suggest, daily elements of Mowichat life and culture came under scientific scrutiny. Detailed descriptions of Indigenous kinship and marriage customs, creation myths and religious rites were recorded and presented alongside descriptions and artistic renderings of the area’s flora and fauna.¹¹⁰ Like their English counterparts in the region, who also sent a naturalist¹¹¹ aboard Captain Vancouver’s ship, it was not enough for the representatives of imperial navies to settle the dispute—men of science were also needed to make epistemic claims on the New World.

Moziño attributed part of his scientific authority to the amount of time he had spent in Nootka Sound and his knowledge of the native language. In Article No. 1 he writes, for example, that “[o]ur residence of more than four months on that island enabled me to learn about the various customs of the natives, their religion, and their system of government. I believe I am the first person who has been able to gather such information, and this was because I learned their language sufficiently to converse with them” (9). In

¹¹⁰ Anastasio Echeverría, mentioned above, was an artist and student of natural science hired to accompany Moziño on the expedition to create sketches of the specimens they encountered there.

¹¹¹ The English botanist on Vancouver’s ship was Archibald Menzies (1754–1842).

Article No. 7 [*Concerning the language and its affinity with that of Mexico; the eloquent discourse of Prince Maquinna; of the rhetoric and poetry of the Nootkans, and of their dances*], Moziño goes on to discuss the language and poetry of the Mowichat in greater depth and in sometimes contradictory terms, referring at once to its harsh sounds and barbaric simplicity while also documenting his own difficulty learning the language and his admiration for the poetry of the *tais* (chief) and noble “class.”¹¹²

Among Moziño’s major tasks (and contributions) while he was on the expedition was the compilation of a Spanish-Nootkan dictionary. His work went further than existing dictionaries and glossaries such as those compiled by earlier explorers like Captain James Cook even though he freely admitted to its imperfections and the difficulties he encountered in the comprehension and compilation of the words and syntax used by the Mowichat:

Knowledgeable persons can consult the small dictionary I have placed at the end, in which I have attempted to write the words with letters which, when pronounced in Spanish, give a sound equivalent to that with which the Nootkan language enters my ears. Anyone who takes into consideration the difficulty of representing by symbols the different actions of verbs conforming to all the various tenses in which they function will easily realize the imperfection of those I have collected. I have given all of them the infinitive form although I understand that some are in the present perfect, others in the past and others, finally, in the future. (52–53)

Despite Moziño’s initial claim that he understood the “Nootkan” language sufficiently to converse with the natives and thus gain authoritative knowledge about the Mowichat, he

¹¹² “The songs of the *taises*, I thought, were filled with enthusiasm, as much because the very object to which they were directed naturally required elevation in all the ideas, as has been observed, as because they themselves were enraptured by their singing. I was able to understand very little about the meaning of the phrases, despite the pains my great friend Nana-quius took to explain this material to me with as much clarity as possible” (59).

is also candid about instances when he does not understand what is happening and must rely completely on an interpreter to help him (84–85).¹¹³

As a New World scientist already familiar with the languages of other Indigenous peoples, Moziño tried to compare the “Nootkan” language to European languages such as English and Spanish, and also to Nahuatl, one of the major indigenous languages spoken in Mexico based on his memory of the sound of word endings and similarities between particular words: “I have so forgotten the Mexican language that I find myself unable to make an analogy with this one in a constructive way. To the ear both languages present a similarity in the word endings, and by just considering one or two sounds alone, I find some affinity between the two. In order to say ‘we go,’ the Mexicans use the word *tlato*, and the Nootkans, in order to say ‘go away,’ use *tlatlehua*” (51–52). Although Moziño, like other New World scientists, was eager to find connections between the Indigenous people and languages across different geographic and cultural areas, Iris Wilson writes

¹¹³ In his discussion of the sound of the language itself (and his efforts to master the pronunciation) Moziño writes that, “[t]heir language is the harshest and roughest I have ever heard; the pronunciation is done almost entirely with the teeth, each syllable being articulated by pauses. The words abound in consonants, and the endings are often *tl* and *tz*. The middle and the beginning of words consist of very strong aspirations to which a foreigner cannot accustom himself except through much work and after long practice” (51). Even though he uses the term poetry throughout, Moziño is not entirely certain that the term is adaptable to Mowichat verse. “Up to now I have used the word poetry because I am convinced that they actually have it, although I have not been able to understand the kinds of meters of which their verses are comprised. They certainly have several, granting that they fill out their metric construction as completely as we do ours. The style varies according to the nature of them” (59). Thus, his interpretation of Mowichat songs and poetry depended on the assistance of native interpreters and *Mowichat* knowledge of Spanish and their ability to learn a new language as quickly as Moziño: “Several of the natives, especially Nana-quius, Nat-zape, Quio-comasia, and Tata-no, learned to speak quite a bit of our language. The facility with which they grasped most of the things we wanted to explain to them should make us very sorry that the ministers of the Gospel have not taken advantage of such a fine opportunity to plant the Catholic faith among them” (84–85).

that “Juan Eugenio Santelices Pablo, a linguistic expert from Mexico City, was asked by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo in 1791 to prepare a small dictionary uniting the languages of Spanish, Mexican (Nahuatl), Nootkan, and Sandwich (Hawaiian) for use by Alessandro Malespina. Santelices Pablo wrote that ‘no connection exists between those of Sandwich and Nootka, nor does either of them relate to the Mexican’ (Santelices Pablo to Joséf de Espinoza, Mexico, March 16, 1791)” (52).

These acknowledgements of his own limitations and the obstacles inherent in cross-cultural communication more generally point to instances of narrative disjuncture and authoritative ambivalence. Like many “contact” narratives written by early explorers and Spanish conquistadores, Moziño’s *Noticias* often reveal contradictory opinions about and perceptions of Indigenous people.¹¹⁴ Such writings are fascinating not only for the historical information they impart about the meeting of two cultures but also for the oft-ambivalent portrayal of Indigenous peoples captured therein. At the same time, these moments also reveal instances of cultural relativism usually associated with modern approaches to cross-cultural contact. Read against the grain, Moziño’s account of Nootka is peppered with such contradictions and ambivalences, particularly in relation to his view of the Mowichat’s levels of civility and barbarity. His discussion of language and poetry are especially revealing in this respect. In his discussion of Nootkan poetry and music, for example, he praises the Mowichat’s “noble” or “higher” feelings in contrast to those of the songs and poetry of his own people and other Europeans, explaining that

¹¹⁴ This ambivalence is also present in the writings of early Spanish explorers who expressed admiration for the Indigenous civilizations they met while also denigrating them and, ultimately, destroying them. See Chapter 3, “Love” in *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* by Tzvetan Todorov (Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1999, 2nd ed.).

Nootkan songs “are ordinarily hymns to celebrate the beneficence of Qua-utz [creator god], generosity of their friends, and good relations with their allies. This noble purpose of music and poetry ought to serve as an example to us, who flatter ourselves that we have been born in cultured countries and educated in the bosom of the true religion” (58).

Moziño is also able in some instances to record the baffled reactions of the Mowichat to cultural outsiders and their own perception of Europeans as barbaric or ungodly. A particularly interesting moment related by Moziño about this sort of cultural contact occurs in a meeting in which Spanish, English and the Mowichat are gathered together:

One day [Chief Maquinna’s brother, prince] Quio-comasia heard some stanzas sung at a certain meeting which we had with the English and the natives. At the conclusion of the song he asked me what had been its subject, to which I replied that it was the absence of a lady. Afterward other Spaniards and Englishmen sang their respective songs, and the gathering was brought to a close with a beautiful anacreontic ballad, the grace of which enhanced the soft and melodious voice of the young Irishman who sang it. The *tais* kept asking me the meaning of each piece. The first were purely love songs (I told him), and what he had just heard was a eulogy to wine and pretty girls. To this he replied, ‘Do not the Spanish or the English have a God, since they celebrate only fornication and drunkenness? The *taises* of Nootka sing only to praise Qua-utz and ask for his help.’ (58)

Nevertheless, despite his obvious admiration for the speeches and songs of the princely class (54, 58, 59), in the conclusions he presents about the Nootkan language, Moziño does not hesitate to state that the Indigenous language remains barbaric in comparison with those of more “civilized” nations: “The extensiveness of this language can be estimated by the degree of civilization this tribe has attained, since I think the rule is generally true that the wiser the nation, the richer is the language they speak. Consequently, that of Nootka is very poor, since it cannot have greater breadth than the ideas the Nootkans have been able to form” (53). Even though Moziño was born in the

“New World,” his position as a scientist and representative of European civilization in the Americas give him the authority to deem the Mowichat language, and their very epistemology or “ideas,” as poorly developed and lacking in sophistication and wisdom.

Such ambivalent and conflicting views of the Mowichat are present throughout the *Noticias*. As with his observations on Mowichat language, Moziño simultaneously presents the Mowichat social hierarchy as both savage and civilized in relation to European society. Much like his contemporaries who wrote of the “noble savage,”¹¹⁵ Moziño was able to see the “good” aspects of Mowichat society along with the “bad,” particularly in relation to European social norms and structures. The idea of the noble savage (if not the term itself) was perhaps made most famous by Michel de Montaigne’s 1580 essay “On Cannibals,” in which he uses the figure of the cannibalistic “indigene” to critique European hypocrisy and decadence. Like many European or non-Indigenous accounts of the New World, Moziño writes that the Indigenous inhabitants are definitely cannibals and have practiced cannibalism in times of war. Although he never directly observes them in this practice—describing them as a peaceful people who have abandoned the practice in the recent past owing to the relative peace and the civilizing European influence (15, 22, 23 and 38)—he infers from the hearsay of American and Spanish traders that the practice did in fact exist in the recent past. When he questions one of his native “informants” about the practice, he does not take his word and believes accounts by other Europeans or Euro-Americans instead, writing that “Hauitl assured me that not everyone had eaten human flesh, nor did they all the time, just the fiercest

¹¹⁵ See Peter Hulme’s *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* for a discussion of the uses and misuses of linking Indigenous people and the practice of cannibalism in European accounts of New World exploration.

warriors when they prepared to go to war. I doubt the truth of this story, because this wise Indian knew very well how much we detested this custom, and now that he could not contradict what so many honest men had said, he wanted at least to diminish the gravity and circumstances of a crime that makes even nature shudder” (22).

In his discussion of the Mowichat social order, Moziño observes that “There is no intermediate hierarchy between princes and commoners. This latter condition includes all those who are not brothers or immediate relatives of the *tais*, and they are known by the name of *meschimes*” (24). While he notes this hierarchy, he also compares the different dynamics and outcomes of the Mowichat social order and the European or European-derived one:

The commoners by their condition are slaves, and only through the goodness of their masters do they at times receive treatment as sons. And since vices increase with desires, and desires increase with the luxuries of sophisticated nations, no one will say that I exaggerate when I affirm that the vices of these savages are very few when compared to ours. One does not see here greed for another man’s wealth, because articles of prime necessity are very few and all are common. Hunger obliges no one to rob on the highways, or to resort to piracy along the coasts. In addition to the fact that they are very abstemious in their meals, everyone can partake indiscriminately of the fish or seafood he needs, and with the greatest liberty, in the house of the *tais*. (42)

Of course, it is precisely his position as a European or *criollo* observer that provides him with the epistemological vantage point that makes such comparisons within “scientific” discourse possible.

Moziño also writes of the good relations between the Mowichat and the English despite the fact that they were there because of a land dispute between the two nations and had been long-time competitors: “The English commandant [Vancouver] was no less humane toward the Indians than the Spanish had been. Both left an example of goodness among them. ‘Cococoa [like] Quadra,’ they say, ‘Cococoa Vancouver,’ when they want

to praise the good treatment of any of the captains who command the other ships. May God grant that they many never be dealt with except by men about whom they can say the same, and may this fine example have thousands of imitators from this time forward” (89). The English were similarly aware of and impressed by the Spaniards’ good relations with the Mowichat. Wilson explains that: “Vancouver wrote in his journal, ‘I could not help observing with a mixture of surprise and pleasure, how much the Spaniards had succeeded in gaining the good opinion and confidence of these people [the Nootka]’ ...” (qtd in Moziño, 89).

Other moments of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations described in the *Noticias* display some of this ambivalence. Moziño writes that he and the naval officers enjoyed particularly good relations with the *tais*, although the same could not be said of the regular sailors and *meschimes*:

The occasions on which some small thefts were noticed were very few, although there were at hand several articles that would have been very convenient for them to possess. Many of our officers went alone and without arms to visit a number of villages, conducted in the savages’ own canoes. They always returned impressed by the affection and gentleness they had observed in everyone. (84)

What a pity that they could not in general say the same about us. The sailors, either as a result of their almost brutal upbringing or because they envied the humane treatment the commandant and other officers always gave the natives, insulted them at various times, crippled some and wounded others, and did not fail to kill several. Humanity is the greatest characteristic of civilization. All the sciences and arts have no value if they serve only to make us cruel and haughty. (84)

Thus, despite these reports of generally good relations between the Mowichat and the Europeans, numerous conflicts occurred in this period, especially where the Mowichat, particularly the *tais*, offered resistance to European encroachment on their lands and rights (40), as well as to perceived insults from non-Indigenous *meschimes*.

Part of the “authority” Moziño constructs in his account of Nootka comes from his positioning himself as a reliable source of information on not only the natural world he is cataloging and ordering according to the scientific principles on which he is an expert but also (like Saravia as I will discuss below) from his ability to establish and keep good relations with the natives of the Sound. Forming good relations with native informants is a vital part of the ethnographic research process and can have a decisive impact on the outcome of a research project, as it did with Moziño in his attempt to glean information from the Mowichat for his scientific study of Nootka. In one of the many comments he makes about the good relations between the Spanish and the Mowichat, he writes that “[w]e actually arrived on that island [Nootka] on April 29, 1792, and at that moment began the friendship and good feeling between ourselves and the natives. Never during all the time of our long residence did they give us the slightest reason for displeasure” (83). He further notes in a later passage that the *tais* and his family spent “day and night” in the Spanish officers’ house during the five months they were there, with Maquinna sleeping in the same room as Captain Bodega y Quadra and the *tais*’ brothers, Quio-comasia and Nana-quiús, sleeping in Moziño’s own room (84). Like modern ethnographers, Moziño repeatedly makes note of his good relations with and ability to converse and successfully deal with the Mowichat throughout the *Noticias* (whether as a rhetorical strategy, desire to paint himself and his shipmates in the best possible light or a genuine statement of his experience), suggesting that his knowledge comes from direct, relatively unmediated, experience, thus reinforcing his authority as a knowledgeable and reliable source.

The Migrant Poet: Saravia's Moral Authority

If we consider Pratt's definition of autoethnographies as texts written "*in response to or in dialogue with*" metropolitan constructions of cultural others, Alejandro Saravia's *Lettres de Nootka* can be read as just such a text. If the writing of the *Noticias* signaled a historical moment when imperial Spain was still powerful in North America, Saravia's *Lettres* signal the now minor position of Hispanic America in relation to North American English and French settler cultures. At the same time, Saravia's position as a New World migrant from a previous centre of Spanish empire to a centre of English and French colonial/postcolonial dominance enriches (or complicates, depending on one's perspective) his autoethnographic voice. However, the significant connections Saravia makes between immigrants and Indigenous people in Canada can be problematized as a way of appropriating Indigenous identity (as many non-Indigenous writers have done before) and, thus, further displacing Indigenous claims of sovereignty or historical priority to this land. In Sarah Phillips Casteel's reading of such identifications in New World diasporic literature, she writes:

The figure of the Indian as a locus for anxieties about New World belonging has been valuably explored in the context of the settler literatures of both North and South America. However, if an anxiety about its nonindigenous status troubles Euro-American writing, how much more acute must that anxiety be for minority and immigrant writers in the New World? Increasingly, minority and immigrant writers of the Americas feel the need to address not only the settler society but also prior indigenous presences on the land. (102–03)

Thus, Saravia's poetic re-vision of Canadian history and its cultural discourses reminds us of the complex affiliations and circuits of affect continuously negotiated in postcolonial societies. And, as I demonstrate in my reading of his "letters," Saravia's provenance from a region with a history of difficult settler-indigenous relations

complicates the affiliations and “anxieties about New World belonging” apparent in this work.

Saravia’s use of three major languages of the Americas along with the history of Spanish presence in Canada illustrates the problematic English and French colonial ideologies at the basis of this country’s national identity, and the complex hemispheric position of Latin Americans in Canada. In this sense, the use of Spanish as well as English and French, and the references to Canada’s Spanish “heritage” in Saravia’s work complicates Canada’s official history and identity as a country of two “founding nations” and languages. This linguistic complexity is also one of the major markers of the sorts of contact zones and autoethnographic texts Mary Louise Pratt describes in her work. Multilingualism is used throughout this collection, as are numerous references to language in the poems themselves (e.g., *Don Quijote en la maleta*: “It’s language that carries us on. (No traje al Quijote en la maleta. El me trajo en una frase.) [I didn’t bring Quijote in my suitcase. He brought me in a sentence (my translation)]. Repeat: Montreal es una ciudad donde se habla castellano. *Montreal is a Spanish-speaking city*” (67).

Although Saravia’s text is largely set in present-day Canada, the title poem of his collection takes up the historical events related in the record Moziño left of his visit appearing in the volume twice—the first time as the initial English-language poem in the collection (26) (though the title remains in French) and the second time as the concluding poem of the volume, but this time in Spanish and titled “Cartas de Nootka” (116). In its various references to the *Noticias de Nutka*, Saravia’s work problematizes the “newness” of Latina/o Canadian identity and dominant Canadian settler histories by highlighting the often-neglected connections between Indigenous people in Canada and South America

and Indigenous people and marginalized Canadian immigrants. Moreover, his foregrounding of First Nations history and contemporary social issues disrupts easy narratives of national belonging and identity. However, despite Saravia's attempts to re-imagine or revive Canada's difficult colonial history and neocolonial present by connecting the immigrant and Indigenous experience and reminding readers of the Spanish presence on the west coast, I propose that his poetic vision and narrative voice remain in tension with Indigenous critiques of cultural and territorial appropriation by both European settlers and more recent immigrants from other parts of the globe.

Originally from Bolivia and now living in Montreal, Saravia uses several languages—English, Spanish, and French—to express the social, cultural, and linguistic dislocations associated with geographic migration, as well as to creatively critique the linguistic compartmentalization of English, French, and “minority” languages in mainstream Canadian culture. Comprising fifty-seven texts or “letters,” including a few short prose pieces, *Lettres de Nootka* is at once a critique of official Canadian national culture and an immigrant's attempt to make sense of his “new world.” The texts in this collection are for the most part separated, or compartmentalized, by language into small groups. For example, the first three texts are in French followed by four texts in Spanish and two in English, and sometimes two or three of these languages will appear in a single text. Saravia's use of three major languages of the Americas along with his emphasis on the history of the Spanish presence in Canada illustrates the problematic English and French colonial ideologies at the basis of this country's national identity, and the complex hemispheric position of Latin Americans in Canada. Moreover, Saravia's foregrounding of First Nations history and contemporary social issues further disrupts easy narratives of

national belonging and identity. Although not all of the texts in the collection deal directly with such issues (“Fiona al otro lado del vientre,” “Los Pumas”), some are, or contain, direct criticisms of French- and English-Canadian discrimination against First Nations and immigrants (“Blanche Neige,” “They Say Saskatoon is the Armpit of Canada,” “Les Maya”), while others describe the feelings of alienation and disorientation associated with immigration and acculturation (“Éloge a la minorité visible,” “Frente al museo in Winnipeg”), as well as the resulting culture shocks and misunderstandings that often take place between immigrants and members of the “host” society. This critical stance, I argue, is essential to his construction of his autoethnographic voice and moral authority.

On initial reading, the title poem of the collection “Lettres de Nootka,” appears to foreground the Spanish presence on the island and thus displace claims of Indigenous sovereignty in the region. Saravia negates the historical primacy of English imperialism and colonialism in the Pacific Northwest in order to unsettle dominant assumptions about Canadian history while simultaneously seeming to conflate the status of its Indigenous inhabitants with that of the Spanish invaders:

it was a time
when the sea
was el mar
and a tree was
un árbol

along with native languages
Castilian was then
the new bride
on the Pacific northern shores

yet the maps, the history books
keep a faint record of Santa Cruz de Nutca
Captain Vancouver, perched atop the legislature

conveys now that only English, and perhaps French
were the sole languages
that arrived
at the dawn of Canada (37–52)

Saravia's re-imagining of Nootka in this section highlights the important role of language in the writing of Canada's colonial and national histories, particularly how some languages and, thus historical accounts, become dominant in relation to others. While Moziño's study of the Mowichat language concludes (falsely) that it is inferior to Spanish and other European languages, Saravia "equalizes" Spanish and Mowichat when he writes that the Spanish language and history in the region, "along with native languages," has been displaced and decentred in the official versions of Canadian history and culture. Of course, the seeming conflation of native languages with that of a "losing" European power is problematic in that it suggests that these vastly different groups were equally subordinated by the English (and French) colonizers.

Rather than incorporating Nootkan words into his poem (for example, the Nootkan word for tree is listed as *Su-chatz* on page 104 in Moziño's English-Spanish-Nootkan dictionary), Saravia foregrounds the Indigenous history and presence on Vancouver Island through an invocation of the *visual* record left of Chief Maquinna in the *Noticias*. Given the relative absence of a Mowichat perspective in the Spanish *Noticias* (and in imperial and colonial histories more generally), Saravia turns instead in another section of the poem to visual clues or markers of Indigenous presence as reminders or traces of their presence and role in the historical events in the region. In the following verses, for example, Saravia privileges the colonial histories and postcolonial legacies inscribed in the Spanish record of Maquinna's image:

by day

under the tall red cedars
the Mexican José Mariano
draws, ink on paper
the lines of Chief Maquinna's face
the paths of sorrow to come

many generations later
these sketches become our broken mirror
one more
of Canada's self-illusions (14–24)

This *re-imagining* of the *Noticias* and their historical context is significant insofar as Saravia differentiates the relations between English, French and First Nations from those between the Spanish and Indigenous people. As previously mentioned, even though historical accounts of the European intrusion in Nootka Sound generally present Spanish-Indigenous relations as being relatively peaceful, there were certainly violent encounters and confrontations between the two groups (16, 54–56, 71). Moziño recounts a particularly gruesome incident in which one of the English sailors is found murdered and partially mutilated. Although many of the English sailors were quick to blame members of Maquinna's retinue, the latter were eventually exonerated (56) after Maquinna himself intervened by speaking to Spanish and English officials using Moziño as his interpreter:

Do you presume that a chief such as I would not commence hostilities by killing the other chiefs and placing the force of my subjects against that of their *meschimes*? You would be the first whose life would be in great danger if we were enemies. You well know that Wickinanish has many guns as well as powder and shot; that Captain Hana has more than a few, and that they, as well as the Nuchimanes are my relatives and allies, all of whom, united, make up a number incomparably greater than the Spanish, English, and Americans together, so that they would not be afraid to enter combat. (56)

Unfortunately, these good relations (particularly among the naval officers and the Mowichat upper class) were not maintained very far into the future. According to Wilson, “[t]he friendship of the Nootka Indians was enjoyed during the entire period of Spanish

occupation and indeed taken for granted by all visitors to the Northwest Coast until tragedy struck in March, 1803. As the result of real or imagined insults from Captain John Salter of the *Boston*, Maquinna led a surprise attack and his Indians killed and decapitated all but two of the twenty-seven men on board. John Jewitt [...] and sailmaker John Thompson [...] were captured and held for two and one-half years as slaves” (90).¹¹⁶ By stressing the “paths of sorrow to come,” the poem suggests that the English and French colonizers are the “villains” of Canadian colonial (and neocolonial) history whereas the Spanish are merely visitors in this space and thus not responsible for the miseries of colonization experienced by its Indigenous people. As we will see below in what follows, this imagined relationship between the Spanish/Hispanic-Americans and Indigenous people in Nootka Sound often seems to resemble an affinity between Latin Americans—or inheritors of Spanish empire in the Americas—and Canada’s First Nations.

Attempting to establish such an affinity between Canada’s First Nations and Latin Americans provides Saravia—as a Latin American often writing of his own experience in this country—with a degree of moral authority, which, in turn, establishes his “ethnographic” authority in the text. In the same way that Moziño was able to establish scientific authority through his training as a natural scientist, Saravia and his protagonists are able to access information about the Natives (and immigrants of colour) that many Anglo- and French-Canadians are unable to see (“Canada’s self-illusions”) by virtue of

¹¹⁶ The incident was so shocking to the European and American publics, in fact, that John Jewitt’s narrative of his years in captivity with the *Mowichat* would become a bestseller of its time. See *The Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt* (New York, 1815).

his position as a subordinated visible (and linguistic) minority. Whereas “traditional” autoethnography is often used as a form of self-representation and analysis, Saravia’s autoethnographic endeavour is not only to (self-) represent the experience of an immigrant, visible minority, it is also in many instances equating that experience with that of Canada’s First Nations. And, although this can be interpreted as a way of allaying immigrant anxieties about belonging to a new land, it is also a way of putting the immigrant of colour in a position of moral authority and thus moral superiority *vis à vis* the host, settler culture.

This moral authority is also evident in the short prose piece, “Les Mayas,” in which Saravia inverts the relationship between settler/migrant and First Nations by pointing to the hypocrisy of a settler society that marginalizes immigrants. Here, the narrator reminds the reader of how the French came to Canada and first established themselves only with the help of its native inhabitants, particularly women, and points out that the French “*pur laine*” who have since settled in Quebec are not nearly as welcoming or helpful to new immigrants:

Ils sont arrivés sur cette terre en traversant les eaux sans merci de l’Atlantique, en priant pour leur vie à bord de leurs coquilles de bois. Affamés et seuls, ces arrivants français survivront les hivers rigoureux et les siècles dans cette Amérique en dormant parfois avec les femmes d’ici, elles qui disaient peut être, non, dans leur langue amérindienne. Plus tard, en regardant les visages mayas des nouveaux arrivants de l’Amérique centrale – des frères, des enfants de ceux qui auparavant leur avaient appris comment collecter l’eau sucrée de l’érable, comment éviter le froid de la mort, la griffe de l’ours – assis dans un café sur la rue Grande Allée, un Québécois dit de pure laine s’exprime en français d’Amérique avec dédain et un air d’ennui en regardant les visages des passants arrivés d’ailleurs, comme ses ancêtres un jour déjà lointain: “Ah!... ces immigrants, sacrement! ... on dirait qu’il y en a trop de nos jours, n’est-ce pas?”. Mais l’autre, fier aussi de sa souche, répond avec assurance : “Mais non... tout ce qu’il faut c’est qu’ils ne sortent pas de nos cuisines!” (15)

This can be read as an especially accusatory passage, particularly where the narrator suggests that the Maya immigrating to present-day Quebec are the (spiritual? cultural? racial?) brothers and children of the Indigenous people who initially welcomed and aided the French colonists in Canada. The short dialogue between the descendants of the early French settlers implies that they only value the Maya—who are not only in the same position as their French ancestors hundreds of years ago but have more in common culturally with First Nations than with the French—for their willingness to take low-paying, low status jobs in restaurant kitchens. Saravia’s choice to write this text in French (rather than English or Spanish) also suggests that the principal audience “Les Mayas” addresses is the very same members of Quebecois society he is reprimanding in the text.

What I have been referring to here as moral authority—or the ability make evident the injustices and hypocrisies of the powerful—is an essential component of both Saravia’s narrative authority and his particular style of indigenization. The relationship between the Latin American migrant and the North American Indigene is equalized through their unequal positions *vis à vis* the settler culture, as well as their supposedly shared cultural and racial background. Although this shared connection may be more viable between indigenous Maya and the various First Nations from the region now known as Quebec, the relationship becomes more tenuous when an equivalence is asserted between Latin Americans and Canadian First Nations. In “*La nueva tierra*” (17–18), Saravia claims this equivalency between Indigenous people and Latin Americans through a sort of catalogue of all the Indigenous elements that the narrator has consumed in order to truly understand or be a part of the Indigenous culture he has encountered in the new world:

Es que ya has comido el corazón de un castor en Kanesatake. Pero ya has digerido la carne recia, con olor a humo y luna, de un solo cazado en Chibougamau, aderezado desde la madrugada con nuevas sazones por las manos de una mujer indígena montañesa que te mira como a un hijo perdido, el que recién regresa a casa. Ella sabe que los latinoamericanos son más indígenas que ingleses o franceses mientras te observa yantar con gusto la carne del oso y del castor. (18)

[It's because you've eaten the heart of a beaver in Kanesatake. You've already digested the strong, smoke-and-moon-smelling meat of the only one hunted in Chibougamau, seasoned from the break of dawn by the hands of an Indigenous mountain woman who looks on you like the lost son who has just returned home. She knows that Latin Americans are more Indigenous than the English or French as she watches you eating bear meat and beaver meat with pleasure.] (my translation)

Much like non-Indigenous explorers, anthropologists, writers and present-day tourists, in this passage the narrator seems to be suggesting that the consumption of “traditional” Indigenous goods (in this case food) is a sufficient way of getting to know and master Indigenous culture. While such a gesture mimics the sort of authority established in ethnographic texts (which can be interpreted as a construction of “ethnographic” authority itself), the speaker goes a step further and attempts to establish a racial and cultural affinity between Latina/os and First Nations in the lines “una mujer indígena montañesa que te mira como a un hijo perdido, el que recién regresa a casa. Ella sabe que los latinoamericanos son más indígenas que ingleses o franceses” [an Indigenous mountain woman who looks on you like the lost son who has just returned home. She knows that Latin Americans are more Indigenous than the English or French] (18 my translation). As Casteel notes of other contemporary diasporic, minority writers who appropriate Indigenous identities this way in their work, “at the same time that [immigrant writers] challenge colonialist discourse they reproduce certain of its features” (94).

However, unlike Canada's earlier European settlers who felt entitled to the land and were content with the "disappearing Indian," Saravia does not set his migration and settlement in opposition to Indigenous peoples but, rather, envisions their commonality. In some instances, this "affiliation" seems to slip into an equivalency between Canada's First Nations and Latin Americans largely through a perceived racial similarity, with the narrators' racialized identity—as "brown-skinned"—serving as another signifier of Latina/o solidarity and affinities with Canada's First Nations. In his poem, "They Say Saskatoon is the Armpit of Canada" (30–34), the narrator/speaker makes numerous links between himself as a brown skinned visible minority and Indigenous victims of racial violence, whom he refers to as the province's "strange winter fruit" (31). The poem begins by listing various names of Indigenous men and women who have died in the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan either through neglect by representatives of the justice system or through outright murder, repeatedly mentioning the highly publicized case of Neil Stonechild who died after Saskatchewan police officers took him out to the city outskirts in freezing temperatures and left him there to "sober up".¹¹⁷

the woman i love
comes from Saskatoon

¹¹⁷ The murdered women Saravia names in this poem are also part of a wider social problem that is being increasingly publicized in the Canadian media: First Nations women have been systematically murdered throughout the country for many years and their murders have gone largely unpunished, much like the perpetrators of *feminicidio* in Latin America (see Native Women's Association of Canada Report (2010). *What Their Stories Tell Us*. Available at: <http://www.nwac.ca/research/nwac-reports> [under "Missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls"]. See also *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*. Rosa Linda Fregosa and Cynthia Bejarano, eds. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2010.). Cree writer, Thompson Highway, has tackled this systematic and unpunished murder of First Nations women in the novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen*, which was inspired by Manuel Puig's 1976 novel *Beso de la mujer araña* (Kiss of the Spider Woman).

as we drink beer near Cherrier and St-Denis
in the midst of the music
she whispers as if telling me a secret
they say Saskatoon is the armpit of Canada

.....

I touch her with these lips
with this kind of visible minorityism, this brown skin
equal to a First Nations man from the Prairies

.....

What will they say—I ask her—if we go to Saskatoon?
is she afraid?
will they confuse a man from the Andean lands
with a warrior from the One Arrow First Nations
or a Kinistino native?
yet we are one and the same blood! (13–18, 36–38, 43–48 emphasis in original)

Much of the poem deals with the narrator's relationship to his "love" from Saskatchewan, who is presumably Caucasian, and the ways in which they try to negotiate their racial and cultural differences in a highly racist society. However, Saravia takes this further in his assertion that the First Nations men who are systematically persecuted in the Canadian legal system are of "one and the same blood" with Latin Americans from the Andes. On the one hand, much of this poem is in keeping with the moral authority that tinges many of the texts in the collection in its direct condemnation of white racism. On the other hand, the appropriation of Indigenous identity in his poems are similar to other New World migrant texts that employ "a contemporary version of what Philip Deloria calls 'playing Indian,' in which Indian guise and an affiliation with Indianness are adopted as a means of gaining a sense of national belonging" (Phillips Casteel 103).

An example of this adoption of Indigenous identity and sense of solidarity with Indigenous experience is the way in which the immigrant or migrant in Saravia's text is

often displaced and decentred and, in this sense, shares some of the experiences of Indigenous people who have been forced off their land and denied their cultures through the process of colonization and postcolonial nation building. In the Spanish-language poem, “Sedna en el Bulevar St. Laurent,” Saravia envisions a metropolitan contact zone in the heart of downtown Montreal that is peopled by immigrants from all over the world though held together by the powerful story and voice of the Inuit sea goddess, Sedna:

Sedna llega a esta ciudad que recibió
derramados en su viejo puerto
albañiles italianos,
cocineros magiares, cabalistas judíos
marineros portugueses
con sus fados envueltos en el pañuelo.

Las guerras y las derrotas se convirtieron en esta isla
viejos naipes para ganar y perder
lo que se sueña y se tiene
una cita fallida, un pasaporte sin retorno,
y luego fueron llegando los latinoamericanos
ellos que conocen la brutalidad de los mapas y las banderas. (19)

.....

Ahora ella mora y canta sobre los techos y los silencios de Montreal,
ella que no sabe que también es hermana del Tío
del dios andino y minero. (7–18, 76–79)

[Sedna arrives in this very city
where Italian masons,
Hungarian cooks, Jewish Kabbalists
and Portuguese sailors now scattered
had landed before her
their fados wrapped in a handkerchief
Wars and defeats
became old playing cards in this island
for winning and losing
dreams and possessions
a wasted opportunity a one-way passport,
and then the Latin Americans started to stream in
with their knowledge of brutality of maps and flags.

.....
Now she dwells and sings over the roofs and silences of Montreal,
she, who does not know that she's also the sister of Tío
the Andean, miner god] (my translation)

Like Moziño, the various protagonists and poetic subjectivities that people Saravia's metaphorical Nootka share a vision of the world that exceeds national or close territorial confines. However, the visions of the world that Saravia presents have little to do with cultural superiority, scientific authority or the ordering of the natural world that inflect Moziño's text. In fact, many of the characters and poetic voices in *Lettres de Nootka* have either come from chaotic worlds or have entered new states of chaos in their adopted countries.

In one of Saravia's short prose pieces, "The Man Who Pretended to Write in Canadian," the narrator explains how migration to Canada transformed him into a writer:

Have yourself thrown out from your land by bad karma, or invited to leave by a collection of draculas or by horrendously negative economic growth caused by some asshole boy educated in Chicago. Or by the technocratic whims of a cartel of Hugo Boss-dressed neoliberal jackasses seated on their soft derrieres at IMF desks, or by a battalion of monkeys with guns, uniforms and CIA support. Then you'll turn—even if you do not intend to—into a "poet." Such is the power of distance. Foreign airports, strange languages and first lovers do metamorphose you into an almost bardic state. Of course you will most likely be a really bad one. You may not even like to write. [...] Why this happens is quite simple. Either because you are the only Chilean in London, Ontario, or the only Colombian in Brandon, Manitoba, or the only Bolivian in Iqualuit, Nunavut. Nobody can question your credentials as an immigrant, and therefore your public exercise in nostalgia. (86)

Like Moziño, the relationship to writing itself in Saravia's text is not one of authority, but rather one of posture or pretense, although Moziño is far less self-conscious about this aspect of his writing. Writing is used as a tool for representing and ordering an otherwise unknown world, at the same time that it is the product of being thrown into such a world.

Whereas *Noticias de Nutka* as seen through the eyes of a faithful representative of Spanish imperialism and Western “civilization,” however, Saravia suggests that the migrant Latino poet writes out of his/her negative experience with American imperialism, or the neocolonial version of Western civilization.

Conclusion

In my reading of Moziño’s *Noticias de Nutka* and Saravia’s *Lettres de Nootka*, I have shown how an ethnographic voice is employed in these texts that reflects the differences in both the writers’ “traveling subjectivities” and between the “contact zones” described in Moziño’s scientific discourse and in Saravia’s poetic re-vision. Yet I have also argued that despite their differences, both of these discursive constructions of Nootka can be seen as attempts to fashion particular understandings of this New World space. As I have suggested in my reformulation of another one of Pratt’s important concepts, planetary consciousness, the often contradictory cultural and political positions of neo or post colonial New World subjects such as Moziño and Saravia provide multiple dimensions from which to understand the processes of cultural formation and adaptation that take place over time in New World contact zones. On the one hand, Moziño’s eighteenth-century scientific discourse is, in practical and ideological terms, inherently linked to Spanish imperial aims in the region and to European forms of knowledge production, which included the cataloging and categorization of other peoples and cultures along European-based ideas of human development. Saravia, for his part, uses his moral authority and multiple languages to symbolically reconstruct and rehabilitate Nootka, and Canada more generally, as an imaginary space where First Nations and Spanish meet in

relative peace. The significant (albeit short) Spanish role in this historical moment is often ignored in the larger narratives about the search for the Northwest Passage and the celebratory history of the British exploration and eventual dominance of the area. Even though historians and artists alike have examined this decisive episode of Canadian history, it is often absent from mainstream or official histories, which are inclined to emphasize English and French colonial histories and divorce Canadian national history from larger geo-historical frameworks, such as hemispheric or Atlantic studies. As discussed in the introductory chapter, Canadian reticence towards hemispheric perspectives in particular may be partly explained by the external pressure of American cultural and economic dominance on Canadian national identity, and the internal pressure of Indigenous and Québécois struggles for sovereignty. Thus, official versions of Canadian culture and history have tended to emphasize hemispheric “separateness” from the United States, as well as the traditional Anglo-Latin divide, rather than hemispheric or historical connections between the Americas. However, Moziño’s account of the events and relationships between the indigenous Mowichat, Spanish, British, and Americans provides a much more complex and nuanced perspective on Canada’s hemispheric relations and history. The *Noticias* tell us of a moment when Spanish imperial claims spread as far north as present-day Canada’s Pacific Northwest Coast, and the Spanish were still a significant force in North America in terms of European imperial competition for resources and territory. The writing of the *Noticias* themselves also reveals the important role of scientists and naturalists in such competitions, and the sometimes uneasy but often respectful relationships between the Mowichat upper class and British and Spanish officers. Similarly, Saravia’s *Lettres de Nootka* complicates

celebratory or comfortable views of the *convivance* between Canada's present-day "multi-cultures" as he actively engages Canadian indigenous-settler relations while simultaneously addressing three different language communities.¹¹⁸

As we have seen, Saravia's work does not rely on translation in order to reach more than one linguistic audience or establish understanding and meaning across languages and cultures. Rather, his use of multiple languages can, like autoethnography, be understood as an attempt to foreground the role of conquest and colonization by the two founding nations in the construction of the space now called Canada by unearthing "forgotten" languages and histories, and mixing them with those of the "conquerors." Saravia's text also implicitly critiques claims of historical primacy by English and French settler societies by foregrounding the history of a Spanish (albeit imperial) presence in British Columbia and Moziño's detailed account of these explorations. As Emily Apter indicates, language politics and relations are often connected to the movement of people across national (or imperial) boundaries and the resulting cultural clashes and exchanges (187). Saravia's attempt to highlight the Spanish presence in Canada in the eighteenth century arguably suggests that he envisions a privileged relationship between this territory and Spanish-speaking migrants. Whether or not this is the case, Saravia's work reminds us that Canada has long been a "transnational" space where diverse cultural groups have oppressed, collided with, or created communities with Indigenous peoples.

¹¹⁸ As discussed in the Introduction, language plays a significant role in much Latino-Canadian writing (and ethnic minority writing in general), and Saravia's work is situated firmly within a tradition of multilingualism in this body of literature. Whereas many Latino-Canadian writers have become accustomed to writing in one of Canada's official languages or having their work translated from Spanish into English or French, Saravia significantly deploys all three languages in this text without using translation as a tool of inter-cultural communication. The multilingualism in *Lettres de Nootka* is further enriched by its publication in Quebec, Canada's officially French-speaking province.

Conclusion

This study has investigated Latina/o Canadian literature and literary practices, as well as their encounters with national cultural institutions and transnational cultural processes such as linguistic and cultural translation, diasporic identity formation, and international literary movements and genres. More specifically, it has examined how particular aspects of national identity are reproduced in the Anglo-Canadian literary field and how such aspects of identity might be embodied or transgressed in Latina/o Canadian writing. While I do not provide an exhaustive analysis of Latina/o Canadian texts in this study, the works that I have selected are representative of major tendencies and developments in this body of literature and some of the primary ways in which these works are produced, published, and distributed in Canadian and transnational literary fields. The primary texts that I selected for analysis reflect these concerns in different ways: for example, how a national avant-garde poetic tradition carried over from Chile after the coup (but originating in the French early twentieth-century surrealist tradition) was redeployed in the exilic poetry of Gonzalo Millán (1979) and Jorge Etcheverry (1982); divergent considerations of identity defined through diasporic spaces and affect in two plays by second-generation Latina/o playwrights, Guillermo Verdecchia (*Fronteras Americanas* 1993) and Carmen Aguirre (*The Refugee Hotel* 2011); and, lastly, the relationship between displacement and indigeneity in the “travel writing” of Alejandro Saravia’s multilingual *Lettres de Nootka* (2008) and José Mariano Moziño’s little-known narrative of eighteenth-century Spanish explorations along Canada’s west coast, *Noticias de Nutka* (1794). I argue that ultimately, the heterogeneity in these texts

(in terms of historical trajectories, genres, languages, and geographies, for example) is emblematic of the diversity of latinities in Canada, which nonetheless share a migratory and thus conflicted relationship to the nation (Canadian or otherwise). Throughout this study, I have employed an interdisciplinary, decolonial framework in order to understand Latina/o Canadian cultural production and its relation to both national and international fields of artistic production, particularly its situation at the interstices of hemispheric constructions of the Americas. By drawing attention to Latin American cultural production in English Canada, I have demonstrated that differing visions of post-colonial identity continue to inform both symbolic and material relations in the hemisphere.

While hemispheric studies employ a comparative approach to the study of the history, cultures, and societies of the Americas (Bauer 2009), decolonial scholars emphasize the uneven classification of knowledge, space, languages, and peoples in the creation and maintenance of hegemonic power in colonial, national, and global contexts (Mignolo 2000; Escobar 2007). By joining these and related frameworks, I have been able to foreground the legacies of colonial history in the Americas, particularly Canadian modern nationhood and Canada's so-called postcolonial present. Moreover, this study has also sought to account for the differences within and between Latina/o Canadian literature and Latina/o literature more broadly, while at the same time examining some of the connections between them.

Works Cited

- Adams, Rachel and Sarah Casteel, eds. "Canada and the Americas." Special Issue of *Comparative American Studies* 3.1 (March 2005).
- Adams, Rachel. "The Northern Borderlands and Latino Canadian Diaspora." In Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine, eds. *Hemispheric American Studies*. New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 2008.
- Aguirre, Carmen. *The Refugee Hotel*. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2010.
- . *Something Fierce: Memoirs of a Revolutionary Daughter*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2012.
- Ahmad, Aijaz. *In Theory: Classes, Literatures, Nations*. New York: Verso, 1992.
- Ahmed, Sara. "Affective Economies." *Social Text* 22.2 (2004) 117–39.
- Alcalá, Pilar Riaño and Patricia Díaz Barrero, *Forced Migration of Colombians: Colombia, Ecuador, Canada*. Medellín: Corporación Región, 2008.
- Alvarez, Natalie. "Realisms of Redress: Alameda Theatre and the Formation of a Latina/o-Canadian Theatre and Politics." In *New Canadian Realisms*. Roberta Barker and Kim Solga, eds. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2011.
- . "Introduction". *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance: New Essays on Latina/o Canadian Theatre*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2013. 1–16...
- . *Fronteras Vivientes: Eight Latina/o Canadian Plays*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2013.
- Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Angus, Ian. *A Border Within: National Identity, Cultural Plurality and Wilderness*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1997.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria and Cherríe Moraga, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color*. New York: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1981.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

- Apter, Emily. "On Translation in a Global Market." *Public Culture* 13.1 (2001): 1–12.
- Arrizón, Alicia. "Martha Chaves's 'Staying Alive'" Narrative: Comedy, Migration, and Feminism." In *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance: New Essays on Latina/o Canadian Theatre*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2013. 17–35.
- Bannerji, Himani. *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2000.
- Barber, John. "Canada Reads caught in fact-fiction divide." *The Globe and Mail* Feb 7, 2012. Web.
- Bauer, Ralph. "Hemishperic Studies." *PMLA* 124.1 (2009): 234–50.
- Beneventi, Domenic A. "Ethnic Heterotopias: The Construction of 'Place' in Italo-Canadian Writing." In Domenic Beneventi, Licia Canton, and Lianne Moyes, eds. *Adjacencies: Minority Writing in Canada*. Toronto: Guernica, 2004. 216–34.
- Benjamin, Walter. "Theses on the Philosophy of History." *Illuminations*. Trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1955. 253–64.
- Berland, Jody and Shelley Hornstein, eds. *Capital Culture: A Reader on Modernist Legacies, State Institutions, and the Value(s) of Art*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2000.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "Dissemination: Time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation." In Homi K. Bhabha, ed. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Bianchi, Soledad. *La memoria: Modelo para armar*. Santiago : DBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1995.
- Bissoondath, Neil. *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1994.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Bradshaw, James. "Harper plays populist tune on arts cuts." *The Globe and Mail* September 11, 2008. Web.
- Brydon, Diana. "Metamorphoses of a Discipline: Rethinking Canadian Literature within Institutional Contexts." In Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki, eds. *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid UP, 2007. 1-16.

- Bumstead, Jack. "Visions of Canada: A Brief History of Canadian Character and Identity." In David Taras and Beverly Rasporich, eds. *A Passion for Identity: Canadian Studies for the 21st Century*. Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Thomson Learning, 2001.
- Burman, Jenny. "Diasporic Pasts and Futures: Transnational Cultural Studies in Canada." *TOPIA* 17 (2007): 1–7.
- Canaveri, Donna. "Canadian Publishing in Spanish: A Preliminary Listing of Monograph and Serial Publishers." Preliminary List for Distribution at Canadian of Association of Hispanists Conference. *Congress of Humanities and Social Sciences*. May 2009.
- Casanova, Pascale. *The World Republic of Letters*. M. B. DeBevoise, trans. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004.
- Casteel-Phillips, Sarah. *Second Arrivals: Landscape and Belonging in Contemporary Writing of the Americas*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.
- Cheadle, Norman and Lucien Pelletier, eds. *Canadian Cultural Exchange/Échanges culturels au Canada: Translation and Transculturation / traduction et transculturation*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2007.
- Cheadle, Norma. "Emerging from a Cloud: The Inter-American Discursive Position of Hispano-Canadian Literature." *Interfaces Brasil/Canadá Canoas* 13.2 (2013): 17-55.
- Cho, Lily. "The Turn to Diaspora." *TOPIA* 17 (2006): 11-33.
- , "Diasporic Citizenship: Contradictions and Possibilities for Canadian Literature." In Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki, eds. *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid UP, 2007. 93-111.
- Clarke, George E. "Must all Blackness be American? Locating Canada in Borden's 'Tightrope time,' or Nationalizing Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 28.3 (1996): 56.
- Clifford, James. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (3): 302–338, 1994.
- , "On Ethnographic Authority." *Representations* 2 (1983): 18-43.
- Coleman, Daniel. *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

Cornejo Polar, Antonio. "Indigenismo and Heterogeneous Literatures: Their Double Sociocultural Statute." In *The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader*. Ana del Sarto, Alicia Rios, and Abril Trigo, eds. Durham, NC: Duke U P, 2004. 116-20.

Criglington, Meredith. "The City as a Site of Counter-Memory in Anne Michael's *Fugitive Pieces* and Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion*." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 81 (2004): 129-45.

Davey, Frank, ed. *Reading Canadian Reading*. Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1988.

DeCook, Travis. "The History of the Book, Literary History, and Identity Politics in Canada." *Studies in Canadian Literature* 27.2 (2002): 71-87.

Dobson, Kit. *Transnational Canadas: Anglo-Canadian Literature and Globalization*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2009.

Domingues, José Mauricio. "Global Modernization, 'Coloniality' and a Critical Sociology for Contemporary Latin America." *Theory, Culture & Society* 26.1 (2009): 112-33.

Dorland, Michael, ed. *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies and Prospects*. Toronto: J. Lorimer & Co., 1996.

Dowler, Kevin. "The Cultural Industries Policy Apparatus." In Michael Dorland, ed. *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies and Prospects*. Toronto: J. Lorimer & Co., 1996.

Druick, Zoe. "Continuity and Change in the Discourse of Canada's Cultural Industries." In Ira Wagman and Peter Urquhart, eds. *Cultural Industries.ca: Making Sense of Canada's Media in a Digital Age*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co, 2012. 133-48.

Edwardson, Ryan. *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

English, James. *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Value*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard U P, 2005.

Escobar, Arturo. *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes*. Durham, NC: Duke U P, 2008.

Etcheverry, Gabrielle. "Ediciones Cordillera: A Study of Chilean Literary Production in Canada." M.A. Thesis. Toronto: York University, 2005.

-----, "Ediciones Cordillera: An Exile Community's Role in Cultural Production." In D. Barndt, ed., *Art and Activism*. Toronto: Sumach Press, 2006. 58-67.

Etcheverry, Jorge. "Chilean Poetry in Canada: Avant-garde, Nostalgia, and Commitment." In J. Pivato, ed., *Literatures of Lesser Diffusion/Les littératures de moindre diffusion*. Edmonton: Research Institute for Comparative Literature, 1990. 298–309.

----- *Tangier*. Ottawa: Ediciones Cordillera, 1997.

----- "Chilean Poetry in Canada à vol d'oiseaux." *Arc*, 35 (1995): 58–63.

Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York : Columbia University Press, 1983

Flores, Juan. "The Latino Imaginary: Meanings of Community and Identity." In Ana del Sarto *et al*, eds. *The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader*. Durham NC: Duke UP, 2004. 606–619.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1970.

----- "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16.1 (Spring 1986): 22–27.

Fraser, Fil. "The Participation of Aboriginal and Other Cultural Minorities in Cultural Development." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 19. 3 (1994): 477–493.

Fuller, Danielle and DeNel Rehberg Sedo. "A Reading Spectacle for the Nation: The CBC and 'Canada Reads'." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 40.1 (2006): 5–36.

Gagnon, Monika. *Other Conundrums: Race, Culture, and Canadian Art*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2000.

García-Canclini, Nestor. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. C. Chiappari and S. Lopez, Trans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

Gattinger, Monica. "The Liberal's 'Reinvestment' in Arts and Culture: From Patron to Patronage?" In G. Bruce Doern, ed., *How Ottawa Spends 2002–2003: The Security Aftermath and National Priorities*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 2005. 196–215.

Ginieniewicz, Jorge "Citizenship learning and political participation: the case of Latin American-Canadians." *London Review of Education* 6.1 (March 2008): 71–85.

Gerson, Carole. "The Question of a National Publishing System in English-Speaking Canada: As Canadian as Possible Under the Circumstances." In J. Michon & J. Mollier, eds., *Les mutations du livre et de l'édition dans le monde du xviii^e siècle à l'an 2000* (pp. 305–15). Saint Nicholas, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2001.

Giacoppe, Monika. "'Lucky to be so bilingual': Québécois and Chicano/a Literatures in a Comparative Context." In *Canada and its Americas: Transnational Navigations*. Winfried Siemerling and Sarah Phillips Casteel, eds. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2010. 186–202.

Gilmore, Leigh. *The Limits of Autobiography: Trauma and Testimony*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell UP, 2001.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard UP, 1993.

Glissant, Edouard. *Caribbean Discourse*. Trans Michael Dash. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1989.

Godard, Barbara. "Feminist Speculations on Value." In Alison Beale and Annette Van Den Bosch, eds. *Ghosts in the Machine: Women and Cultural Policy in Canada and Australia*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1998.

Gómez, Mayte. "Healing The Border Wound: *Fronteras Americanas* and the Future of Canadian Multiculturalism." *Theatre Research in Canada* 16.1-2 (1995). Web..

Guevara, Ernesto Che. "Socialism and Man in Cuba." *The Che Reader*. Minneapolis MN: Ocean Books, 2005. Web.

Guillermo Gómez-Peña, "The World According to Guillermo Gómez-Peña," in *High Performance* 14.3 (1991): np.

Grandin, Greg. "Chronicles of a Guatemalan Genocide Foretold: Violence, Trauma, and the Limits of Historical Inquiry," *Nepantla: Views from South* 1.2 (2000): 391–412.

Gruez, Kirsten Silva. *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002.

Guha, Ranajit. "The Migrant's Time." *Postcolonial Studies* 1. 2 (1998): 155–60.

Guillory, John. *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Gupta, Akhil. "Song of the Non-Aligned World." *Cultural Anthropology* 7.1 (1992): 63-79.

Gupta, Suman. *Globalization and Literature*. Malden MA: Polity, 2009.

Habell-Pallán, Michelle. *Loca Motion: The Travels of Chicana and Latina Popular Culture*. New York: New York UP, 2005.

- Hall, Stuart. "Cultural identity and the diaspora." In: John Rutherford, ed. *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.
- Hancock, Geoff. "Latin American Writers in Canada." *Canadian Fiction Magazine* 61/62 (1987): 4–5.
- Haque, Eve. *Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2012.
- Haque, Eve and Donna Patrick. "Indigenous languages and the racial hierarchisation of language policy in Canada." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, (2014): 1–15.
- Harvey, David. *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Hayes, Brent Edwards. *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003.
- Hazelton, Hugh. *Latinocanáda: A Critical Anthology of Ten Latin American Writers of Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Hazelton, Hugh. "Polylingual Identities: Writing in Multiple Languages." In Norman Cheadle and Lucien Pelletier; eds. *The Canadian Cultural Exchange / Échanges culturels au Canada: Translation and Transculturation/ traduction et transculturation*. Waterloo, ON: Sir Wilfred UP, 2007. 225–246.
- Heller, Monica. "Globalization, the New Economy, and the Commodification of Language." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7.4 (2003): 473–492.
- Heller, Monica. *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: A Sociolinguistic Ethnography*. London: Continuum, 2006.
- Henigan, Stephen. "Multiple Edges: Latino Fiction, Spanish American Novel, Canadian Writing in the Americas." *The New Quarterly* 20. 3 (2001): 4–13.
- Hennebry, Jenna. "Gaining Perspective on Low-Skill Temporary Labour Migration in Canada." *FOCAL Policy Paper* (August 2011): 1–12.
- Hutcheon, Linda and Marion Richmond, eds. *Other Solitudes: Canadian Multicultural Fictions*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Innis, Harold A. *Changing Concepts of Time*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

Jedwab, Jack and Victor Armony. “¡Hola Canadá! Spanish Is Third Most Spoken Language.” *FOCALPoint: Canada’s Spotlight on the Americas* 8.4 (May 2009): 14–16.

Jessup, Linda. *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Kamboureli, Smaro and Roy Miki, eds. *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2007.

Kamboureli, Smaro. *Scandalous Bodies: Diasporic Literature in English Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000.

-----, ed. *Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literature*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Kandiyoti, Dalia. *Migrant Sites: America, Place, and Diaspora Literatures*. Lebanon, NH: UP of New England, 2009.

Kurasawa, Fuyuki. “Americanity and the Prospects of a Hemispheric Social Imaginary.” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29.4 (2008): 347–361.

Larsen, Neil. *Determinations: Essays on Theory, Narrative and Nation in the Americas*. London and New York: Verso, 2001.

Lavander, Caroline and Robert S. Levine, eds. *Hemispheric American Studies*. New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 2008.

Leaderman, Marsha. “Canada Reads judge accuses authors of terrorism, lying on popular CBC contest.” *The Globe and Mail* Feb 6 2012. Web.

-----, “Canada Reads panelist defends her ‘gloves off’ comments.” *The Globe and Mail* Feb 7 2012. Web.

-----, “How to write a bestseller and not see a penny.” *The Globe and Mail* June 4, 2015. Web.

Lecker, Robert. *Making It Real: Canonization of English-Canadian Literature*. Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1995.

Litt, Paul. *The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

López, Alfred J. “The Plantation as Archive: Images of ‘the South’ in the Postcolonial World.” *Comparative Literature* 63:4 (2011): 402–22.

- Lund, Joshua. "The Mestizo State: Colonization and Indianization in Liberal Mexico." *PMLA Special Topic: Comparative Racialization* 123. 5 (Oct., 2008): 1418–33.
- Machalski, Andrew. *Hispanic Writing in Canada*. Multiculturalism Department, Government of Canada, 1988.
- Mackey, Eva. *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. "The Topology of Being and the Geopolitics of Knowledge: Modernity, Empire, Coloniality." *City* 8.1 (2004): 29-56.
- Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Massolin, Philip. "Battling the Philistines: The Quest for Culture in Post-war Canada." In *Canadian Intellectuals, the Tory Tradition and the Challenge of Modernity, 1939–1970*. Toronto: U of T Press, 2001.
- McClennen Sophia A. *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language, and Space in Hispanic Literatures*. West Lafayette: Purdue UP, 2004.
- McClennen Sophia A. "Area Studies Beyond Ontology: Notes on Latin American Studies, American Studies, and Inter-American Studies." *A contra corriente: A Journal in Social History and Literature in Latin America* 5.1 (2007): 173–184.
- McSherry, J. Patrice. *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.
- Metherd, Molly. "Transnational Book Markets and Literary Reception in the Americas." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 10.3 (2008): <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol10/iss3/3>.
- Micó, José Antonio Giménez. "Latin-Americanizing Canada." In Norman Cheadle and Lucien Pelletier, eds. *Canadian Cultural Exchange/Échanges culturels au Canada: Translation and Transculturation / traduction et transculturation*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2007. pp. 59–74.
- Mignolo, Walter D. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- , *Local Histories/Global Designs; Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- , "Linguistic Maps, Literary Geographies, and Cultural Landscapes: Languages, Linguaging, and (Trans)nationalism." *Modern Language Quarterly* 57. 2 (1996): 181–96.

-----, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism." *Public Culture* 12.3 (2000) : 721–48.

Miki, Roy. "Altered states: Global currents, the spectral nation, and the production of 'Asian-Canadian.'" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35. 3 (2000): 43–

Milian, Claudia. *Latining America: Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latino/a Studies*. Athens, GA: U of Georgia P, 2013.

Millán, Gonzalo. "The City." In *Strange Houses: Selected Poems by Gonzalo Millán*. Annegret Nill, trans. Ottawa: Split Quotation, 1991.

Miltz, Sabine. "Canadian Cultural Policy-making at a Time of Neoliberal Globalization." *ESC* 33.1-2 (2007): 85–107.

Moretti, Franco. "Conjectures on World Literature." *New Left Review* 1 (2000): 54–68.

Mozino, Jose Mariano. *Noticias de Nutka [An account of Nootka Sound in 1792]*. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1970.

Mishra, Vijay and Bob Hodge. "What Was Postcolonialism?" *New Literary History* 36. 3 (2005): 375–402.

Muñoz, Juan Esteban. "Feeling Brown: Ethnicity and Affect in Ricardo Bracho's The Sweetest Hangover (and Other STDs)." *Theatre Journal* 52.1 (2000): 67–79.

-----, "Feeling Brown, Feeling Down: Latina Affect, the Performativity of Race, and the Depressive Position." *Signs* 31. 3 (Spring 2006): 675–88.

-----, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: New York U P, 2009,

Naficy, Hamid. "Between Rocks and Hard Places: The Interstitial Mode of Production in Exilic Cinema." In H. Naficy, ed., *Home, Exile, Homeland: Film, Media, and the Politics of Place*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Naficy, Hamid. *The Making of Exile Cultures: Iranian Television in Los Angeles*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Nómez, Naín, ed. *Chilean Literature in Canada/ Literatura Chilena en Canadá: A Bilingual Anthology*. Ottawa: Ediciones Cordillera, 1982.

Negahban, Ali. "Uprooted Text." *West Coast Line: A Journal of Contemporary Writing and Criticism* 36.3 (2003): 63–75.

Nicholson, Melanie. *Surrealism in Latin America: Searching for Breton's Ghost*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Nothof, Anne F. "The Construction and Deconstruction of Border Zones in Fronteras Americanas by Guillermo Verdecchia and Amigo's Blue Guitar by Joan Macleod." *Theatre Research in Canada* 20.1 (1999): np.

Owen, Catherine. *Allophone Publishing*. Unpublished manuscript, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., 2000.

Padolsky, Enoch. "Olga in wonderland": Canadian Ethnic Minority Writing and Post-Colonial theory." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 28. 3 (1996): 16–28.

Pease, Donald E. "National Narratives, Postnational Narration." *Modern Fiction Studies* 43.1 (1997): 1–23.

Pease, Donald E. "The Politics of Postnational American Studies." *European Journal of American Culture* 20.2 (2001): 78–90.

Pérez Firmat, Gustavo, ed. *Do the Americas Have a Common Literature?* Durham: Duke University Press, 1990.

Perron, Sylvie. "Banished Between Two Worlds: Exiles in Chilean Canadian Literature." In Alvina Ruprecht and Cecilia Taiana, eds. *The Reordering of Culture: Latin America, The Caribbean, and Canada in the Hood*. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1995. 229–34.

Pitas, Janine. "Houses of Corn and Full Inclusion: On Latina/o Community-Based Theatre in Toronto." *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance: New Essays on Latina/o Canadian Theatre*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2013. 87–108.

Pivato, Joseph. "Shirt of the happy man: Theory and Politics of Ethnic Minority Writing." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 28.3 (1996): 29–38.

Poblete, Juan, ed. *Critical Latin American and Latino Studies*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003.

Pollack, Sarah. "Latin America Translated (Again): Roberto Bolaño's *The Savage Detectives* in the United States." *Comparative Literature* 61 (2009): 346–365.

Pratt, Mary-Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Quijano, Aníbal. "The Return of the Future and Questions About Knowledge." *Current Sociology* 50. 1 (2002): 75–87.

- Rak, Julie. "Are Memoirs Autobiography? A Consideration of Genre and Public Identity." *Genre* 36 (Fall/Winter 2004): 305–326.
- Ramirez, Pablo. "Restaging, Reframing, Remembering: The Role of Collective Memory in Guillermo Verdecchia's *Fronteras Americanas*." *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance: New Essays on Latina/o Canadian Theatre*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2013. 200–22.
- Roberts, Gillian. *Prizing Literature: The Celebration and Circulation of National Literature*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2011.
- Rodriguez, Richard. "An Education in Language." In Leonard Michaels and Cristopher Ricks, eds. *The State of the Language*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1980. 129–139.
- Rodriguez, Richard. 2002. *Brown: The Last Discovery of America*. New York: Viking.
- Rowe, John Carlos, ed. *Post-National American Studies*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2000.
- Sadowski-Smith, Claudia and Claire F. Fox. "Theorizing the Hemisphere: Inter-Americas Work at the Intersection of American, Canadian, and Latin American Studies." *Comparative American Studies* 2.1 (2004): 5–38.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, 1994.
- Saldívar, José David. 1997. *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sánchez Prado, Ignacio M. "The Return of the Decolonized: The Legacies of Leopoldo Zea's Philosophy of History for Comparative American Studies." *Comparative Literature* 61.3 (Summer 2009): 274–94.
- Saravia, Alejandro. *Lettres de Nootka*. Toronto and Montreal: ART-Fact Press and Las Ediciones de la enana blanca, 2008.
- Sartorius, David and Micol Siegel. "Introduction: Dislocations across the Americas." *Social Text* 28.3 (210) 1–10.
- Schugurensky, Daniel and Jorge Ginieniewicz, eds. *Ruptures, Continuity, and Relearning: The Political Participation of Latin Americans in Canada*. Toronto: U of T Press, 2007.
- Scott, David. *Refashioning Futures: Criticism After Postcoloniality*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Seyhan, Azade. *Writing Outside the Nation*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University

Press, 2001.

Shields, John and Steve McBride. *Dismantling a Nation: Canada and the New World Order*. Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood, 1993.

Shore, Cris and Susan Wright, eds. *The Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Shukla, Sandhya and Heidi Tinsman, eds. *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame*. Durham: Duke UP, 2007.

Siemerling, Winfried. "Trans-Scan: Globalization, Literary Hemispheric Studies, Citizenship as Project." In *Transcanadas: Literature, Institution, Citizenship*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2007. pp. 129–40.

Siemerling, Winfried and Sarah Phillips Casteel, eds. *Canada and its Americas: Transnational Navigations*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2010.

Simmons, Alan B. "Latin American Immigration to Canada: New Linkages in the Hemispheric Migration and Refugee Flow System." *International Journal* 48.2 (1992–93): 15–26.

Simon, Sherry. "Hybrid Montreal: The Shadows of Language." *Sites* 5. 2 (2001): 315–330.

-----, "Translating the in the Multilingual City: Montreal as a City of the Americas." In *Canada and its Americas: Transnational Navigations*. Winfried Siemerling and Sarah Phillips Casteel, eds. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2010. 171–85.

Siskind, Mariano. "The Globalization of the Novel and the Novelization of the Global. A Critique of World Literature." *Comparative Literature* 62. 4 (2010): 336–60.

Smith, Malinda. "Commissioning 'Founding Races' and Settler Colonial Narratives." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 46. 2 (2014): 141–49.

Soja, E.W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso Press, 1989.

Soja, Edward. "Exploring the Spaces That Difference Makes: Notes on the Margin." *Thirdspace*. London: Blackwell, 1996.

Statistics Canada. *Ethnic Origins, 2006 Counts, for Canada, Provinces and Territories—20% Sample Data*. March 9, 2015. Web.

Striffler, Steve and Mark Moberg, eds., *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas*. Durham: Duke UP, 2003.

Sugars, Cynthia, ed. *Unhomely States: Theorizing English-Canadian Postcolonialism*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2004.

-----, "Worlding the (Postcolonial) Nation: Canada's Americas." In *Canada and its Americas: Transnational Navigations*. Winfried Siemerling and Sarah Phillips Casteel, eds. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2010.

Thobani, Sunera. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: U of T Press, 2007.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*. Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1999.

Underiner, Tamara. "'Living Between Two or More Cultures': On the Political Interventions of PUENTE's Community-Engaged Theatre." *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance: New Essays on Latina/o Canadian Theatre*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2013. 64–86.

Urbina, José L. "Writing in Exile: Writing Nowhere for Nobody?" In Alvina Ruprecht and Cecilia Taiana, eds. *The Reordering of Culture: Latin America, The Caribbean, and Canada in the Hood*. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1995. 123–26.

van Bolderen, Trish. "The Evolution of Hispanic-Canadian Literature: What's In (and Behind) the Anthologies?" *Interfaces Brasil/Canadá Canoas* 13.2 (2013): 57-76. _

Verdecchia, Guillermo. *Fronteras Americanas*. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1993.

-----, "Léo at the Tarragon: Naturalizing the Coup." *Theatre Research in Canada* 30.1-2 (2009): 111–28.

-----, "Hasta la Victoria Siempre! The Persistent Memory of Revolutionary Politics in the Plays of Carmen Aguirre." *Latina/o Canadian Theatre and Performance: New Essays on Latina/o Canadian Theatre*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2013. 179–99.

Veronis, Luisa. "Strategic Spatial Essentialism: Latin-Americans' Real and Imagined Geographies of Belonging in Toronto." *Social & Cultural Geography* 8.3 (2007): 455–73.

Vipond, Mary. "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s." *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* (Spring 1980): 32–52.

Walcott, Rinaldo. *Black Like Who?: Writing Black Canada*. Toronto: Insomniac Press, 1997.

Wright, Susan. "The Politicization of 'Culture.'" *Anthropology Today* 14.1 (1998): 7–15.

Zamora, Lois Parkinson. *The Usable Past: The Imagination of History in Recent Fiction of the Americas*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.