TERRITORIALIZED COSMOPOLITANISM

TERRITORIALIZED COSMOPOLITANISM:

SPACE, PLACE AND

COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITY

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Abstract

This dissertation examines postcolonial narrative fiction as a site of cosmopolitanism that is self-consciously local and global at the same time. I argue that, in order to think through a form of cosmopolitanism that takes seriously questions of social justice, we must think through the way cosmopolitan world-views are articulated *in place*. Much is made of the deterritorializing forces of both cosmopolitanism and globalization, but, as the novels I examine suggest, this ignores the simultaneous re- and multi-territorialization that is always ongoing. This gap in cosmopolitan theory means that everyday lived cosmopolitanism, which enacts this oscillation between the global and the local, is often left outside the scope of theory. Fiction offers a corrective to cosmopolitan theory by paying particular attention to that which is often outside of the scope of this theoretical paradigm. Postcolonial theory's emphasis on the importance of political responsibility and the remembrance of past and ongoing violence informs this project.

In this dissertation, I primarily engage with the two dominating strains of cosmopolitan theory: liberal-bourgeois cosmopolitanism and vernacular cosmopolitanism. I read these theoretical models alongside cultural geography and eco-criticism to account for what I term "territorialized cosmopolitanism." I suggest that territorialized cosmopolitanism enacts a dialectical movement between the global and the local and this movement between these two zones prompts ethical and political responsibilities to others (both human and non-human) both physically nearby and distant – reflecting the shaping role place— defined in physical and cultural terms-- has in developing cosmopolitanism.

Focussing my reading on novels that address cosmopolitanism through different kinds of places (the metropolis, the regional city, and the rural community), I argue that different places focus a territorialized cosmopolitan sensibility in different ways. What these differences suggest is the importance of un-learning typical notions of how place is used and represented – particularly in relation to the global. A territorialized cosmopolitan sensibility, in these novels, allows for and encourages this unlearning.

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Introduction

> Good unity needs first to be historically informed, which entails
> facing up to contingency and complexity, as well as to causality
> that is always only arguable at best. It also requires reading the
> present rigorously and sharing that reading candidly, despite the
> unwelcome and potentially divisive nature of what is to be faced
> and shared. (Findlay 29)

Cosmopolitanism, following James Clifford, "evokes mixed feelings" (362). It raises questions about where social responsibility and affiliations can and should lie. It echoes neoliberal desires for a border-free world as well as pointing to liberating forms of mobility that resist neoliberal economics. Under the umbrella of "cosmopolitan theory" debates surrounding diaspora, globalization, post-colonialism and citizenship overlap. Cosmopolitanism has particular relevance in a world that is preoccupied with terrorism and illegal immigration. At what limit does cosmopolitanism cease to be a usable or workable idea? Does its universalism make sense now – if it ever did? These difficult questions circulate widely throughout cosmopolitan theory.

These questions animate much of this dissertation as well. The primary question that I take up, however, is how cosmopolitan sensibilities are located or focalized in specific physical locations. Where, in other words, does cosmopolitanism come down to earth? I argue that by considering these different locations, these places where cosmopolitanism is enacted and embodied, it becomes possible to consider cosmopolitan world-views and the circumstances under which they develop that might often go ignored or unnoticed. In particular, I want to shift away from cosmopolitan theory's general preoccupation with the metropolis to consider places that are not typically considered cosmopolitan sites – places like small cities and rural communities.

My goal here is to draw attention to cosmopolitan sensibilities that have been left out of cosmopolitan theory as a way of thinking through a cosmopolitanism that is not only about elite privilege. This goal develops out of theorizations of "vernacular cosmopolitanisms" – a phrase coined by Homi Bhabha – by postcolonial critics such as Timothy Brennan, Walter Mignolo and Peter Nyers. These theorizations address the global-local power relations at work in cosmopolitanism that are often sidelined in the liberal cosmopolitan discourse of critics such as K. Anthony Appiah, Martha Nussbaum and Seyla Benhabib. The liberal cosmopolitanism of Appiah, Nussbaum and Benhabib is broadly humanist: "A tenable cosmopolitanism, in the first instance, must take seriously the value of human life, and the value of particular human lives, the lives people have made for themselves" (Appiah, *Ethics* 222). While this is an estimable goal, who constitutes the human remains relatively under-discussed in liberal cosmopolitanism – begging the question: who are the cosmopolitan figures of liberal cosmopolitan? They seem in popular accounts of the cosmopolitan to be

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implicitly a privileged elite who read books and travel the world out of desire rather than necessity – an impression that Nussbaum et al. do little to dispel. This question of who is cosmopolitan is more explicitly taken up, however, by vernacular cosmopolitanism which often considers the role refugees and illegal migrants play in the global-local nexus of cosmopolitanism – pointing not only to broader definitions of cosmopolitan subjects but also paying more attention to the inequalities that surround liberal and colloquial cosmopolitan discourse. For Brennan, Mignolo and Nyers, this inclusion of figures who have been typically considered un-cosmopolitan introduces the question of politics into a discourse that has recently been dominated by a Levinasian ethics where the recognition of an ethical relationship is an endpoint unto itself; a liberal cosmopolitanism, exemplified by Nussbaum, is seen to place "basic decency" as the goal of cosmopolitan world-views (Brennan *Wars of Position*, 205) instead of social justice.

I want to enlarge, then, upon the theoretical work already done by theorists of "vernacular cosmopolitanism" – people like Homi Bhabha and Walter Mignolo – by thinking through vernacular cosmopolitanism *in place* – a *territorialized* cosmopolitanism. As I define it, people who exhibit cosmopolitan world-views see themselves as having ethical and moral responsibilities to the world *and* a specific local place – or even place_s. This definition emphasizes the ethical and political trajectory of cosmopolitanism that predominates in vernacular cosmopolitanism, and reaches back to Kant and, earlier, to the Stoics who posited cosmopolitanism as both an ethical and political project – though in ways and under circumstances far different than our own – suggesting the importance of re-thinking what an ethically and politically responsible cosmopolitanism might look like. As I define them, cosmopolitan world-views develop out of actual engagement with people and cultures different from oneself rather than just exposure to them. A cosmopolitan sensibility is one that is constantly in a state of becoming, rather than being. The novels I discuss demonstrate a cosmopolitanism that is self-consciously local and global at the same time. In many of these novels, this self-consciousness takes the form of recognizing the way that global economic and political systems shape local places and the way these global systems delimit and contour movement.

Territorializing cosmopolitanism makes visible the quotidian enactment of the global and local solidarities and affiliations. Cosmopolitan theory, in general, tends to focus exclusively on mobility; vernacular cosmopolitanism, for instance, takes as its paradigmatic figures the refugee and the migrant – focussing, then, on movement (which can imply a lack of choice) as well as mobility. What I am particularly interested in are those specific locations where this mobility touches down and cosmopolitan sensibilities are expressed. Movement can – and indeed most often does – occur in fairly circumscribed patterns and locations; our daily movements are generally around one or two neighbourhoods in one city – whether that city has a population of ten million or ten thousand. Further, "we are all, as

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human beings, *embodied and physically located.* In this fundamental material sense the ties of culture to location can never be severed" (Tomlinson 149; emphasis in original). While I also discuss larger, more global mobility, it is this daily mobility around a place that one may or may not be familiar with or comfortable in (or, conversely, that one may be so familiar with and comfortable in that place seems invisible) that speaks to how cosmopolitan sensibilities are enacted daily.[1] Movement across large portions of the globe remains the exception rather than the rule for most people; even in this kind of global movement, the question remains how these cosmopolitan sensibilities understand or express themselves in relation to the particular place where they find themselves – no matter how temporarily.

I also choose to emphasize *moments* of mobility here because as I wish to emphasize cosmopolitan becoming over being. A cosmopolitan sensibility is never complete. Cosmopolitanism is never fully *a priori* to daily life. This difference between an already accomplished cosmopolitanism and a developing one is important because a developing cosmopolitanism might allow us to see how cosmopolitanism is shaped by specific locales – rather than viewing it as an already formed way of looking at the world that suggests that cosmopolitan world-views are unchanging. If cosmopolitan sensibilities are constantly changing, it follows that some of that change is produced by the places these sensibilities encounter. However, the changes place leads to in cosmopolitan world-views are infrequently addressed by cosmopolitan theory; there are many influences on cosmopolitan development yet place remains notably outside of these considerations in most cosmopolitan theory. A further implication is that the differences between kinds and locations of places entail different expressions of cosmopolitan sensibilities. I examine novels set in different kinds of places to consider these different expressions of cosmopolitanism. Not only do places shape cosmopolitan world-views but these world-views shape place – suggesting the fluidity of all places.

This dissertation attempts to broaden the theoretical discourse on cosmopolitanism in two ways then: by examining urban expressions of cosmopolitanism by people who do not possess the economic capital typically associated with cosmopolites; and by examining non-metropolitan expressions of

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[1]   This focus on smaller, day-to-day movement is one of the primary reasons why I use "cosmopolitanism" rather than "diaspora" as a term for global and local affiliations. Diaspora's historical focus on dispersal suggests larger movement. I would suggest that movement on this scale is not necessary to produce cosmopolitan world-views – nor does this movement necessarily produce them either. Instead, territorialized cosmopolitanism requires a more self-conscious acknowledgement of global and local affiliations and the ethical and political responsibilities these affiliations entail. Cosmopolitanism's long tradition of addressing questions of ethical responsibility, then, is another reason that I choose to use this term instead of diaspora. Diasporic connections may, nonetheless, be ways of forming the global and local affiliations central to a territorialized cosmopolitan world-view. This is to say, then, that diaspora and cosmopolitanism are neither mutually exclusive nor are they necessarily synonymous.

cosmopolitanism. Both categories of cosmopolitanism are not typically addressed in cosmopolitan theory. Why recuperate cosmopolitanism, however? Much is made of the deterritorializing forces of globalization, but, as the novels I examine suggest, this ignores the simultaneous re- and multi-territorialization that is always ongoing.[2] Cosmopolitanism offers a way of thinking about the global and local together and, thus, a way of addressing this re- and multi-territorialization. Moreover, cosmopolitanism's particular emphasis on world citizenship can offer an important interruption to our understanding of ourselves as global consumers. Discourse on cosmopolitanism has a long history of emphasizing cosmopolitan citizenship, beginning with the Stoics and Diogenes's assertion "I am a citizen of the world" (Diogenes Laertius 146), and, most especially, in Kant's proposed international federation of states. While the nature of world citizenship is not without its own troubles, it does start imagining responsibility at the level of the global, as well as the local. It suggests ways of thinking that might lead to changes in global economic systems as it draws attention to interconnection both at the global and local level. As well, vernacular cosmopolitanism draws attention to where agency does and does not exist – acting as a useful check on too eager claims of world citizenship.

Rooted Cosmopolitanism, Territorialized Cosmopolitanism

My term "territorialized cosmopolitanism" develops in relation to the idea of "rooted cosmopolitanism" which was first articulated by Mitchell Cohen in 1992. Cohen's phrase has been taken up most notably by K. Anthony Appiah. Cohen's phrase marks an attempt to come to terms with the vigorous and violent nationalisms that characterized the immediate post-Cold War world. If the accelerated globalization which follows the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Bloc is one of the historical conditions which re-centralized cosmopolitanism in theoretical thought as suggested by Vinay Dharwadker (2001) and Timothy Brennan (2006), Cohen implicitly asks how this accounts for the intense, nationalist sentiments of the former Soviet Union. Indeed, Cohen notes that "nationalist aspirations were sometimes mistaken for democratic ambitions by Western observers of the momentous events between 1989 and 1991" (478). Cohen's principle concern is with how the left has misunderstood or underestimated nationalist feelings in its hope for the dissolution of the nation-state.[3] His conclusion, however, issues a call for a new way of thinking about cosmopolitanism that is echoed throughout this dissertation: "what is needed is the fashioning of a dialectical concept of root*ed* cosmopolitanism, which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground" (483). The

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[2]   On the deterritorializing effects of globalization, see Tomlinson (1999), Appadurai (1996), Featherstone (1995), and Morley and Robins (1995).

[3]   By "the left," Cohen refers to a Marxist-inflected left which aspires to a universal classless society – with the attendant withering away of the nation-state.

importance of recognizing the legitimacy of plural loyalties is, for Cohen, a key democratic *and* cosmopolitan principle as it does not require the abdication, through movement, of loyalties. Instead of seeing cosmopolitanism as a sensibility that lacks loyalties by virtue of belonging everywhere, Cohen suggests that the cosmopolitan sensibility is one where these loyalties are multiple. Nationalism, here, becomes one of these plural loyalties rather than a loyalty that is in necessary conflict with cosmopolitanism.

Appiah takes up Cohen's interest in nationalism and draws a similar conclusion about the place for nationalism within cosmopolitanism. Indeed, Appiah goes further than Cohen and suggests that, rather than being oppositional terms, cosmopolitanism and nationalism share many of the same characteristics:

> National partiality is, of course, what the concept of cosmopolitanism is usually assumed to oppose, and yet the connection between the two is more complicated than this. Nationalism itself has much in common with its putative antithesis, cosmopolitanism: for nationalism, too, exhorts quite a lofitly abstract level of allegiance – a vast, encompassing project that extends far beyond ourselves and our families. (*Ethics* 239)

For both Cohen and Appiah, thinking through national affiliations is a way of thinking through what a rooted cosmopolitanism could look like. Nationalism, here, is the primary way in which these cosmopolitan sensibilities are rooted – in place, Appiah terms the rooted cosmopolite a "cosmopolitan patriot," reinforcing the centrality of patriotism to his vision of rooted cosmopolitanism. Cohen and, particularly, Appiah, however, also point to the limits of nationalism as a way of rooting cosmopolitanism. By using a metaphor of concentric circles to map out plural loyalties, Cohen and Appiah suggest the multiple scales that exist alongside these multiple loyalties.[4] For Cohen these concentric circles are mapped to acknowledge the various affiliations that might appear for a cosmopolitan individual (483). For Appiah, on the other hand, these circles point also to different scales of place:

> It is because humans live best on a smaller scale that liberal cosmopolitans should acknowledge the ethical salience of not just the state but the county, the town, the street, the business, the craft, the profession, the family *as* communities, as circles among the many circles narrower than the human horizon that are appropriate spheres of moral concern. (*Ethics* 246)

Nonetheless, these scales of places are relatively absent from Appiah's work. His focus is either focused on the connection between the nation and

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[4]   This metaphor of overlapping, concentric circles is one that re-appears in a number of texts on cosmopolitanism. See, for instance, Martha Nussbaum's "Cosmopolitanism and Patriotism" and Homi Bhabha's "Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism."

cosmopolitanism, or it is more generally concerned with the ethics of cosmopolitanism.

This is where territorialized cosmopolitanism, as I discuss it, extends rooted cosmopolitanism. In their discussions of rooted cosmopolitanism, Cohen and Appiah argue that cosmopolitanism *can* be rooted; in my discussion of territorialized cosmopolitanism, I attempt to work through *how* cosmopolitanism becomes rooted. What I am interested in here are the processes of territorialization and how these produce or reflect a cosmopolitan sensibility. My change in terminology – territorialized rather than rooted – also signals the centrality of physical place, or territory, and the complex nature of modern geo-politics to my argument. "Roots" evokes a sense of tradition and inheritance. Bonnie Honig makes use of the phrase "rooted cosmopolitanism" in defining a "democratic cosmopolitanism," suggesting that a democratic cosmopolitanism is one "rooted not… in a national ideal [which she connects also to Julia Kristeva] but rather in a democratic ideal" (13). Honig's use of "rooted" here illustrates the reason for my preference of territorialized to rooted. She uses the biological concept of roots – and I would argue that Cohen and Appiah use it in a similar way – to suggest a connection to an idea that is at once abstract (patriotism or nationalism shape materiality but have no material existence of their own) and essentialist, seemingly grounded in nature. This concept leaves no room for the instability or untidiness, the politics or contingency of everyday life in particular places that are themselves both natural and cultural. Thus, while territorialized cosmopolitanism has some similarities to rooted cosmopolitanism, the focus here is more explicitly on *where* and *how* cosmopolitan sensibilities are located rather than on *if* they could be located.

Why Literature?

Appiah takes reading as one of the central facets of his rooted cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2001). This dissertation also reads contemporary postcolonial novels as a way of thinking how cosmopolitanism is territorialized. Novels form part of the larger cultural discourse that informs how we as readers understand and organize the world – what Raymond Williams calls "structures of feelings" and which Edward Said calls "structures of attitude and reference." Echoing Frederic Jameson, Susan Stanford Friedman notes that "narrative is a window into, mirror, constructor, and symptom of culture… cultural narratives encode and encrypt in story form the norms, values, and ideologies of the social order" (8). This is connected to literature's theoretical role but also marks out its more populist impact. Narrative shapes (or assists in shaping) the conditions of possibility that make cosmopolitanism a widely viable sensibility to adopt. The trends and arguments I draw attention to in these novels do not exist in a cultural vacuum either; they resonate and interact with similar concerns and questions found in other cultural forms such as music and film.

The different authors of the texts I examine live in diverse places around the globe and take divergent positions on the possibilities and limitations of a cosmopolitan sensibility – territorialized or otherwise. That all have written texts which engage with these questions suggests the centrality these questions hold in contemporary debates about social and cultural responsibility. These questions about what it means to be a citizen of a community, a nation and the world are not new ones; however they remain potent, complex and difficult to answer. The accelerated globalization of the last three decades is partly what gives these questions a new energy in both literature and theory.

Another potential catalyzing force is the interaction between the former colonized and colonizer. Colonization is a cosmopolitan project: it is concerned with making the local and specific, global and universal. The oscillation between the global and the local which characterizes cosmopolitanism also exists in the power relations present in colonialism and contemporary globalization. However, with the context of newly independent nations and increased immigration to the former colonial "centre" from the colonized "margins," the terms of this movement between the global and the local are increasingly under contestation. The novels I examine are all clearly immersed in postcolonial politics of various sorts that reflect the different colonial histories of the national settings of the novels I examine; I read, for example, novels set in Canada, a settler-invader colony, India and South Africa in which the "natives" remained in numerical, if not political, majority and Ethiopia, which was never colonized. The nature of postcolonial politics in these places is, thus, incommensurate at some points. Nonetheless, these novels all continue to question the relationship between colonized and colonizer; as well, the novels suggest an ongoing colonial struggle that is somewhat more nebulous than previous models of colonial conquest. For instance, global economic interests are shown to have colonial aspirations in a number of texts – though these interests are depicted as having unclear provenances. Further, these texts show the variable nature of this economic colonialism that is shaped by where it occurs. While these are questions that are taken up in a variety of theoretical discourses, narrative seems to have somewhat more freedom in depicting how these colonialisms are enacted in various places.

Vinay Dharwadker critically notes

> the tendency in some recent analyses to examine cosmopolitanism and its conjuncts in a dehistoricized or delocalized 'ideological space,' on the grounds that such an abstraction from specificity usually amounts to 'decontaminating' cosmopolitanism of its intrication in time, space, and culture, and thereby rendering it merely portable across frames of reference. (2)[5]

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[5]   Susan Stanford Friedman suggests that, in addition to Fredric Jameson's famous injunction to "always historicize," we must also "always spatialize" (130).

Dharwadker's argument about the importance of both historicizing and localizing cosmopolitan world-views echoes my own about the usefulness of examining of cosmopolitan literature to broaden the scope of cosmopolitan theory.[6] He goes on to suggest that by "building [our] arguments around specific literary texts, genres, or literatures that variously represent the formation and reproduction of cosmopolitan worlds, [we] resist the easy portability of self-sufficient theory, even as [we] connect situated particulars to issues that exceed limited situations" (3). This dissertation is engaged in a similar project of resisting this "easy portability" yet it is also, and I would argue that the essays in Dharwadker's anthology do similar work, an attempt to resist the suggestion that because cosmopolitan studies are framed by a Eurocentric context (a context which continues to ignore non-European notions of cosmopolitanism that have an equally august genealogy – Dharwadker points to Buddhist traditions of cosmopolitanism (6-7) and, in an essay in the same collection, Pheng Cheah discusses a Confucist cosmopolitanism (137-40)) that they should be abandoned or rejected. In other words, the texts that I (and the authors in Dharwadker's anthology) consider suggest the limits and gaps of cosmopolitanism as it has been theorized thus far yet they also point to the continued usefulness of thinking about cosmopolitanism.

Chapter Summaries

  My first two chapters provide the theoretical framework around which my argument is built. Chapter One is focussed on cosmopolitan theory. In this chapter, I provide a general survey of the debates that are ongoing in the field. These debates inform the rest of the dissertation and, especially, my argument about what constitutes a territorialized cosmopolitanism. While my focus on place marks my departure from a number of widely circulating critical definitions of cosmopolitanism, these definitions still remain central to both how I use the term and how it gets used more broadly – both in theoretical discourse and at the wider, more colloquial level. By adding to generally accepted definitions, I do not attempt to either disregard their importance nor do I want to position the definition I will be using in stark contrast to these definitions. I hope to suggest, instead, some new questions about what it means to be cosmopolitan – questions that develop from gaps in the currently existing definitions.

  To this end, Chapter One examines three questions that are key to thinking through a more just cosmopolitanism – and which inform my entire dissertation: who is cosmopolitan? How does cosmopolitanism engage with difference? Where (in what kind of places) are cosmopolitan responsibilities enacted? In particular, the last section on the centrality of the metropolis to cosmopolitan theory introduces questions that reverberate throughout the entire dissertation.

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[6]   Dharwadker's own edited anthology also focalizes its discussion of cosmopolitanism through both literature and geography.

What does it mean that cosmopolitanism is seen as primarily – if not exclusively – a metropolitan phenomenon? What questions does this trend raise about the usefulness of cosmopolitanism as a field of academic inquiry? What ongoing presumptions about the urban and, more particularly, the rural in the academy does this reflect?

Chapter Two offers a survey of cultural geographical, bioregional and postcolonial definitions of place. In this chapter, I am particularly concerned with what these different definitions say about the interaction between the global and the local. What the geographers I examine suggest are ways of looking at the local with an eye to the importance of the global in these places. This is particularly helpful as it offers a way of grounding (quite literally) cosmopolitanism in particular places. These various (and sometimes conflicting) definitions of what place means or consists of reaffirms the necessity of considering the differences between cosmopolitan sensibilities in different kinds of places. As well, discourses on place also offer ways of considering the everyday tactics and ways of manoeuvring around physical locations.

The final three chapters of this dissertation go on to consider specific textual examples of the territorialized cosmopolitanism I outline in the first two chapters. These last three chapters are organized by place: Chapter Three is on the global metropolis; Chapter Four is on the regional city; and Chapter Five is on rural communities. This organizational structure is, in some sense, intuitive – given my larger focus on place, it makes sense to have each chapter focus on a kind of place. As well, while there are certain questions that recur throughout all of these chapters – particularly about what territorialized cosmopolitan sensibilities might look like and how they actually interact with places – there are important differences between the different kinds of places that considering them separately highlights.

One question that has particular importance is the centrality of the metropolis in definitions of the cosmopolitan. In the chapter on the global metropolis, this question takes the form of *what* and *whose* metropolis. In Chapter Four, on the regional city, the question shifts to what this means for city cultures that are not global metropolises but which constitute home for the majority of the world's population (Bell and Jayne 2). In the final chapter on the rural, the question becomes further loaded with the imbalanced power relationship between the metropolis and the rural. In rural places, the cachet that is sometimes attributed to the cosmopolitan might be diminished by the sense that rural communities are under attack by colonizing metropolitan values and the transnational corporations which seem to most readily espouse these values. All these places exist in a complex relation to the metropolis. Cosmopolitan theory's focus on the metropolis means that cosmopolitanisms outside of the metropolis are typically ignored or believed to be non-existent. I want to suggest that by examining what cosmopolitanism looks like outside of the metropolis we are able

to expand our notions of what cosmopolitan world-views are and how they are held by those who are generally presumed to be un-worldly.

Chapter 1: Locating a More Just Cosmpolitanism

"Cosmopolitanism offers something other than a gallery of
virtuous, eligible identities. It points instead to a domain of
contested politics" (Robbins, "Actually Existing
Cosmopolitanisms" 12).

In her massive bestseller *Eat, Pray, Love*, Elizabeth Gilbert undertakes,
after a bitter divorce, a journey of self-discovery in Italy, India and Indonesia.
While the book has been actively manufactured by its publisher, Penguin, to be a
bestseller,[7] the book's popularity nonetheless points to the widespread desire to
think through what it means to belong in the world, what it means, implicitly, to
be cosmopolitan. *Eat, Pray, Love*'s pop-spirituality approach to the world reveals
its investment in a colloquial cosmopolitanism – without actually calling it that –
based on mutual tolerance and deep commonalities between people: "let me first
explain why I use the word *God*, when I could just as easily use the words
Jehovah, Allah, Shiva, Brahma, Vishnu, or *Zeus*… I have nothing against any of
these terms. I feel they are all equal because they are all equally adequate and
inadequate descriptions of the indescribable" (13; emphasis in original). These
are all equally valid words for Gilbert because, she argues, we are all equally
human and thus approach the divine in equally insufficient ways. The subtitle of
the book reveals a similarly all-encompassing point of view: "One Woman's
Search for *Everything* Across Italy, India and Indonesia" (emphasis added).

This is cosmopolitanism as both cultural/ religious relativism – all
religions are equally valid because they all really talk about the same things – and
tasteful consumption of difference – her experience of "everything" allows her to
not only recognize the similarity of humanity but to pick and choose the best
aspects of human culture. Gilbert's ultimate reason for using "God" rather than
other terms is telling, however: "'God' is the name that feels the most warm to
me, so that's what I use" (13). Gilbert goes on to note self-reflexively that
culturally she is Christian (14) but this does not seem to be offered as an
explanation for why "God" might "feel the most warm." Instead, she states that
"traditionally, I have responded to the transcendent mystics of all religions" (14)
and that

> in the end, what I have to come to believe about God is simple.
> It's like this – I used to have this really great dog. She came from
> the pound. She was a mixture of about ten different breeds, but
> seemed to have inherited the finest features of them all. She was
> brown. When people asked me, "What kind of dog is that?" I
> would always give the same answer: "She's a brown dog."
> Similarly, when the question is raised, "What kind of God do you

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[7]   See Italie's "Eat, Pray, Publish Paperbacks. Repeat" and Trachtenberg's "From
Hardcover to Paper, How a Blockbuster was Born."

believe in?" my answer is easy: "I believe in a magnificent God."
(14)

Gilbert's conceptualization of the divine, then, is a mixed breed made up of (what seem to her to be) the best parts of all world religions. A mixed breed that is still named after the Christian "God."

Gilbert's book offers an easily consumable vision of the cosmopolitan – so appealing that Oprah viewers are invited to share both on the television show and its website how Gilbert's book has changed their lives ("Take a Spiritual Journey") – that is ultimately all about self-discovery. This chapter envisions a cosmopolitanism that is neither so individually idiosyncratic nor so easily consumable. Instead, this chapter – and those that follow – will focus on thinking through a cosmopolitanism that engages with the various differences and inequalities that exist among the world community of human beings, rather than glossing over them by focusing solely on the self. This is a cosmopolitanism that takes as its ultimate goal the creation of a more just world – a goal that is at best incidental to Gilbert's. While Gilbert's sojourns in Italy, India and Indonesia move past tourism – she spends four months in each place and attempts to get to know each place in a more-than-superficial way (perhaps not altogether successfully) – and therefore prompt a more territorialized cosmopolitan sensibility than one more typically rootless, this sensibility does not lead to a cosmopolitan world-view with an attendant sense of ethical and political responsibility. To illustrate what I mean by way of contrast: in Sharon Butala's *The Garden of Eden* (which I will discuss in chapter 5), Iris' trip to Ethiopia, where she witnesses and is affected by the ongoing effects of the mid-1980s famine, prompts a sense of ethical and political responsibility to people in Ethiopia as fellow humans, the land that her family has farmed for generations and the globe. Gilbert reaches no such sense of responsibility.

This sense of ethical and political responsibility that develops in *The Garden of Eden* is central to the productive kind of cosmopolitanism I want to articulate. A cosmopolitan world-view, by this definition, is one that is simultaneously affiliated with the local and the global – and the planes in-between. This definition emerges out of the middle ground between the two most prominent models of cosmopolitanism: one developed out of liberal-bourgeois concepts of autonomy, mobility and ethics – elucidated by Kant and, more recently, Martha Nussbaum, Seyla Benhabib and K.Anthony Appiah;[8] and one developed out of postcolonial criticism's emphasis on the legacy of colonial violence, forcible displacement, and social justice – a model (often termed "vernacular cosmopolitanism") expounded by Homi Bhabha, Sheldon Pollack, Dipesh Charkrabarty, Carol Breckenridge, Timothy Brennan, James Clifford, and Bruce Robbins.

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[8]   The cosmopolitanism of *Eat, Pray, Love* might be characterized as a highly simplified version of the liberal-bourgeois model.

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The popularity of Gilbert's text – it has been on both the New York Times and the Globe and Mail Bestseller lists for well over a year as of the end of June 2008 and is expected to sell well over 2 million copies (Trachtenberg) – points to the importance of continuing to think through what it means to be cosmopolitan. While *Eat, Pray, Love*'s focus on spirituality throughout the world seems to suggest that its popularity primarily marks a desire for spiritual connection – indeed this is the lens through which viewers of *The Oprah Winfrey Show* are invited to read the book ("Take a Spiritual Journey"; "Dr. Robin Smith: Eat, Pray, Love") – this is to ignore the questions the text implicitly raises about what it means to be a part of the global community of human beings – questions central to cosmopolitan theory.

And, while *Eat, Pray, Love* limits the responses to these questions to the need for self-actualization, the text points implicitly (perhaps even unconsciously) to the need for thinking about and enacting global ethical and political responsibilities. One of Gilbert's Indonesian friends – a traditional healer named Wayan – faces eviction from her home and place of business along with her three young daughters. Gilbert canvasses her family and friends in the United States to raise enough money to buy Wayan and her daughters a home. Gilbert feels an ethical responsibility to Wayan and her children, yet this responsibility is again framed in the context of the self. Her responsibility is here to *her* friends alone: "This little group in Bali had become my family, and we must take care of our families wherever we find them" (273). While this expansion of familial-style affiliation is a cosmopolitan act, it continues to limit responsibility to only those Gilbert knows personally and to whom she feels a familial bond. Further, this responsibility does not develop into a larger sense of political responsibility.

Thus the text raises the question: why not responsibility beyond just Gilbert's friend? This focus on individual philanthropy repeats the text's overall emphasis on self-discovery. Tellingly, Kristin, one of the women mentioned on the website for *The Oprah Winfrey Show* who had been inspired by Gilbert's book to visit Indonesia and who met Wayan, understands the trip in the following way: "It just made me feel like you can do anything. Then when I got home, I realized I didn't need to go there. The work I need to do has to be done here. I need to say out loud what my problems are and what I want, because I don't do that" ("A Spiritual Journey Inspired by *Eat, Pray, Love*"). Gilbert receives an email from one of her friends who donated money saying "So that's the final lesson, isn't it? When you set out in the world to help yourself, you inevitably end up helping... *Tutti* [the Italian word for "everybody" and also one of Wayan's daughter's name]" (274). The "everybody" in question here, though, is ambiguous but ultimately seems to mean everybody who donated money – and "help" only in terms equivalent to the lesson learned by Kristin.[9]

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[9]   Tutti's name seems to be a fantastically poetic coincidence. However, in the introduction to *Eat, Pray, Love*, Gilbert states that she has changed many of the names throughout and does not

The intertwined questions this international fundraising effort raises are questions that shape the rest of this chapter. Who can be and is considered cosmopolitan under widely-circulating theoretical and colloquial definitions of cosmopolitanism? Can cosmopolitanism engage with difference without emphasizing the consumption of commodified cultural difference (as *Eat, Pray, Love* does)? Where are cosmopolitan responsibilities enacted? These are questions central to both the liberal-bourgeois and postcolonial ways of framing the relationship between self and world. As I suggested above, the definition I will use occupies a middle-ground between these two models. I want to suggest that such a definition allows the recognition of points of similarity between these two models but might also avoid the potential pitfalls of the liberal-bourgeois model where personal autonomy is the ultimate goal, and the postcolonial model that can become paralyzed by with the violent legacies of past and ongoing oppression.[10] Craig Calhoun argues that "if cosmopolitan democracy is to flourish [then] it needs to approach both cross-cultural relations and the construction of social solidarities with deeper recognition of the significance of diverse starting points and potential outcomes" (111). With this goal and three shaping questions in mind, I want to consider a model for a cosmopolitan world-view where global and local affiliations are held simultaneously and act as the starting point for ethical and political responsibilities at multiple levels. I want to envision cosmopolitanism as the "domain of contested politics" that Bruce Robbins suggests it is in the epigraph to this chapter rather than the domain of an identity politics that is ultimately about sophistication rather than an engagement with difference.

Who can be Cosmopolitan?:

In a review of *Eat, Pray, Love*, Nyla Matuk suggests that Gilbert's "tourist-like observations of local traditions in Italy, India and Bali are combined with simultaneous indifference to local poverty and with slightly condescending observations of the physiognomy of local ethnic groups." This condescension (which is somewhat overstated by Matuk) is mirrored in the way non-Westerners

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note whether Tutti is one of these changed names. Therefore, it is difficult to know how to read this moment of realization.

[10] Leela Gandhi suggests that "the colonial aftermath calls for an ameliorative and therapeutic theory which is responsive to the task of remembering and recalling the colonial past" (8) and that this remembering has two goals: the first is "simpler disinterment of unpalatable memories seeks to uncover the overwhelming and lasting violence of colonisation" and the second "requires that the images expelled by the violence of the postcolonial *Verwerfung* [repression as repudiation] be reclaimed and owned again. This is, of course, another way of saying that postcoloniality has to be made to concede its part or complicity in the terrors – and errors – of its own past" (10). I would suggest that too much focus on the first of these goals is a potential pitfall of postcolonial models of cosmopolitanism. The model of cosmopolitanism that I articulate would focus more centrally on the helpfulness of the second goal for envisioning a more just cosmopolitanism.

act primarily as catalysts for Gilbert's self-discovery or even, as I suggested above, that of the predominantly Western audience of the book. It is Gilbert and her readers who are suggested to be self-consciously cosmopolitan – not non-Westerners. *Eat, Pray, Love*, then, repeats a familiar binary where those in the West are assumed to have access to modes of enlightenment (for in *Eat, Pray, Love*, enlightenment is explicitly the goal) while those in the East are assumed to be unenlightened – or enlightened in such a way that has little corresponding association with the implied progress of Western enlightenment.[11] But what might cosmopolitanism look like if we expand our understanding of what cosmopolitanism means and, by extension, who can access a cosmopolitan world-view? This consideration and expansion of who can hold a cosmopolitan world-view might allow for the re-introduction of questions of ethics and social justice into the discourse surrounding cosmopolitanism. As Paul Gilroy suggests

> the challenge of being in the same present, of synchronizing difference and articulating cosmopolitan hope upward from below rather than imposing it downward from on high provides some help in seeing how we might invent conceptions of humanity that allow for the presumption of equal value and go beyond the issue of tolerance into a more active engagement with the irreducible value of diversity within sameness. (67)

In this section, I argue for a cosmopolitanism "from below" that can encompass subaltern subjectivities and that raises possibilities for seeing cosmopolitan sensibilities as invested in democratic citizenship and attachment to place. A discussion of a subaltern cosmopolitanism is not completely absent from the larger theoretical discourse on cosmopolitanism, but it occupies a relatively small corner of this discourse. Three elaborations of subaltern cosmopolitanism, in particular, identify useful and productive ways of considering refugees and migrant workers: Peter Nyers' "abject cosmopolitanism," Homi Bhabha's "vernacular cosmopolitanism," and Walter Mignolo's "critical cosmopolitanism." These three different variations on conventional models of cosmopolitanism offer crucial challenges to accepted definitions.

In the first paragraph of his essay, "Nowhere Man," Pico Iyer offers a brief biographical narrative that reveals a stereotypical version of cosmopolitanism:

> By the time I was 9, I was already used to going to school by plane, to sleeping in airports, to shuttling back and forth, three times a year, between my home in California and my boarding school in England. While I was growing up, I was never within 6,000 miles of the nearest relative – and came, therefore, to learn how to define relations in nonfamilial ways. From the time I was a

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[11]   Enlightenment in Gilbert's text refers to both the Western philosophical tradition that follows Descartes, and Buddhist and Hindu concepts of redemptive self-transformation and insight. Gilbert understands herself, and implicitly other (Westerners) like her, to already possess the first but need to develop the latter.

> teenager, I took it for granted that I could take my budget vacations (as I did) in Bolivia and Tibet, China and Morocco...It was only recently that I realized that all these habits of mind and life would scarcely have been imaginable in my parents' youth, that the very facts and facilities that shape my world are all distinctly new developments, and mark me as a modern type. (78)

I quote Iyer at length here as this passage reveals much of what is assumed about cosmopolitanism: that it is the domain of the wealthy traveler (no matter how "budget" the vacations), and that he, and others like him, are the paradigmatic figures of a new modernity characterized by constant mobility and familiarity with airports, shopping malls and hotels, what Marc Augé terms "non-places." Tellingly, Iyer does not use the word "cosmopolitan" once in this brief article; instead, he suggests that he is part of "an entirely new breed of people, a transcontinental tribe of wanderers" (78). The cosmopolitanism he embodies is seen to be so normative for people of his class and education that it can go without saying.[12] This is a cosmopolitanism created by neoliberal consumerism in which "all [places] have Holiday Inns, direct-dial phones, CNN, and DHL. All have sushi, Thai restaurants, and Kentucky Fried Chicken... [T]his new internationalism means that I can meet, in the Hilton coffee shop, an Indonesian businessman who is as conversant as I am with Magic Johnson and Madonna" (78).

This kind of cosmopolitanism is based upon an exchange of commodified and aestheticized culture that is never in need of translation and that prompts no larger sense of ethical responsibility. Iyer seems oblivious to the possibilities that these commodities might mean different things in different places and to different people; while the Indonesian businessman might be conversant with Magic Johnson and Madonna, surely they do not signify exactly the same things to him as they do to Iyer. The very fact that Iyer identifies this businessman as "Indonesian" suggests a recognizable difference from himself. Similarly, Iyer also ignores the fact that symbols he associates with this "new internationalism" are not within the financial grasp of everyone, moving or otherwise. He later contrasts his position with that of refugees; this comparison is, however, only at the level of affect: "refugees at least harbor passionate feeling about the world they have left – and generally seek to return there" (79).

Iyer echoes cosmopolitanism's long-standing connection to sophistication and rational education which emphasizes subjective choice: one *chooses* to be or, at least, to promote oneself as cosmopolitan. Kantian cosmopolitanism, the primary shaping discourse on contemporary cosmopolitanism, clearly positions it as the outcome of rationality; Kant even contrasts "rational cosmopolitans" with

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[12]   In a recent article in *The Globe and Mail*, Leah McLaren's "new nomads" echo Iyer's "transcontinental tribe of wanderers." These phrases evoke the cosmopolitan sophisticate as a new cultural group that is defined by happy and free mobility.

animals ("Idea for a Universal History" 41). For Kant, "the highest purpose of nature" is "a universal *cosmopolitan existence*" ("Idea for a Universal History" 51; emphasis in original) and this cosmopolitan existence takes the form of a federation of free states in his "Perpetual Peace." Given the centrality of rationality to this framework, cosmopolitan freedom from local or parochial attachment is seen, by Kant, to be rationally chosen. Through his connection between the refugee and emotion/ passion – a move in contrast to his alignment of the cosmopolitan with rationality and dispassion – Iyer further allies cosmopolitanism with wealth and easy, chosen mobility, both business and recreational. While Iyer suggests that the subjectivity of a "nowhere man" or cosmopolite is a melancholy one, even suggesting that its "nonaffiliation may... be alien to something fundamental in the human state" (79), this suggestion is ultimately made hollow by its juxtaposition with the trauma of exile and displacement.

Iyer's alignment of the cosmopolitan with capitalist modernity, indeed, discursively does further violence to the refugee and the displaced person by relegating them to a pre-modern past of nationalism and terrorism, the other terms of Iyer's binaristic understanding of cosmopolitan existence. If cosmopolitanism is inherently modern for Iyer, by consigning the refugee, in particular, to a kind of limbo between modernity and pre-modernity (or even anti-modernity), he misunderstands the way in which the refugee is not only a figure constitutive of modernity (especially as he understands it) but is also cosmopolitan.

Contrary to Iyer's alignment of this "new internationalism"[13] with travel and transnational education, a cosmopolitanism that does not simply give a new name to economic, gender and racial privilege must consider how it might apply to those who are seemingly left outside its scope and who offer an ethical challenge to elite cosmopolitanism. I argue that a subaltern cosmopolitanism would include those cosmopolitan identities and experiences that do not emerge out of these privileges. Instead, a subaltern cosmopolitanism reflects the cosmopolitan subjectivities and experiences that are often left out of cosmopolitan theory. It is (following Kant) to focus on the stranger who seeks the right of resort and who deserves hospitality rather than only on those who bestow this right. It is to consider as well the role the stranger plays in the assertion of cosmopolitan agency.

In *Eat, Pray, Love*, as well as many of the novels I discuss in successive chapters, the subaltern is often used as a catalyzing figure for the cosmopolitan enlightenment of privileged protagonists. Attention to this troubling dynamic highlights the importance of working towards a cosmopolitanism that is not dependent on others remaining in poverty or under oppression. I suggest that a

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[13]   I read Iyer's invocation of a "new internationalism" as effectively synonymous with cosmopolitan sophistication. Given internationalism's historical genealogy within Marxist thought, it seems like an odd term for Iyer to use in the context of mass consumerism.

territorialized cosmopolitanism that takes seriously the ethical and political responsibilities of being a "citizen of the world" is one such way of imagining a more just cosmopolitanism and ultimately a more just world. And part of that imagining requires considering how the subaltern themselves are already cosmopolitan. A subaltern cosmopolitanism entails, for instance, a consideration of people who are also in near-constant movement – like those Iyer identifies – yet who constitute labour rather than management. Subaltern cosmopolitanism offers a way of considering immigrant and refugee mobility that does not see this movement only in terms of victimization. A subaltern cosmopolitanism is a way of what Jacques Rancière terms "taking subjectivity," the "practice of taking rights and privileges rather than waiting for them to be granted" (qtd. in Honig 99).

In his discussion of "vernacular cosmopolitanism," Homi Bhabha poses a provocative series of questions that point to the central problematic of subaltern cosmopolitanisms:

> But who are our 'fellow city dwellers' in the global sense? The 18 or 19 million refugees who lead their unhomely lives in borrowed and barricaded dwellings? The 100 million migrants, of whom over half are women, fleeing poverty and forming part of an invisible, illegal workforce? The 20 million who have fled health and ecological disasters? Are the Stoic values of a respect for human dignity and the opportunity for each person to pursue happiness adequate cosmopolitan proposals for this scale of global economical and ecological disjuncture? (193)

Bhabha's underlying question of who counts as cosmopolitan and what kinds of movement constitute cosmopolitan mobility challenges accepted notions of the cosmopolitan which insist upon a binary of "cosmopolitan" and "local" with an implied parallel binary between "progress" and "tradition" that has attendant (and problematic) moral values attached to it.[14] Though Kant's focus is most generally on Europeans and their responsibilities to the stranger, he does offer a provocative reason for why the stranger may claim a right of resort: "all men are entitled to present themselves in the society of others by virtue of their right to communal possession of the earth's surface. Since the earth is a globe, they cannot disperse over an infinite area, but must necessarily tolerate one another's company"

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[14]   This pair of binaries has certain colonial implications: the binaries that surround cosmopolitanism are not far removed from the disjuncture between "civilized" and "barbaric" that colonialism was predicated upon. As Peter Nyers notes, "all too often it is an 'us' – Westerners, Europeans, humanitarians, etc – who are the cosmopolitans, the champions of justice, human rights, and world order; leaving 'them' – the Third Worlders, the global poor, the 'wretched of the earth' – as the abject, the societies and subjects in crisis, the failed states in need of intervention" (1073).

("Perpetual Peace" 106).[15] This suggests the centrality to cosmopolitan thought of both the globe as physical reality and limit, and of global thinking.

Walter Mignolo suggests a helpful distinction between globalization and cosmopolitanism, further challenging the globalizing and colonial connotations of universal progress too often attached to cosmopolitanism (and which can be seen in the quotation from Kant[16]), suggesting that "globalization is a set of designs to manage the world while cosmopolitanism is a set of projects toward planetary conviviality" (721). Thinking of cosmopolitanism as a "set of projects toward planetary conviviality" in contrast to the managerial outlook of globalization suggests how cosmopolitanism allows for the potential of bridging the "us" and "them" dichotomy that Nyers sees reflected in much cosmopolitan theory (see note 14). If "the geopolitical imaginary nourished by the term and processes of globalization lays claim to the homogeneity of the planet from above – economically, politically, and culturally[, then, t]he term *cosmopolitanism* is, instead, used as a counter to globalization, although not necessarily in the sense of globalization from below" (Mignolo 721; emphasis in original). Bhabha suggests that vernacular cosmopolitanism "is a form of marginal or partial interpellation that opens up a space occupied by those who seek to establish an ethic of community that is 'many circles narrower than the human horizon'... and ceases to dream of 'the world made whole'" (196). This notion of "many circles narrower than the human horizon" points to the importance of the local to vernacular cosmopolitanism; to dream of the "world made whole" or the global alone is to imagine a near-impossible project. Vernacular cosmopolitanism, then, is not an all-encompassing project dictated from above but one which emerges, patch-work like, from everyday interaction, from "the ordinariness of the day to day" (197). This project is, therefore, both less universalizing and more inclusive as it rejects a too easy universalization but allows for the importance of the day to day.

Similarly, Mignolo calls for a "critical cosmopolitanism" that must find "options beyond both benevolent recognition... and humanitarian pleas for inclusion... Thus, while cosmopolitan projects are critical from inside modernity itself, critical cosmopolitanism comprises projects located in the exteriority and issuing forth from the colonial difference" (724). For Nyers, "abject cosmopolitanism describes not a *problematic cosmopolitanism for the abject*, but rather a *problematising cosmopolitanism of the abject*" (1075; emphasis in original). Like Bhabha, Mignolo and Nyers suggest that vernacular/ critical/

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[15] Kant's highly gendered language points to the limits he might have imposed on who exactly is entitled to this right – language which echoes Revolutionary French documents about the rights of strangers which, as Mireille Rosello points out, were often only true on paper and not in actual fact (3-4).

[16] Kant does goes on, however, to note that the actions of European colonizers in the colonies constituted inhospitable action (which is to put it lightly) and was, therefore, un-cosmopolitan ("Perpetual Peace" 106).

abject cosmopolitanism introduces a dialectic relationship between a global elite and a local marginalized (as well as a global marginalized and a local elite); these cosmopolitanisms are "on the border, *in between*, introducing the global-cosmopolitan 'action at a distance' into the very grounds – now displaced – of the domestic" (Bhabha 202). These three critics, then, point to a way of imagining the cosmopolitan that critically engages with an elite cosmopolitanism both to problematize it and to move past it. All three versions of subaltern cosmopolitanism posit a cosmopolitanism that is radically different from a Kantian vision of a global federation of states, or a colloquial vision of elite mobility.

Mignolo suggests that such a critical and *dialogic* cosmopolitanism is one in "which everyone participates instead of 'being participated'" (744). This distinction between doing and being points to the key possibility of subaltern cosmopolitanisms: it marks the difference between active practice and managerial design. Mignolo's distinction also echoes Étienne Balibar's elucidation of citizenship as active process, rather than solely a marker of legal classification. For cosmopolitanism to be a useful category at all and not just the reinstatement of all-too familiar structures of privilege, Mignolo's transformation of its understanding is imperative because it resists the binaristic practice of colonialism and begins to envision a dialectical project of becoming. Considering the possibilities of subaltern cosmopolitanisms (as Nyers, Bhabha and Mignolo do), makes cosmopolitanism viable as a world-view always in the process of becoming – not one which can be readily defined and categorized.

This process of becoming requires thinking critically about how cosmopolitanism comes into being – and how this coming-into-being might be challenged by a subaltern cosmopolitanism. Mobility, for instance, typically central to cosmopolitanism, might actually act as an unexpected form of immobility in a cosmopolitanism that is only about a global elite. Mobility is key to Elizabeth Gilbert's sense of self – which I argue is implicitly assumed to be cosmopolitan – in *Eat, Pray, Love*. In the excerpt from Pico Iyer with which I began this section, mobility is also key for Iyer's self-conceptualization as a "nowhere man," a cosmopolitan. Yet what does this mobility mean? If all cities look the same (in the way that Iyer suggests), what is the difference between cities? If a conference centre in Toronto looks the same as one in Beijing, does the movement between the two locations actually indicate mobility? Elite business travel is frequently pointed to as the emblematic cosmopolitan trajectory, but the circuit of suburban home to international airport to corporate hotel to conference room and back again actually seems to suggest an oxymoronic *stagnant* mobility. The movement from a slum apartment in London's Tower Hamlets to a job as a janitor in a highrise in the financial core of the City (an adjacent borough) does not cover much in the way of kilometers but, nonetheless, may actually mark greater mobility. The fact that one journey is considered cosmopolitan while the other is not points to the (literally) far-sighted nature of

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much cosmopolitan theory as well as its general ignoring of questions of labour. This second journey (to say nothing of the longer journeys from the global south to the north in search of employment) highlights the dependence of cosmopolitan travel and mobility on the invisible workforce that global capital is reliant upon. For if neoliberal capitalism is predicated on exploitative labour conditions, particularly in in-between zones like the U.S.-Mexican border, where mobility is a near-constant, capital requires subaltern cosmopolites in order to exist (see, for example, Mezzadra and Neilson, par. 19).

It is also problematic to oppose global neoliberal markets to local grass-roots economies, valourized as the only site of resistance, as local identities are equally shaped by global divisions of labour. Sandro Mezzadra has suggested that the inequalities of migration and mobility should be the key political question for global movements, emphasizing mobility's imbrication in global divisions of labour. He insists that "the idea is to create a new lexicon or imaginary to begin the work of articulating struggles within, between, and across different political spaces... [thus] moving away from a position that unproblematically equates the global with the economic (or neoliberal) and the local with the cultural (or with resistance)" (Mezzadra and Neilson, par. 40). An investigation of territorialized subaltern cosmopolitanism, I suggest, reveals the work of articulating struggles in different political spaces. Examining territorialized subaltern cosmopolitanism draws attention to how the global economy touches down in specific places and also points to the way that resistance to local articulations of the global economy might take global forms – something that can be seen in the multiplication of seedbanks to ensure biodiversity in the face of corporate agriculture, for example. Resistance as well as capital, therefore, can move between the global and the local.

The expansion of cosmopolitan theory to consider subaltern cosmopolitanisms argues for an inclusion of the subaltern in international politics; as Mezzadra suggests, similarly to Gayatri Spivak in her canonical article on the subaltern, the subaltern is too frequently presumed to be thoroughly localized, with little to no interaction with international politics. It is not a matter of "cosmopolitanizing" the subaltern – making them *become* citizens of the world – but, instead, recognizing the way that they are *already* citizens of the world. It is not enough, however, to simply recognize that subalternity is already cosmopolitan; instead, we must be cognizant of the varied access, in spite of this cosmopolitanism, to agency – and how this might be different for non-subaltern cosmopolitans. It is important to resist the critical complacency whereby, as Timothy Brennan suggests "subalternity... becomes not an inequality to be expunged but a form of ontological resistance that must be preserved – but only in that form: in a perpetually splintered, ineffective, heroic, invisible, desperate plenitude" (*Wars of Position* 17). Thinking about subaltern cosmopolitanism, therefore, should not be limited to simply identifying subaltern cosmopolitans but should include a consideration of the way elite cosmopolitans are dependent upon

them as labour and as a category against which to define themselves. Subaltern and elite cosmopolitanisms should be seen as being in a dialectical, rather than dichotomous, relation to one another. And the conventional understanding of cosmopolitanism as respecting *difference* should morph not into a celebration of *inequality* but a commitment to overcoming it.

One way of considering subaltern manifestations of agency is to consider subaltern movement not only in terms of victimization. The movement of migrants and refugees is often seen by governments and humanitarian agencies only in terms of coercion and abjection, centering around "the image of the immigrant as a weak subject, hollowed by hunger and misery and needing above all care and help" (Mezzadra 267).[17] This is an image which "lends itself easily to the reproduction of 'paternalistic' logics which renew an order of discourse and a complex of practices that demote migrants to an inferior position, denying them all *chance* of becoming subjects" (Mezzadra 268; emphasis in original). Mezzadra suggests the importance of "highlight[ing] the elements of subjectivity which permeate the migratory movements and which must be kept in mind if one wants to produce an image of these movements as social movements" (270).

This argument challenges the rational/ irrational binary inherent in Kantian cosmopolitanism because of the difficulty of assigning rationality or irrationality to refugee movement. Rationality and irrationality, categories already muddied in general by the machinations of ideology and the unconscious, seem to be particularly inappropriate terms for refugee movement. The Kantian liberal cosmopolitanism that takes individual autonomy as its ultimate goal is ill-equipped to address movement that might have personal freedom as a desired goal but is coerced or necessary. Liberal cosmopolitanism establishes a teleological endpoint of personal freedom but what subaltern cosmopolitanism reveals is that this endpoint is fraught with the complex interplay between agency and objectification at work in the movement of refugees and their position within the country that allows them entry. The post-colonial inflections of vernacular cosmopolitanism create or allow the discursive space to consider this form of movement. This is why thinking through the ground between a liberal and postcolonial model of cosmopolitanism is necessary.

A cosmopolitanism that encompasses subaltern experiences introduces agency (and the frequent lack thereof) into questions of mobility and, therefore, offers a useful way of thinking about migration. Similarly, an awareness of subaltern forms of cosmopolitanism draws attention to the people that elite cosmopolitanism is reliant upon; Pico Iyer's ability to experience budget travel throughout the world would not be possible without the migrant workers who staff hotels. A vision of cosmopolitanism that reflects only the experiences of "nowhere men" like Pico Iyer seems to me to be mostly uninteresting and, at

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[17]   This victimization is also in use in Zygmunt Bauman's term "vagabonds" when he states that "vagabonds [move] because *they have no other bearable choice*" (93; emphasis in original).

worst, an apolitical and triumphalist account of global mobility. Instead, it is important to see how these two forms of cosmopolitanism – elite and subaltern – are dependent upon one another. Mezzadra argues that "Communist internationalism, anti-colonialist rebellions and the global Uprising of 1968 all constitute… fundamental passages in the 'secret history' of globalization" and offer "a prospect of unifying the planet in a radically different way from the hegemony of capital, which has guided its progress during the last two hundred years" (272). Subaltern cosmopolitanism can also be regarded as part of this struggle to unify the planet differently: "Cosmopolitanism (and democracy) can no longer be articulated from one point of view, within a single logic, a mono-logic (if benevolent) discourse from the political right or left" (Mignolo 741). Mignolo proposes a cosmopolitanism that emerges from "the various spatial and historical locations of the colonial difference" (741); this is echoed in my insistence on the necessity of recognizing a cosmopolitanism of labour that challenges a vision of the cosmopolitan that resorts too quickly to leisure-travel as its metaphor. Attentiveness to a subaltern cosmopolitanism that considers where the agency of migrants exists and where it does not then prevents viewing cosmopolitanism as existing somewhere in the ether, above the contingencies of localities. For, while the global is typically seen as the location of the cosmopolitan, the subaltern is often consigned, however inaccurately as I have argued, to the local with all its pejorative connotations. A cosmopolitanism that addresses subalternity is one that brings the global and local together in a productive way and that does not fall into a (false) binary between the two. I discuss the specifically territorializing aspect of this cosmopolitanism in more detail in the next chapter.

Cosmopolitanism, Multiculturalism and Consumption:
    One of the obvious limitations of *Eat, Pray, Love* is its summing up of complex cultures into one consumable idea: pleasure in Italy, faith in India, and balance in Indonesia. This reduction of a culture to one idea is how Gilbert frames the goal of both her journey and her book: "I wanted to thoroughly explore one aspect of myself set against the backdrop of each country, in a place that has traditionally done that one thing very well. I wanted to explore the art of pleasure in Italy, the art of devotion in India and, in Indonesia, the art of balancing the two" (29-30). It is this blithe attitude about cultural difference that causes some of the most unease about cosmopolitanism – the belief that cosmopolitanism is only about multiplicity for its own sake and multiplicity only to the extent that it is palatable to Euro-American bourgeois-liberalism. This irresponsible form of cosmopolitanism is equivalent to what Stanley Fish terms "boutique multiculturalism," seen in the patronage of "ethnic restaurants, weekend festivals, and high profile flirtations with the other" and "characterized by its superficial or cosmetic relationship to the objects of its affection" (378). This equivalency is echoed in Ghassan Hage's notion of cosmo-multiculturalism where "the

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cosmopolite is a [upper] *class* figure *and* a White person, capable of appreciating and consuming 'high-quality' commodities and cultures, including 'ethnic culture" (201).[18]

One of the charges frequently leveled against cosmopolitanism is its apparent apoliticism; cosmopolitanism is often seen to be preoccupied with style, sophistication and urbanity at the expense of grass-roots political involvement. This vision of cosmopolitanism – as apolitical style – is echoed in Iyer's notion of the nowhere man. In the lengthy quotation at the beginning of the previous section, Iyer connects his sense of cosmopolitanism with the ability to travel to new and exotic destinations that were (ostensibly) never previously accessible – ignoring the echoes of colonialism contained in these experiences. This mimics a boutique multiculturalism which develops through experiencing new and exotic foods and visual arts – exemplified by the numerous heritage festivals that operate in officially-multicultural Canada where various ethnic community groups in a particular city run booths that exhibit national food, drink, costume and dances.

Multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism converge in some ways in their approaches to engaging difference. While multiculturalism, interestingly, tends to be regarded less suspiciously than cosmopolitanism in leftist criticism, it seems to me that cosmopolitanism offers some progressive possibilities that multiculturalism – at least as that concept has been conventionally understood and embodied in government policy – forecloses. Multiculturalist rhetoric often uses language of consumption and tolerance – ideas which connote a relatively passive form of agency. The ethical responsibility inherent to cosmopolitan sensibilities suggests a necessarily more active form of agency. This active agency goes beyond the *tolerance* of difference and attempts to *understand* it – which is the ideal spirit of multiculturalism, though not necessarily of its practice. Because of the ultimate boundedness of ethnicity – ethnicity is determined by birth (being, not becoming) and thus prompts somewhat inevitable limits to understanding; cosmopolitanism's fluid forms of identification potentially offer more positions from which to seek solidarity. Furthermore, territorialized cosmopolitanism would, through the importance accorded specific places, return attention to the everyday culture of moving through and within a place – whether large or small. Quotidian, local processes of culture move past the nostalgia official multiculturalism can prompt, where the past is fundamental.

Unlike multiculturalism, which emphasizes ancestry and birth, cosmopolitanism allows the possibility for acknowledging multiple manifestations of agency.[19] This is not just because of its connection with citizenship, but also

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[18]   See, for instance, Leonie Sandercock's celebratory descriptions of "cosmopolises" or "mongrel cities."

[19]   Of course, citizenship is often about ancestry and birth as well, as most citizens are born citizens. However, unlike the view of ethnic culture central to most iterations of multiculturalism, citizens can still be created. Ethnicity is seemingly determined by birth alone. Someone can have a multiethnic background but they cannot join a new ethnic group as they might choose to. Again,

because (perhaps primarily because of its association with either the individual or the global and in opposition to the nation-state) the cosmopolitan has not been institutionalized as governmental policy, with the resultant need to quantify and limit how it is enacted. As well, institutionalizing world-views suggests that they are already accomplished – or at least well on their way to so being.[20]

This criticism highlights specific problems with multiculturalism as it is enacted in both public policy and popular rhetoric; I want to focus at a more general level, however, on the question of culture and what it means in the rhetoric of official multiculturalism. What I particularly want to take issue with is the equation, implicit in conventional discourses of multiculturalism, that culture equals (or is translatable into) quantifiable cultural products. This view of culture based primarily around commercial cultural products invites the possibility of an *aesthetic* value judgment as a basis for comparison or interaction between cultures. On the department for Canadian Heritage's website – a department whose stated mission is to help "Canadians express and share their diverse cultural experiences with each other and the world" ("Mission and Strategic Outcomes") – their page on Arts and Culture lists categories of cultural products such as magazines, film and video, and television (*Arts and Culture*). This suggests that, despite the wording of the Multiculturalism Act which may allow for an interpretation of culture as everyday culture with its mention of language rights and equal protection under the law, the focus of the department is actually cultural products – and particularly those that are readily commercial.

However, while I want to differentiate cosmopolitanism from this model of multiculturalism that is centred around the exchange of commodities, I do want emphasize the central importance of culture – both high and low – in the development of engagement with difference. K. Anthony Appiah suggests that "if we care *about* others who are not part of our political order – others who may have commitments and beliefs that are unlike our own – we must have a way to talk *to* them" (*Ethics of Identity* 222; emphasis in original). For Appiah, the pedagogical moment(s) necessary for a "way to talk to them" come out of reading practices: "we travel in books to learn 'mutual toleration,' even the sympathy and concern for others" ("Cosmopolitan Reading" 203). Appiah argues that "what makes the cosmopolitan experience possible... is not that we share beliefs and values because of our common capacity for reason: in the novel... a different

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citizenship as experienced by the majority of citizens has the same pre-determined quality yet the possibility still remains of changes in (or additions to) citizenship status. Werner Sollors writes that ethnicity derives either from consent or descent, and this equation is not permanent or stable. For many "white ethnics," identifying with their ethnic ancestry is indeed a matter of choice. See Ruth Frankenberg's *White Woman Race Matters* for discussions with White American women who felt that whiteness meant they have no culture.

[20]   This suggests one of the potential weaknesses of cosmopolitanism: its voluntaristic/ individualistic nature. This perhaps stakes too much on the hope that people will act out of "enlightened" decency, leaving no legal framework to fall back on if they do not.

human capacity grounds our sharing: namely, the grasp of a narrative logic that allows us to construct the world to which our imaginations respond" ("Cosmopolitan Reading" 223). Appiah, then, makes a specific (though certainly debatable) claim about reading over other forms of cultural engagement. Martha Nussbaum emphasizes a similar pedagogical program – one that she suggests should be even more formalized in schools – where students "may continue to regard themselves as defined partly by their particular loves… but they also must learn to recognize humanity wherever they encounter it" (9).

Nussbaum's program is somewhat difficult to endorse given the way that these paradigms have already been institutionalized[21] and have not yet led to the hoped-for universal egalitarian cosmopolitanism. Nussbaum envisions a cosmopolitan project which, in the United States, teaches that students "are, above all, citizens of a world of human beings, and that, while they happen to be situated in the United States, they have to share this world with the citizens of other countries" (6). This way of framing her cosmopolitan project seems to echo the enlargement of literary canons that began in the 1980s to include voices that had been typically marginalized because of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality, as well as other similar moves towards increased inclusion within the university. This project, while estimable in its motives, is one that has not prompted a wholesale rejection of cultural particularity in favour of the universality of human culture that Nussbaum seems to envision. Indeed, Timothy Brennan goes as far as to suggest that "cosmopolitanism is the way in which a kind of American patriotism is today being expressed" (*At Home in the World* 26). The pluralistic education that Nussbaum suggests as cosmopolitan is one which implicitly maintains, through its resonances of affirmative action, the dichotomy between centre and margin that it intended to break down. A cosmopolitan education along the lines that Nussbaum imagines runs the risk of further maintaining the normative position of Western students – this is cosmopolitanism as multiculturalism; indeed, one of the stated goals of her program is "through cosmopolitan education, we learn more about ourselves" (11). While Nussbaum does have ethical action in mind, this goal of self-discovery is echoed in *Eat, Pray, Love* – suggesting the ease with which a program like Nussbaum's becomes about self-affirmation with no resulting ethical and political action.

At the same time, while a cosmopolitan education may broaden the horizons of a student whose racial and national particularity is not under attack – such as a white student in most North Atlantic nation-states (and Nussbaum's students are clearly identified as American students who have an untroubled relationship with American nationalism[22]), how does a cosmopolitan education

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[21] This institutionalization has, admittedly, been somewhat uneven. While it has been undertaken at the university level, it is much less entrenched in high schools where the focus still tends to be on the "great works" of the Western canon or on local national literatures.

[22] This is, of course, not true for Aboriginal or Chicano students as the Canadian and U.S. nation-state is a colonial one. This reflects that nation and nation-state are not always the same

speak to students whose national identities are seen (correctly or not) to be threatened by the spectre of cultural imperialism? Nussbaum suggests the importance of recognizing the common humanity between citizens of the United States and those of India, Bolivia, Nigeria and Norway (6). Despite the supposed threat of a tide of immigration from Mexico, a student in the United States can, for the most part, take for granted the sovereignty of their nation. The same may not be true for a similar student in Bolivia or Nigeria – nations whose sovereignty is far more precarious. It, therefore, means something entirely different for a Bolivian or Nigerian student to emphasize their nationality or particularity over their universal humanity. Indeed, their assertion of particularity can be seen as a way of actually articulating their universal humanity, a way of resisting the lingering European colonial influence, and the neo-colonial impulse of neoliberal capital; this assertion of particularity reflects a territorialized cosmopolitan sensibility.

Further, Nussbaum's model raises important questions about how we determine what constitutes a national literature. This model suggests that "a novel will express a writer's nationality, [that] the novel functions metonymically" (Walkowitz 21). This becomes a difficult – even problematic – manner of categorization when dealing with texts by authors who express multiple national and other affiliations. How do we categorize, by this model, Amitav Ghosh? He resides in the United States yet was born in India – where many of his novels are set. To suggest that he is either an American or Indian writer raises a number of questions. Do his novels get classified as Indian because that is where they are set or because of the national identity of his characters? Yet in *The Hungry Tide*, for instance, Piya – the protagonist – is born and raised in the United States to parents who had immigrated from India. Ghosh's work might also be described as diasporic literature; yet this category does not fit into Nussbaum's program either as it focuses exclusively on national literatures. The cosmopolitan affiliations of both author and character suggest the usefulness of this text for a cosmopolitan education yet it is unclear how a text such as this would fit into Nussbaum's model.

Nussbaum suggests that "world citizenship, rather than democratic or national citizenship [should be] the focus for civic education" (11). However, as Bruce Robbins notes, "global capital encourages people to think globally – this is the most obvious reason for the PMC's [professional-managerial class – roughly the class who Nussbaum primarily seems to address] cosmopolitanism – but it does not encourage them to think about the common welfare" ("The Village..." 21). Nussbaum is very concerned with thinking about the common welfare of humanity yet her (and Robbins') focus remains at the level of *only* the welfare of

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thing. Nussbaum, however, does not seem to be referring to these students. Similarly, Nussbaum leaves out other forms of difference such as gender and sexuality that might alienate a student from the national literatures that, in her paradigm, they belong to.

the global. In other words, a cosmopolitan education is not primarily (or at all) concerned with the welfare of fellow human beings who live close to you nor does it recognize that the stranger may be within national boundaries and not somewhere distant – something reflected in the way Nussbaum leaves out Aboriginal, Chicano and immigrant students. Similarly, Nussbaum takes as her model for education the conversation, stating "that in talking with [those different from ourselves] we may be capable of respecting their traditions and commitments. Cosmopolitan education would supply the background necessary for this type of deliberation" (12). While the model of conversation would suggest the possibility of active engagement, this model presumes that both sides of the conversation come to the dialogue as equals. This presumption would seem to ignore the very way in which the need for cosmopolitan education suggests that this equality does not exist.

As postcolonial critics have reminded us, the power structures of this "conversation" have long been established and are clearly tilted in one direction.[23] Rebecca Walkowitz notes that

> a comparative methodology offers risks and opportunities: on the risk side, it may seem insufficiently inattentive to the distinctive histories of postcolonial, immigrant, or non-Western peoples and insufficiently resistant to an old, universalizing tradition of British fiction; on the opportunity side, it may introduce alternatives to the prevailing oppositions between postcolonial and British, East and West, margin and center, non-European and European. (29)

Cosmopolitan reading must exist on the thin border between these risks and opportunities. While Nussbaum's model ignores too much of the historical context and power relations, a model which suggests that cultures can never be read comparatively in a just manner – in other words, to weigh the historical context too heavily – is a difficult model to endorse as well. The goal of a territorialized cosmopolitanism must be for a more just world for all its inhabitants. Communication across difference, then, is imperative yet must not be at the cost of forgetting the power structures and histories that pre-exist this communication. This goal does entail recognizing that this must be an ongoing practice – that it can never truly be completed – and as such we must be continually striving to achieve it.

The texts I read in this dissertation play a role in this kind of cosmopolitan education by *teaching* their readers a way to read the world that is informed by a territorialized cosmopolitanism. These pedagogical moments are possible only in texts that treat the encounter between difference as a difficult and contentious encounter; the happy superficial multiculturalism (which is not the same as official multiculturalism) defined by the exchange of easily commodifiable

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[23]   The most prominent examples of this kind of postcolonial critique would be Edward Said's *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*.

cultural products/ ideas of Iyer's "nowhere man" or *Eat, Pray, Love* allow for the creation of a territorialized cosmopolitanism only if they are read against their surface. Attention to the ways Iyer or Gilbert leave out the real inequalities that undergird their experiences can prompt a critical pedagogical response; however, just reading these texts for their surface argument – to read them at face value, then – can only lead to the re-iteration of a cosmopolitanism based on rootlessness and sophistication, and one that has little interest in social justice.

All the texts that I look at in the final three chapters use various metaphors of interpretation: writing in the metropolitan chapter; translation in the regional cities chapter; and reading in the rural chapter. These metaphors of interpretation suggest the difficult and active work necessary for a territorialized cosmopolitan world-view. Further, as these texts all suggest, this interpretation is one that is often alienating. Nussbaum identifies this alienation as central to the Stoics: "Diogenes knew that the invitation to think as a world citizen was, in a sense, an invitation to be an exile from the comfort of patriotism and its easy sentiments, to see our own ways of life from the point of view of justice and the good" (7). If a central concern to cosmopolitanism is how one treats the stranger, it is also to *make oneself a stranger*. While this seems to echo the rootlessness often attributed to cosmopolitanism, it does not necessarily follow that making strange means to sever all connections and affiliations. In *Garden of Eden*, for instance, Iris' decision to turn her farm into reclaimed prairie instead of selling-off to agribusiness alienates her from some members of her community but this decision connects to other people in other parts of the region and the world. This points to the costs of cosmopolitan ethical and political responsibilities – and also requires agency and certain kinds of privilege in order to choose this alienation. Multicultural consumption of the sort Gilbert and Iyer depict is about amassing pleasurable experiences and products with little sense of their cost. A cosmopolitanism worth continuing to consider cannot take this as a model but instead must concentrate on the work of interpreting the world.

Where is the Cosmopolitan?:

Many critics posit the metropolitan city as the primary location for cosmopolitan experiences or where one can "find" the majority of cosmopolitans. In *Eat, Pray, Love*, for instance, people who might be considered cosmopolitan are either found primarily in the Italian section of the book or as metropolitan visitors/ strangers in either India or Indonesia. Gilbert's friend, Yudhi, a Javanese Christian who had gotten a job aboard a cruise ship – "one of those insane jobs for industrious immigrants" (247) – and ended up in New York City where he marries, is one such example. After 9/11, he is detained by the American government and deported back to Indonesia. While Yudhi is not described as cosmopolitan, he possesses characteristics that echo colloquial visions of the cosmopolitan. On the cruise ship, Yudhi "befriended everyone [the crew was mostly Indonesian and Filipino with resulting cultural and religious antagonisms]

and became a kind of emissary between the two groups of Asian laborers. *He saw more similarities than differences* between these maids and custodians and dishwashers" (247-48; emphasis added).

Yudhi's ability to make himself at home anywhere might seem to echo Iyer's notion of the nowhere man. Yudhi's mobility, however, is not entirely chosen and while he might appear to be rootless in the manner of the nowhere man, he is fundamentally rooted in New York City, and the United States more broadly: "He's more of an American than he is anything else" (Gilbert 250). Yudhi's experience at the hands of the American government shows the very real dangers of national affiliation gone too far and the way that movement to and from the West is (perhaps increasingly) racialized. What Yudhi demonstrates more generally in the text, however, is the way that "locals" in India and Indonesia are not generally the cosmopolitan figures. To the extent that Yudhi *is* characterized as cosmopolitan, his worldliness is shown to develop out of the metropolis – Yudhi plays guitar and "jam[s] all night with talented kids from Jamaica, Africa, France, Japan" (248) in New York. The multiple affiliations that Yudhi holds might stem from his experience as a Christian in Islamic Indonesia, but they are only considered pleasurable and cosmopolitan by Gilbert because of his time spent in and affiliation with New York – an affiliation Gilbert herself feels. It is, thus, when Yudhi expresses an affiliation that echoes Gilbert's own and that is about the metropolis that he becomes cosmopolitan on Gilbert's terms.

This centrality of the metropolis in the Western travel memoir mirrors a similar focus in cosmopolitan theory. Cosmopolitanism is described as the proper response to the multiplicity and difference found throughout most (if not all) metropolitan centres. Thus, cities such as Toronto, London, New York, Bombay and Tokyo occupy the geographical forefront of cosmopolitan studies. The importance of these cities to the global financial market marks them out as key sites for international business travel, as well as magnets for intra- and international migration. Alongside their financial importance, global cities also possess an enormous amount of cultural clout. These are the cities in which many novels and films are set and, more importantly, where decisions regarding publication and production are made.

Academic attention, more generally, also focuses closely on the metropolis; there is a wide variety of articles and books written on the subject, as well as numerous academic conferences organized around the city.[24] The metropolis clearly occupies a central position in cultural and critical production. It is unsurprising, then, that so much of cosmopolitan theory focuses heavily on

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[24] See, for example, Sophie Body-Gendrot's and Robert A. Beauregard's edited collection, *The Urban Moment: Cosmopolitan Essays on the Late-20th-Century City*; Michael Keith's *After the Cosmopolitan? Multicultural Cities and the Future of Racism*; the collection *Cosmopolitan Urbanism* (eds. Jon Binnie et al.); *Urban Ethnic Encounters: The Spatial Consequences* (eds. Aygen Erdentug and Freek Colombijn). A major government-funded research project in Canada – as well as globally – is the Metropolis project which hosts a number of conferences each year.

metropolitan cosmopolitanism. While in the next chapter I will be talking about the city as physical space and in later chapters I will look more closely at specific examples of metropolitan and non-metropolitan cosmopolitanisms and their particular attention to space, I want to consider, briefly, here, the way in which cosmopolitan theory itself is preoccupied with the idea of the metropolis, in general, and the potential limitations of such a focus.

Paul Gilroy argues that a politically valuable cosmopolitanism is one characterized by a "principled and methodical cultivation of a degree of estrangement from one's own culture and history" and that this estrangement "is now a routine feature of the postmodern and postcolonial processes that condition metropolitan life" (67). Living in the metropolis represents an ontological condition for Gilroy equivalent to the cosmopolitan. The metropolitan city provides the defamiliarization that Gilroy suggests is central to cosmopolitanism. As well, the city "provide[s] a fragmented and stratified location in which cultures, histories, and structures of feeling previously separated by enormous distances could be found in the same place" (70). These simultaneous processes of defamiliarization and recombination appear to define the ontology of the metropolitan city.

Yet, while large metropolitan centres are unarguably more demographically diverse than smaller cities, the suggestion that the city is the only true place for cosmopolitanism runs the risk of reducing cosmopolitanism to a multiculturalism that is based on population censuses. But is cosmopolitanism fully, or even primarily, about demographics? Richard Day suggests that the centrality of ethnicity to multiculturalism points to "old-time demography [as] the greatest culprit [in a multiculturalism preoccupied with quantifiable difference] with its focus on ethnicity" (26-27). While cosmopolitan theory remains at some remove from this emphasis on quantifiable measures of diversity, the focus on the city reflects a similar concern with *measuring* visible cosmopolitanism.

Is Gilroy's understanding of the process of alienation associated with the city only locatable in large metropolises? Is it possible to envision the defamiliarization and recombination that he sees in the city in smaller places – either municipally organized or not? A site for the development of a sense of estrangement from one's own culture and history, for instance, can often be the university – a place which often similarly brings together formerly separated "cultures, histories, and structures of feeling." Yet to focus on the university in this way would, clearly, be to mark out cosmopolitanism as a site of specific kinds of privilege. What, then, of groups such as SIGTUR (Southern Initiative on Globalisation and Trade Union Rights), which is an international organization of trade unions in the global South? While this group is particularly focused on trade and labour issues, through its self-consciously internationalist affiliations,[25]

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[25] Internationalism, while a related concept to cosmopolitanism, is not quite synonymous with it. Both terms have similar transnational, rather than national, focuses. However,

it also acts in ways parallel to what Gilroy sees in the city. While SIGTUR does not mark the same level of economic privilege as the university, for example, it does represent a group in which membership is explicitly chosen; the same is not exactly true for those who live in the city.

　　　Residents of the metropolis may encounter difference whether they *choose* it or not, through its very omnipresence; though, as Bonnie Honig points out, "there is no logic that requires that relatively homogeneous societies are less tolerant than relatively heterogeneous ones, and there is no empirical evidence to support such a claim, either" (11). While these examples, just two of many, are not without qualifications that suggest certain forms of exclusion that Gilroy does not see in the city,[26] they do point to experiences of the cosmopolitanism outlined in *Postcolonial Melancholia* that are not located solely in the city. The city may well be a key location of these two examples – many universities are in metropolitan cities,[27] the bureaucratic arm of SIGTUR participant groups are often based out of metropolitan cities. The primary level of affiliation, nonetheless, is both above and within the nation. The city, in other words, is just part of what shapes both institutions' cosmopolitanism. The city may well remain a key site of action for both the university and SIGTUR, but difference is shaped by many valences here.

　　　The emphasis on the city as the only site of cosmopolitanism, however, suggests a problematic acceptance of a binary between progress and tradition. This preoccupation with the metropolis often posits the global city as the site of progress in comparison to the tradition-bound small town or rural area. In cosmopolitan theory, cosmopolitanism is frequently invoked as synonymous with progress and thus with the global metropolis, and in opposition to the perceived localism of the non-metropolitan which is presumed to stand in for the tradition-bound – a view which ignores the multiplicity of non-metropolitan places. K. Anthony Appiah and Paul Gilroy both engage in this kind of binaristic thinking about cosmopolitanism centered around both the global metropolis and progress. Appiah suggests that the transformation of taboo from "'what *we* don't do' to 'what we *happen* not to do'" marks a cosmopolitan shift as local traditions become exposed to different traditions. These traditions, as a result, become "quaint local custom that one observes without much enthusiasm and, in the end, only when it doesn't cause too much fuss" (*Cosmopolitanism* 53; emphasis in

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internationalism has a much more explicitly leftist political genealogy through Marx – something which cosmopolitanism does not. See Timothy Brennan's "Cosmopolitanism and Internationalism."

[26]　　　Gilroy seems to ignore the ways in which the city itself can be exclusionary. Rebecca Walkowitz notes that viewing the city as exclusively emancipatory means conflating the "rather different experience[s] for those who have full access to the city [with] those – women, migrants, colonial subjects – who do not" (16).

[27]　　　Though, of course, there are also many universities that are in small centres, not just in large cities.

original). The local is thus the site of unquestioned beliefs while the global (implied through the exposure to other traditions) is the site of a positive (for Appiah) skeptical secularism. Gilroy describes George Orwell's cosmopolitanism in a similar fashion by suggesting that "Orwell might be thought of as having traded the dubious benefits of his imperial Brit nationality for a rare opportunity to connect with and even understand the whole world" (79). In both cases, local identities (even writ large to include British nationality) are sites of stifling quaintness and affiliations to be *overcome* through cosmopolitanism. The near-Messianic quality ascribed to cosmopolitanism here (though both Appiah and Gilroy are much more circumspect, generally, about the value of whole-heartedly endorsing the cosmopolitan) echoes a Kantian vision of a cosmopolitan commonwealth as the *telos* of Enlightenment rationality. The suggestion that exposure to cultures and histories different from one's own acts as catalyst for important and productive engagements with diversity seems to me to be a valid one. Is exposure to difference, however, only possible in the metropolis? And is it enough to generate cosmopolitan sympathies? In both Appiah and Gilroy's examples, cosmopolitanism marks the replacement of tradition-bound localities for the metropolitan centre.

Similarly, Jacques Derrida's formulation of cosmopolitan hospitality also marks a privileging of the city in cosmopolitan theory. His notion of cities of refuge as a model for hospitality draws on the medieval example of sanctuary. He suggests that a project that develops cities of refuge "resembles a new cosmo*politics*" as these cities are imagined to be "as independent from the other and from the state as possible but, nevertheless, allied to each other according to forms of solidarity yet to be invented" (4; emphasis in original). Unlike Gilroy who suggests the centrality of cities to cosmopolitanism through their (apparent) inherent multiplicity, Derrida posits the centrality of cities based on their relative autonomy within a statist-system. Large cities, because of their very size, are able to offer hospitality to the displaced if it is denied by the state since they often have the ability to provide services that are nearly impossible for smaller municipalities to offer. Therefore, unlike Gilroy, Derrida's metropolitan focus points to a cosmopolitan ethical and political *project* rather than a philosophical *limit* to cosmopolitanism. This distinction is important because cities of refuge – a project developing out of Derrida's involvement in PEN International's city of refuge project for persecuted writers and mirrored in "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" campaigns, and now programs, in cities like Toronto and Chicago, as well as in "No One is Illegal" campaigns throughout the world – marks a process of *becoming* cosmopolitanism, rather than reflecting a being-cosmopolitanism.

Nonetheless, this kind of cosmopolitan project further reproduces the dichotomy between the cosmopolitan and the national. This project is predicated on metropolitan sovereignty: "How can the right to asylum be redefined and developed with repatriation and without naturalization? Could the City, equipped with new rights and greater sovereignty, open up new horizons previously

undreamt of by international state law" (Derrida 7-8)? The city rather than the nation becomes the site of sovereignty. This reduction in scale of sovereignty may well have many benefits. However, this changing of the location of sovereignty risks, on the other hand, mirroring the "death of the nation" rhetoric so alluring to neoliberal champions like Margaret Thatcher. As Timothy Brennan suggests, this argument about the decline of the nation-state is "doubly vexed" as it ignores "the prognoses of the makers of policy who know quite well this isn't so" and it borrows "uncritically from the perspectives of the makers of policy who would like to replace many states… with one or two" (*Wars of Position* 231). Further, Brennan states elsewhere that nation-states are "the terrains on which new constituencies can work along varied axes of power. They are, in fact, the only effective structures for doing so" ("Cosmopolitanism…" 75). Re-imagining the place of cities within states may well be a useful way to begin re-thinking how nation-states treat and address migrants – both those who arrive in a state under legally accepted means and those who enter a state illegally. Yet this new role of metropolises raises the question: what about cities that are not metropolises, or rural areas? Are these spaces destined to become sites where cosmopolitan values of free mobility are rejected? Non-metropolitan places potentially become a shelter from the cosmopolitan metropolis for those who reject cosmopolitan multiplicity – something already seen in racist militia groups locating compounds in rural areas. Locating sites of refuge only in the metropolis also denies how small communities often act as sites of refuge for migrants (many churches in small communities are central to the sponsorship of immigrants from impoverished countries). If new forms of sovereignty are ceded to metropolitan centres, this runs the risk of further establishing a split between urban and rural areas. Cities could determine their own fate to some degree, while rural areas would remain under a national rubric or even the domination of cities (something which is seen in the forced amalgamation of smaller communities into larger metropolitan areas).

Derrida's useful cosmopolitan ethical project also does not take into account the possibility of ethical responsibility at many different scales. Responsibility in Derrida's model is present at the global and then the metropolitan level. This points to his model's limited global applicability as it does not offer a way of thinking through cosmopolitan ethical responsibility at levels both smaller than the metropolis – the small city, the rural community, the neighborhood – nor between the metropolis and the global – the regional, the national, the continental. While this has philosophical ramifications, it also has practical implications as cities of refuge are primarily viable only for those who can get on planes and arrive in a city of refuge. What about those migrants who must make more makeshift journeys in cars, buses, boats or on foot? While they may make it to a city of refuge and, thus, claim refuge, this is dependent on getting there in the first place; indeed, the place most refugee-migrants reach first is a camp rather than a city. Does this mean that until they reach refuge cities

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there is no other way of enacting cosmopolitan responsibility? Expanding this model to places beyond the metropolis enables a broadening of the limits of ethical and political responsibility. Refuge cities as outlined by Derrida are predicated too heavily upon a European model where there are borders that are not primarily geographical (as in Canada and Australia which have oceans for most or all of the length of their borders). Veit Bader points out that this geographical difference between Europe and countries that traditionally receive large numbers of migrants and refugees (such as Canada, Australia and the United States) means a difference in their ability "to prevent large-scale illegal immigration" (10). Cities of refuge, then, take on a qualitatively and quantitatively different project in Europe than they do in Canada or the U.S. The tradition of cities of refuge is also far more established in Europe than they are elsewhere.

       This is not to suggest that this project is of limited value outside of a European context; instead, it is to argue that this cannot be the only way to understand cosmopolitanism. An emphasis on hypothetical or utopian cosmopolitan programs moves the cosmopolitan further and further away from any consideration of actual lived quotidian culture and the places where it occurs. Where do subjectivity and places fit in a definition of cosmopolitanism that is based primarily on state or city sovereignty? Despite cosmopolitan theory's traditional language of universalism, a politically responsible cosmopolitanism is one which must be attentive to the particular, especially the specificity of place, which I will go on to discuss in the next chapter, in conjunction with the global.

Chapter 2: Cosmpolitan Readings of Place

> It occurred to me that in a way a landscape is not unlike a
> book – a compilation of pages that overlap without any two
> ever being the same… On occasion these pages are ruled
> with lines that are invisible to some people, while being for
> others as real, as charged and as volatile as high-voltage
> cables. (Ghosh 186)

In his essay, "Bradford," Hanif Kureishi offers a list of what it means to be British in the mid-1980s that updates T.S. Eliot's similar list in *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, nearly forty years earlier: "yoga exercises, going to Indian restaurants, the music of Bob Marley, the novels of Salman Rushdie, Zen Buddhism, the Hare Krishna temple, as well as the films of Sylvester Stallone, therapy, hamburgers, visits to gay bars, the dole office and the taking of drugs" (78).[28] Kureishi's list reveals a new, more cosmopolitan Britain that is no longer imagined to be the exclusive purview of Anglo-Saxon whiteness. However, what is equally worthy of attention is the way that Kureishi explicitly locates this new British identity in particular, locatable places – the various places mentioned in the list and in the very title of the essay – "Bradford." Place, then, is key to this reimagined Britishness. British identity, which is not stable and unchanging in Kureishi's eyes, is understood to be experienced *in place*; national identity does not exist solely in the ephemerality of discursive space nor is it understood as simply a reflection of what London looks like (which would repeat the pervasive metonymic gesture of a large city standing in for the nation as a whole). Given the age of this essay (it was initially published in an issue of *Granta* in 1986 – over 20 years ago), Kureishi or others would no doubt feel that the list could well use an update. Identity, so understood, is never only one thing and one thing forever as place itself is never truly static.

The provisional notion of national identity that Kureishi articulates in this essay is in marked contrast to the notion of "dwelling" which Martin Heidegger outlines in "Building Dwelling Thinking." For Heidegger, dwelling (being-in-place) entails an essentialized sense of place where a location has a specific, singular identity. Heidegger's example of the cottage at the edge of the Black Forest could not be more different from Kureishi's list of what it means to be British:

> Let us think for a while of a farmhouse in the Black Forest, which
> was built some two hundred years ago by the dwelling of
> peasants… It placed the farm on the wind-sheltered mountain slope

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[28]   Eliot's list is as follows: "Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar" (298). His list also points to specific places but focuses on a much more culturally homogenous list of activities that originate, for the most part, in England.

> looking south, among the meadows close to the spring. It gave it
> the wide overhanging shingle roof whose proper slope bears up
> under the burden of snow, and which, reaching deep down, shields
> the chambers against the storms of the long winter nights. It did
> not forget the altar corner behind the community table; it made
> room in its chamber for the hallowed places of childbed and the
> 'tree of the dead'… and in this way it designed for the different
> generations under one roof the character of their journey through
> time. A craft which, itself sprung from dwelling, still uses its tools
> and frames as things, built the farmhouse. (160)

Heidegger, like Kureishi, recognizes the importance of specific places to both
individual subjectivity and the larger cultural imaginary. This cottage at the edge
of the Black Forest is both real and not-real and it derives its potency as a symbol
through this very uncertainty. We understand place both through what it is and
through what we imagine/ hope it to be. Problematically (and unlike Kureishi),
Heidegger situates dwelling, however, in a nostalgic indeterminate past. In
contrast to Kureishi's emphatic urbanity, Heidegger's past significantly is rural,
reflecting (and producing) common discourses on the rural – "rural areas are
traditionally the site and source of authentic national identity" (Casteel 1). The
radically un-cosmopolitan nature of Heidegger's cottage is not incidental to its
ruralness. Its anti-cosmopolitanism is where its authenticity lies for Heidegger as
he emphasizes the continuity from the past to the present; the "tree of the dead,"
in particular, suggests an unchanging pattern of continuity. Kureishi is
preoccupied with the "now" of his own situation – a now which is to Kureishi
necessarily cosmopolitan – while Heidegger categorically denies his own time
(there is no overt sense in "Building Dwelling Thinking" that it is written in 1951)
to focus on the past – a past which is to Heidegger defined by "authentic" national
spirit and identity. Heidegger imagines place as having a singular, essential
identity and, given his focus on a nostalgic past, this is an identity that is, more or
less, eternal. Germanness in 1951 seems unlikely to be encapsulated in a
romanticized and pastoral vision (perhaps, particularly so given the context of a
post-WWII divided country). Instead, Heidegger envisions place as an
unchanging site of national authenticity – imagining the rural as fundamentally
un-cosmopolitan. Yet while Kureishi attempts to engage with actual lived British
places, Heidegger depicts place in such a way that it conflates an imagined rural
with the actual rural – places which are not so homogeneous as Heidegger
suggests.

     Despite the problematic aspect to Heidegger's conception of place, it is a
view of place that retains a great deal of popular currency and is central to much
academic thought on place and space.[29] Sarah Casteel, for instance, suggests that

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[29]   While few academics might subscribe uncritically to Heidegger's nostalgic
conceptualization of place, definitions of space which centre on mobility and fluidity are clearly a

"several of the governing metaphors of contemporary cultural criticism – Paul Gilroy's slave-ship chronotope, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's nomadism, Arjun Appadurai's five 'landscapes' of globalization – register the extent to which place has fallen out of favour, these spatial metaphors serving to emphasize movement rather than location" (3). Discussions of place remain remarkably abstract as well as, more importantly, overly generalized – "spatial designators such as 'terrain,' 'landscape,' and 'borders' are more often than not metaphorized in contemporary criticism" (Casteel 3). They exist implicitly, however, within the framework of a Heideggerian notion of dwelling as new fluid notions of place contradict previous assumptions of place as static. While national identity or personal subjectivity, more generally, is not obviously (or exclusively) a question about place, the centrality of space in contemporary criticism ignores the important particularity of place and insists on seeing location in a highly essentializing way.[30] This gesture of dismissal rests on a simplistic equation of place with the Heideggerian notion of dwelling.

I want to move away from this focus on space – with its metaphors of fluidity and constant mobility – to focus on a concept of place that is grounded in material relations and processes. The various critics that Casteel mentions introduce useful ways of thinking about contemporary globalization yet, as Casteel implies, this means an elision of the multi- and re-territorialization that is simultaneous to global deterritorialization. Cultural criticism which sees place almost exclusively as metaphor – or space – does not give us the language to address this multi- and re-territorialization. Cosmopolitan theory takes part in the predominance of spatial language through its emphasis on deterritorialization. I want to instead suggest that in order to address the scales of cosmopolitan ethical responsibility we must pay closer attention to the way cosmopolitan sensibilities are enacted in specific locations.

As Heideggerian dwelling does not reflect the multiplicity of places themselves nor acknowledge the influence on place by larger systems (such as capitalism, racism, colonialism, etc.), it provides an insufficient framework for addressing cosmopolitanism. Given that Heidegger's general project is more abstractly ontological, this is, perhaps, unsurprising. Following Henri Lefebvre, a variety of cultural geographers such as Doreen Massey as well as historian Michel de Certeau all offer ways of thinking about place that attempt to acknowledge the material experience of individual places as well as their synchronic connections to other places.

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reaction to this Heideggerian definition. Place as a static and romanticized location central to "authentic" nationhood, then, remains central through opposition.

[30]   I use "place" to denote sites determined primarily by materiality or fixed location and "space" to refer to sites that are either primarily symbolic, or simultaneously symbolic and material.

In this chapter, I offer a provisional definition of place as I will use it in this dissertation. I consider the differing definitions of place outlined in geographical, bioregionalist and postcolonial discourses. By bringing these related yet divergent discourses together, I am able to offer a definition of place that reflects the multiple affiliations and trajectories of cosmopolitanism. In the next section of the chapter, I consider, more explicitly, the connections between cosmopolitanism and place. In particular, I suggest the new visions of place that emerge from looking at place from a cosmopolitan perspective. In the final section, I consider the political possibilities raised by thinking of place through the lens of cosmopolitanism.

Defining Place:
Place has many definitions in geographical discourse. In *Space, Place and Gender*, Doreen Massey offers a definition for place as that which "is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location" (168). This definition acknowledges the way in which place does not emerge fully formed out of the past, but, instead is constructed and changed over time. This follows Henri Lefebvre's resistance to viewing place (though which he terms space) as organic as this "implies a myth of origins, and its adduction eliminates any account of genesis, any study of transformations, in favour of an image of continuity and a cautious evolutionism" (*Production of Space* 275). Massey and Lefebvre posit a notion of place that draws to the surface its constructedness. Massey posits that "the identities of places are always unfixed, contested and multiple" (*Space, Place and Gender* 5), and the definition of place itself reflect this in their multiple contestations. Place and our understanding of it, like so many other categories such as gender and race, is shown to be a construct that emerges from a variety of social practices.

Lefebvre's distinction between "representational space" and "representations of space" are two ways in which he distinguishes between lived space (ie. place) and imagined space, and the impact of specific kinds of social practices on both. Representations of space are "conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers... all of who identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived... This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production)" (*Production of Space* 38-39). Representational space, however, is "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'" (39). If, as Lefebvre argues, representations of space (conceptual space) are the dominant social space then this means that our understandings of the places we inhabit are predominantly shaped by visions of place developed out of systems external to ourselves.[31] While place is still constructed, it is a

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[31]   Lefebvre's vision of represented space and systems which construct it echoes an Althusserian definition of ideology. For Lefebvre, ideology is particularly invested in space;

construction which its inhabitants have little direct hand in; lived place "is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (39).

Unlike Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau focuses explicitly on the practices rather than the systems that shape the experience of place. Indeed, de Certeau defines space as "a practiced place" (117).[32] De Certeau's notion of "practiced place" is a helpful way of looking at place as it asserts the importance of practitioners or inhabitants of place. This suggests the ways in which cosmopolitan sensibilities can change not only perceptions of place but what place itself might look like. The inhabitants of a place, in Lefebvre's definition, are suggested to be, in some ways, at the mercy of larger social systems such as capitalism, colonialism, racism (among others). Doreen Massey notes that there is a power-geometry of access to place – bringing together Lefebvre's and de Certeau's definitions:

> since social relations are inevitably and everywhere imbued with power and meaning and symbolism... the spatial is an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification... Most evidently this is so because the social relations of space are experienced differently, and variously interpreted, by those holding different positions as part of it. (*Space, Place...* 3)

This suggests that de Certeau's practitioners have varying levels of access to place and that this access is, in part, shaped by the systems that Lefebvre suggests are key to creating places.[33]

Both Lefebvre and Massey, then, see the ways that place is often shaped by systems and those who materialize them which are far-removed from a particular location. Here, de Certeau offers a useful interruption into geographical discourses that accounts for the ways in which place is used by its inhabitants in surprising and unexpected ways that it was not originally intended for. Indeed, de Certeau suggests that "the street geometrically defined by urban planning [or Lefebvre's representations of space] is transformed into a space by walkers" (117). This argument of de Certeau's does echo Lefebvre's about the distinction between representational and representations of space. Nonetheless, this aspect of place easily gets lost in *The Production of Space*. De Certeau's attention to the practices that create place by its "users" offers a way of thinking about place that is not easily reducible to a determinism from above. In some ways, then, de Certeau's points to Dirlik's exhortation that, "against the either/ or approach to

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"what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. Ideology *per se* might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space" (44).

[32]   De Certeau inverts Lefebvre's definitions of "space" and "place." Therefore, to fit this into the way I use the terms, place is practiced space.

[33]   Aboriginal view's of place as "land" as well as an notions of agency and citizenship among non-human subjects challenge this anthropocentric view of place.

questions of place and space, it is necessary to reintegrate the two in new reorganizations of space – from below" (39).

A definition of place that acknowledges that place is shaped by both large global systems *and* the quotidian transformations by inhabitants provides the possibility of further differentiating this definition from those that see place as static and reactionary. This definition of place also offers a way of making visible the place of the cosmopolitan as it emphasizes the multiplicity and mutability of place. Places, like cosmopolitan sensibilities, develop meaning out of various simultaneous trajectories. Both de Certeau and Lefebvre in their description of the different users of place demonstrate the various kinds of users – who might coalesce in one person – who shape definitions of place. This definition of place that sees it as a fixed location whose physicality is shaped from both above and below is the one that I will be using throughout.

But, how does this definition of place account for natural space (nature)? How applicable is it to non-urban, or even non-metropolitan, places? Massey, Lefebvre and de Certeau are, almost exclusively, concerned with metropolitan place and, therefore, discuss places that have been highly manipulated by humanity. Definitions of place that acknowledge, and indeed focus upon, natural space are prevalent in ecocriticism and particularly in bioregionalist discourse; indeed, "ecocritical conceptions of the world tend, not surprisingly, to privilege non-urban settings, in which those other life forms predominate" (O'Brien). Further, as Arif Dirlik suggests, these prevalent definitions are not without their own confusion as they "us[e] such terms as *local, spatial,* and *place-based* interchangeably" (15; emphasis in original). Dirlik attempts to bring some clarity to these hazy signifiers; however, he moves away from using place to signify a specific location to seeing place as metaphor and as project (22, 23) – engaging in the metaphorization that Casteel identifies and criticizes. This move on Dirlik's part draws attention to some important nuances in Lefebvre et al.'s various usages of terms which are (roughly) synonymous with place. Yet, Dirlik's own theorization of place does not pay enough attention to his own criticism of Massey's conceptualization of place as "overly zealous... in disassociating place from fixed location" (22). It remains important to keep a notion of fixed location central to any definition of place as place remains most immediately experienced as fixed location. Thus, I would suggest that any attempt to territorialize cosmopolitanism that does not recognize the centrality of place as fixed location or one that emphasizes space over place will not be a useful one.

Bioregional definitions of place offer a way of accounting for the non-human elements of place. Michael Vincent McGinnis states that "bioregionalists believe that as members of distinct communities, human beings cannot avoid interacting with and being affected by their specific location, place and bioregion: despite modern technology, we are not insulated from nature" (2). McGinnis and other bioregionalists insist upon the recognition of the interconnection between human and natural places. Unlike cultural geography whose emphasis is on built

locations, bioregionalism draws attention to the multiple elements that make up
place. Dan Flores suggests that

> the particularism of distinctive *places* fashioned by human
> culture's peculiar and fascinating interpenetration with all the
> vagaries of topography, climate, and evolving ecology that define
> landscapes – and the continuing existence of such *places* despite
> the homogenizing forces of the modern world ought to cause us to
> realize that one of the most insightful ways for us to think about
> the human past is in the form of what might be called *bioregional*
> histories. (44; emphasis in original)

This call for a bioregional history acknowledges that "to an extent all history is
the history of place" (Flores 46) and also points to the manner in which a
bioregional definition of place brings together myriad elements such as
topography, climate, ecology and culture. These discourses are notably different
from those of cultural geography as, firstly, culture is only one part of the
paradigm and not necessarily central and, secondly, they suggest the possibility of
rejecting a economically determinist view of place – economics is absent from
Flores' list of "the vagaries... that define landscape" (except, perhaps, for its part
in human culture). Instead, this sense of place is shaped by the natural sciences
which are, primarily, descriptive.[34]

     This shift away from contemporary place as a constructed notion
developing from, primarily, global capitalism to place as understood as
synonymous (or, at least, nearly so) with nature opens up other possibilities for
considering the way that people experience place. As Neil Evernden suggests in
The Social Creation of Nature "what is important to note, however, is that there *is*
a metaphysic lying behind the simple existence of the word *nature*. It is not
simply a description of a found object: it is also an assertion of a relationship"
(21). Evernden's assertion parallels Lefebvre's suggestion that there is a
difference between place and nature – place being socially constructed whereas
nature preexists humanity – yet Evernden also suggests that how we understand
nature itself is a construction. Indeed, "the possibility of having a *thing* called
nature is as significant a development as a fish having a 'thing' called water:
where there was once an invisible, preconscious medium through which each
moved, there is now an object to examine and describe" (Evernden 20). For
Lefebvre (and implicitly for other cultural geographers), nature remains primarily
an "invisible, preconscious medium." This is problematic for clearly ecological
reasons: if one is unconscious of one's existence-in-nature, then one is probably
unaware of the impact of that existence *on* nature. A definition of constructed
place that develops out of cultural geography can lead to the illusion of

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[34]   The natural sciences do, of course, look for explanations as well as simply observing.
Nonetheless, these explanations act as a sort of description for most people as they seem to exist
outside of everyday lived experience.

helplessness without attention to the way its inhabitants take part in this construction. Place, by that definition, seems outside of the influence of most people who do not hold the reins of large scale economic, political and cultural systems. A definition of place that sees it almost exclusively in terms of nature may not be so different as it can lead to similar mode of fatalism – a mode that is encapsulated in responses to natural disasters which emphasize the uncertainty and random cruelty of nature. Controlling nature, like global capital, is out of the hands of most people (if not all individuals). This is not to say, however, that individuals do not influence either nature or global capital; nonetheless, the totalizing nature of these definitions can obscure the role that the individual or small groups of people have in shaping these systems – and by extension, place.

One way in which bioregionalist definitions of place elide the place of the human in shaping bioregions is through a narrow definition of culture. Indeed, the definition of culture that seems to predominate in bioregionalist discourse is one that is primarily anthropological. Given the emphasis on the natural and social sciences in bioregionalism, this is, perhaps, not surprising. E.B. Tylor's canonical anthropological definition sees culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (*Primitive Culture* 1). However, in its usage by Michael Vincent McGinnis, this definition of culture is one in which the creative element of it has been largely disassociated. Thus, "'inside a circle' of animals and plants, human beings are joined by a multitude of fibers that connect them to a place. Human culture is a result of this system of primordial connections with others (both plants and animals, living and nonliving)" (2). Culture here derives from interspecies connection and is specifically located in nature. Yet it is a definition that does not acknowledge the role of art, law, and custom that Tylor associates with culture. Indeed, Neil Evernden suggests that nature and culture (understood as art, law, custom and history) have problematically been made dichotomous: "with the Barthesian thought-police at work weeding nature from our cultural garden… meaning is not, *may* not be, a part of nature. Meaning and purpose are solely the consequence of human thought" (*The Social Creation of Nature* 30).

This dichotomy between nature and culture is by no means exclusive to Evernden. Nonetheless, it points to the disjuncture between geographic and bioregional definitions of place. For, on one hand, Lefebvre and others insist upon the social construction of place – a definition which is dependent upon culture – and, on the other, the bioregionalists insist upon attention to the role of nature in place. Gretchen Legler argues that

> if we are to make any progress in understanding 'nature' itself in any other context besides the nostalgic and romantic, those two nearly useless positions which serve largely to freeze aesthetic and intellectual progress, then we must divest ourselves of the notion of nature as a 'source of insight and promise of innocence', and

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instead entertain the idea that nature itself is not only the whole
playing table of history and politics, but a player itself. (71-72)
While many bioregionalist theorists would resist, like Legler, a view of nature that
is nostalgic or romantic, her suggestion that nature is "a player itself" suggests the
possibility of envisioning a definition of place that reads nature and culture
dialectically. This is a definition of place that attempts to bridge the geographic
and the bioregional definition of place. Thus, in addition to the notion of place I
suggested above, the definition I will use considers the role that nature – in
addition to users and systems from both above and below – has in shaping the
fixed locations of place. Nature, on the surface, seems to have little connection
with the cosmopolitan. What I want to think through, however, is how
cosmopolitan sensibilities interact with the natural world in places.
Cosmopolitanism as frequent travel often entails a distancing from nature;
cosmopolitanism exists seemingly in the realm of the purely constructed. Yet
cosmopolitan sensibilities shape how nature is understood – particularly now as
nature becomes increasingly a transnational commodity.[35] Territorialized
cosmopolitan sensibilities might be one way of addressing this commodification
by their affiliation and ethical responsibility to the local and the global
simultaneously. This is a model where neither the local nor the global are
presumed to be isolated from one another but instead are inter-dependent.

One of the telling things about the definitions of place offered by cultural
criticism and bioregionalism is their attention to place as a specific locale (though
sometimes considered in abstract generalities) without necessarily invoking the
nation. Postcolonial theory is another academic discourse which also invokes
place; however, it frequently does not have the specificity that characterize
geographical and bioregionalist notions of place through a focus on
deterritorialization and movement. In fact, current postcolonial theory tends to
focus on place almost exclusively in terms of discourse – mirroring this
deterritorialization through rhetoric. In *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*,
Bill Ashcroft et.al define place as,

> in the experience of the post-colonial subject... a palimpsest of *a
> process in language*: the naming by which imperial discourse
> brings the colonized space 'into being', the subsequent rewritings
> and overwritings, the imaging of the place in the consciousness of
> its occupants, all of which constitute the contemporary place
> observed by the subject and contested among them. The most
> challenging aspect of this thesis is that the ordinary social subject,
> when looking at the surrounding environment, does not simply
> take in what is there as purely visual data, but is located with that
> place in a cultural horizon, that is, the simply observed place is a

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[35]   Anna Tsing's description in *Friction* of the transnational grab for commodities in
Indonesia points to cosmopolitan understandings and (ab)uses of nature explicitly (74).

cultural palimpsest built up over centuries and retaining the traces
of previous engagements and inscriptions. (175; emphasis added)
While this definition has surface similarities to Lefebvre's and Massey's (and
other geographers) suggestion of the constructedness of place, it does so in a way
that constructs an implicit binary between the colonizer's place and that of the
colonized. Ashcroft et al. seem to suggest that the palimpsestic qualities of place
are predominantly found in colonial places – deemphasizing the experience of
place in the metropolis and suggesting that the palimpsestic nature of place is
primarily, if not exclusively, the result of colonialism. While the construction of
place has important differences in England and its former colonies, the processes
Ashcroft et al. describe reflect metropolitan spaces as well – suggesting the way
that European understandings of colonial places (which is generally what
Ashcroft et al. examine here) were imported alongside other imperial processes:
"Mapping, naming, fictional and non-fictional narratives create multiple and
sometimes conflicting accretions which become the dense text that constitutes
place. In short, empty space becomes place through language, in the process of
being written and named" (Ashcroft et al. 174-75). The suggestion that place only
comes into being through language is also at odds with a bioregionalist definition
of place as it is highly anthropocentric – suggesting that places do not exist
without human language. This definition has eerie similarities to the colonial
deployment of the concept of *terra nullius* where the idea of private property was
used to justify the expropriation of land from Aboriginals.

At the same time, as Ania Loomba suggests,

> If literary and cultural theory has widened the scope of studies on
> colonialism, it also poses real problems for a historically specific
> materialist critical practice. The idea that historical processes and
> practices can be analysed by looking at them as 'texts' has proved
> to be both enabling and problematic. In recent postcolonial theory
> and criticism, some critics allege, literary texts begin to stand for
> all social processes; analysis of representation and discourse
> replaces all discussion of events and material reality.(94)

Loomba's concerns mirror Henri Lefebvre's concerns about viewing space only
as text: "space was *produced* before being *read*; nor was it produced in order to be
read and grasped but rather in order to be *lived* by people with bodies and lives in
their own particular urban context" (*Production of Space* 143). This
preoccupation in postcolonial studies with discourse marks, what Anthony D.
King terms, its "humanities phase" – catalysed by the publication of Edward
Said's *Orientalism* in 1978 which takes Foucault's notion of discourse as its
theoretical bedrock. King suggests in *Spaces of Global Cultures* that "in ignoring
the physical, spatial, architectural, urban and landscape realities in which many of
these various colonial discourses developed, [postcolonial theory] erase[s] (by
ignoring) the essential *material* conditions, and mental referents, without which
other cultural practices and forms of representation... would have been

impossible" (57). This erasure of the material conditions of colonialism and, therefore, postcolonialism can be seen in the introduction to the section on place in *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* where Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin suggest that "in some sense place *is* language, something in constant flux, a discourse in process" (391). They go on to state that "a major feature of post-colonial literatures is the concern with either developing or recovering an appropriate identifying relationship between self and place" (392) – which, according to their definition, will always be a relationship mediated by language. Again, while it is useful to consider the role of discourse in constructing notions of place and home, this conceptualization disregards the actual physical and material experience of space.

Indeed, while the definition of place that circulates most widely in postcolonial theory is one which emphasizes discourse, it does point usefully to the multiplicity (and the power relations that attend this multiplicity) present in place. As well, while it does so problematically, this postcolonial definition of place points more explicitly to the importance of considering the way that cultural discourses, in particular, construct place. Ashcroft et al.'s suggestion of the role of fictional and non-fictional narratives highlights the way that imaginative practices shape the material world. This cultural aspect is often consigned to the margins in geographical and bioregional definitions of place. While we should be wary of assigning a too-singular centrality to cultural products in shaping the world, it remains useful and productive to be attentive to the role they do have in conjunction with other forces.

Seeing place as a palimpsest (as Ashcroft et al. do) suggests the potential for imagining place through the lens of cosmopolitanism as it draws our attention to multiple constructions of a place – both historically and contemporarily. If place marks the site of the accretion of various past ways of imagining land use and movement through place, if it is a constellation of various social and natural histories, then it becomes difficult to imagine place as standing in for authenticity. Heidegger's cabin in the mountains that is timeless and unchanging becomes an unworkable symbol for place as it does not account for the original inhabitants of the same place nor for any other inhabitants who might predate the ancestors of contemporary Germans. It remains important to consider place as not just a site upon which lives (and *urban* lives, in particular) are lived. Postcolonial theory tends to "envision the world through urban eyes" (O'Brien) – suggesting the limits postcolonial theory raises for thinking through place. Instead, place must be understood as a fixed location which derives its specificity from the intersection of a variety of social and natural systems as well as a location that is constructed both from above – by those who actively shape its representations from a position of power – and from below – by the inhabitants of place who shape it "under the radar." However, this definition of place is not synonymous with the urban. As I will demonstrate more explicitly in later chapters, this definition of place is equally applicable to rural places and non-metropolitan

urban areas. By bringing together geographical, bioregional and postcolonial definitions of place, it becomes possible to conceive of a definition of place that does not see it as a static container of an essentialized identity.

Cosmopolitan Place:

Given the primary association with specific locations that I insist upon in the definition of place, place seems at first to be in opposition to cosmopolitanism, which is characterized by multiplicity and mobility. Yi-Fu Tuan posits that "we think of space as that which allows movement... place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place" (6) – a notion of place which explicitly argues that place is just a series of pauses in the mobility central to cosmopolitanism, which Tuan connects to the more abstract concept of space. Discourses of cosmopolitanism, and the closely related fields of diaspora and globalization studies, emphasize the importance of mobility and deterritorialization. Indeed, the cosmopolitan individual is typically understood to develop this subjectivity out of frequent movement – the sense of the cosmopolitan expressed in Pico Iyer's notion of the "global soul" or Zygmunt Bauman's "tourist." This definition of the cosmopolitan, however, fails to recognize that cosmopolitan subjectivities do not only develop from movement. Nor does it recognize that, no matter how frequently a person moves around, they are always already located some*where*.

In "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place," Doreen Massey emphasizes the need to consider the uneven access that different people have to shape global mobility:

> Different social groups have distinct relationships to [flows and interconnections] anyway – differential mobility: some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it. (61)

Massey criticizes those who are too quick to embrace an unproblematized vision of globalization as simply the possibility of heterogeneous interactions between people. Her attention to the uneven access to power and space is nuanced to acknowledge the way that time-space compression is not necessarily a matter of movement. Her examples of the pensioner in the inner city bedsit in England and people living in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, and their varied access to cosmopolitan goods, suggests different kinds of immobility which are at the same time mobile. Instead of seeing mobility as a kind of dichotomy between the wholly deterritorialized and the wholly place-bound, which disregards the way that mobility is never so completely one-sided, Massey considers the intricacies of time-space compression.

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In the same article, Massey also argues for a "progressive sense of place" that recognizes its inherent multiplicity.[36] Place is not a form of stasis nor does it have a single essential identity; "what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus" (66). This emphasis on the construction and mutability of place is useful in recognizing the ways in which places themselves are always already sites of cosmopolitan possibility. Instead of seeing the cosmopolitan only in terms of exposure to different locales and the resulting impact on subjectivities, Massey's re-definition of place points to how people access the cosmopolitan in ways that are not only the result of their own frequent mobility. A progressive sense of place is in direct contrast with the nostalgic and conservative sense of dwelling espoused by Heidegger, which posits that each place has a singular essential quality to it. By following Massey's focus on social constellations, it becomes possible to see beneath the veneer of homogeneity cultivated by or, more importantly, assumed of many smaller cities and particularly of rural communities. Massey's focus on the social relations, plural, which aggregate at a particular locus, suggests the impossibility of places being homogeneous. While claims of homogeneity should always be suspect, Massey posits that these claims in relation to place are particularly problematic and misleading. Massey's definition of place draws our attention to aspects of place that are not primarily about ethnicity or even historical accumulation. Affiliation to place, here, is not dependent upon a particular ethnic background or historical presence but on the multiple affiliations which express themselves in a particular formation in a specific locale. These particular constellations include social relations that relate to class, gender and sexuality, and are both synchronic and diachronic.

Despite her and most place-theorists's nearly exclusive focus on the urban – in particular, the global metropolis – Massey's articulation of the many social relations that converge in places offers a particularly useful way to think through what the cosmopolitan might look like in rural places. This sense of place acknowledges the specificity and construction (both by nature and culture, and from above and below) of place yet draws attention to how particular locations develop out of global connections as well as the more regional ones bioregionalists emphasize.

This suggestion is one that is echoed in the work of other cultural geographers. For instance, in *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre argues for a conception of space that recognizes its simultaneously global and local nature:

> It is not, therefore, as though one had global (or conceived) space
> to one side and fragmented (or directly experienced) space to the

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[36]   Massey's use of "progressive" is somewhat problematic as it suggests that this particular conceptualization of place represents an evolutionary step. However, her use of the term is meant to evoke a constant change rather than movement forward.

> other – rather as one might have an intact glass here and a broken
> glass or mirror over there. For space 'is' whole and broken, global
> and fractured, at one and the same time. (355-56)

Like Doreen Massey's progressive sense of place, Lefebvre points to the way in
which space is both mobile and immobile. As well, in a manner similar to
Massey, Lefebvre resists the temptation to establish a binary between the local
and the global with the global being privileged in a world of time-space
compression. Instead, he suggests that "no space disappears in the course of
growth and development; the *worldwide does not abolish the local*" (86; emphasis
in original). The global and the local, like space and time, are not two discrete
categories; instead, they interpenetrate one another. Lefebvre's emphasis on the
dual nature of place is especially important as it recognizes the possibilities for a
cosmopolitanism that is not only predicated on rapid international migration.

Similarly, in *Postmodern Geographies*, Edward Soja points to the physical
multiplicity present in Los Angeles that he suggests is a more widely distributed
attribute of late twentieth/ early twenty-first century place. He says that

> seemingly paradoxical but functionally interdependent
> juxtapositions are the epitomizing features of contemporary Los
> Angeles. Coming together here are especially vivid
> exemplifications of many different processes and patterns
> associated with the societal restructuring of the late twentieth
> century. The particular combinations are unique, but condensed
> within them are more general expressions and reflections.(193)

The simultaneously unique and universal qualities of Los Angeles, therefore,
provide possibilities for considering the same trends in other spaces throughout
the globe. Soja describes the heterogeneity of Los Angeles, saying that "there is a
Boston in Los Angeles, a Lower Manhattan and a South Bronx, a São Paulo and a
Singapore" (193). Not only does this suggest the potential interchangeability of
big cities (something with which suburbs are frequently charged) or the presence
of people from all over the United States and the globe, but, as signalled by Soja's
use of spatial references, the ways in which places contain other places.

Yet, as Massey implicitly suggests, the kinds of social relations that Soja
identifies are present in all places – not only large metropolitan ones – though the
trends Soja identifies in Los Angeles inevitably appear and signify differently. In
rural communities, for instance, physical multiplicity may be articulated on a
much smaller scale – such as portions of neighbourhoods rather than larger areas
of a city, as there may not be the same demographic presence of difference. The
smaller scale of non-metropolitan heterogeneity means that it is easy to miss or
ignore. It marks, however, a different way of engaging with the various social
relations that Soja and Massey suggest are integral to the construction of place.
People who are different from one another in smaller places interact with each
another on an everyday basis – sometimes this interaction is positive but
sometimes not. This is interaction based on everyday culture and necessary

cooperation. This interaction goes on in large metropolitan places, as well, but often, in that case, it is ignored in favour of larger scale multiplicity like that Soja identifies. Further, while this physical cosmopolitanism may be accommodated and, indeed, encouraged by global metropolises, this is not always the case in small communities which sometimes wish to brand themselves as different from metropolises. Nonetheless, this kind of difference is still present in smaller places – Soja's focus on Los Angeles and metropolises, like Massey's similar emphasis on the metropolis, notwithstanding.

As well, by mentioning cities (Boston, São Paulo, etc.), Soja envisions a cosmopolitanism that is not the same thing as the proliferation of various "little" versions of nations – which is usually what is meant when talking about a "multicultural" city and which privileges a particular kind of cosmopolitanism that can be found only in metropolitan spaces. For instance, the Little Italys and Koreas, or Chinatowns (just three examples of the ethnic enclaves found in many metropolises) and the accompanying restaurants and stores are popularly pointed to as examples of a metropolis's multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Not only does this privilege a model of cosmopolitanism that is most frequently found in metropolises but it also suggests a cosmopolitanism that is about the consumption (quite literally in the case of restaurants) of difference. Thus, while these neighbourhoods are spatialized difference, there is also a form of deterritorialization going on here. While someone may feel an affiliation with a particular nation, it is at the level of the city or even neighbourhood that that affiliation is spatialized. Soja points to these more specific affiliations in his listing of cities and neighbourhoods – Boston, Lower Manhattan, etc.

A cosmopolitan view of place provides a way of thinking about a cosmopolitanism that is not reliant on movement – something which is often the prerogative of the rich – although a history of movement is implied, or the cosmopolitanization of place which suggests that cosmopolitanism is characteristic of certain places and not others. Instead, a territorialized cosmopolitanism sees places through the lens of the locations in which we find ourselves. Places, as discussed above, are not singular essential locations nor do they stand in for nature in a simplistic way. Furthermore, reading place through a cosmopolitan consciousness draws attention to the way that places emerge diachronically as well as synchronically. The sedimentation of various histories accretes in place and shapes our sense of place – whether it is consciously acknowledged or not. For instance, in postcolonial settler societies like Canada, places derive their attributed qualities from their pre-colonial significance to aboriginals, their initial settler identities, and later in- and out-migration as well as contemporary multiplicity. These sites are, therefore, always hybrid places that make meaning through a variety of histories and ways of considering place.

The Political Possibilities of Cosmopolitan Place

In *Space, Place and Gender*, Doreen Massey challenges the view held by Ernesto Laclau, Frederic Jameson and others that "in the realm of the spatial, [there is] no true temporality and thus no possibility of politics" (251). Just as Heidegger poses place "as a source of stability and an unproblematical identity" ("Power-geometry... 63), Laclau and Jameson (whom Massey singles out but whom she suggests are representative of many others) define place "as stasis and utterly opposed to time [where politics lies]" (*Space, Place and Gender* 251). This view of space is in opposition to both Massey's progressive sense of place and Henri Lefebvre's sense of space in *The Production of Space*. Massey also resists Laclau's definition of space by considering space and time as intertwined, stating that "space is not static, nor time spaceless" (264). This suggests that the spatial is also political and space-time must be considered simultaneously – in other words, it is not enough to consider place only synchronically without considering history. This seems particularly important in the context of non-metropolitan places which may seem homogeneous when considered synchronically but, when examined diachronically, are actually much more heterogeneous than initially assumed. Massey's emphasis on the importance of space-time offers a useful methodology as it insists on examining the multi-dimensionality of a place rather than as "a kind of 3-D (and indeed more usually 2-D) slice which moves through time" (264).

Massey's insistence on the importance of considering places diachronically is another way to consider the cosmopolitan that is not dependent upon movement but that acknowledges the myriad patterns that converge at a specific place at various times and influence possible future constellations. This points to new ways of examining place, but how does this influence how place is actually *experienced* by its inhabitants? In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau outlines some of the practices through which the inhabitants of the city engage with place. His engagement with questions of place are more phenomenologically and psychologically oriented than those of Lefebvre, Massey and Soja, as well as being more explicitly interested in culture, and writing in particular. Also, he is less concerned with understanding actual material experiences of place than Massey and Soja are. He does not point to specific case study-like examples of the practices he describes but instead focuses on the abstract yet simultaneously material practices of place. Indeed, through his examination of the practices (notably plural) of everyday life, de Certeau allows for a broader understanding of what it means to exist in place.

In particular, de Certeau's distinction between "strategy" and "tactic" offers a useful way of thinking through how people engage with power – especially the power made material in urban structure. De Certeau defines a strategy as something which "postulates a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed" (36; emphasis in

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original). In contrast, "a *tactic* is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus... the space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power" (36-37; emphasis in original). The different ability of a strategy and a tactic to claim (let alone create) a place of its own is clearly an important distinction between the two practices. Most importantly, however, de Certeau suggests that place is never only controlled or manipulated by power. As mentioned above, de Certeau allows for a definition of place that recognizes its creation from below as well as above. Instead, the tactic offers a way to resist the monopolization of place undertaken by the strategy. This suggests the possibilities for people/ citizens to use the terrain (physical and otherwise) of global systems in a creative fashion – for instance, a kind of production rather than the passive consumption that the consumer is presumed to be solely interested in by global capitalism. As de Certeau states, "popular procedures (also 'miniscule' and quotidian) manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them" (xiv). Like *la perruqe* which "is the worker's own work disguised as work for his employer... work that is free, creative, and precisely not directed toward profit" (25), de Certeau's theorization of the tactic offers a way of acknowledging the everyday creativity of people throughout the world – particularly those whose creativity may not be visible on a large or global scale.

The tactic and *la perruqe* are also useful ideas as they suggest possibilities for understanding the ways in which cosmopolitan identities are used – both instrumentally and as a means of self-identification – by those who are not generally considered cosmopolitan by cosmopolitan theorists.[37] For example, the regional city authors I will examine use cosmopolitan identities tactically to carve out a place for themselves in a location that might not have an obvious place for them.

Cosmopolitan identity also suggests the way that identity performs *la perruque* with the tools of globalized capital. Like capital, cosmopolitan individuals seem to move everywhere (though there is more movement to and from certain places, such as Euro-American metropolises) and appear to be situated nowhere. Instead of necessarily being an apolitical adoption of the role of tourist in place of that of the citizen, however, cosmopolitanism could be seen as a creative use of the laws of neoliberal capital to carve out a place for those who are peripheralized by globalization – a creative use that demands a consideration of the ethical responsibilities that this movement entails. At the same time, the connection between tactics and place is useful for understanding the way that place plays an important role in expressions of cosmopolitanism as tactic. De Certeau suggests that

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[37] See, for instance Peter Nyers' consideration of Algerian non-status refugees in Montreal and their deployment of cosmopolitanism (2003) or Ravi de Costa's discussion of Aboriginal global movements (2006).

> Unrecognized producers [create] sentences that remain unpredictable
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> within the space ordered by the organizing techniques of systems. Although they use as their *material* the *vocabularies* of established languages (those of television, newspapers, the supermarket or city planning), although they remain within the framework of prescribed *syntaxes* (the temporal modes of schedules, paradigmatic organizations of places, etc.). These "traverses" remain heterogeneous to the systems they infiltrate and in which they sketch out the guileful ruses of *different* interests and desires. (34; emphasis in original)

The parallel de Certeau establishes between the materials of writing and the tactic point to the possibilities that spatial practices provide for re-imagining social structures as the imaginative process takes a central role. Even more importantly, the tactic and *la perruque* point to ways of experiencing place that acknowledge the predetermining role of economics and nature (just two structures among many others) yet also emphasize the way that these apparently immobile and unchanging systems can be used instrumentally for many different purposes – including their own undermining.

Place can, therefore, be much more flexible than it initially appears. This flexibility opens up avenues for a place that is not predicated on unquestioned stability; instead, place becomes a site upon which different ethnic, social and gendered (and other) experiences can interact. Simultaneously, however, place is also shaped by these multiple experiences of its inhabitants. Just as the syntax of language gradually changes through the introduction of different sociolects and dialects, so too does the syntax of place. Lefebvre, through an examination of the different conceptualization of social space in western history, illustrates the way that spatial practices produce knowledge. For instance, Lefebvre argues that the planting of rows of cypresses to separate from view the newly-separated peasant and aristocratic homes in thirteenth century Tuscany led to the development of Renaissance perspective (77-79). A spatial practice – the subdivision of land – produced another spatial practice – perspectivism – which would have larger repercussions in art and architecture (among other fields) which then go on to shape built environments.

An experience of place, then, is integral to the way we understand the world. Complementing Massey's attention to the diachronic as well as the synchronic, Lefebvre demonstrates the way that representations of space (his term for imagined place) build upon and develop out of previous representations of space, suggesting that to focus only on contemporary spatial practices can lead to theoretical blind spots. De Certeau's notions of the tactic and *la perruque* are not only ways of creating new representations of space but can also be seen as the practices whereby new representations of space start to transform representational space (Lefebvre's term which roughly corresponds to material place). Place

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shapes the way we understand the world but our understanding of the world also shapes places. Therefore, to suggest that cosmopolitan sensibilities are removed from place means that they are sensibilities that are separate from common understandings of the world. This is clearly impossible. Whether you spend most of your time in airports and hotels or, conversely, never go far from your place of birth, you always have access to representations of space even if you are not consciously aware of them. Cosmopolitan world-views then are necessarily – though perhaps often unconsciously – articulated through these connection to specific places.

De Certeau's notion of the tactic might seem to be problematically accepting of the status quo as it works with existing systems that can be alienating and oppressive rather than calling for their outright destruction. Indeed, the tactic does not even seem to be a tool of reform for these systems. The tactic, however, is useful for understanding the quotidian revolutions of peoples' lives. The tactic may not be the ideal practice for a wholescale rejection of global capitalism, for example, yet when "pushed to their ideal limits, these procedures and ruses of consumers compose the network of an antidiscipline" (xv). De Certeau suggests, then, that while the tactic alone may not work to revolutionize oppressive systems, it may create the conditions of possibility that allow for that form of revolution. The constructed nature of place suggests the historic importance of tactics as place gets slowly reimagined in ways that are both emancipatory and reactionary. The explanatory usefulness of the tactic, to me, outweighs its potentiality for a kind of political quietism that maintains the status quo.

Indeed, while de Certeau's focus on workable possibilities for resistance is far removed from David Harvey's emphasis on new utopias about place in *Spaces of Hope* where he suggests the importance of thinking utopically in order to bring about political change, it does share certain similarities with Harvey's notion (via Raymond Williams's novels) of militant particularism. Militant particularism suggests "that ideas forged out of affirmative experience of solidarities in one place get generalized and universalized as a working model of a new form of society that will benefit all of humanity" (*Justice, Nature...* 32). This connection between a radical politics and place contradicts the view held by Laclau and others (as outlined by Massey) about the stasis and the atemporality of place because militant particularism suggests the importance place holds in forging politics. A conscious connection with place, in other words, is integral to a meaningful politics as it provides the possibilities of thinking politics and locating ethical responsibility.

Harvey's attention to the way that place necessarily informs most political solidarities examines the way that "lived lives and the sense of value that attaches thereto are embedded in an environment actively molded and achieved through work, play, and a wide array of cultural practices" (*Justice, Nature...*34). Again, though Harvey's development of this idea is focused to suggest a particularly narrow notion of the "wide array of cultural practices" (it is focused solely on

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class positions – eliding other axes of identification), it does give a sense of how the quotidian difference encountered in any place might act as a catalyst for a politics that is both anti-capitalist and anti-discriminatory. As militant particularism develops not only out of a sense of the importance of a particular place but also through recognition (whether conscious or not) of the solidarities across difference, it provides a potential model for a form of local cosmopolitanism. Through a militant particularism, there is the possibility (in its definition by Harvey and Williams) of revealing the progressive sense of place that Massey identifies. A militant particularism can reveal the social relations which intersect at any given place.

While militant particularism lends credence to the maxim that "all politics are local," it also points to a politics of hope, however slightly. Its similarity to de Certeau's tactic emerges out of this possibility. Like the tactic, a militant particularism emerges out of the systems with which its users have daily experience. For instance, instead of demanding only an engagement with global capitalism at an international level in order to enact change – an engagement shown in the anti-globalization protests in Seattle, Genoa and Québec City in the early 2000s where global neoliberalism is countered with global activism, the tactic and militant particularism recognize the points at which global capitalism can be challenged on a daily, local basis. Similarly, a militant particularism creates room for identifying the cosmopolitan identities that already exist in a place. Instead of seeing cosmopolitanism as something that is always already the realm of an unknown different group of people who are believed to access power or movement more easily and who exist some*where* else, a militant particularist vision of cosmopolitanism allows local identities to take a central position or even just a position at all. These local cosmopolitanisms are often ignored in favour of the seemingly more glamourous, global "jet-set" cosmopolitanism. While one way of addressing this imbalance is to champion a form of militant particularism that emphasizes the supposed purity of a place, a potentially more fruitful and less exclusionary practice would be to recognize the cosmopolitan differences that come together in any given place.

However, it is the first of these two ways of looking at locality that often dominates. This suggests the question that Harvey raises about militant particularism and the difficulty of moving from the local to the global: how does a progressive politics developed in relation to the particularity of a place move to more abstract global space? Harvey raises this question in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* but examines this movement from the local to the global more thoroughly in *Spaces of Hope* – though he remains unable to posit a way out except in abstract terms. Thus, as he suggests "the critical problem for this vast array of struggles is to shift gears, transcend particularities, and arrive at some conception of a universal alternative to that social system which is at the source of their difficulties" (*Spaces of Hope* 241) – I would suggest that this goal of an alternative social system should be shared by a territorialized cosmopolitan world-

view. This need for universalizing, of course, raises particular problems and questions – most importantly, *whose* universal alternative? Throughout *Spaces of Hope*, Harvey emphasizes the importance of a return to (an updated) utopian thinking. And it is in utopianism that he sees the possibilities for a responsible universalizing.

The role Harvey assigns to utopias might possibly be expanded to the role of imaginative culture more generally. In explanation for his consideration of Raymond Williams' novels in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Harvey argues that "the novel form allows [Williams] to represent the daily qualities of [lived] lives in ways that could not be handled or grasped by other means" (28) and that "practices of theorizing have to be opened up to the possibilities and dilemmas that [incorporating Williams' concerns about space, place and environment] requires" (44). Novels, then, and culture more generally, might allow for a more fluid sense of what it means to be in-place than do cultural and political theory as they are currently practiced. Similarly, novels and other cultural products open room for utopian thought in ways that are not necessarily possible in theory as it is generally construed. Indeed, the oddity of the juxtaposition between Harvey's fictional personal utopia that closes *Spaces of Hope* and the more theoretical chapters that go before it points to the very difficulty of imagining utopia within theory at all.

However, Henri Lefebvre suggests some of the problems in using culture or cultural forms to discuss space. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre is explicitly concerned with creating a theory of space that is not lost in abstraction but that brings theory and practice together – a project which is explicitly political for Lefebvre. In particular, Lefebvre is concerned with the ways in which space is represented as "natural," blank, or free of ideology by corporate capitalism. Simultaneously, he is also resistant to post-structuralist theory which privileges mental space as a political starting-point (he singles out Derrida's grammatology, Roland Barthes' general semiology and Julia Kristeva's chora) over physical space.[38] Lefebvre's resistance to these philosophical spaces is part of his larger concern with the super-imposition of textuality over spatiality: "when codes worked up from literary texts are applied to spaces – to urban spaces, say – we remain... on the purely descriptive level. Any attempt to use such codes must surely reduce that space itself to the status of a *message*, and the inhabiting of it to the status of a *reading*. This is to evade both history and practice" (7). Throughout *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre expresses his uneasiness with an approach to space which considers it as yet another text to be read.

Lefebvre's concerns about over-emphasizing textuality highlight the importance of transforming the resulting affect of textuality that Harvey identifies into a politics. Lefebvre's criticism is primarily that an emphasis on culture

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[38]   Sarah Casteel's suggestion about the metaphorization of space in cultural theory offers a similar criticism.

produces only an affective response and not the political response that he demands. This ignores the importance affect can have in creating a politics. Thus, while Harvey's suggestion of the potential of culture is an intriguing one as it points to culture's ability to imagine future possibilities, a territorialized cosmopolitanism would seek to transform these affective possibilities into a politics. While novels (among other cultural forms) can seem to depict a world that is far-removed from peoples' daily lived reality, Harvey argues that they offer the chance to look at these realities differently. The novels I will examine imagine a cosmopolitanism that is not just the realm of the super-rich; instead, it can reflect the variety of characters' own mobility and the hybridity of their places. These texts (of which these are just a few of many other similar works) all challenge the Heideggerian notion of place by pointing to the way that the places they describe are constantly undergoing changes caused by the characters' movement as well as by nature and larger systems such as global capitalism. Place is not only a site of parochial conservatism or segregation, but it is also a location where new subjectivities are continually formed and constantly changing.

Chapter 3: Alternative Cosmopolitanisms in the Metropolis

The global metropolis is conventionally viewed as the site where cosmopolitanism is created and located. Leonie Sandercock, for instance, argues that cosmopolitanism "is a *necessary response* to the empirical reality of multicultural cities" (39; emphasis added). Mica Nava suggest that cosmopolitanism is "an ordinary everyday aspect of *metropolitan* UK culture (134; emphasis added). Further, Gary Bridge posits that "it is in the burgeoning transnational neighbourhoods of the global cities that the *best prospects* of cosmopolitanism are to be found: cosmopolitanism as a form of reason lived daily in the city of difference" (158; emphasis added). This celebration of "the empirical reality of multicultural cities" has become more or less normative in cultural theory and in popular culture. Enthusiastic celebrations of the multiplicity of the metropolis mask the ways in which this difference in the city reflects, and is even predicated on, real racial, gender, and socio-economic global, regional, and local inequalities. This is not to argue that greater concentrations of difference do not exist more in the metropolis than elsewhere: "cities are the terrain where people from many different countries are most likely to meet and a multiplicity of cultures come together" (Sassen 217).

In considering cosmopolitanism in the global metropolis, however, the differences present in the city stem from inequalities as much as the presumed openness of the city to difference. The relation of global economic inequalities to these differences is foregrounded in the three novels I will discuss – Dionne Brand's *What We All Long For*, Hari Kunzru's *Transmission*, and Monica Ali's *Brick Lane*. In this chapter I argue that these novels critique the models of cosmopolitanism presented by Sandercock et al. which celebrate hybridity and the exchange of commodified cultural products – though in Brand's novel this critique remains limited and mostly implicit. These novels also begin to sketch out a different form of metropolitan cosmopolitanism – a territorialized cosmopolitanism where ethical and political responsibilities are central to the multiple affiliations of the cosmopolite.

How does what we categorize as cosmopolitan metropolitan places change with a transition from a rootless cosmopolitanism defined by consumption and tolerance of (rather than engagement with) difference to my definition of a territorialized cosmopolitanism where affiliations are simultaneously local and global, prompting a sense of ethical responsibility articulated through specific places? Saskia Sassen suggests that for "international businesspeople" – those who are prototypically understood as cosmopolitans – the metropolis "is a city whose space consists of airports, top level business districts, top of the line hotels and restaurants, a sort of urban glamour zone" (220). This constantly changing iteration of airports, hotels and conference centers that the frequent flier cosmopolitan travels through challenges, by the repetition of similar spaces, the vision of the global metropolis as a site of always-present difference. If, as

Sassen suggests, the parts of the city frequented by those people who are typically considered cosmopolitan represent an "urban glamour zone," what of those parts of the city that are not so glamourous?

Sassen suggests that the opposing space to the urban glamour zone is the urban war zone – a space characterized by "smashing cars and shop windows, robbing and burning stores" (221). Aihwa Ong, however, posits a more mundane and prosaic alternative to either the urban glamour or war zone:

> megacities generate great inequality, sharpening and concentrating divisions between the highly educated and the less so, between global managers and migrant maids, professors and janitors, human capital and manual labor. While the cosmopolitan mirage of megacities projects a multicultural globality, the urban condition is shaped by divisibility and even incommensurability of human worthiness rather than by a fusion of multicultural horizons that consolidates our common humanity. (92)

As Ong suggests, the city has multiple horizons that are shaped by different forms of global movement. These different horizons are not only characterized by the violent uprising that Sassen identifies but, instead, by labour typically considered menial: the migrant maids, janitors and other forms of manual labour. The people doing this labour are also increasingly mobile – people whom Zygmunt Bauman terms "vagabonds" and whom I describe as subaltern cosmopolitans. Vagabonds "are travelers refused the right to turn into tourists. They are allowed neither to stay put (there is no site guaranteeing permanence, the end to undesirable mobility) nor search for a better place to be" (Bauman 93). This is mobility that is often extra-legal – unlike business travel or tourism: "for the inhabitants of the second world [the vagabonds] the walls built of immigration controls, of residence laws and of 'clean streets' and 'zero tolerance' policies, grow taller; the moats separating them from the sites of their desire and of dreamed-of redemption grow deeper" (Bauman 89). In addition to the mobility between places, these cosmopolitan labourers often send money to families in other places – often places that are quite far removed from the worker's present location. This suggests a more concrete form of affiliation than that experienced by other kinds of cosmopolites whose affiliations might be more ephemeral.

The places that Ong identifies, some of the metropolitan places of subaltern cosmopolitans, then, are places as cosmopolitan as the airport or the conference centre – and equally mundane. What Ong's vision suggests is the *overlapping* places where different kinds of cosmopolitanism appear in the city: the cosmopolitan maids might work in the homes of cosmopolitan businesspeople; the cosmopolitan janitors clean the conference centres and business towers that lend a metropolis a global and cosmopolitan profile. Places in the global metropolis, then, as Doreen Massey's notion of a "progressive sense of place" suggests, are marked by multiple global and local trajectories rather than a dichotomy between globalized and localized identities. Sassen notes that

"globalization is a process that generates contradictory spaces, characterized by contestation, internal differentiation, continuous border crossings. The global city is emblematic of this condition" (221). While Sassen further affirms the centrality of the global city to discussions of globalization, she also points to the contradictory spaces and places that characterize the metropolis. Discussions of cosmopolitanism in the global city such as those exemplified by Leonie Sandercock, Mica Nava and Gary Bridge quoted at the beginning of this chapter emphasize the "fusion of multicultural horizons" (Ong 92). Yet this only reflects a portion of the cosmopolitanism that can be found in the global metropolis – and a portion that reflects a cosmopolitanism that is only about consumption and that lacks a sense of ethical and political responsibility to other members of both the city and the globe.

The presence of other kinds of cosmopolitans in the global city challenges commonly accepted definitions of metropolitan cosmopolitanism. Further, these other cosmopolitans also challenge a reading of accepted metropolitan cosmopolitanism as exclusively or even primarily pleasurable. The invisible cosmopolitans represented by migrant maids and janitors point to the limits of how cosmopolitanism is thought. These are vernacular cosmopolitan figures like those that Peter Nyers, Homi Bhabha, and Walter Mignolo discuss. Ong's and Sassen's emphasis on the labour of these cosmopolitan figures, however, diverges from the focus of Nyers, Bhabhba and Mignolo on refugees. Ong and Sassen point out the forms of cosmopolitanism that are encouraged and developed legally *and* illegally to sustain the elite cosmopolitanism of business travel and urbane sophistication. While the global movements of refugees does reflect labour demands, these demands are made even more evident in the movement of temporary and guest workers between various nation-states. Guest workers are left out of most definitions of cosmopolitan figures as labour remains outside of most discussions of cosmopolitanism; nonetheless, their frequent movement parallels that of business travelers, and their multiple affiliations to different nations, etc. also suggests their potentially cosmopolitan world-views. As Zygmunt Bauman suggests "there are no tourists [cosmopolitan sophisticates] without vagabonds [subaltern cosmopolitans], and the tourists cannot be let free without tying down the vagabonds" (93). Cosmopolitanism cannot then be seen as only emerging out of the consumption of different ethnic cultures and traveling around the globe but must entertain considerations of *whose* labour sustains this consumption and the ethical and political responsibilities this labour produces for both labourers and those for whom they labour.

The novels I examine in this chapter – *What We All Long For*, *Transmission* and *Brick Lane* – all feature characters who participate in the labour that produces global capital through the trade in goods and peoples, the production of technology, and the maintenance of the business traveller's household. As well all three novels address the cosmopolitan possibilities that are most clearly and popularly identified with the metropolis: a cosmopolitanism

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defined by the consumption of cultural products and the attendant sense of sophistication. All three texts are cognizant of the way these possibilities and limits are gendered, racialized and, most particularly, classed. Brand's text, for instance, is far more positive about the possibilities that cosmopolitanism-as-consumption reveals whereas Kunzru and Ali are far more skeptical about these possibilities. "Being worldly, being able to navigate between and within different cultures, requires confidence, skill and money" (Binnie et al, 8); these novels, however, also point to ways of navigating between and within different cultures that are not solely dependent on money. *Flânerie* gets taken up in all three novels – which I will discuss in the second section – as offering both a different orientation to the global city than that which is officially endorsed and as way of navigating between and within cultures in new ways. In the final section of this chapter, I will focus on the characters in these novels who embody the labour that cosmopolitanism relies upon. All three novels in their different ways present new ways of thinking about the global metropolis and how the cosmopolitan is territorialized in its various places.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *   *</p>

One primary way in which *What We All Long For*, *Transmission* and *Brick Lane* interrogate cosmopolitanism is by engaging with a form of cosmopolitanism that evades ethical or political responsibility: a cosmopolitanism where access to difference is signalled primarily by consumption of products. This is a kind of cosmopolitan chic – what Ghassan Hage terms "cosmo-multiculturalism."[39] All three texts consider the potential allure and danger of this form of cosmopolitanism. Brand's four protagonists – Tuyen, Oku, Carla, and Jackie – are all, more or less, cosmo-multiculturalists and this is what makes them so (seemingly) desirable. While Brand counterpoints these characters with Quy, another cosmopolitan character who suggests other forms of cosmopolitan experience, the violence and cruelty of both Quy and his lifestyle make him an untenable object of desire and model for global citizenship. In *Transmission*, Guy and Gabriella are cosmo-multiculturalists as well – though unlike Brand's protagonists, their cosmo-multiculturalism is categorized by extreme wealth – yet Kunzru demonstrates throughout the personal costs of this form of cosmopolitanism – the alienation from family but also from any sense of global ethical responsibility. Finally, in *Brick Lane*, Ali suggests the danger that forms of cosmo-multiculturalism can lead to for immigrant communities who have a somewhat precarious existence in the metropolis.

Hage's definition of cosmo-multiculturalism points to the way that cosmopolitanism can become, often quite easily, synonymous with a kind of urban sophistication; the cosmo-multiculturalist is perceived (and perceives her or

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[39]   While Hage argues that the cosmopolite is a white person, the examples the texts offer are not all racially white. This suggests that these characters might have been given or desire, by their authors (all of whom are not white themselves), the cultural privileges associated with whiteness. It also suggests that access to cosmo-multiculturalism is expanding.

himself) as having "specific cosmopolitan capital accumulated through exposure to a certain 'sophisticated internationalism' which gives the cosmopolitans a global consciousness of the field in which they are operating" (205). Similarly, Bruce Robbins argues that

> cosmopolitanism is now also praised because it is perceived, however subliminally, to resolve the contradiction within "culture" between the anthropological sense ("ordinary" culture) and the "high" or aesthetically valued sense. Cosmopolitanism is lived, like diasporic identity, at the level of the everyday, yet it allows everyday culture to display the signs (freedom, selectivity, imaginative blurring of accepted categories) that are usually associated with a higher or scarcer artistic creativity.
> ("Cosmopolitanism…" 50)

By keeping Robbins' analysis of superficial cosmopolitanism and Hage's notion of the cosmo-multiculturalist in mind, we can differentiate between global affiliations that suggest ethical and political responsibility and those that are focussed on a consumption encouraged by affect.

The character of Jackie in *What We All Long For*, for instance, offers an example of this distinction. She is the character who most actively participates in mainstream popular culture in the novel and most clearly positions herself as a sophisticate:

> She watche[s] late-night television, FashionTelevision, MuchMusic, MuchMoreMusic, 'Entertainment Tonight,' 'Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous,' 'Trading Places,' 'Martha Stewart,' 'Emeril Live,' and hip-hop videos on Black Entertainment Television… She [speaks] valley girl, baller, hip-hopper, Brit mod, and French from watching RDI. (45)

Jackie's rabid and apparently indiscriminate consumption of popular culture suggests her cosmo-multicultural consumption where the cultures being consumed are different entertainment cultures. Unlike the other characters who tend to remove themselves from mainstream popular culture to focus on avant-garde art or older jazz and blues music, Jackie represents the ideal consumption patterns for the cosmo-multiculturalist in a capitalist society defined by mass and conspicuous consumption. Jackie even owns a second-hand clothing store which participates explicitly in cosmopolitanism-as-consumption. Her store, "Ab und Zu," sells "post-bourgeois clothing" and is "just on the border where Toronto's trendy met Toronto's seedy" (99). Jackie's business acumen is revealed in this location: she "had had the foresight to think that the trendy section would slowly creep toward Ab und Zu and sweep the store into money" (99).

While Jackie's consumption of mainstream popular culture mark her as different from the other characters who have removed themselves, to varying degrees, from this cultural framework, Jackie's role as purveyor of cosmopolitan chic marks her as relatively successful in the text. While similarly affected by

the trauma of migration that characterizes her friends' response to their parents' various arrivals in (and departures from) Toronto, she is the only character who, before the start of the text, is seemingly able to come to terms with this past in a usable way. Tuyen, Carla and Oku provisionally reach this point at the end of the novel; Jackie, however, is already there. This suggests a greater adeptness on Jackie's part that the text cautiously endorses.

Cosmo-multiculturalism marks these four characters as different and, arguably, more socially successful than their parents. All four parents are isolated from the larger urban community and confined by rigid mores governing race, ethnicity or gender. Oku and his father, for instance, both enjoy cooking. His father's repertoire, however, is limited to Jamaican dishes (85) while Oku cooks from a broader, multicultural cuisine – observing as he cooks for his friends that "his father would probably not approve, preferring the monoculture of Jamaican food, but [his] tastes had expanded from this base to a repertoire that was vast and *cosmopolitan*" (132; emphasis added). Oku and his friends possess a cosmopolitan cultural capital that their parents cannot access – regardless of what their economic capital might be. This is a cosmopolitanism that nonetheless equates worldiness with sophistication and while it is clearly rooted in Toronto – Oku's exposure to new kinds of foods comes from the different traditions of his local friends – it is not one that prompts any particular form of ethical or political responsibility. Pleasure and affect alone are the primary goals. While these may not be goals to dismiss, they are also not ones that, in and of themselves, prompt a territorialized cosmopolitanism. Despite the alluring thrill of these characters' lives and despite their constant engagement with difference, they do not offer a model of cosmopolitanism that moves beyond the superficial.

A similar cosmo-multiculturalism – though one that is physically more global and which is treated with greater scepticism by the text – is demonstrated in *Transmission* in the characters of Guy Swift, the CEO of an advertising company, and Gabriella, his girlfriend. Gabriella, in particular, seems to echo the cosmopolitanism-as-consumption that Brand depicts in Jackie. Unlike Jackie, however, Gabriella's consumption derives from her position as a wealthy socialite. Whereas Jackie's cosmopolitan drive to consume as widely as possible is suggested to be one way in which she hopes to improve her socio-economic status, Gabriella's consumption is emblematic of her jetset upbringing. Gabriella "had always been in motion, even when [her family] were all together. Money moved her. First it was her father's; later it belonged to her mother's boyfriends. It took her to various places in which had existed various versions of herself... There was only one constant: sooner or later, everyone and everything was left behind" (Kunzru 69). Gabriella's movement is also almost exclusively centred on global metropolises: Paris, London, New York. Hage suggests that "the cosmopolite is an essentially 'mega-urban' figure: one detached from strong affiliation with roots and consequently open to all forms of otherness" (201) – an assertion which I argue does not necessarily hold true for those who possess a

territorialized cosmopolitan world-view. While this cosmo-multicultural rootlessnesss does not hold true for the protagonists of *What We All Long For* who have set up extensive, frequently non-familial roots in Toronto, it does reflect Gabriella's peripatetic movement.

Kunzru suggests that the rootlessness Gabriella experiences mirrors the experience of her elder sister who commits suicide – which creates an additional sense of rootlessness. Gabriella's lack of connection to her sister is contrasted with Arjun's close connection to his own sister. Gabriella is a melancholy figure in *Transmission* – suggesting the isolation that her cosmopolitan upbringing has produced. In the epilogue to the novel, Gabriella has married a media mogul and continued her life of movement from metropolis to exotic holiday locale and back. Like her sister, Gabriella eventually commits suicide. Cosmopolitanism here is somewhat pathologized; Gabriella's cosmopolitanism is seemingly at the root of her unhappiness – the suggestion being that if only she had been more *rooted* perhaps she would have been happier. The alienation that cosmopolitanism can produce and which can be a productive instigator for the ethical and political responsibilities of cosmopolitanism is here too much for Gabriella – suggesting the potential personal difficulty of the cosmopolitan. It is not cosmopolitanism, perhaps, that is pathologized then but the disconnection that a superficial cosmopolitanism produces.

Unlike in *What We All Long For*, then, where the cosmo-multiculturalism in which the four main characters all variously participate is a way of breaking parochial boundaries between ethnicities, cosmo-multiculturalism with its eager consumption of difference does not have such a positive trajectory in *Transmission*. The focus in *Transmission* on the global and regional rather than just the metropolitan reveals this. Guy Swift, the constantly mobile advertising executive, puts together a pitch to design the look of the European borders – the passports, the guards' uniforms, the slogans, etc. Guy's redesign for the entry points involves remaking the borders to appear as the entrance to an exclusive club:

> The border authority's acronym was shown as a blue neon sign, as a pattern of sparkling bulbs, and printed in a variety of seventies disco lettering styles. Shaven-headed male and female immigration officers were depicted wearing headsets and mirrored shades, their futuristic black bomber jackets embroidered on the back with a PEBA [Pan-European Border Agency] portcullis logo. (240)

In his pitch to members of the Agency, Guy suggests that he "has come to realize... that in the twentieth-first century, the border is not just a line on the earth anymore. It's so much more than that. It's about status. It's about opportunity... 'the border is everywhere. The border,' and this is key, 'is in your mind'" (235). Guy and the Agency officials, here, espouse ideas that satirically echo, somewhat heavy-handedly, the rhetoric of the actual European border that

Sandro Mezzadra and Etienne Balibar, among others, discuss (Mezzadra and Neilson 2003; Balibar 2004) and Zygmunt Bauman's broader arguments about borders in general (1998). What is striking, however, is that Guy makes use of the symbols of the cosmopolitanism that a character like Gabriella deploys – the ability to get in to any nightclub, the ability to have access to anything, anywhere – in order to put limits on that very form of movement for those outside of the borders of Europe – and, implicitly, most especially for the economically disadvantaged who try to enter Europe from Asia or Africa. Guy wants to rebrand Europe "as somewhere you want to go, but somewhere that's not for everyone. A continent that wants people, but only the best. An exclusive continent. An *upscale* continent" (239; emphasis in original). The discourse of cosmo-multiculturalism is used here to reveal that both the officials of Europe and those who are able to legally get into Europe are consumers who can appreciate high quality. Whereas *What We All Long For* offers cosmo-multiculturalism as a seemingly positive model, *Transmission* critiques it by taking the logic of consumption to a seemingly illogical (though simultaneously prescient) extreme.

Kunzru, therefore, makes explicit what is largely implicit in *What We All Long For*: cosmo-multicultural consumption – whether of supposedly more "progressive" items such as avant-garde art and jazz music, or of popular culture – reflects taste and innovation. The four protagonists of *What We All Long For* are positioned as, with few reservations, aspirational figures for the novel's readers. Our first introduction to Tuyen, Oku, and Carla has them disrupting the silence of the morning commute on Toronto's subway system: "It's obvious they've been out all night. They're talking about some friend of theirs whom the young man loves… Who wants to hear about love so early in the morning" (3)? While the three of them are ultimately silenced by the silence of the other passengers, they are clearly shown by the text to be a breath of fresh air in the face of stultified social expectations. Gabriella and Guy are not such figures for the novel's readers. Guy is ultimately done in by the very border authorities he tries to outfit as bouncers; he is picked up by accident in a PEBA-sponsored raid on people in various European countries illegally. He ends up in a detention centre and is deported "back" to Albania. He then tries to get back to Europe illegally (260-65). While Gabriella's cosmopolitan alienation is pathologized, Guy's experiences with the reality of border controls for undocumented Europeans reveals the lie of the fluid or mental borders he champions (235). The most traditionally cosmopolitan characters of *Transmission* end up, therefore, effectively being cautionary tales against what cosmopolitanism-as-consumption might mask.

Cosmopolitanism in *Brick Lane* returns to the somewhat more limited geographical scope of *What We All Long For* as it is set primarily in London. Cosmopolitanism in Ali's novel develops, for the most part, out of the fluid subjectivities produced by migration. Unlike Gabriella and Guy in *Transmission* whose movement is not prompted by immigration, Nazneen and Chanu both

arrive in England as immigrants from what is now Bangladesh. Ali depicts the ongoing confrontations between white and non-white Londoners – particularly following the 9/11 terrorist attacks.[40] This conflict is shown by Ali to be particularly catalyzed by reactions to British policies of multiculturalism. Nazneen and her family receive a pamphlet entitled "Multicultural Murder" which bemoans the inclusion of multicultural curriculum in state schools: "In our schools… it's multicultural murder. Do you know what they are teaching your children today? In domestic science your daughter will learn how to make a kebab, or fry a bhaji. For his history lesson your son will be studying Africa or India or some other dark and distant land. English people, he will learn, are Wicked Colonialists" (181). Cosmopolitan knowledge is rejected by the pamphleteers in highly racialized and violent language as un-English and even as a way of rejecting Englishness altogether. Cosmo-multiculturalism, to say nothing of a territorialized cosmopolitanism, is emphatically dismissed by the pamphleteers. Indeed, the kind of inter-cultural literacy being taught in schools that the pamphlets bemoan is exactly the kind of literacy that Oku, Tuyen, Carla and Jackie have (and that their parents, for instance, lack). This pamphlet prompts a war of pamphlets between "The Lion Hearts" (the authors of "Multicultural Murder") and "The Bengal Tigers." Karim, Nazneen's lover and active member of the Bengal Tigers, is dissatisfied by the lack of action the pamphlets produce, asking her "what's the point of all these leaflets? We must stop talking and start doing" (188). Karim, at this point an ardent Muslim nationalist, himself questions the cosmopolitan impulses of multiculturalism where people articulate affiliations to various ethnicities and cultures through style and language: "When I was a little kid… if you wanted to be cool you had to be *something else* – a bit white, a bit black, a bit something. Even when it all took off, bhangra and all that, it was Punjabi, Pakistani, giving it all the attitude. It weren't us, was it? If you wanted to be cool, you couldn't just be yourself. Bangladeshi" (190-91; emphasis added). Indeed, what he finds attractive about Nazneen is her apparent authenticity: "The authenticity that he perceives in Nazneen's identity is bound by culture and gender… Nazneen represents a maternal preoedipal space in which Karim is not threatened by the realities of multiplicity and difference with which life in London confronts him" (Cormack 705-06). Cosmopolitanism, as understood by both Karim and the Lion Hearts, requires giving something up and becoming something else, something that, unsurprisingly, neither group desires.

Simultaneous with his rejection of the cosmo-multiculturalism he identifies as being necessary for being cool in his youth, however, Karim allies himself with other Muslims throughout the world. Indeed, just prior to his lament about how difficult it was to be Bangladeshi, Karim informs Nazneen of problems

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[40]   Ali's novel was written and published in 2003 – two years before the 07/07 terrorist attacks in London.

faced by Muslims in Egypt: "'Do you know about our brothers in Egypt?'… He told her something of Egypt, the oppression, the jailings, the cowardly American-loving government" (189-90). Unlike the popularity of bhangra music which prompts identification with others from the Indian sub-continent, the sufferings of Muslims throughout the world gives Karim a point from which to develop cosmopolitan solidarities. As I will discuss at greater length in the chapter on regional cities, the Muslim *ummah* provides an alternative model for global affiliation from consumer capitalism. These cosmopolitan solidarities that derive from a shared religious faith are shown repeatedly throughout the text: the death of a man in Chechnya (199), starving children in a U.N.-sanctioned Iraq (204-05), the treatment of Muslims in Palestine and India (259). Ali demonstrates, then, the double bind under which cosmopolitanism operates; it is something many of the characters of *Brick Lane* reject as a way in which both Englishness and religious faith are lost yet it also is a way in which many of these same characters envision rejecting the particular form or expressions of cosmopolitanism that they abhor. Unlike in either *What We All Long For* or *Transmission* where cosmopolitanism is primarily a cosmo-multiculturalism that is either encouraged or rejected, Ali suggests another model of cosmopolitanism. While this is a model that does posit a form of ethical and political responsibility, it is perhaps too narrowly focussed to be truly cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitanism that is based on membership in a particular religion and that only articulates global and local responsibility to other members of that same religion could be understood as a form of nationalism. While Karim's religious faith leads him to develop a sense of ethical and political responsibility to global others, it is a narrowly defined set of global others – and he appears to feel no sense of responsibilities beyond this group.

   Nonetheless, these limited global affiliations offer Karim access to experiences outside of his own when his own experiences leave him unsure of himself. As he tells Nazneen, being Bangladeshi was not a way of fitting in yet as a Bangladeshi he is uncertain: he cannot speak the language, for example. This is a cosmopolitanism that develops *in response* to the cosmo-multiculturalism that surrounds Karim. Like Tuyen, Oku and Carla singing Korean soccer songs after a Korean World Cup victory, Karim takes on identities and expresses affiliations that his immediate background might not have prepared him for explicitly. Unlike in *What We All Long For*, however, Ali suggests that the metropolis continues to have clearly defined borders that are not so easily crossed. Karim might be able to align himself with identities his upbringing did not suggest but the geographical mobility he has within the city still remains quite limited. Nazneen is able on three occasions to move beyond the Tower Hamlet borough but this movement is prompted by specific traumas rather than a general sense that movement between parts of the city is easy or readily available to her and to

others of a similar socio-economic and ethnic position.[41] In this way, *Brick Lane* makes a similar suggestion to *Transmission*'s depiction of European borders: that while borders exist only in the mind for some, for others these borders are exceedingly and brutally real. A further implication is that the cosmo-multiculturalism that the four characters of *What We All Long For* enjoy marks a particular kind of privilege and belonging in place. Tuyen, Carla, Oku and Jackie all identify Toronto as their home. Guy and Gabriella feel similarly about the globe as a whole. For Nazneen and Karim, however, their purchase in London is much more tenuous, limited and constrained by the metropolis' power structures. Indeed, cosmo-multiculturalism might well be part of the very problem that creates the harsh reality of these borders as it hides the real ethnic and racial othering in the metropolis behind a mask of happy interaction between different cultural groups.

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What We All Long For, Brick Lane and Transmission all feature scenes where the protagonists walk or move through the city – engaging with the invisible borders that continue to exist in the global metropolis. These scenes mark different ways of territorializing cosmopolitan identities and also further demonstrate the different approaches to cosmopolitanism found in the texts. Brand's text depicts a cautiously positive vision of the cosmopolitan which offers the possibility of rejecting the ghettoizing impulse of the global city – the characters connect themselves with places that they have no previous connection to through this movement – though this is a cosmopolitanism that still remains deeply invested in consumption. *Brick Lane* suggests the struggle to create cosmopolitan identities that address multiple sites of ethical and political responsibility within a community that emphasizes a singular sense of identity in the face of external marginalization and violence. Ali's text maintains the narrative of cosmopolitanism as evolutionary progression that Brand's text more explicitly embraces; however, in *Brick Lane*, there is greater attention to the personal costs of this "progress." Kunzru's *Transmission* is much more reticent to claim cosmopolitanism as a particular evolutionary leap. Instead, by contrasting a territorialized cosmopolitanism where affiliations to both the local and the global are articulated through place with a seemingly rootless "frequent flier" cosmopolitanism where affiliations are global, he suggests the ultimately

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[41]   Francoise Kral argues that, in *Brick Lane*, "places seem to have lost their materiality and substantiality" (66) and that "while increasingly transnational communities are being created—the neighbourhood and the local fabric are being gradually eroded" (67). This ignores, I think, the real boundaries between places in the city that limit the area Nazneen and Razia, and other women like them, can access and which the novel repeatedly demonstrates. The neighbourhood is, in fact, quite material and substantial in Ali's novel. Ali's decision to title the novel *Brick Lane* suggests the centrality of the neighborhood itself to the novel and the characters. Place is hardly eroded, then, but shapes how the characters interact and their understandings of themselves in both the larger metropolitan and national contexts.

destructive interconnection between the two. These contrasting attitudes towards cosmopolitanism are made clear in the depiction of wandering throughout the city in all three texts. All three texts use a similar narrative scenario which seems to suggest a character's comfort and familiarity with the global city but, particularly in *Brick Lane* and *Transmission*, this scenario is undercut by the text's larger criticism of the western city as a site of freedom and fluidity for all.

In *What We All Long For*, this movement through the city is a kind of *flânerie* that interrupts the rigid structures of the city. Walter Benjamin's figure of the *flâneur* "did not know where his thought should alight or what end he should serve, [so] his detached strolling, sitting, and reflecting, itself a type of intellectual consumption, yielded no identity... he was allied entirely neither with the middle class nor yet with the metropolis" (Amato 174). The *flâneur*'s meandering movement through the city signals the *flâneur*'s physical relationship with the spaces and places of the city. The modernist metropolis was often understood as isolating and alienating and this sense of the city still remains quite prevalent despite the simultaneous development of the city as the location of hybrid subjectivities – suggesting the importance of contact with those who are different.[42] The *flâneur* seems to bridge these two conceptualizations of the city. While Benjamin's initial theorization of the *flâneur* is rooted in the modernist city, the *flâneur*'s comfort in the crowd echoes Leonie Sandercock's descriptions of the metropolis defined by multiplicity and the multitude (Sandercock 2006). The *flâneur*, despite his or her air of detachment from and dis-identification with the other inhabitants of the city, is at home in the city but situates the location of home in an interiorized vision of the public rather than within a traditionally domestic space: "the street becomes a dwelling place for the *flâneur*; he is as much at home among house façades as a citizen is within his four walls" (Benjamin 19).

Benjamin's theorization of the *flâneur*'s detachment from the other inhabitants of the city parallels the superficial and rootless cosmopolitanism of, for instance, Pico Iyer's "nowhere man" – though the *flâneur* is generally a localized figure while the cosmopolite is generally considered a solely globalized figure (an understanding of the cosmopolitan that I suggest fails to take into account the cosmpolite's simultaneous affiliations with the global *and* the local). Richard Sennett suggests that when Benjamin

> talked about cosmopolitanism, [he] understood that the problematic character of urban crowds was created by the emotional charge that people felt in them. For example, the *flâneur* in Benjamin's account immerses himself in a Paris that is both a puzzle that cannot be deduced and something that is

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[42]   On metropolitan alienation see, for instance, Georg Simmel's "The Metropolis and Mental Life." For the city as hybrid site see Leonie Sandercock's *Towards Cosmopolis*, Doreen Massey's *Space, Place and Gender* or Edward Soja's *Postmodern Geographies*.

> compellingly attractive. Thus, the quality of cosmopolitanism for
> these urbanists at that time had to do with the notion of being
> engaged by the unknown. (43)

The cosmopolitanism of the *flâneur* that Sennet identifies is analogous to the
simultaneous alienation and engagement that I suggest characterize the
territorialized cosmopolitan whose affiliation to place is not straightforward and
singular. Yet, unlike the *flâneur*, the territorialized cosmopolitan feels an ethical
responsibility to those who both inhabit the same place and other places
throughout the globe.

    The detached observation of the *flâneur* suggests a new way of thinking
about metropolitan citizenship that is based on a re-imagining of public space as a
place for more than just consumption and transportation; in Brand's novel "we see
characters being physically imprisoned or socio-economically restricted. The
system, in other words, seeks to reterritorialize drifting bodies, and ensuring their
ongoing motion becomes a key concern in Brand's novel as her characters mix
and merge within Toronto" (Dobson). Benjamin sees walking as a potentially
emancipatory act that re-claims the city for its inhabitants rather than its business
interests. As Rebecca Solnit suggests, "walking is only the beginning of
citizenship, but through it the citizen knows his or her city and fellow citizens and
truly inhabits the city rather than a small privatized part thereof"(176) – pointing
to the potential political repercussions of *flânerie*. *Flânerie* moves into the city
proper and is a visible inscription of presence onto the city itself; *flânerie* takes
place in highly public places – sidewalks, in particular – and therefore facilitates
individual recognition of the city's multiple places and spaces.

    Flânerie is a way of understanding the global metropolis differently from
a capitalist model; the public spaces of the city become sites of movement and
border-crossing, not just the location of consumption.[43] The general principles of
flânerie – movement with no particular goal, along unexpected trajectories,
crossing borders, where movement in particular places remains central – might
offer a way of understanding cosmopolitan movement in a more territorialized
fashion and at the level of the local. The *flâneur* is, by virtue of self-propulsion,
aware of the territory of the city itself and must remain within a fairly
circumscribed location – a *flâneur* is unlikely to be able to walk around the world.
This suggests that the awareness prompted by *flânerie* might be incidental;
territorialized cosmopolitan movement, on the other hand, demands greater
deliberation and active engagement. What Benjamin's theorization of the *flâneur*
helpfully provides for cosmopolitan theory, and this project in particular, is a way
of thinking about smaller scale mobility. Cosmopolitan theory is typically
preoccupied with global-scale mobility where the cosmopolitan figure – whether

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[43]   This resistance to the capitalist city is present in Benjamin's formulation: the *flâneur*
"goes his leisurely way as a personality; in this manner he protests against the division of labour
which makes people into specialists. He protests no less against their industriousness" (30-31).

elite or subaltern – moves between nations and continents. The globe remains an important locus of cosmopolitan movement yet, in order to think through how cosmopolitan world-views are territorialized, we must find ways of talking about smaller-scale mobility.

Flânerie does reproduce the metropolitan focus that I suggest is problematic in cosmopolitan theory yet it, nevertheless, does offer a way of thinking about movement within the city differently. Movement here is not just about moving from place to place but about staking out places as one's own. *Flânerie* does represent a particularly privileged form of movement within the city – Benjamin's *flâneur* is a white man with a great deal of time for leisurely strolls through the city – yet, as these three novels demonstrate, the practice of *flânerie* can be taken up at key moments by subaltern *flâneurs* – people of colour, women, people without large amounts of leisure time. Nonetheless, while *flânerie* as Benjamin theorizes it provides a way of thinking about movement within the city, this movement does not, in and of itself, produce territorialized cosmopolitan world-views. Instead, these world-views develop when the movement of *flânerie* leads to a resulting sense of ethical and political responsibility – this is true for Nazneen in *Brick Lane* and Kunzru attempts to prompt this in his reader in *Transmission*, but in *What We All Long For, flânerie* does not produce any sense of ethical or political responsibility from its practitioners – pointing to the limits of *flânerie* for developing territorialized cosmopolitanism.

One of these limits is how the figure of the *flâneur* has come to represent hyper-individualized drifting through the city:

> the *flâneur* has come to symbolize a particular experience of the city – a privileged and distanced experience, an aestheticized experience. Through their gaze, the city could be understood as phantasmagoria, its other inhabitants as little more than a colourful backdrop displayed for the pleasures of the roving eye, and such accounts seem to strike a chord with accounts of the contemporary city and the experience of that city found amongst a new urban class. (May 207)

Jon May suggests that "what we may be witnessing is the emergence of a new urban *flâneur*, for whom an interest in difference represents only a new form of cultural capital and the contemporary inner city little more than a colourful backdrop against which to play out a new 'urban lifestyle'" (197).

Jamal's journey through the city towards the moment of Quy's murder in *What We All Long For* (316-18) echoes superficially Benjamin's movement without a specified endpoint – Jamal and Bashir know they want to steal a car but they do not know from where exactly. However, Jamal's movement is tied explicitly to capitalist consumption – they travel past "used-car dealerships, dollar stores, cheap, ugly furniture stores, food stores, banks, and panicky 'stop and cash' booths" (316-17), discussing the relative merits of different luxury sports

cars and car audio systems. This movement echoes the endorsed movement in the city from one place of consumption to the next. Jamal and Bashir are shopping, in a sense, for a car. Jamal and Bashir resemble the new *flâneur* that Jon May identifies, who views the differences in the city only as phantasmagoria. Nonetheless, this is a phantasmagoria that is not about novelty exactly, but about abandonment. The city Jamal and Bashir pass by is not entirely (or at all) enticing but is the background upon which they imagine a more enticing place. *Flânerie* evokes the possibility of emancipating the public spaces of the city from consumption but, in this example of *flânerie*, Jamal and Bashir imagine themselves as better consumers in contrast to the failed enticements to consumption they pass.

Another more detailed, and more celebratory, trip through the city is Carla's bicycle ride home after visiting an incarcerated Jamal in Mimico Correctional Institute (28-30). I have argued elsewhere that Carla's ride marks an attempt to map out a public space where *she* is central rather than invisible (Johansen 2008). While this creates a form of public citizenship, I would suggest that this is understood in the text primarily in terms of personal psychology rather than as part of a larger project of ethical or political responsibility. In fact, Carla's trip at great speed away from the jail marks her attempt to shrug off her feelings of responsibility towards Jamal – something which she has seemingly accomplished by the end of the novel – marked by another ride through the city: "She rode through the city, now feeling free. Free of Jamal, free of Derek and Nadine... it wasn't she who had bailed [Jamal] out... Derek had taken the responsibility" (314).[44] Carla's narrative then works in contrast to a similar narrative about Nazneen in *Brick Lane* where the act of moving through the city is explicitly connected to her sense of responsibility for her sister in Dhaka.

Brand offers another similarly mobile yet far more physically circumscribed moment when Carla, Tuyen and Oku join in celebrations for a Korean win in the World Cup. They celebrate alongside Korean, Brazilian and Japanese fans (among others) – something which would be impossible for the first generation characters who are isolated along clearly defined ethnic lines. Unlike Angie who is rejected by her family for her interracial relationship, Carla "wav[es] a Korean flag and sing[s] '*Oh, Pil-seung Korea*'" (209). While the World Cup can be an occasion of resurgent nationalisms that emphasize borders and boundaries, it also offers an opportunity for an expression of exuberant cosmopolitan citizenship – a form of citizenship that the second generation

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[44]   Throughout the novel, Jamal is shown to exploit Carla's sense of responsibility to him – suggesting that no longer feeling responsible for him might be a very good thing for Carla. Indeed, what finally allows Carla to stop feeling responsible for him is the realization that he has stolen Derek's car but claimed it was loaned to him (316). Nonetheless, Carla's trajectory is still a movement away from any sense of ethical or political responsibility to anyone other than herself.

characters all eagerly embrace.[45] "The social order relies on boundary maintenance (of the body, identity, community, the state) – and the social order is, in so many ways, spatialised, and certain bodies make this process visible" (Holliday and Hassard 13); the bodies celebrating the World Cup enact a moment where these boundaries are, at least temporarily, broken down.

This cosmopolitan celebration is also clearly territorialized in the text. Tuyen loves the World Cup but she experiences it in specific places:

> She'd been with her camera to every street party this June. To Little Italy, to the English pub, where the reactions are exuberant as a soccer riot in Manchester but contained within four walls; she stood outside of the German pub and was shy to take pictures; at the Brazillian *cevejaria* on College Street she danced the samba in between shots. Today she heard the honking horns heading up to Bloor Street, and she collected her gear and raced up Bathurst to Korea Town. (204)

Tuyen's enjoyment of the World Cup festivities is still within the framework of cosmo-multiculturalism – yet a territorialized version of cosmo-multiculturalism, challenging Hage's suggestion that cosmo-multiculturalism is always rootless. These places reveal a Toronto that is still clearly defined along ethnic lines; in the celebrations of World Cup victories, these boundaries become more permeable. And while this World Cup celebration marks a moment of exuberant (albeit superficial) cosmopolitanism, it is temporary. Once the World Cup tournament is over, the social order returns to "normal." This end is made even more final when Jamal and Bashir murder Quy. While the novel finishes with this murder (Quy is presumed dead – though there is no authorial confirmation of this), its consequences for the city are left unclear.

Brick Lane features parallel scenes of movement through the metropolis. These scenes mark three key moments in Nazneen's development: the reception of Hasina's letter announcing that she has left her abusive husband; Nazneen's ending of her sexual relationship with Karim; and her frantic search for her eldest daughter who leaves home to avoid being taken to Bangladesh. These moments are central to Nazneen's continued re-imagination of herself. Ali's decision to locate these moments in movement demonstrates the centrality of location to Nazneen's subjectivity. Nazneen's first frenzied walk through the city occurs after she receives Hasina's letter, telling her that she had left her husband and had moved alone into Dhaka. Nazneen's walk is her attempt to mimic – and thereby share – the disappearance of her sister into the chaos of the city. This walk is

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[45]   Kit Dobson argues that for the second generation characters "the daily reality of being non-white within Canada gives them strong anti-national political consciousnesses. Their parents, conversely, try to belong to a nation-state that refuses to recognize them because of their ancestry, and are paralyzed, striving for an impossible acceptance alongside a nostalgia for a lost past." Brand's characters are rooted, yet she locates these roots in the metropolis rather than the nation.

Nazneen's first real exposure to London outside of the densely Bangladeshi borough of Tower Hamlets. In the financial core of London, Nazneen feels invisible: "But they were not aware of her. In the next instant she knew it. They could not see her any more than she could see God. They knew that she existed (just as she knew that He existed) but unless she did something, waved a gun, halted the traffic, they would not see her. She enjoyed this thought" (35). This feeling of invisibility suggests to Nazneen both the similarity and the dissimilarity between her and Hasina's position for "they were both lost in cities that would not pause even to shrug" (37). Further, her comparison of herself with God suggests that invisibility can also be read as a sign of omnipotence. However, while "she had gotten herself lost because Hasina was lost... only now did she realize how stupid she was. Hasina was in Dhaka. A woman on her own in the city, without a husband, without family, without friends, without protection" (36). Nazneen realizes the key difference between her and Hasina is their disparate abilities to access a social net of some sort. Nonetheless, Nazneen's intense emotional and mental bond with her sister and her desire to mimic Hasina's loss suggests Nazneen's multiple axes of identification for she is both foreign and at home in London, which she realizes when she encounters a man on the street who tries to speak to her in Urdu and Hindi (neither of which Nazneen speaks) but she is able to respond in English: "she had spoken, in English, to a stranger, and she had been understood and acknowledged. It was very little. But it was something" (38-39). This moment of recognition marks the end of Nazneen's trek through London (it marks the end of a paragraph; at the beginning of the next paragraph, she has returned home – there is no description of the return journey nor the suggestion of a long difficult struggle to make it). This journey through the city occurs because of Nazneen's feelings of responsibility towards her sister. Yet this movement is the starting point for Nazneen's formation of broader local and global attachment.

Similarly her subway journey to meet Karim after she has decided to end their relationship has parallel moments of self-discovery. While the moments of recognition in her earlier journey mark a growing understanding of Nazneen's position as in-between her Bangladeshi childhood and the ability to fully perform British social citizenship, her second journey acts to further establish Nazneen's alignment with a hybrid cosmopolitan subjectivity. The first such moment occurs when Nazneen nearly runs into another woman (presumably white, though her race is ambiguous – marked only by her western style of dress): "The woman reached the bench. Nazneen almost collided with her. 'Sorry,' said the woman. 'Sorry,' said Nazneen. They both sat down" (334). This verbal act of shared contrition, which in this scenario is really a shared social formality – neither woman is apologetic but both fulfill the shared and expected formality of this apology – in this moment of shared social gesture, Nazneen signals her belonging – in spite of her desire for the freedom she attributes to this woman's dress, a desire which suggests that Nazneen understands herself to exist in a different world than the woman. Later, as she spots Karim waiting for her, Nazneen

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realizes that he "did not have his place in the world" (335). This contrasts with an earlier scene in which Nazneen compares Karim with herself exactly because he seemed to her to already have his place in the world. Her recognition of Karim's unease with himself implicitly points, then, to a reorganization of Nazneen's sense of the world. It is no longer Karim who is stable but herself. Indeed, he suggests that he desires Nazneen because "she was his real thing. A Bengali wife. A Bengali mother. An idea of home. An idea of himself that he found in her" (339). Nazneen is resistant to Karim's (and Chanu's) idea of her as "the real thing" after her years in London and, implicitly, she questions the possibility of such a thing: "'I am the real thing?... she was not the girl from the village anymore. She was not the real thing" (284-85). She realizes during this journey, then, the affiliations she holds to both London *and* Bangladesh. Where previously her sense of affiliation to London is more tenuous, this trip leads her to claim it more definitely.

Again, however, these moments of recognition are tied to Nazneen's experience of the city. She sees herself more clearly as she moves through the city. Even more telling of Nazneen's growth is the final scene of movement in the city which follows Nazneen's decision not to return to Bangladesh with Chanu but to stay in London with her daughters. While this movement through the city is marked with a greater intensity than either previous one – Nazneen searches for her runaway daughter in the midst of a near-riot – it does not have the same moments of recognition. However, it is marked by a clearer sense of achievement: Nazneen finds and rescues her daughter. When Nazneen enters the restaurant where her daughter hides she says "'It's me. I'm here. Amma's come'" (356). At this point, then, Nazneen claims a position for herself. However, it is not a stable, traditional subjectivity but a cosmopolitan one that is firmly located in the physicality of London.

This is stated slightly more emphatically in the final scene of the novel. Nazneen's daughters and Razia take her skating – a sport she has long been captivated by. Here Nazneen is initially skeptical yet acquiesces: "To get on the ice physically – it hardly seemed to matter. In her mind she was already there. She said, 'But you can't skate in a sari.' Razia was already lacing her boots. 'This is England,' she said. 'You can do whatever you like'" (369). Despite the incredible irony of this final line since the novel demonstrates repeatedly the obstacles that English as well as Bangladeshi customs put in the way of doing "whatever you like," the line does point to the possibilities that cosmopolitanism offers for reimagining the world. This is not a cosmopolitan desire that is predicated on unlimited air travel or luxury hotels but, instead, on negotiation between skates and saris, on negotiating a place in a slippery and ever-changing but still rooted location. Like a Benjaminian *flâneuse*, Nazneen's movement through the city is not about consumption and, while it mirrors the busy-ness of the movement corporate life demands, it is a busy-ness prompted by panic and the

attempt to materialize her sense of ethical responsibility to her sister, her husband and her daughter. Nazneen's movement marks her becoming-cosmopolitan.

As in *What We All Long For* and *Brick Lane*, *Transmission* also features a main character walking through the streets of the metropolis. Unlike the out-of-the-ordinary trauma that prompts Nazneen's movement, Arjun's trauma is more persistent, more quotidian: he is out of work after being promised a job in the United States. Nazneen seems to be in a daze as she moves about the city, unsure about or uninterested in what she sees. Arjun, on the other hand, is all too aware of what he sees and his accompanying lack of destination. While Nazneen's movement might be read as emancipatory, however briefly and incompletely, Arjun's movement is anything but; indeed, it reinforces his lack of real agency in the United States. He has no say in where he lives, where he works, who he knows but is able to walk along a highway. This restricted agency is highlighted by the initial description of Arjun walking: "A figure, a walking man, trudging along the margin of a wide California highway. One foot in front of the other, each pace bringing him a little closer to the point" (37). The text does not identify him as Arjun – the primary character in the preceding pages – until quite a bit later in this walk. He is simply a figure, a walking man. As the narrator suggests, "anyone on foot in suburban California is one of four things: poor, foreign, mentally ill or jogging" (37). This catalogue suggests the marginalized positions available to most walkers – the jogger being the exception. Arjun's walk in suburban California further places him on the margins of the metropolis. Walking does not suggest here a kind of empowerment or a taking charge of the city.

Further, while walking through the city, Arjun does not map out an alternate trajectory to the city's architectural impulse to capitalist consumption and busy-ness. Nazneen's movement suggests another orientation towards the city where the public streets are emphasized and the private spaces of homes, stores and office buildings become background – echoing Benjamin's notion of *flânerie*. Arjun's walk re-emphasizes the privatization of public space and his inability to access places that remain truly public. He walks alongside a busy highway where "if the soccer moms zipping by in their SUVs registered him at all, it was as a blur of dark skin, a minor danger signal flashing past on their periphery" (37). The state of the sidewalk he walks on registers the status of public places in Los Angeles: "the cracked concrete lots expired in a grudging ribbon of public space, a not-quite-sidewalk that stretched away from him in a glitter of shattered windshield glass" (37). With the expansive parking lots of Taco Bell, Staples and Wal-Mart on one side and the highway on the other, Arjun walks the thin line of public space available to him. This thin line of public space acts also as a metaphor for the limited places for the subaltern cosmopolitan who is not fully global in the manner of Taco Bell, Staples and Wal-Mart. The monotony of his walk is heightened by the revelation that this is a daily practice for him. This walk is not out of the ordinary for him in the way it is for Nazneen. The impetus for daily movement reflects Arjun's increasingly alienated position

in the city: "At first it had been because he did not feel confident, settled enough. Then it was because he was never in one place. More recently, now that he was desperate, now that the sense of being diminished by this environment had become a suspicion of *actual physical shrinkage*" (38; emphasis in original).

At the same time, however, Arjun's walks are self-consciously undertaken as a way of learning about the United States: "he set out to discover America via regular ten-block walks to the store. The new specificities were absorbing" (40). There is a cosmopolitan impulse, then, at work in his movement as he attempts to become literate in and familiar with difference. Wearing an Oakland Raiders football jersey (37), Arjun attempts to feel at home in Los Angeles the way he does in New Delhi. What the walks, nonetheless, reveal is the near impossibility of this aspiration for him in the metropolis. Los Angeles is too foreign and isolating for him. His walks become increasingly desperate as the promise of the American dream of constant upward social mobility withdraws more and more from Arjun. He returns after a three-month job to the place where computer engineers from around the world are housed by Databodies, the corporation which initially hires him, only to continue his walks. He realizes that

> he has been given credit, and had it withdrawn. He knows what
> lies above him, the sublime mobility of those who travel without
> ever touching the ground. He has glimpsed what lies below, the
> other mobility, the forced motion of the shopping-cart pushers, the
> collectors of cardboard boxes. (45)

Arjun's mobility is clearly much closer to that of the shopping-cart pusher in its constant motion without any clear endpoint and is contrasted with the mobility of the prototypical cosmopolitan who travels "without ever touching the ground," represented in the novel by the character Guy Swift.

The novel, then, seems to suggest a difference between Arjun's mobility and that of the global jetsetter – a difference that is partly characterized by varying levels of connection with the ground. Yet, despite these significant differences, Arjun's own multiple and mobile affiliations echo those of Guy and his cosmopolitan girlfriend, Gabriella. This suggests then that Arjun's cosmopolitanism is one that is more firmly and clearly territorialized – shown to be a not always enviable position. Unlike Guy and Gabriella who travel almost exclusively in airplanes, Arjun is most frequently on foot, public transit or in cars. While the various motorized transportation suggests a less meandering form of territorialisation, it does demonstrate his general "groundedness." At the close of the novel, when Arjun becomes legend rather than particularly human, there are sightings of him all over the world: "He is spotted one day at an antiglobalization demo in Paris and the next coming onto the pitch in a hockey match in rural Gujarat… One persistent report, mostly from Pacific-rim countries, has a young man fitting [Arjun's] description accompanied by a South Asian woman of a similar age" (275-76). Arjun continues to move around the world – whether in actuality or not – but he is constantly located in ways that do not echo those "who

travel without ever touching the ground" (45). The moment where Arjun seems to disappear into a kind of legend is also a moment of walking. He decides to escape into Mexico and on his first sight of the cross-border shopping district (shopping centres are also central to his walking here) wonders, "was it safe just to stroll out of America? That's what all the other people were doing. They were just walking into Mexico" (247) – tellingly he "*stepped* into legend" (249; emphasis added). Not only do Arjun's walks act as a daily reminder of his own isolation and marginalization, but the walks are often undertaken after moments of rejection – not only his final presumed escape into Mexico but after Chris, with whom he believes himself to be in love, rejects him, he walks again down the side of a highway (98). Unlike *What We All Long For* and, to some degree, *Brick Lane*, where cosmopolitan identities and the movement that can produce these identities are generally viewed positively or, at least, optimistically, *Transmission* seems to suggest the frequent danger and alienation that surround cosmopolitan movement.

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   What We All Long For, Transmission and *Brick Lane* also all feature characters who exist in opposition to the cosmopolitans who reside in the so-called developed world. In *What We All Long For* and *Transmission*, Quy and Arjun, respectively, are cosmopolitan characters who have multiple simultaneous affiliations to both the local and the global but who are sharply contrasted with the cosmo-multiculturalists who live in Toronto and London. In the case of *Brick Lane*, Hasina, Nazneen's sister, is this character and would be difficult to classify as particularly cosmopolitan. All three characters – whether cosmopolitan or not – draw attention to the connections between economic globalization and its human costs, and a cosmopolitanism centred on consumption and business/ leisure travel. Quy, Arjun, and Hasina are defined by labour in a way that is not quite true of the other characters. In the case of Quy and Hasina, this labour is undertaken in dangerous circumstances and often crosses the line into criminality. Arjun, on the other hand, works in the same knowledge industries that Guy works in but, because of his precarious status as a worker on a visa, the work he does is still suggested to be uncertain and physically dangerous. Arjun's creation and release of the Leela computer virus in order to try and save his tenuous position in an American computer security corporation is a parodic depiction of the links between the seemingly glamourous variant of cosmopolitan business (exemplified by Guy and Gabriella) and more prosaic labour. What these characters demonstrate, then, are some of the ways that cosmopolitanism-as-consumption is predicated upon an exploitative capitalist globalization.

   Quy's movement from refugee camps in Southeast Asia to Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand and, finally, to Toronto echoes the peripatetic movement of the cosmopolitan. Under the tutelage of the Monk, Quy moves from place to place, looking for somewhere he can make more money and gain more power than he has previously held. Quy understands himself as rootless and constantly

in flux – a state he suggests reflects that of the refugee camps in which he finds himself after losing his parents and sisters: these camps are "places where identity was watery, up for grabs" (9). Identity is similarly "up for grabs" for Tuyen, and the other three protagonists of *What We All Long For*; yet the text demonstrates the considerably different stakes between Quy and the other characters who are trying to determine their own identities. For Quy, this self-determination is a matter of life and death; his affiliations with various criminals operating within the refugee camps protect him from his position as a child with no family to look after him: "You could get a beating from anyone. And for someone like me with no one to retaliate, I was like a bed mat on a line. I can't tell you how many beatings I got" (76). Multiple and mutable affiliations that echo similar forms of cosmopolitan affiliations, then, are necessary for survival here. For Tuyen et al., a territorialized cosmo-multiculturalism might offer ways of making their positions as multicultural Canadians more positive and, indeed, of carving out new ways of understanding Canadian identity; nonetheless, this cosmopolitanism is not a strategy of survival, *per se*.[46] As well, neither Quy nor Tuyen and her friends develop a cosmopolitan world-view that is framed on ethical and political responsibilities to others both near and physically distant. I would suggest, then, that what they demonstrate – and Loc Tuc, the monk, as well (see note 46) – are world-views that are only superficially cosmopolitan – yet the costs of and reasons for developing these affiliations and world-views are quite different.

Instead of only being a way of resisting existing power structures as we see with the four protagonists of *What We All Long For*, Brand, here, shows that these superficially cosmopolitan world-views can also be a way of further entrenching those same power structures. This is further revealed in Quy's experiences in Thailand and his eventual journey to Toronto. In Thailand, he sees factories of transnational corporations: "you could get a job in an American factory, a German factory, an Italian factory – all right here in Thailand" (217). The porous nature of national boundaries in an era of economic globalization suggests that any place is every place – evoking the supposed rootlessness of the cosmopolitan – yet also pointing to the way that the porousness of borders are not so impermeable everywhere. Transnational factories might be located where labour is cheap but there is not necessarily a simultaneous flexibility in the

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[46]   Quy refers to the monk who takes him under his guidance as a "cosmopolitan man" (199) in response to the wide ranging texts the monk has him read (the *Tao Te Ching*, the Analects of Kung Fu Tzu, Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*). However, Quy does not believe that the monk teaches him to read these texts as an attempt to cultivate a sense of sophistication but instead to further bind Quy to him. The monk's "cosmopolitanism," then, is suggested to be equally strategic and instrumental as Quy's own form of cosmopolitan affiliations. Unlike Guy in *Transmission* who reads similar Asian texts as potential business models and principles and thus also reads them strategically, in a sense, the monk uses these texts to "teach a dog good manners... A dog will bite you too, and if you let go the chain, he will ravage you. So Loc Tuc [the monk] chained me up with his books and paper. But I was still a dog" (199). What Quy identifies as cosmopolitan – reading ancient texts, he simultaneously identifies as a strategy for maintaining power and control.

distribution of transnational capital – capital, instead, remains concentrated elsewhere. As Quy notes, this transnationalism is uneven. The extension of transnational capitalism throughout the world that Quy notes reveals the ongoing implications of the growth of capitalism and European colonialism – processes that, as Marx notes, have been underway for the last two centuries at least: "the bourgeoisie through its exploitation of the world market has given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country… in place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations" (Marx and Engels 83-84). This global expansion that Quy – like Marx and Engels – identifies, then, suggests how cosmopolitanism may actually be predicated on both capitalism and colonialism, and continues to operate on the knife edge of exploitation and compassionate engagement. Recognition of this exploitative past (and present) is necessary for the development of cosmopolitan world-views that take up questions of social justice.

Like Guy and Gabriella in *Transmission*, capital and the physical manifestations of it – factories, etc – can move throughout the world with relative impunity. The same is not true for those who work in these factories. Simultaneously, Quy identifies the presence of transnational factories with a regional economic boom: "this was the beginning of the economic boom, the Asian tigers, Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Hong Kong" (217). Globally-circulating capital accumulates in the region – it does not just leave it, then. Nonetheless, with his focus on factories and the Thai criminal underworld, Quy points to the difficult labour and criminality that surrounds this capital.

His journey to Toronto further reveals the interlinking labour and criminality that underpins global capital: "I hopped a freighter and ended up on the Pacific coast of Canada with some teenaged girls headed for the tenderloin district of San Francisco" (286). He leaves a Thailand where he and others like him are deeply enmeshed in a shadow economy of goods and people:

> You should see our crew of monks, orange-gowned and macerated, we moved like a dust cloud. But we had uzis and palm pilots. We controlled the unofficial refugee trade from Malaysia and Thailand to China and out; we hacked into offshore bank accounts. Of course, other residuals and commodities came our way. Use your imagination. (285)

Quy and the other monks trade with satellite communication, offshore banks, and in various commodities – paralleling the legally accepted trade of transnational corporations. Quy's ability to reach Canada is dependent upon this underground web of transportation and the exchange of goods – and people. He states that "there's a web of people like me laying sticky strings all over the city" (284) – suggesting a kind of rootedness in different locales.

His movement through Southeast Asia to Toronto reveals an economy centered on criminality parallel to that of cosmopolitan business travel – most

particularly in this novel, the trade in drugs and people. International crime echoes the multiple affiliations of cosmopolitanism yet lacks – and even rejects – the ethical and political responsibility of the territorialized cosmopolitan. It is a rooted yet apolitical cosmopolitanism taken to an extreme where roots exist but are fetishized to the point of presumed superiority. Or, simultaneously, it is the extreme of a rootless yet apolitical cosmopolitanism where one has absolutely no loyalty to a place beyond what one can take – financially, materially – from the place. In both instances, international crime points to the dangers of a cosmopolitanism that rejects any sense of ethical or political responsibility. Like the illegal movement of people that Quy is part of and profits from, which mirrors the legally accepted movement of businesspeople, the global aspirations of criminality also echo the global circulation of transnational capital whose "roots" are similarly determined by profit margins. Quy ultimately comes into contact with Binh, his younger brother who was born in Canada and a small business owner who is also invests in the trade in people. Again, this further suggests the interconnections between legally authorized and non-authorized business. The text suggests, implicitly, that Binh makes far more money from the trade in people and black-market goods than he does in the electronics he sells in his store. Quy's, and Binh's, interaction with a globalization centred on non-authorized or unacknowledged consumption suggests caveats for the enthusiastic embrace of global affiliations that develop out of the exposure to (rather than engagement with) difference that the rest of the text seems to argue for.

Arjun in *Transmission* similarly illustrates the potential of cosmopolitanism as consumption or sophistication to consolidate existing structures of economic and social power. His arrival in Los Angeles on an employment visa indicates his position as a mobile worker. The other inhabitants of a Los Angeles house who wait for actual jobs have also come there from India. Arjun is hired in New Delhi by Sunny Srinivasan who, to Arjun, is the prototypical cosmopolitan sophisticate: "every particular of his appearance carried a set of aspirational associations... [and] when he spoke, his words rang out with decisiveness and verve, his dragged vowels and rolling consonants returning the listener to the source of all his other signs of affluence: *Amrika*. Residence of the Non-Resident Indian" (8; emphasis in original). Sunny represents the affluence of the American but his aspirational appearance is also signified by a Swiss watch; the items that make Sunny seem so impressive are global, not specific to one place.

Sunny's affluence is contrasted with the near-squalor that Arjun and the other IT consultants live in in Los Angeles: the men live in what Arjun learns to identify as a "low-income area" (41). Despite the situation in which they find themselves, Arjun and the other men become acculturated to American life – particularly through the hours of television they watch – suggesting a growing affiliation to the U.S. Yet this is a cosmopolitan affiliation predicated on their exploitation as cheap labour; as Arjun realizes that it may take months for him to

get a job, he talks to someone in charge about returning to India and they inform him that he will then owe them ten thousand dollars for room and board, the procurement of his visa and an administrative fee (39). As his visa allows him to work only for the one company or risk deportation, Arjun – and by extension the other men like him – is stuck in a sort of limbo. Arjun's and the other men's travel from India to the United States and within the United States for work – Arjun goes from Los Angeles to Portland, Maine and back and then to Redmond, Washington – echoes Guy's constant travel: "Thailand or Mauritius or Zanzibar or Cancun or Sharm el Sheik or Tunisia or Bali or the Gold Coast or Papeete or Grand Cayman or Malibu. *So many places for Guy. All the same*" (126; emphasis added).

While Arjun does not have anywhere near the same freedom of movement that Guy has, there is a similar sense of moving frequently and the similarity from place to place; he lives in two different but similar houses in Los Angeles and his apartment in Redmond eventually resembles the houses in Los Angeles. Like the way Quy's movement from Thailand to Toronto in *What We All Long For* parallels that of legally authorized goods, Arjun's movement echoes that of work that is more typically considered cosmopolitan – jobs such as Guy's corporate advertising and Gabriella's job in public relations.

Further, Arjun constructs and releases a computer virus which moves in similar ways, suggesting the parallel movement of global capital. This computer virus acts as a parody of the rootless movement of a superficial "frequent flier" cosmopolitanism. The virus begins in Redmond but quickly moves to Paris, Seoul, Kansas, Australia, and India within the first hour of operation (105-06). The Leela virus – named after the Bollywood star who Arjun is infatuated with – "could take on new forms at will, never staying stable long enough to be scanned and recognized. Each generation [of the virus] produced an entirely new Leela" (107). The mutating nature of the virus mimics the constant change and adaptability of the cosmopolitan sophisticate. Just as Arjun and, more especially, Guy and Gabriella, are able to adapt to and form new affiliations with multiple places, so too is the virus. Nonetheless, as the text shows, despite the global upheaval caused by the Leela virus, the person whose life it most changes is Arjun himself. By the close of the novel, he must resign himself to a life as a perpetual fugitive – a figure whose constant movement again echoes that of the cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitan movement, then, is seen to both parallel ironically the movement of global capital and business men, and to be a consequence of global capitalism. Arjun must move around the globe in order to get a job and, then, after he has created the Leela virus in an attempt to retain his job, he must move indefinitely around the globe.[47]

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[47]   Arjun's sister, Priti, takes part as well in cosmopolitan labour in her job as a call-centre operator for an Australian power company where she must speak with an Australian accent and use slang expressions common in Australia (17). Throughout the course of the novel, Priti speaks to Arjun exclusively in her newly taken-up Australian accent. Like Guy, then, Priti's job is

In *Brick Lane* Ali also offers a character who, like Quy and Arjun, reveals the human labour that creates the conditions of possibility for cosmopolitan sophistication. Hasina, Nazneen's sister who still lives in Dhaka, suggests some of the more straightforwardly human costs of globalization – particularly the feminization of labour. Unlike Quy and Arjun, Hasina is relatively immobile. She moves from the small rural village where she and Nazneen were born to Dhaka and then to various places within the city; "her movement from job to job gives a sense of Dhaka as a setting dominated by its role as a market for various kinds of labor" (Marx 21). She does not leave a fairly circumscribed area, then, and certainly does not travel globally. Hasina is influenced by a variety of axes of identification related to labour: she is a factory worker, a prostitute, and a nanny at various times. While Nazneen's own life is suggested to be dictated by the constraints of marriage and religion, she is contrasted with Hasina who has far less control over her own life. Nazneen, at the very least, has a stable home. Hasina, on the other hand, has few such guarantees. Indeed, her work as a prostitute is in order to keep her home. Whereas Quy and Arjun are cosmopolitan characters themselves, just in a different fashion than the protagonists of their respective novels, Hasina does not have access to the networks of cosmopolitan mobility that they do. Ali suggests that, even in a large city like Dhaka, the opportunities for women in the global economy are not what they might be for men; Quy gains access to the Southeast Asian criminal underworld which offers him a familiarity with certain forms of technology and Arjun, who comes from a decidedly middle-class family, has technological training from a technological college. These means of education – formal and informal – are far removed from Hasina's sphere of movement.

Hasina's final job in the text – as housekeeper and nanny in the house of a wealthy couple and their children – demonstrates the labour needed to maintain a household of those who possess cosmopolitan cultural and, most importantly, economic capital. James and Lovely, the couple Hasina works for, think of themselves as sophisticated cosmopolitans. Lovely, in particular, harbours dreams of global travel: she tells Hasina that "I go around the world but for my James" (160). James (an executive with Bangla National Plastics) compares Bangladesh unfavourably to global metropolis: "That is what is so wrong with this country. Nobody want progress. In New York and Paris and London you think they carry shoppings in jute bag" (246)? The cosmopolitan aspirations of

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dependent upon how able she is to make herself cosmopolitan, to create affiliations across national borders. While she is hardly as well compensated as Guy, Priti's job is understood to be, economically, a good one – though her mother expresses concern that the job will make Priti a "cosmopolitan girl[]" (17), and thus will make her difficult to marry off. Priti stands in here for the countless other Indian workers in call centres for European, North American, Australian, etc. corporations. Kunzru suggests then that the ability to cosmopolitanize onself in a particular way in places like India has become an increasingly important – even necessary – skill, though one that carries certain liabilities such as the deracination that Priti's mother worries about.

James and Lovely – Lovely to travel globally and James for his company to be equal with transnational companies – are meanwhile dependent upon the labour of Hasina and Zaid, the gardener and cook. To Lovely, this labour is nearly invisible *as* labour. Lovely wants to establish a charity to protect child workers; however, her charitable inclinations see the problem as distant from herself and her social circle. Hasina asks her: "which ones you will stop I asking to her. Oh she say all of them. The maid next door? I asking her this. She look surprise. But really she like daughter to them. The boys on roof who is now mend gutters sweep leaves? She look bit cross. That different she say. Which are the ones? The boy who come around sell butter? Lovely say are washing that floor or not" (266)? The labour that is required to make cosmopolitan homes like hers run – and which allow Lovely the time to develop a sense of cosmopolitan sophistication and even of ethical and political responsibility to those whose circumstances are different from her own – is here erased by Lovely; labourers are "like daughters." Quy's and Arjun's labour is, in some ways, more privileged – despite in Quy's case its high level of deprivation – as it is recognized as labour in some fashion. Hasina, on the other hand, despite living in a comfortable home – though she must sleep on the floor in the childrens' room (161), is less privileged as her labour goes relatively unacknowledged.

Hasina's presence in the text also works in counterpoint to Nazneen. This contrapuntal movement between Dhaka and London demonstrates both the major differences in standards of living between the two cities and, more importantly, the centrality of low-wage labour to the Western metropolitan centre. Edward Said argues that, in contrapuntal analysis, "we must take into account all sorts of spatial or geographical and rhetorical practices – inflections, limits, constraints, intrusions, inclusions, prohibitions – all of them tending to elucidate a complex and uneven topography" (*Culture and Imperialism* 318). What Ali offers, in some sense then, is her own contrapuntal analysis. She gives voice to the non-Western other whose labour sustains cosmopolitanism. Brand does similar work through the character of Quy yet he is also cosmopolitan in his own way. Hasina is clearly not cosmopolitan. Ali, then, takes Brand's criticism of the free movement of goods and people that sustains a cosmopolitan marketplace and suggests even more radically the human costs when mobility is not an option. Quy's story ends with his presumed death; Hasina's story ends with ever-shrinking possibilities. Hasina's final letter to Nazneen in the text wonders "how long can I stay here" in the house where she has been working and contains her memory of her mother's suicide – the details of which were not previously known by Nazneen (324-25). Hasina closes her letter by saying "Sister I sitting in my electric light room write to you and I asking Him to put light in my heart so I see more clear the ways" (325). The despair which fills this letter – and so many of her other letters to Nazneen – indicate the real limitations placed on Hasina as a woman in a global economy that sees her primarily as cheap and easily replaceable labour. This is counterpointed with Nazneen's ever-expanding

possibilities: by the close of the novel, Nazneen is an entrepreneur who has taken charge of her life – she does not return to Dhaka with Chanu and ends her relationship with Karim on her own terms. In contrast to Hasina's real uncertainty about the future, Nazneen's story ends with Rezia telling her that "This is England… you can do whatever you like" (369). The endless possibilities of England are certainly debatable yet, nonetheless, Nazneen's possibilities are clearly contrasted with Hasina's restrictions.

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   What We All Long For, *Transmission* and *Brick Lane* all suggest that cosmopolitanism takes a number of different forms in the metropolis and is not solely the domain of an upper class elite – something which is argued in a great deal of urban studies and cosmopolitan theory. Furthermore, instead of the metropolis being simply the place where cosmopolitanism touches briefly down before moving on to other metropolises, these three novels show that cosmopolitanism develops out of an engagement with place. A territorialized cosmopolitanism in the metropolis does not then only result from the consumption of difference but from boundary crossing within the places of the city. These three novels act as interruptions into prevailing discourses about both the city and cosmopolitanism. They offer pedagogical moments for their readers where the city and the world can be imagined differently. Connections that have previously been invisible or ignored become central here. Even *What We All Long For*, which offers the most straight-forwardly celebratory discussion of the global metropolis, calls into question this narrative through Quy's narrative. Quy unsettles the desirable mutability expressed by the other characters by suggesting the dark undercurrents of multiplicity. The city these three texts reveal is one where different sites of cosmopolitan possibility collide and overlap – a vision of the city which is too frequently missing from cosmopolitan theory. These, often hidden, unpleasurable elements of global urban life are revealed in even greater detail in the texts set in regional cities that I discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Cosmopolitan Work in the Regional City

"Cosmopolitan with a Twist. Visit Charlotte... a cosmopolitan city with Southern charm." I received a napkin with this slogan on it on a flight last year between Tallahassee, Florida and Charlotte, North Carolina on my way home from a conference (coincidentally on cosmopolitanism). The napkin points to a problem that small cities such as Charlotte face that has no clear solution: they are neither large global metropolises with all their attendant tourist draws, nor are they small rural communities which can ostensibly draw upon their quaint homogeneity to attract tourists. Given the increasing importance of tourism as a national and municipal source of revenue, how do these small cities position themselves in the global tourist marketplace? Charlotte's tourism bureau's approach is to sell the city as cosmopolitan. This cosmopolitanism, however, comes with an important caveat: it is cosmopolitanism complete with Southern charm. What "Southern charm" consists of exactly is never made clear – on either the napkin or the accompanying website; however, it seems to connote a sense of local authenticity and provincialism that acts to moderate or ground the perceived excesses of a free-wheeling and worldly cosmopolitan sophistication. Charlotte aims for the best of both worlds, the exciting and glamorous cosmopolitanism of the metropolis – implicitly here a kind of sophistication (Ghassan Hage's "cosmo-multiculturalism") – with the accessible and provincial charm of the small town: "With the excitement of a cosmopolitan city and the ease of Southern charm, Charlotte presents a unique atmosphere where big city style meets down-home appeal" ("Unique to Charlotte"). The small city is anxiously positioned, then, between these two (equally false) poles of value – sophistication/ cosmopolitanism and authenticity/ charm; the texts I examine in this chapter highlight the emptiness of each, showing small cities as neither glamorously cosmopolitan (in Hage's sense of urban capital) nor charming (by revealing a decidedly non-charming place characterized by poverty and weak multiculturalism) but as sites of territorialized cosmopolitan possibility.

The deployment of "cosmopolitanism" by the Charlotte tourism bureau raises some important questions for cosmopolitan theory that this chapter will consider: how does cosmopolitanism come into being in non-metropolitan urban places? How does the kind of cosmopolitanism found in these places support or challenge conventional understandings of what it means to be cosmopolitan? I define a territorialized cosmopolitan world-view as one that emerges out of simultaneously local and global connections and that foregrounds thoughtful attachment to both the global and the local – an attachment articulated through the experience of place – or places. This chapter takes up the question of what this means when the place through which cosmopolitan responsibility is articulated is the small city. While the texts I examined in the previous chapter – ones set in large metropolises – suggest some of the difficult and alienating aspects of cosmopolitanism, the texts I examine in this chapter put even more focus on the

challenging work of developing global and local consciousness. Further, while the metropolitan novels discussed in the previous chapter make use of the trope of writing, these texts foreground translation – suggesting the active and fraught interpretation needed to come to terms with cosmopolitanism in the small city.

Considering local and global affiliations in small cities challenges an overly simplistic binary between local authenticity and global sophistication as neither pole of this binary is particularly convincing in these places. As the texts I examine demonstrate, the economics of globalization emerge with banal clarity and the commodities of global capitalism lack the fetishistic glamour of the metropolis. Similarly, notions that locality offers an escape (emancipatory or otherwise) from globality is shown in these texts to be fundamentally impossible. Cosmopolitanism in small cities, then, draws attention to important questions about the work of taking up a territorialized cosmopolitan world-view. Lacking the romance associated in different ways with the (big) city or the country, small cities in their very awkwardness offer an opportunity to see through the myths associated with traditional assumptions about cosmopolitanism.

In addition to the challenge these texts offer to both theoretical and colloquial cosmopolitanisms and their readers, they implicitly offer a challenge to the superficially cosmopolitan claims implicit (or in the case of Charlotte *explicit*) in the kinds of official discourses of place advanced by municipal governments or chambers of commerce. These texts suggest that the kind of cosmopolitan rhetoric (one particularly inflected by Richard Florida's notion of the "creative class") made use of by small city tourist boards is a re-iteration of cosmopolitanism based on economic privilege. This is an uncomfortably bald truth which the Charlotte napkin itself perhaps gestures to with its suggestion that the cosmopolitan is in need of "a twist" and the need for the hospitality of Southern charm (whatever that might be[48]). Because of the napkin's distribution aboard U.S. Airways flights, Charlotte's tourism board demonstrates an attempt to draw in tourists considered cosmopolitan, according to colloquial definitions, because of their frequent travel. The napkin hails the person in the airplane seat as a cosmopolitan who might be in need of a break from the chaos that a cosmopolitan life entails – suggesting that cosmopolitan movement might feel chaotic and tiresome. This sense that a cosmopolitan lifestyle (understood here as that of business travelers) is one which needs to be grounded is more pronounced on the *Visit Charlotte* website which proclaims: "CHARLOTTE—THE GATEWAY TO THE SOUTH Captivating, Colorful, and Cosmopolitan Charlotte is eager to introduce itself to you. With character to spare, it's no secret that this city delivers cultural distractions and attractions, dining and nightlife for every persuasion, and a Southern ambiance all its own" (*Visit Charlotte*). *Visit*

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[48]   As this napkin was circulated on U.S. Airways flights in the area and in the Charlotte airport, this Southern charm is not immediately apparent given the homogeneity of commercial aircraft and large airports.

Charlotte proclaims its cosmopolitan attractions "for every persuasion" – pointing to a definition of cosmopolitanism centered on the commodified products of difference and colorfulness – yet re-emphasizes its unique "Southern ambiance" – suggesting that those differences are made comfortable, palatable and "captivating" under the umbrella of seemingly authentic charm and hospitality.

On both the napkin and the website, Charlotte's regional position is particularly emphasized. It is a regional hub for a major airline and positions itself as the epitome of Southern hospitality repeatedly – a vague concept but one that clearly aligns Charlotte with the Southern states and in opposition to the implied lack of hospitality and charm of other states and other cities. This centrality of the city's region shapes the term I will use to refer to these small cities: regional city.[49] While global and local are always terms that make sense only in relation with and to one another, this relational or dialectical aspect is even more visible in regional cities than in other kinds of places. Regional cities "are much more than fillers, not (yet) cities or would-be cities – they are important nodes in the networks between places of different scales, and they are seen to mediate between the rural and the urban, as well as between the local and the global" (Bell and Jayne 7). The regional city is not the metropolis with its attendant positioning as global nor is it a rural town that positions itself as purely local (however false these categorizations might be in either place). This gives cosmopolitanism in regional cities a different inflection, then – one shaped far more by a palpable indeterminacy than in other places. And this ambivalence about global and local connections and affiliations is, following Bell and Jayne, a characteristic of the regional city's city-ness; "at what level in the global urban hierarchy does a small city 'trade'? To which other cities (and nonurban places) does it link and what forms do those linkages take" (Bell and Jayne 5)?

Small cities like Charlotte, then, occupy an in-between space. No matter their size, they are dwarfed demographically, economically and culturally by metropolises, yet in their very city-ness they exist at a remove from small rural communities which are much smaller and also peripheral in different ways. As Jennifer Robinson suggests, "there are a large number of cities around the world which do not register on intellectual maps that chart the rise and fall of global and world cities" (531). These small cities which "do not register" make up the vast majority of the globe's urban places. Yet like the rural, these cities must continually prove (and improve) their global standing and position in an attempt to draw people and capital. A recent report entitled "The Attraction and Retention of Immigrants to Edmonton," produced by the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration (which operates out of the University of Alberta and is part of the national Metropolis Project) explicitly connects business

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[49]   This term comes from David Bell and Mark Jayne who use the term to refer to cities with a population of 250 000 to 1 million. While their focus on population size shapes what I will categorize as a regional city, I want to use it more generally to refer to cities which are central urban places in regions.

interests with multicultural diversity – listing the booming Alberta economy and the resulting need for workers, and the vibrancy of cities with large immigrant populations (explicitly citing Richard Florida's argument in *The Rise of the Creative Class*) as the two main reasons why Edmonton, a regional city, should try to attract more immigrants, making the city more cosmopolitan (meaning, here, primarily that it is more demographically diverse) (Derwing et al. 11). Whereas rural communities often promote an over-exaggerated appearance of homogeneity – a vision which conforms to widely circulating cultural imaginaries about the rural, small cities are often at great pains to suggest the opposite.

> David Bell and Mark Jayne posit that
>> the woeful neglect of the small city in the literature on urban studies means that we don't yet have to hand wholly appropriate ways to understand what small cities are, what smallness and bigness mean, how small cities fit or don't fit into the 'new urban order', or what their fortunes or fates might be; [instead] generalized accounts of 'the city' always imagine something big.... Yet a quick bit of scoping and counting shows that small cities are, numerically speaking, the typical size of urban form the world over. (2)

Jennifer Robinson similarly argues that urban theory, as it is currently practiced, tends to focus on small clusters of cities with London, New York and Los Angeles being too often the paradigmatic example of city-ness. She suggests that the preoccupation of this theoretical practice almost exclusively with the global metropolis in Euro-American nation-states creates a skewed vision of what constitutes the city. She argues for the recognition of the "diversity of urban experiences and cities within the world economy" and asks if this could be "the basis for a more 'cosmopolitan' account of cities, rather than one that is divided, resting on partial and limited areas of the globe, and quite divergent sets of concerns or subject matter"(533). Because of this trend in urban theory

> the exception, by a process of reduction or totalizing, becomes the norm, applicable to the vast majority of what might be called 'unexceptional' cities: that is, cities which cannot be demonstrated to have attained a new centrality, to be arenas of flexible specialization and industrial districts growth, or to be identifiably "creative". If it 'all comes together' in Los Angeles, the implication is that all cities are experiencing the trends identifiable in Los Angeles and that we do not really need to understand these processes. (Amin and Graham 417)

While considerations of global metropolises are important and useful ways of considering where global capital comes to earth, I want to take up this call to consider other kinds of examples, to consider how the global is experienced in cities that are "off the map" (Robinson 535) of critical thought.

These trends identified by Robinson, Amin, Graham, Bell and Jayne are replicated in cosmopolitan theory. I am particularly interested, then, in how postcolonial fiction set in regional cities points to the different modalities of cosmopolitanism found in urban places outside of the metropolis. The "global city as a concept becomes a regulating fiction. It offers an authorized image of city success (so people can buy into it) which also establishes an end point of development for ambitious cities" (Robinson 546). If "the global city" is central to current models of the cosmopolitan, and this urban form becomes "a regulating fiction" that smaller cities feel they must adapt to, then cosmopolitanism could be part of this larger problematic. Cosmopolitan theory – a theoretical discourse that does not always or necessarily overlap with the discourse of urban planning – seems to fall too often into the same trap that Robinson identifies. What this means, then, for this project is to think more carefully about what cosmopolitanism might look like in the regional city and how regional cities might expand cosmopolitan possibilities.

If "the banal character of everyday interactions is the most incisive locus through which viable interpenetrations of distinct cultural practices take place" (Simone 28), regional cities can perhaps force closer attention to these everyday interactions. For instance, when discussing global metropolises it is often all too easy to look for visible articulations of the cosmopolitan such as ethnic neighborhoods. Instead, in the regional city, considering how cosmopolitan responsibilities develop might very well demand closer attention to the everyday interactions between people. Unlike the metropolis which often has clearly defined communities and places of difference, this is not always the case in the regional city. This is not to say that regional cities are homogeneous communities; instead, these communities often do not have formalized – officially or unofficially – zones where difference is primarily located. Demography, in a sense, can be misleading in the regional city as it may not reflect actual experiences of difference. This is, of course, not to suggest that the regional city is more *properly* cosmopolitan than the metropolis. Instead, cosmopolitanism in the regional city perhaps forces cosmopolitan theorists to think of a cosmopolitan model beyond the demographic.

In this chapter, I examine the way Leila Aboulela's *The Translator*, Anar Ali's *Baby Khaki's Wings* and Rattawut Lapcharoensap's *Sightseeing* take up these concerns about cosmopolitanism in regional cities. I begin by examining the way Aboulela and Lapcharoensap use the analogy of translation to suggest the limits of bourgeois-liberal cosmopolitanism. These depictions of the difficulty of translation particularly challenge Martha Nussbaum's cosmopolitan reading program and K. Anthony Appiah's cosmopolitan conversation. In the second section, I will consider the ways that Ali and Lapcharoensap demonstrate the uneven mobility to and from the regional city – particularly for subaltern cosmopolitans. Finally, in the final section, I go on to consider models for global affiliations that Ali and Lapcharoensap highlight. If most models of

cosmopolitanism (mine included) are centered around negotiating and engaging cultural difference, Ali and Lapcharoensap point to other, widely circulating popular models of global engagement made up of communities of religious believers, as well as a neoliberal community linked by consumption.

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Unlike the metropolitan novels in which superficial cosmopolitan world-views are suggested to be typical for the city's residents, the characters in *The Translator*, set in a regional city, who negotiate a cosmopolitan way of seeing and interacting with the world that focuses on exposure to rather than engagement with difference, are shown to be more atypical and isolated. The cosmopolitan is a solitary figure as the alienating potential of immigration and globalization becomes particularly apparent in this novel. While territorialized cosmopolitanism is a way of opening oneself up to the world (as the rural novels I will discuss in the next chapter suggest), a superficial cosmopolitanism that does not form connections with others can also be a way of separating oneself or, even more forcibly, becoming the stranger to people whom one lives amongst – something which becomes even more apparent in Lapcharoensap's *Sightseeing*. Initially, apart from Rae, Sammar, the primary protagonist, only interacts with people who seem primarily committed to singular affiliations – whether or not this might be at odds with their lives. Rae is shown to be very much in isolation, as well, despite his strong sense of himself as a Scot and his commitment to place. Yet Sammar's developing territorialized cosmopolitanism in *The Translator* acts as a way to forge solidarities and relationships that might not have been previously possible when she had viewed cultural differences as insurmountable. When both Sammar and Rae territorialize their cosmopolitan world-views, the possibilities for connection with others begin to expand – in contrast to the isolation they felt with their previously weak cosmopolitan connections.

The Translator depicts the difference between superficial and engaged cosmopolitanism via the figure of Rae, who moves from an intellectual engagement with postcolonial difference to a more complete and complex emotional and ethical immersion. Rae, for instance, works with Islamic nationalist groups in Egypt. This is work that he undertakes out of a sense of ethical and political responsibility to other human beings – particularly prompted by his realization of the similarities between English colonization of Africa and the Middle East, and English colonization of Scotland: "The Highlands were the first place the English colonized... later India and Africa" (54). Yet he simultaneously acknowledges the role that Scottish soldiers had in colonizing Africa and the Middle East: "They got Scottish men to pillage that place for the Empire" (54). While this realization comes to Rae as an eager undergraduate and therefore is treated with a degree of ridicule by the text and by Rae himself – these comparisons are the expression of an exuberant young man who is not (yet) the cosmopolitan he imagines himself to be. Nonetheless, the pedagogical moment of seeing these similarities between two very different places points to

the beginning of a developing territorialized cosmopolitan world-view. Rae's cosmopolitan development centered on education echoes the model of cosmopolitan education put forth by Martha Nussbaum where students "may continue to regard themselves as defined partly by their particular loves... but they also must learn to recognize humanity wherever they encounter it" (9). Rae's Scottish nationalism is the starting point of his cosmopolitan education; just as he believes Scotland should be free from English colonial power, he also believes this to be true for other nation-states colonized by England and other European nations. Rae's reading program, however, is shown to be too superficial an engagement with difference. It is not until he converts to Islam in order to marry Sammar that he actually begins to exhibit a truly engaged cosmopolitanism.

Nevertheless, Rae's reading program leads him to see that he is both a local and global subject and that he therefore has ethical and political responsibilities at both levels. Being a citizen of the world provides a framework for his political readings of Plato, Marx, Livingstone, Richard Burton, Fidel Castro, Golda Meir, Haile Selassie, Frantz Fanon, and Malcom X (53-54) and the romanticized life he attributes to his uncle David who deserted the British Army during WWII to convert to Islam and live in Egypt (17-19) – that David marries an Islamic Egyptian woman foreshadows Rae's own later conversion and (implied) marriage to Sammar. Rae connects these disparate writers and his uncle to his vision of the cosmopolitan as a set of experiences and attitudes that disrupt the parochialism of middle-class life in a regional city; his cosmopolitan world-view is shaped by leftist revolutionary writers and centered on ethical and political action, rather than about acquiring a sense of bourgeois sophistication. Rae's territorialized cosmopolitanism is a form of militant particularism – defined by David Harvey as the process by which "ideas forged out of affirmative experience of solidarities in one place get generalized and universalized as a working model of a new form of society that will benefit all of humanity" (*Justice, Nature...* 32).

The personal work to become cosmopolitan is evident in the narrative surrounding Rae's Uncle David. David's attempt to create a form of cosmopolitanism that is particularly rooted in Egypt and, more ephemerally, in Islam results in his complete alienation from his family. As Rae explains to Sammar, "[his] grandmother told people that he was missing in action. She kept saying it until she believed it and everyone else in the family came to believe it too" (17-18). Furthermore, the circumstances surrounding his conversion to Islam and migration to Egypt – his desertion from the British Army – meant that "he couldn't come back, even if he had wanted to. He would have been arrested. Defection, treason, those are serious charges" (18).[50] While the story of David is

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[50]   Treason suggests the betrayal of one's own nation-state – something which resonates in interesting ways with the nature of cosmopolitanism itself.

framed by the discourses of family estrangement and military regulations, the implicit repercussions are about the failure of an entire community to acknowledge cosmopolitan attachments. David's multiple affiliations to England, Egypt, his families in both countries, and Islam mark him as cosmopolitan yet his family finds this world-view incomprehensible because it crosses boundaries that surround religion and national sovereignty that are viewed as impermeable and unchanging – leading to the disruption of affiliations rather than the multiplication of them. While it would be difficult to prove, it is arguable that religious and national affiliations signify more urgently for the inhabitants of the regional city, which lacks the cultural and economic capital to make its own claims to sovereignty. It is certainly the case that these prejudices emerge more strongly in the small-city novels than they do in those set in so-called world-class cities.

What the story of Uncle David foreshadows for Rae and Sammar (besides Rae's eventual conversion) is the paradoxically lonely path of cosmopolitanism. For, like Rae and Sammar, David does not seem to have access to the forms of cosmopolitan community found in the global metropolis. While David's difficulty in maneuvering between multiple affiliations is reflective, in part, of the time rather than the place, the further implication is that members of Rae's family in Scotland are less able to acknowledge the different axes of identification that shape David's new sense of himself in the world *because* they live in a provincial regional city. In other words, it is not that David cannot find a way to accommodate his multiple affiliations to different families, religions, and places; instead, it is his family, living in a regional city in a nation that is seemingly resolutely provincial in outlook at this time, who is unable to recognize these multiple affiliations.

The implications of these familial relationships for Rae and Sammar are quite clear. While we might assume that since Sammar and Rae fall in love fifty years after David converted to Islam and, therefore others would be more accepting of their relationship, Aboulela refuses this notion of historical evolution. Instead, Rae's extended family is virtually non-existent, and Sammar's friends and her own family are skeptical of her relationship with him early on. Yasmin expresses doubts early in the novel – before Sammar and Rae even really know one another – about the possibility that Rae will ever convert to Islam, despite his avowed respect for the religion: Yasmin asserts that coversion "would be professional suicide... no one will take him seriously after that. What would he be? Another ex-hippy gone off to join some weird cult. Worse than a weird cult, the religion of terrorists and fanatics. That's how it would be seen" (21). Rae's place within both Scottish society and the academy would become unstable if he expresses an affiliation with Islam that goes beyond a general respect. What this suggests, indeed, is a failure of translation. David has been -- and Yasmin declares that Rae would be – unable to translate his cosmopolitanism into an appropriate or recognizable local idiom; David's, *and* Rae's, decision is *unintelligible* to his family and a post-war Scottish society in a regional city.

Further, the implication is that Rae's decision to convert to Islam and marry Sammar must be made comprehensible to both himself and others with whom he interacts in some fashion in order for it to be successful. Yet, if for David the conversion to Islam was considered an act of treason, for Rae it is seen by others, despite Sammar's worries, as the act of mid-life crisis – something that does not worry Rae nor does it impede his career (199-200). The same holds true for Sammar. While Rae and Sammar both lose connections with some people – Yasmin, in particular – their territorialized cosmopolitanism enables broader connections than they had previously held.

Similarly, Sammar's job as an Arabic translator for the department of history at the University of Aberdeen means that she is constantly translating, suggesting her adeptness with it. While her job requires translating texts, Sammar is also conscious of the way the same process needs to occur for her to live in Aberdeen: as a woman wearing the hijab in an ostensibly secular state, a Muslim in a country with a Christian religious tradition, as a woman of colour in an overwhelmingly white city. Simultaneously, Sammar feels the pressure to translate or transform herself into the woman her aunt, Mahasen (who is also her mother-in-law), wants her to become – a modernized African woman and proper mother. For Mahasen, Sammar attempts to make herself appear as a devoted mother and appropriately attentive to the memory of her dead husband – Mahasen's son – and she must aspire to a proper career (Mahasen is notably unhappy with Sammar's job as a literacy instructor on her return to Khartoum). Underlying all these various expectations and axes of identification, Sammar's dual citizenship in England and Sudan further points to the constant translation she undertakes: Rae observes that "she was heavy with other loyalties, full to the brim with distant places, voices in a language that was not his own" (29). We learn on the second page of the novel that Sammar was born in England and did not go to Sudan until she was seven (4).

What these multiple affiliations and expectations point to, however, is the way in which Sammar must articulate her various cosmopolitan individual responsibilities through particular local paradigms. And this is initially alienating in many ways when her cosmopolitanism acts as a way of dis-engaging with difference. Her previous closeness to Mahasen is increasingly fraught with anxiety and misunderstanding – something only exacerbated by the death of Mahasen's son in Aberdeen and Sammar's subsequent decision to leave her son in Khartoum with her mother-in-law. Her devout religious beliefs alienate her from Rae for a time. Her affair with Rae alienates her from Yasmin, her only friend in Aberdeen. These other characters refuse to acknowledge that Sammar can and does view herself as ethically responsible to multiple and simultaneous sites – her family in Sudan; Rae, the University and Yasmin in Aberdeen; the world community of Muslims; her religious beliefs which exceed the categories of global and local. The mis-acknowledgement of Sammar's commitments by various other characters – indeed even by herself when she believes that she must

affiliate herself with one thing or another, and not both – parallels the belief that David is *necessarily* treasonous by choosing to convert to Islam and live in Cairo – suggesting the currents of parochialism with which cosmopolitan impulses must always contend – currents that are more powerful, perhaps, in regional cities that boast neither global power nor the comfortable myth of charming homogeneity. Aboulela provides the novel with a happy ending by having Rae convert to Islam – implying the couple's return to Aberdeen with Sammar's son, with whom she has re-connected during her stay in Khartoum – but this also marks Sammar's territorializing cosmopolitanism as she feels able to express her affiliations to multiple places rather than disavow all affiliations. Rae's own cosmopolitanism – throughout he is preoccupied by his responsibilities as a "citizen of the world" – is only further affirmed by his conversion, as I suggested above.

The centrality of translation to Sammar's sense of herself and the resulting multiplication of commitments is further shown through her experience of place. For instance, Sammar begins to see aspects of Khartoum in Aberdeen: "Home had come here. Its dimly lit streets, its sky and the feel of home had come here and balanced just for her... the muezzin coughed into the microphone and began the azan for the *Isha* prayer. But this was Scotland and the reality left her dulled, unsure of herself" (20-21). Sammar has a nearly identical experience later on: "Where was she now, which country? What year?... Home and the past had come here and balanced just for her" (41). While Aboulela uses the language of dreaming and hallucinations, it is clear that these moments have a certain kind of reality for Sammar. Importantly, Aberdeen does not *become* Khartoum but, instead, Sammar recognizes similarities between them. A translation takes place between the two places; Aberdeen becomes more comprehensible to Sammar through its translation into scenes of Khartoum. This recognition of points of similarity between two such disparate places is a way of territorializing her cosmopolitan affiliations with both places. Sammar's cosmopolitanism is mediated through two particular places then; Sammar has a very specific notion of the way she belongs in both Khartoum and Aberdeen. These moments of similarity enable Sammar to territorialize herself in Aberdeen when previously it had seemed only foreign to her. Her relationship with Rae further enables this territorialization as she connects herself to him; she also feels a growing attachment to the city he lives in. Again, this is a way of connecting the global with the local, of translating the global into the local.

When she returns to Khartoum, she feels herself much more at home. Things are familiar – the weather and landscape seem much more intelligible to her. Aberdeen, nonetheless, continues to occupy a central place in her imagination – if only by the way it operates in opposition to Khartoum. Tellingly, though, what Sammar misses the most about Aberdeen is the translating work she did: "Sammar found herself nostalgic for her old job, the work itself, moulding Arabic into English, trying to be transparent like a pane of glass not obscuring the meaning of any word' (164). Following an argument with Mahasen over the

death of Sammar's husband, Sammar feels "cold, her bones cold and stiff, not moving smoothly, not moving with ease. She wanted a bed and a cover, sleep. *She wanted to sleep like she used to sleep in Aberdeen*, everything muffled up and grey, curling up, covering her face with the blanket, her breath warming the cocoon she had made for herself" (171; emphasis added). This mention of "stiff bones" echoes, through opposition, Sammar's initial relief at being back in Khartoum: "there was no breeze, no moisture in the air, all was heat, dryness, desert dust. Her *bones were content with that, supple again, young. They had forgotten how they used to be clenched*" (136; emphasis added). Khartoum transitions from being the inverse of Aberdeen to mirroring it. This transition moves from the relatively superficial – the weather, in particular the humidity – to Sammar's emotional state in both places. While she lives in Aberdeen, scenes redolent of Khartoum intrude into Sammar's consciousness, suggesting points of similiarity; after her return to Khartoum, embodied memories of Aberdeen are repeated or re-experienced.

Furthermore, not only are these embodied memories connected to a physical reaction to meteorological conditions, but they also reflect how Sammar experiences the conflict or *mis*-translation between her cosmopolitan subjectivity, and people and places who insist on a too-narrow and -singular sense of who Sammar is. For instance, her argument with Mahasen that prompts the stiff and cold bones is one where Mahasen is incapable of recognizing and acknowledging Sammar's conflicting positions as a woman living in Europe, a young mother, and wife to Mahasen's son. Ironically, Sammar's wish to have a car in Aberdeen – a desire that Mahasen blames her son's death on and which prompts the argument in Khartoum – and so possess some of the conveniences of European life, echoes Mahasen's own desire for Sammar to have a properly ambitious career like her own daughter's dentistry. These conflicting subjectivities mark Sammar's affiliations to multiple places yet also suggest the difficulty of making them intelligible to Mahasen and the rest of her family.

Sightseeing shares with *The Translator* the regional city backdrop with neither global power nor easy access to a myth of homogeneity or authenticity, and the resulting need to work through the contradictions of the global and local affiliations that are made apparent in such places. The work needed to address the contradictions of and barriers to global and local affiliations is particularly emphasized in *Sightseeing*. Here, the cosmopolitan characters are separated from the cities they now live in by a pronounced language barrier. Indeed, while they may know snippets of Thai, their lack of proficiency in the language is repeatedly emphasized. For instance, the narrator of "Priscilla the Cambodian" and his friend, Dong, interact with Priscilla's mother by teaching her off-colour names and expressions: "the three of us would teach her a few Thai phrases. Dong and I taught her how to swear in Thai. We'd laugh because there was nothing funnier" (109). Before Dong and the narrator meet Priscilla, the boys encounter again this language barrier and find it similarly amusing:

> Dong and I in our unflappable boredom would sometimes stand on
> the rails and throw rocks just to hear the satisfying clang on the
> Cambodians' corrugated roofs. Priscilla's short, flat-faced mother
> would run out and bark at us in a language we didn't understand,
> but it wasn't too hard to understand the rusted shovel she waved
> threateningly in our direction, so we'd run and laugh like delighted
> hyenas. (100)

While for Dong and the narrator throwing rocks at the Cambodian refugees'
dwellings is a seemingly harmless prank, for Priscilla's mother it is an activity to
which she cannot prompt her desired response; her actions are a source of
amusement, indeed part of the prank itself, rather than an intimidating rebuke to
their actions. Yet despite this language barrier, the narrator is still able to develop
a sense of responsibility to Priscilla, her mother and the other Cambodian
refugees. After the refugee camp is destroyed by the narrator's father and other
men in the suburb, the narrator is horrified. His manic bicycle ride into Bangkok,
biking "past [the suburb's] limits" (121), where he attempts to lose himself
demonstrates a realization of the failure (though a failure over which he had no
control) of his cosmopolitan ethical commitments. The narrator wants to tell his
father and his friends about Priscilla and her mother – to put faces and stories to
the group of refugees – but cannot, thinking that the drunk men "would [not]
appreciate these revelations" (114) – even though he speaks the same language as
these men, his narrative would require a translation of sorts. Despite the language
barrier between Priscilla, her mother and the narrator, ethical commitments and
solidarities still emerge – no matter how little control any of them have over the
outcome of these commitments.

      Similarly, for Ramon the Philippine in "Cockfighter," it is the language
gap that makes it difficult, though not impossible, for him to seek the assistance of
the narrator and attempt to escape the violence he is immured in:

> He said something, but it was in another language – Tagalog,
> perhaps – and I shook my head to tell him I didn't understand. He
> said something again, the same guttural phrase, his voice a dim
> whisper between us… for the first time I saw how helpless he
> actually was – a foreign boy cast into a foreign land to handle other
> people's chickens. (245)

Ramon comes to the narrator, his face covered in blood, looking for her help but,
as she suddenly realizes, his helplessness has much to do with his near-inability to
communicate with her or anyone else in Thai. For both Ramon and Priscilla's
mother, their isolation is only exacerbated by their inability to speak the language
of the place where they now are. The translation that Sammar, for instance, is
constantly undertaking in *The Translator* is not even possible for these characters
as they do not possess the language into which they might attempt to translate
their own lives and experiences.

This language barrier is one of many places where Lapcharoensap imagines the incomprehensible difficulty of and immense limitations to developing cosmopolitan affiliations. Appiah uses conversation as the analogy for cosmopolitan interaction. In "Priscilla the Cambodian" and "Cockfighter" conversation is nearly impossible. Nonetheless, affiliations form without language – the narrator leaves with Ramon at the end of "Cockfighter," suggesting they have reached some sort of non-verbal understanding. As I suggested in Chapter One, conversation as a model presumes that both sides come to the dialogue as equals – something that ignores inequalities throughout the world or that suggests that cosmopolitan dialogue can only occur between very small groups of people. Lapcharoensap points to this difficulty with cosmopolitan conversation yet does suggest the (limited) possibilities for unequal communication which can prompt shared responsibilities. For Aboulela becoming cosmopolitan requires incredible work and often painful traumas to overcome, yet her characters ultimately find ways to translate their lives and to fashion new ones with multiple affiliations across different axes of identification. For Lapcharoensap, there is less reason to be optimistic. The cosmopolitan characters (who are all subaltern figures – refugees, a Filipino man hired to work for a local Thai gangster) – as well as the rest of the characters in these stories – have little reason to be hopeful that the circumstances of their lives might change for the better. While I suggest that a territorialized cosmopolitanism is one that takes as its focus social justice, Lapcharoensap points, with these subaltern cosmopolitan characters, to how global mobility can too often lead to the replication of pre-existing inequalities.

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In addition to the isolating nature of the immigrant experience in the regional city, Anar Ali and Lapcharoensap suggest the uneven mobility to and within the regional city for the subaltern cosmopolitan. As the novels set in the metropolis imagine it, movement within the metropolis is relatively free – characters experience limits to their movements but these limits are often breakable, and there are myriad routes available to navigate the extensive and intricate space of the city. For instance, Quy in *What We All Long For* is a subaltern cosmopolitan like Priscilla and her mother; yet his movement is much less controlled by external forces – particularly once he arrives in Toronto. The movement of Ali's characters is somewhat freer yet, as she suggests in many of the stories, this is movement that still has restrictions placed upon it. Attempts to take more control of this movement – through the ownership of small businesses, for instance – are often limited in their effectiveness. These restrictions are, of course, not exclusive to the regional city. However, it is telling that they are, more or less, ignored in the metropolitan novels and foregrounded in texts set in regional cities. This focus on restricted mobility is part, then, of the way regional city texts point to the challenges of engaging with difference in regional cities – whereas this is assumed by critics and, to some degree, the novels I discussed in

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the previous chapter to be an inevitable, even inescapable, part of metropolitan life.

Ali's *Baby Khaki's Wings* suggests how attachments to place are shaped and controlled by forces outside of oneself. In *Baby Khaki's Wings* characters all exhibit multiple attachments to place; in their cosmopolitan movement, they maintain connections both with the countries they have left and the new country to which they migrate. For instance, the characters have a clear sense of themselves as Ugandans, Kenyans or Tanzanians that is frequently articulated through their protestations that they were born there, and, thus, belong there (35, 38).[51] In "A Christmas Baby," Mansoor Visram's excitement about the upcoming birth of their child in Canada is that "the new baby, thank God, would not be tainted by history. Born here. Not there. It will give *us* a fresh start in this great new country of ours" (52; emphasis added). Similarly, he hopes for his older children that "they developed deep roots in whichever country they would now end up in (and any country, but please, God, let it be a good country)" (42). The distinction he makes, then, is between roots that can be taken for granted and roots which must be developed, the distinction between being and becoming. Part of Mansoor's shock at being expelled from Uganda is that his state of being that he believes can be taken for granted is re-framed as becoming – and a becoming that has not adequately developed; the roots are not considered deep enough. Not only, however, are the roots not considered deep enough, this determination is out of the hands of Mansoor and other Asian-Ugandans. Mansoor's ability to feel attached to place is taken away from him then; his attachments are de-authorized by Idi Amin.

Thus, his and other characters' protestations put forth an argument about their own belonging in Uganda, Kenya or Tanzania – but they simultaneously insist on their in-between status as Asians in West Africa: "Amin threw us out because Asians had split loyalties" (59). This in-between status, however, is further understood in terms of citizenship and physical markers of sovereignty:

> At Uganda's independence, the British had promised to protect all those who were worried about a fever of excessive African nationalism and therefore wanted to maintain their passports. But without Ugandan citizenship, the new African government would not allow Asians to operate their businesses... And then, the Queen denied entry for those without passports even if they were stranded in Uganda and their families had been airlifted to London. *Stuck* in the middle, more like it. (59; emphasis in original)

Citizenship here is tied up with business ownership – a practice which Mansoor Visram explicitly connects to place: "Business – that was the only way, the *only*

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[51]   Birth and belonging is, of course, the most prominent model of national citizenship. This is expanded, however, by Mansoor Visram to include the child who is born in a country and their immediate family – reflecting a common strategy to gain citizenship when legalized status has been denied by the state.

way to own land, to call something your own" (61: emphasis in original). Unlike in *The Translator*, where place becomes imaginatively central, here place is resolutely material through the centrality of entrepreneurship. The ability to choose the place where one lives and develops attachments is, in Ali's text, paralleled by one's ability to set up small businesses. And this ability or in-ability to root themselves in particular locations suggests a parallel ability or in-ability to move freely. Unlike the ephemerality of global capital – which also suffuses this collection – Visram and others connect their sense of themselves as business owners to themselves as located in place; business ownership is a way to root themselves in a particular location.

While this kind of territorialization lacks the tactile quality of the metropolitan novels which show their characters physically moving through the city and claiming it as their own, or of the rural novels which feature prominent descriptive passages that locate place at the intersection or overlapping of different histories, *Baby Khaki's Wings* tends to consider place in a much more conservative and pragmatic way. Place here is not nature or even architecture; instead, it is primarily the *site* of businesses. Throughout the collection, Ali describes homes but, throughout, the longing is most frequently for a store or business of one's own.

This longing is most poignant in "Samuel Mathews" where the family's savings – savings intended to be used to purchase a small business once the family arrives in Canada – are lost either through malice or mismanagement (the story is ambiguous on this point). Before the family realizes the money is gone, they embark on a research program and a series of day trips to small communities surrounding Calgary in order to search for potential businesses: "My father… would flip through the classified sections of Alberta's newspapers… circling potential ads under the column Businesses for Sale. On the wall behind the kitchen table, he had tacked a large wall map of Alberta, the various towns decorated with red and green pushpins" (194). This map marks potential sites for establishing roots and affiliations – revealing the way these characters understand commitment to small cities in Alberta as developing out of small business ownership. The narrator's father connects this project of searching for a business to earlier, colonial land-grabs: "'Too bad we hadn't come earlier, huh?' my father once joked. 'Like the British – those smart bastards! Then we wouldn't have to worry about finding a business. We would have found all this land instead. Not to mention, we would have made real Indians out of the Indians, huh'" (194)? Shiraz Mitha's joke draws a connection between commerce, colonialism and migration. Underlining all this – and made explicit in the mention of the aboriginal people who lived in what is now Canada, pre-conquest – is the pervasive sense of the violence done in the name of all three concepts.

Place remains at the centre, nonetheless, as he suggests that the violence of commerce, colonialism, and migration is about land. While Shiraz's joke points to the fact that the land on which he searches for businesses has a much less

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singular history than is usually acknowledged, what the joke suggests more explicitly is that mobility, and cosmopolitan affiliations more specifically, are frequently about land and that clear access to land makes that cosmopolitanism much more successful and desirable. This access to land, however, is shown repeatedly in these regional city texts to be difficult to obtain. Ali's focus on small business ownership points to one possible reason for this: the privatization of land in regional cities. Unlike metropolises or rural communities where land, even when privately owned, might seem public – sidewalks, open-air markets, un-peopled landscape – this does not seem to be the case in these regional city texts, where private land seems to be all that is available. The mobility, then, that is central to cosmopolitan world-views might be more difficult to access within a regional city.

In "Open House," Ali offers another point of view which suggests the way in which physical markers on the land mark multiple connections to place – and also reveal the privatizing claims made to place. Ruby Mawji, a real estate agent, is trying to sell a house with an electrical tower behind it. As a result, she finds it difficult to build up interest in the house. Ruby (and the house inspector she employs) must convince prospective buyers that the land the house sits on is not poisoned by radiation. At the close of the story, she has found a likely buyer through her ability to convince them that the tower does not actually emit dangerous electromagnetic force fields. As she leaves the house, she "suddenly begins to see more and more towers. They are everywhere – as if the city is an electrical field! But there is no pattern to their location. They seem to be randomly dispersed... It's as if the city never once considered that the towers might be harmful" (182). This metaphor acts as an overarching metaphor for the Ismailis throughout the collection. They have been randomly dispersed and are increasingly visible in the communities where they live for, as the narrator of "Samuel Mathews" observes on their migration, "there weren't any proper Indian grocery shops in Calgary *yet*" and "there were hardly any Ismailis in Canada *yet*, especially in Calgary" (195; emphasis added). The metaphor of the electrical towers suggests the way that these new immigrants – these new additions to the landscape – are firmly located in place. Indeed, Ruby "leans her body against the tower, pushing at it as she would a stalled car, expecting it to move somehow. But of course it doesn't. It stands there, *fixed*" (182; emphasis added).

The fixity of the towers is in contrast to the mutability of migration; nonetheless, the implication in the story is that while the towers are now fixed they are not necessarily a permanent feature of the landscape – both in the future and in the past. As well, the lack of pattern to their location suggests a similar pattern to immigration: some areas of cities and nations feature larger communities of immigrants than others. Given how the characters in these stories exist in isolation (often voluntarily) from other people, the towers reflect the way the characters understand their relationship to other immigrants and to Canada. What the metaphor of the electrical towers suggests is the invisible but real nature

of interpersonal connections both within the city – from tower to tower – but also to groups that are even farther away – the sources of electrical power – and to those who are different – the homes the towers power. What Ali implies, then, is the physical rootedness of the cosmopolitan migrant *and* the *simultaneous* connections to communities and places that are both close at hand and farther away. The alienating aspects of territorialized cosmopolitanism in the regional city never truly indicate a lack of connections – but rather that those connections are not always readily apparent.

Nonetheless, the metaphor also suggests the fear held by those already living in Canada (and other Euro-American nation-states) that is associated with increased immigration. Ruby has trouble selling this house because of its proximity to the tower which no one ever "considered... might be harmful" (182). While the report by the Prairie Centre for Excellence in Research on Immigration and Integration suggests that regional cities should welcome immigrants as they add vibrancy to the city (Derwing et al. 11), Ali notes through the metaphor of electrical towers that the reception of immigrants is often ambivalent – the electrical towers bring electricity into homes yet also potential radiation. Yet this metaphorical comparison is also laced with irony as the fear associated with the electrical towers – like the fear associated with immigration – is a false one: the towers are not harmful. Further, as Ruby's difficulty selling the house suggests, the location of immigrants in regional cities places restrictions on their movement. Again, this is hardly exclusive to regional cities and, as a recent Statistics Canada report, *Immigrants in the Hinterlands*, suggests, is in fact more pronounced in metropolitan centres (Bernard 7-12), yet this is depicted more explicitly in the texts about regional cities. This belief that the regional city places greater restrictions on mobility than the metropolis when the inverse is true points to the ambivalence towards cultural difference in regional cities more generally – and the exclusion of regional cities from both urban and cosmopolitan theory as argued above. The presumed parochialness of residents of regional city – whether accurate or not – is at work here in both the theory and the texts themselves. Indeed the Statistics Canada report suggests that "the creation of a network – formal or informal – with non-immigrants would likely be inevitable in smaller areas, precisely because of the smaller proportion of immigrants there" and that recent immigrants "will be less likely to be at a disadvantage than immigrants in the major urban centres merely because they are immigrants" (Bernard 11). This report is focused primarily on economic integration which does not, then, take into account questions of cultural integration.[52] This potential disparity between economic and cultural integration is addressed in Ali's text. In "Open Houses" Ruby is very much economically – and even culturally – integrated yet the

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[52]   Integration itself is a problematic notion as it suggests assimilation and the need for immigrants to make themselves resemble the cultural norms of the nation-state. Nonetheless, this report presents an intriguing reversal of expected positions for immigrants in small cities and metropolitan centres.

resonance of the electrical tower reveals the anxiety that continues to surround immigration in regional cities – suggesting that this integration is an ongoing process. For while "the smaller proportion of immigrants" in regional cities may prompt formal and informal networks with non-immigrants, these networks can be tenuous and uneven – exacerbating anxieties prompted by the relatively small number of immigrants in regional cities.

In *Sightseeing,* these anxieties about connections and mobility in regional cities are even greater. Here the subaltern cosmopolitan characters move between places where their mobility is highly controlled. Priscilla and her mother move from a violent and authoritarian state to a violent and heavily circumscribed refugee camp to a ramshackle collection of shacks with other Cambodian refugees where the threat of violence looms over them, and at the end of the story they must move again, this time to somewhere the narrator does not or cannot name.[53] Similarly, Ramon moves from being the indentured worker of one violent man to another though finally seeming to escape with the narrator at the end of the story. Frequent movement is often understood as more or less free for the cosmopolitan sophisticate who controls – or at least seems to – her or his own mobility, leading to a sense of sophistication and fluency in different cultures and places – an argument made, for instance, in Gilbert's *Eat, Pray, Love.* Yet, Lapcharoensap shows how global movement is too often at the mercy of forces that are far outside of an individual's control – suggesting that any resulting cosmopolitan world-views (affiliations to both the local and the global, and a sense of ethical and political responsibility to both) do not always develop out of chosen movement or situations. Priscilla, her mother and Ramon are all equally unable to exhibit any real control over their own movement. They are Bauman's vagabonds as they "know that they won't stay in a place for long, however strongly they wish to, since nowhere they stop are they likely to be welcome" (92).

This lack of welcome is also explicitly connected in "Priscilla the Cambodian" to the economic marginalization of regional cities and the privatization of municipal infrastructure. The narrator observes that "the factories had moved to the Philippines and Malaysia. Mother was reduced to sewing panty hose out of a Chinese woman's house" (101). While this could happen in global metropolises, given the relative lack of diverse employment options in regional cities and suburbs, this loss is often felt more keenly in regional cities than in the metropolis where there are other employment options – however unsustainable. The narrator understands these disappearing factories in clearly physical terms; not only does the loss of these jobs have a negative physical impact on his parents' bodies, but the development itself physically deteriorates with the loss – a loss he also connects and, more importantly, sees others connect to the arrival of

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[53]   Compare this with Quy in *What We All Long For* who also moves between South-East Asian refugee camps but with relative ease once he has connected himself with the Monk. Brand hardly depicts these refugee camps in a utopic light – yet Quy remains far more mobile on his own terms than Lapcharoensap suggests is the case for Priscilla and her mother.

the Cambodian refugees. The decrease in home-owners and the increase in refugees prompt the owners of the suburban development to allow the decline of the area's infrastructure: "The housing development's decline became painfully visible, just as my parents had predicted. For the first time the development company didn't bother to fill the gaping potholes created by the wet-season floods... More rats appeared as well" (112). The floating, global nature of transnational industry and, simultaneously, the movement of subaltern cosmopolitan refugees have nothing but negative impacts on this suburb. The introduction of difference is not seen by the community as a source of multicultural vividness; instead, it is understood as a source of decline. Indeed, the loss of jobs through the departure of factories and the subsequent decline in infrastructure and the infestation of rats prompt a xenophobic response to the other globalized figures present in the area: the Cambodian refugees whose tin shacks are burnt to the ground by Thai men who see themselves as increasingly disenfranchised.

  While the story is not in agreement with the actions of the Thai men – the horror of the narrator at the actions of his father and the other men clearly shows where the story's judgement lies – it does continue to suggest the difficulties of forming cosmopolitan affiliations within regional cities. Indeed, in comparison to *Baby Khaki's Wings* where many of the characters attempt to put a positive spin on the consequences of movement, *Sightseeing* is even less hopeful about cosmopolitan possibilities as they currently exist. In the collection's closing novella, "Cockfighter," cosmopolitan affiliations are depicted in similarly dire ways to "Priscilla the Cambodian." Here, the narrator's father, a remarkably successful cockfighter, gets on the wrong side of the sadistic son of the local gangster, Little Bui. Little Bui, after betting and losing heavily to the narrator's father, brings over Ramon, a Philippine cockfighter, whose purebred cocks destroy those of the narrator's father. The father gets deeper and deeper into debt with his gambling losses and is repeatedly assaulted by Little Bui's bodyguards – ultimately having his ear cut off. Ramon is very much a peripheral character for most of the novella; however, he is attracted to the narrator – an idealistic infatuation that is heavily contrasted with the violent and unwanted advances of Little Bui towards the narrator – and comes to her in the closing pages and asks for her help to escape from the servitude of Little Bui. Ramon, a figure with multiple, cosmopolitan affiliations, is shown to be little more than an indentured servant to Little Bui; he is only useful, and therefore well-treated, as long as he and his cocks win.

  The implication of this story is that a character with multiple affiliations can be a disruptive presence – whether of their own accord or not – in cities whose inhabitants are ambivalent about whether to encourage these multiple global affiliations or to focus on more singular local affiliations – symbolized here by the necessity of staying on Little Bui's good side. This is not simply a reiteration of the popular conceptualization of the cosmopolitan as rootless or

lacking allegiances to place; instead, it is the perceived solitariness of the subaltern cosmopolitan in the regional city that might make them easily exploited along the lines of local disparities. While the Cambodian refugees are a group rather than individuals (like Ramon), the suggestion is that, because of the violence done to them both in Cambodia and during the movement as refugees to Thailand, they have been thoroughly atomized by their circumstances. Further, the violence surrounding both the Cambodian refugees and Ramon prompt an even greater sense of the perils of forming cosmopolitan connections. This is a marked difference from the cosmopolitanism seen in either *The Translator* or *Baby Khaki's Wings*. Part of Lapcharoensap's reticence towards seeing the cosmopolitan as positively or even neutrally – as Aboulela and Ali do – is demonstrated in the peripheral nature of these characters. Priscilla, her mother, and Ramon are not only peripheral characters because of their lack of history in the communities the stories take place in, but they are characters who prompt actions but whose development is left outside of the story's frame.[54] These characters are ciphers whose actions, and the actions of others to them, point to the development of the narrator. The short stories in *Sightseeing* are almost all in the genre of the *bildungsroman*; it is these cosmopolitan characters who prompt the shift from child to adult, and, through their existence alone, are pedagogical catalysts.

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One way in which Ali and Lapcharoensap imagine the cosmopolitan in the regional city is to consider other very different forms of global affiliation centered on a singular world-view: religion and neo-liberalism. These world-views both have global aspirations yet are articulated locally. Unlike territorialized cosmopolitanism with its focus on ethical and political responsibilities and multiple solidarities, these are both models of global affiliation that prioritize one form of affiliation – devotion to God or the accumulation of wealth. Yet, as both Ali and Lapcharoensap demonstrate, these projects – particularly the economic – have limits established which make it difficult to connect with other kinds of world-views and the ability to develop a global sense of social justice. The myths of emancipation at work here ensure the maintenance of the status quo. A cosmopolitanism that takes as its goal social justice becomes all the more urgent, then, to resist global projects centered on inequalities.

One of the primary ways that Ali suggests the global horizons of the characters is the recurring mention of the Imam (1-30, 66, 67, 154, 178, 223). These references connect these characters to the Muslim *ummah* – the world-wide community of believers. The Muslim *ummah* is a model of global connection that

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[54]   In the next chapter on rural cosmopolitan novels, I will demonstrate an important inversion of this depiction of cosmopolitan characters. In the rural novels, it is the "local" characters who act as catalyzing forces for the highly individualized and developed cosmopolitan characters. This is a troubling reiteration of colonial binaries. Yet, in *Sightseeing*, the reversal points to Lapcharoensap's clearly ambivalent attitude towards the cosmopolitan.

does not privilege subjects as consumers or travelers. Instead, this is a vision of the globe that is predicated on shared religious beliefs and practices. Furthermore, the Imam's travels around the globe – which are referenced in the stories through his visits to various places in Canada, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania – posit, implicitly, a weak cosmopolitanism where travel remains important yet for reasons that are not (at least, primarily) about global capital. While this is a model of cosmopolitanism that is based on elite travel, it does point to axes other than capitalist consumption (like that seen in *Eat, Pray, Love* or in "Nowhere Man") around which seemingly cosmopolitan world-views get constructed. While the cosmopolitan is typically understood as deriving out of travel – whether for business or pleasure – this popular vision of cosmopolitan travel is travel under a capitalist economic paradigm; the centrality of the metaphor of global capital reflects the importance of the economy to most visions of contemporary cosmopolitanism. One way, perhaps, of moving away from this focus on bourgeois travel is by thinking through universalizing global projects that are not only a reflection of capitalist economies. For instance, the Muslim *ummah* that Ali repeatedly draws her readers' attention to might be one such alternative global project. This is not to suggest that a religious cosmopolitanism might be any more emancipatory than one that develops out of economic systems. Instead, what it might suggest are the points at which capitalist cosmopolitanism might not be as hegemonic as its critics imagine.

Importantly, however, the characters in *Baby Khaki's Wings* are shaped by both religious- and economic-centered forms of cosmopolitanism. For instance, in "A Christmas Baby" (one of the two longer stories in the collection), the Visram family are forced out of Uganda by Idi Amin's expulsion of Asian-Ugandans and are unable to liquidate their assets in time. As the narrator suggests, however, "There was already a sign on the window front: PROPERTY OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. That bastard Amin threw us out so that he could snatch up all the property for the *golas*, but instead it was the British banks that ran away with all our money" (38-39). Ali suggests, then, the mutual implication of Idi Amin and British financial institutions in the expulsion of Asian-Ugandans from Uganda.[55] Furthermore, the Asian-Ugandan characters of these stories have their lives determined by a series of competing national and global forces: Idi Amin's nationalist project; England's and Canada's respective multicultural projects; international finance; the Muslim *ummah*. This list, of course, leaves out less well-defined structures such as gender, ethnicity, race, and sexuality – all of which shape subjectivity in myriad ways.

The national and global forces, however, are at the centre of Ali's stories. Later in "A Christmas Baby," for instance, one character observes how some

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[55]   Given the colonial history of Uganda, the presence of British banks is unsurprising. However, given the international scope of global finance, the implication could be that these are merely British banks standing in for global financial institutions.

people are allowed to be more readily globalized than others: "When the British came to Uganda, they didn't need passports. Why do we need them to go to Britain" (60)? Similarly, the narrator recognizes what is at stake in being allowed into Canada: "They were, after all, self-starters, *entrepreneurs*, civic-minded people who would add to Trudeau's vision of a multicultural Canada" (60; emphasis added). The implication here is that in order to be adaptable or welcome in "multicultural Canada," one must be inclined towards business – something suggested in the "Attraction and Retention of Immigrants to Edmonton" report which states the importance of immigrants in filling the jobs needed to sustain Alberta's booming economy (Derwing et al. 11). The model immigrant, then, is framed as an entrepreneur – benefiting both themselves and the economy where they live. This echoes capitalist notions of pulling yourself up by your own bootstraps – a notion which is misleading as it suggests that those who are financially successful have worked harder than those who are not financially successful. In the context of immigration, this model ignores the way that restrictions are placed on immigrants' access to employment – similarly to the way restrictions are placed on mobility within the regional city.

Nonetheless, despite its obvious limitations, this model is an attractive one as it suggests the possibility that financial security is attainable. This might be particularly attractive in a regional city where employment opportunities are limited or when people migrate from places where financial success has even greater restrictions placed on it. In *Baby Khaki's Wings*, the characters who migrate to Canada in the stories are almost exclusively business people or come from business-owning families – suggesting their particular adaptability to this vision of Canada. Yet the text suggests that it is their status as business-owning Asian-Ugandans that prompted their expulsion from Uganda (as from other East African nations) in the first place. For instance, the narrator's family in "Samuel Matthews" lives in Kenya but are prompted to migrate to Canada after "the combination of Nyerere's nationalization scheme in Tanzania followed by the expulsion of Asians in Uganda sent one shock wave after another through the Asian community in East Africa... *Many scrambled to invest abroad*" (189; emphasis added). This particularly financial threat is at the heart of the majority of the migrations in this short story collection. The characters must address the financial realities of migration and of the new places where they live. Indeed, the new financial situation of the Visram family in Canada and in England (where the family lives briefly during the in-between status of their immigration) is at the heart of the conflict between Layla and Mansoor Visram in "A Christmas Baby." The human cost of global finance in this story is only made more explicit by the preceding (and the first story in the collection) fable, "The Weight of Pearls," where the cost of financial gain is quite literally the protagonist's only true friend, Fatima. In "The Weight of Pearls," Fatima drowns after Shamshu, the protagonist, tries to show her how he had collected large quantities of pearls from the bottom of the sea and he unwittingly drags her under; these pearls are being

collected by young boys to give to the Imam who visits Dar es Salaam on the Diamond Jubilee of his reign.

Throughout the collection, Ali draws her readers' attention to the global implications of entrepreneurship and the finance industry, more broadly, by depicting the way that characters attempt to protect their families' interests by investing abroad under aliases such as Samuel Mathews – masking their Asian-ness with British names.[56] While this seems to privilege capitalist globality and the ways in which it protects these characters, Ali also demonstrates the way in which these characters are often physically at the mercy of capitalist relations of production. The elderly female protagonist, Zera, of the final story in the collection, "The Rubbermaid Princess," must get up at 2:00 in the morning to prepare food for the tiffin-service she runs in suburban Calgary. Previous to this small business, Zera worked as a cleaning woman for suburbanites but is forced to stop this work because of her age and increasing health problems. The costs of the work she must do are quite expressly experienced physically in this story. Similar costs are paid by Mansoor Visram who is beaten by racist customers in his twenty-four hour gas station and convenience store. Both characters must take jobs and create businesses that enact heavy physical costs because of their implied marginality in Calgary society – it is difficult for them to get a less physically-taxing job. Particularly in Mansoor Visram's case, his unwavering belief in the emancipatory potential of entrepreneurship leads him to open a gas station on an isolated strip of highway in the first place. Throughout the collection, Ali depicts many characters who exhibit similar beliefs yet she remains cautious about endorsing these beliefs. Instead, she repeatedly demonstrates the way that, despite Trudeau's call for entrepreneurial immigrants (Ali 60), small business-ownership is incredibly difficult for recently arrived immigrants.

In "Open House," for example, Ruby becomes a real estate agent (albeit a very successful one) after her Bachelor of Science from an English university is not recognized by Canadian institutions. As with so many of the other characters, Ruby's arrival in Canada is framed by hopes for a particular vision of economic security that is dominated by small business ownership and which is understood to be encouraged in Canada: "stories started circulating – not only in England but in East Africa also – of the many Ismailis who had struck it rich in Canada... The Canadian economy was strong – especially in provinces like Alberta and Ontario – and Trudeau's government was encouraging immigration" (167). Here, Ali suggests the way in which regional economies interact within global imaginaries; stories about the economic possibilities in Alberta and Ontario spread amongst potential immigrants in England and East Africa in the wake of a Thatcherist

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[56]   This has clear colonial overtones of the re-naming of colonial towns with British or Anglicized names. The situation is complicated by the fact that the account held under a false name is in a British bank and that man trying to protect his assets gained in Africa is actually born in Africa yet ethnically Indian.

recession and increasing political and economic restrictions for Asian East Africans.[57]

This suggests that what seems, initially, to be a relatively localized business practice – small scale entrepreneurship – develops out of larger global imaginaries. These stories suggest, then, the way these small businesses explicitly develop out of global concerns and cosmopolitan affiliations across national boundaries. For instance, Mansoor Visram's and Shiraz Mitha's (the narrator's father in "Samuel Mathews") near obsession with developing successful business enterprises in Canada after their immigration is clearly understood as a project to help provide for and, eventually, bring over family who were unable to leave East Africa as easily – suggesting a sense of responsibility to global others. Indeed, these men and the others who populate this collection show the lie of the story of "Ismailis who had struck it rich in Canada" (167). These characters – like Zera in "The Rubbermaid Princess" – demonstrate the incredible amount of work that must go into even the smallest amount of success for the recent immigrant. Because of the collection's setting in regional city, the stories seem less inclined to focus on the aesthetic qualities of cosmopolitanism – something that *What We All Long For*, in particular, focuses on – and more intent on conveying the prosaic tensions of immigrant life. This focus on the everyday and the prosaic points to how the arrival of immigrants significantly shape the communities they arrive in – and how this shaping is even more pronounced in smaller centres with hitherto relatively homogeneous populations.

Sightseeing draws similar attention to the shaping role of global financial concerns to regional city cosmopolitanism. So, while "Priscilla the Cambodian" and "Cockfighter" feature mobile cosmopolitan characters who move between nation-states, many of the other stories consider characters who move between different socio-economic positions, with varying degrees of success. These characters can also be seen as cosmopolitan as they also express affiliations to different ways of understanding themselves in a social constellation of available subjectivities. The mobility that prompts cosmopolitan world-views for the immigrating characters is paralleled with the more ephemeral movement between social classes. This suggests that it is the consciousness of mobility – whether from short or long distances, or of a more strictly imagined nature – that forms cosmopolitan world-views, not movement in and of itself. While this movement suggests an apparent emancipatory potential with the implied breaking down of class positions, Lapcharoensap is very hesitant to view the ambiguity of socio-economic positions as emancipatory for, in these stories, while there might be fluidity between classes there is little actual change. Characters who are poor, stay poor; characters who are wealthy, stay wealthy – despite whatever affiliations

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[57]   Marketing Edmonton overseas through websites and overseas immigrant trade shows are two of the primary recommendations of the "Attraction and Retention of Immigrants to Edmonton" report (Derwing et al. 5).

they might have to other groups. For instance, in the story "Draft Day," the narrator and his friend, Wichu, both attend the lottery for entrance into the Thai army – a commission that is nearly guaranteed to end poorly. The narrator, because of his family's wealth and connections, is able to arrange the good "black ticket;" Wichu, who lacks that socio-economic prestige, must take his luck with the draw and pulls the bad "red" ticket. The beginning of the story establishes the narrator's sympathy with Wichu and his mother, and his simultaneous disgust with himself for abandoning his friend to his own luck, yet the narrator falls back, perhaps understandably, on his own class privilege. His sense of cosmopolitan ethical and political responsibility only goes so far – it is only exhibited to the extent that it does not challenge his own position. Wichu, on the other hand, has no such ability to choose. A capitalist cosmopolitanism based on fluid notions of class – suggesting its non-existence – is not one that should be endorsed, then, as it merely reproduces, while simultaneously ignoring, old inequalities underneath the appearance of new global flows. Further, as "Draft Day" demonstrates, fluid notions of socio-economic positions alone cannot produce true ethical and political responsibilities.

In the story "At the Café Lovely," this attempted movement between socio-economic classes is much more impossible yet clearly aspired to. As in some of the novels set in the global metropolis examined in the previous chapter, this story features characters speeding through the city. Unlike in those novels in which this movement through the city acts as a moment of forcing the city's recognition or as a moment of self-discovery, the movement through the city in "At the Café Lovely" is a much less potentially emancipatory act. Instead of opening up new possibilities for viewing the city, for re-writing the city in de Certeau's terms, the narrator's and his brother's trip to a thinly-disguised McDonalds in a wealthier suburb is a point where previous socio-economic barriers are re-entrenched and true movement is suggested to be impossible. Anek, the narrator's brother, takes him to a fast food restaurant for the narrator's birthday and they travel there by motorcycle. During the journey there, the narrator imagines the restaurant in highly idealized terms, seeing it as a new moment in his relationship with his much-admired older brother: "I imagined sitting at one of those shiny plastic tables across from my brother. We'd be pals... We would *look like those* university students I had seen through the floor-to-ceiling windows, the ones who laughed and sipped at their sodas. Afterward, we would walk into the summer sun with soft-serve sundaes, my brother's arm around my shoulder" (27; emphasis added). For the narrator, eating at this restaurant is a moment where he and his brother – the sons of a factory worker – can mimic, can "look like," the socio-economic culture of the university students who frequent the restaurant. Indeed, their ability to "look like" these university students would mark a moment of cross-class movement; while eating in this restaurant, the narrator and Anek would partake in the cultural rituals of a socio-economic class that is not normally their own. And this cross-class movement is

understood by the narrator as being a potential turning-point in their lives – yet without changing their actual class position. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the trip does not go as planned. The narrator quickly realizes that, despite his posturing, Anek had never actually been in the restaurant before and that he only has enough money to buy food for one of them; Anek's pose as a cosmopolitan sophisticate is seen through by the narrator. Once he receives his food, the narrator "suddenly fe[els] like [he] should eat as quickly as possible so [they] could get the hell out of there. [He] didn't feel so excited anymore" (29). The narrator's discomfort in this scenario is made tangible when he vomits after finishing his food; the food is too rich and is unlike anything he is familiar with. Crossing class boundaries without their actual destruction is not only non-emancipatory but prompts further alienation.

So-called cosmopolitan sophistication and privileges are repeatedly shown by Lapcharoensap as things which one should be wary of as they can, quite literally, make one ill. Even the pretension of cosmopolitanism like Anek in "At the Café Lovely" or the American tourists who mistreat the narrator of "Farangs" is something to avoid. For in these stories the global affiliations that lead to a sense of cosmopolitan ethical and political responsibility are seemingly non-existent; the only cosmopolitanism present is one based on capitalism that repeatedly further marginalizes the already marginalized. Cosmopolitanism as sophistication which develops out of racial and class privilege alienates people from one another and leads them to become entangled in ways of being in the world that are violent and destructive; in "At the Café Lovely," the scene at the fast food restaurant is juxtaposed with the longer scene at the Café Lovely, a brothel, where Anek gets high on paint thinner, and the epilogue imagines a grim and violent future for the two brothers. Their initial journey to the restaurant where the narrator imagines a fluid notion of socio-economic positions is thoroughly shown to be an impossible illusion on those terms.

This is not, however, to suggest that Lapcharoensap advocates for a reentrenchment of the status quo. Instead, he argues against an endorsement of happy mobility in a global society where the status quo is one of large gaps between the poor and the wealthy, and between poor nations and wealthy nations. The perceived benefits of economic globalization are not aspirational in the stories in *Sightseeing* because they do not mean actual change in the circumstances of a person's life. What it means, in these stories, is the reinforcement of global inequities. Global connections are shown to be omnipresent in these stories, however, implicitly suggesting the necessity of thinking through a way of being global citizens without merely re-inforcing existing inequalities. This echoes much of cosmopolitan theory; yet Lapcharoensap does not endorse a parochial or romanticized vision of the local as the site of "true" politics or change. In opposition to this too-prevalent theoretical position, he posits the fictional quality of this way of viewing the local as the local

is no more positive to those who exist in its margins than the global is for those who exist in its margins.

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   All three of these texts paint a highly ambivalent picture of the cosmopolitan in the regional city. Unlike in the global metropolis in which a cosmopolitan world-view can be a way of connecting with other people who express similar world-views and where the city is often seen as already cosmopolitan, in the regional city the cosmopolitan is suggested to be an alienating and isolating sensibility. Aboulela, Ali and Lapcharoensap depict cities where, as Doreen Massey suggests, a power-geometry governs access to place ("Power-Geometry..." 61). While this power-geometry shapes all places, these authors are particularly attentive to the way it proscribes ways of interacting within the regional city. The city is not the emancipatory place that we see argued for in some of the novels set in global metropolises. Instead, the city can too often be a place where power-geometries become inflexible. These texts all show characters who try to make their places within the space of the city. Yet this is shown repeatedly to be conflicted and often outright unsuccessful as the city itself is not fully able to accommodate such places. What these texts do, then, is subvert city narratives of the happy cosmopolitan sophisticate by demonstrating the incredible work and trauma of cosmopolitanism. Even where these texts embrace a vision of the cosmopolitan, it is not without an eye to the labour of fashioning such subjectivities. As the message on the napkin with which I began the chapter suggests, cosmopolitanism in the regional city is a project whose articulation, let alone enactment, faces formidable challenges.

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Chapter 5: Cosmopolitanism in Rural Places
It is not necessary to have traveled to imagine oneself as
cosmopolitan. To be cosmopolitan is to cast off parochialism in
order to reach out to the world. (Tsing, *Friction* 121)

Rural cosmopolitanism sounds like an oxymoron. The rural is popularly
understood as and often appears to be resolutely non-cosmopolitan, parochial. If
cosmopolitanism, as I define it, prompts commitments to multiple and
simultaneous local and global places, then to identify as rural, according to
popular definitions, suggests a strong identification with singular local places at
the expense of larger, global connections. The cosmopolitan is often, then,
believed to stand in for the urban – as urbanites are frequently assumed
(incorrectly or not) to be less connected to a specific place. In an academy that
has relentlessly challenged binary thinking about gender, race and sexuality, the
binary distinction between the urban and the rural remains remarkably prevalent.
As Raymond Williams suggests, this binary between urban and rural has
accumulated many conflicting connotations that have been at work for a long
time:

> On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of
> peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the
> idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light… the
> city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country
> as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. A contrast
> between country and city, as fundamental ways of life, reaches
> back into classical times. (3)[58]

Despite there being "no longer any clear dividing line between town and
countryside for individual settlements or their inhabitants: indeed, many people
reside in one but work in the other" (Champion and Hugo 3), the symbolic
meanings that are still attached to the "rural" and the "urban" continue to frame
how many academics talk about (ideas such as) cosmopolitanism; for instance,
"Trotsky spoke for modernization theorists across the ideological spectrum"
writes Roger Epp, "when he described capitalism as the victory of city over
countryside, the future over the past" (308). Wendell Berry suggests that this
denigration of the rural stems from belief in the inherent benefits of
industrialization:

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[58]   Yet both the positive and negative connotations for the rural that Williams identifies posit
the rural as naturally occurring – with little to no shaping done by humans. The city is the site of
human action. This repeats a distinction between being and becoming that is central to my
definition of cosmopolitanism. If becoming is central to cosmopolitanism *and* the city, then the
city is the natural site for the development of cosmopolitan world-views. I want to suggest,
however, that rural places are similarly in a state of becoming and, thus, equally amenable to
prompting cosmopolitan world-views – just in a different way than occurs in the city.

> The prejudice begins in the idea that work is bad, and that manual
> work outdoors is the worst work of all. The superstition is that
> since all work is bad, all 'labor-saving' is good. The insanity is to
> rationalize the industrial pillage of the natural world and to heap
> scorn upon the land-using cultures on which human society
> depends for its life. (Berry)

This dominating scorn towards the rural is reflected in the over-riding assumption
in cosmopolitan theory about the rural: that it is unequivocally non-cosmopolitan.
This, however, offers a myopic view of cosmopolitanism as it can then only be
worked out in very specific types of places.

To think about cosmopolitanism in rural places, however, demands a re-
thinking of colloquial definitions of cosmopolitanism; to resist, in other words, the
temptation to urbanize the rural in an attempt to include it in broader concepts.
This means, then, that we must think through how cosmopolitanism is inflected
by rural places; to consider how members of rural communities imagine their
affiliations to the globe and how their location in rural places shapes how they
frame their sense of cosmopolitan ethical and political responsibilities. The three
rural novels I take up in this chapter – Sharon Butala's *The Garden of Eden*,
Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide* and Zakes Mda's *The Heart of Redness* – all
think through what it means to be simultaneously a local and a global citizen with
ethical and political responsibilities to both, and what that means, particularly, in
rural communities. Cosmopolitanism in rural places cannot be identical to that in
metropolitan centres without a great deal of over-simplification of both places.

In *The Garden of Eden*, for instance, Sharon Butala depicts the
transformation of an industrialized family farm into a reclaimed prairie landscape.
In many ways this seems to be a move away from the cosmopolitan. As it
transpires in this novel, however, this move is a fundamentally cosmopolitan one
as it arises out of Iris' sense of ethical and political responsibilities to both the
local and the global; at the same time, it is a move to make a place *less* rather than
more developed. It is also a cosmopolitan act that is absolutely about land, about
a specific place. Instead of viewing the rural as a place which needs to be
cosmopolitanised – and seemingly urbanized – or as the provincial other to the
cosmopolitan urban, I argue that *actual* rural cosmopolitanism recognizes that the
rural is not (always) the parochial and homogenous landscape it is frequently
assumed to be. "Simply put, it is no longer adequate to consider rural territories
solely as sites of production or class relations. Rather, rural spaces are deeply
complex and subject to plural and overlapping political and economic claims,
particularly with respect to land use, landscapes, symbols, and activities" (Young
254).

What are rural places, then? Paul Cloke (2006) and Keith Halfacree
(2004), among others, suggest that defining the rural is never straightforward,
especially at a time where traditional rural places are ceasing to be sites of the
resource-extraction and agricultural industries that once defined them as rural.

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Nonetheless, Cloke identifies three key features of the rural that characterize the kinds of places I discuss in this chapter: the "dominat[ion] (either currently or recently) by extensive land uses, notably agriculture and forestry;" "small, lower order settlements which demonstrate a strong relationship between buildings and extensive landscape, and which are thought of as rural by most of their residents;" and which "engender a way of life which is characterized by a cohesive identity based on respect for the environmental and behavioural qualities of living as part of an extensive landscape" (20). Cloke's broad descriptions provide a helpful way of considering the rural that acknowledges human settlement – the rural is not synonymous with wilderness, for instance – and is not simply a small-scale version of the urban. At the same time, Cloke does point to the way the contemporary rural exists on a continuum with the urban rather than in a binary opposition – echoing Champion's and Hugo's argument about the existence of the rural. Keith Halfacree raises an important caution that "the urban and the rural as lived networks are not – and never were – *a priori* mirror images of one another" (304).

An examination of rural cosmopolitanism might be one way of attempting to address the relegation of the rural to the parochial and the provincial; a way of acknowledging the rural outside of stereotype – both positive (the pastoral rural) and negative (the exclusionary rural) ones. The Western rural in particular occupies an uneasy place in postcolonial studies as it seems to be the bastion – indeed, one of the few remaining ones – of overemphasized "whiteness." The predominance of metropolitan-centred fiction in the North American publishing industry does little to displace this notion of the rural as a cultural backwater.[59] It is difficult to find in a Canadian book store novels set in *contemporary* rural settings.[60] In a critique of Cheryl Lousley's article on Sharon Butala, Pamela Banting argues that Lousley "overlooks or dismisses – certainly she discredits – the possibility that, like gays and lesbians, people of colour, and others whom she herself reportedly champions... 'rural' might also be a denigrated or marginalized category of people" (249). While critics may be able to sympathize with those who inhabit rural places, this sympathy seems to be predicated on the suggestion that actually *living* in the rural is highly undesirable. This academic condescension towards the rural is one reason why Anna Tsing is reticent to

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[59]   Stephen Henighan's *When Words Deny the World* (2002) develops this argument further in the context of Canadian publishing.

[60]   It is difficult to posit why this avoidance of contemporary rural fiction exists. In part, it reflects the increasing urbanization of Canadians – fewer and fewer people live in the rural areas of North America. It also suggests the larger attitude towards the rural as inherently parochial and, therefore, less "sexy" for contemporary readers. Perhaps, historical rural settings allow readers to place the rural in the past, on an evolutionary continuum: it is either a romanticized symbol representing an Eden lost through the increased presence of dehumanizing technology or the invasion of European colonial forces; or a site of hardship that humans have evolved past or need to evolve past. Both ways of reading the historical rural clearly shape how we continue to understand the contemporary rural.

consider the rural Indonesian subjects of her ethnography "cosmopolitan" in their syncretic mixture of local, regional and national, ethnic and religious subjectivities: "This 'postmodernism' does not rest easily with the work of theorists who think in terms of evolutionary cultural steps. It is not an effect of... urban cosmopolitanism... nor is it the signal for a new era of thought in South Kalimantan" (*In the Realm of the Diamond Queen* 254). Understanding rural cosmopolitanism as a "new era of thought" for rural people or as a necessary evolutionary step is something I wish to avoid – and which the novels I will discuss problematize – particularly when cosmopolitanism is understood as a sophistication which develops out of eating at ethnic restaurants and travelling to exotic destinations. The transposition into the rural of this kind of cosmopolitanism based on consumption, while not only being a way of urbanizing the rural, leads to a troubling disavowal of responsibility to specific places and only prompts a superficial engagement with difference. A cosmopolitanism based on the consumption of commodified cultural products is not one that works toward a more just world but only a more homogeneous one. The rural territorialized cosmopolitanism depicted in the three novels discussed in this chapter is carefully differentiated from this model based on consumption.

The cosmopolitanism that I endorse is one where ethical and political responsibilities are central, and these responsibilities are understood in connection to both the local and the global. Yet it is important to consider the way these responsibilities can reproduce existing inequalities between the urban and the rural, and the so-called developed and developing world. Rural people and landscapes are often depicted as fields on which global forces act and are, thus, in need of either saving or further development. The Live 8 concerts in 2005 and the One campaign, for instance, use images of rural African famine to encourage charitable donations. Both charitable organizations are run by Euro-American charitable foundations – such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation which supports the One campaign – and rock stars – Bob Geldof and Bono being the two most active. While rural places are frequently the most visibly and strongly impacted by uneven globalization which, therefore, leads to devastating poverty and hunger – particularly in the global South – these interventions through charity can be predicated on a vision of rural inhabitants as thoroughly local and unable to act for themselves. The global is only present in the form of oppression and, at the same time, as a force of economic redistribution. While this kind of humanitarian organization quite frequently espouses cosmopolitan ideals of global citizenship and stewardship, these organizations do not always recognize the cosmopolitanism of those they are trying to protect or save.[61] Indeed, as Thomas

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[61]   It is important to distinguish, here, between cosmopolitan goals that are about universalizing ideals such as global citizenship, a project that takes supposed universals (which have developed out of specific local contexts – often the European Enlightenment) and attempts to implement them from the top down, and territorialized cosmopolitan goals which might work in terms of what Anna Tsing calls, "engaged universals," which "travel across difference and are

Dunk and Anna Tsing point out about vastly different locations, efforts at environmental conservation can ignore the diversity of a landscape and its inhabitants to the detriment of the conservation project itself (Dunk 1994; Tsing 1995 and 2003). Cosmopolitan humanitarian projects run into trouble, then, when they fall too readily into a view of the rural that sees only homogeneity and localism. Indeed, even local knowledge in seemingly isolated rural places is connected to global networks: for example, "the knowledge [the Meratus – the Indonesian group which is the subject of Anna Tsing's ethnographic study] bring to forest collection is not a closed, traditional knowledge but rather one that is constantly augmented by their sense of their relationship with downstream traders, of changing market demands, and of the conditions under which they can claim and sell their products" (*Friction* 189). In his discussion of Indigenous global movements and the use of petitions such as the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples presented to the United Nations in 1995, Ravi de Costa makes a similar argument. He argues that

> the growing coherence of the global movement of Indigenous peoples does not, however, imply that indigenous communities are being homogenized. Nor does its success in prizing open international institutions require indigenous persons to give up older forms of representation. Individual activists work every day for the rights of indigenous individuals, for those of their communities, and for the broadest forms of social and national inclusion and respect, with little sense of contradiction. (694)

The dialogue between the local and the global is as present, though perhaps in less immediately visible ways, in the rural as in the urban. The connection between the global and the local is explicitly drawn in a number of social movements centred on land rights; for instance, La Via Campesina, an international peasant movement. This group, among other things, addresses issues related to land use and possession and has also actively developed a global profile. La Via Campesina challenges prevalent assumptions about the rural disenfranchised and does not see itself as involved in solely local struggles. Indeed, one of the Via Campesina's explicit goals is to create bonds of solidarity between rural peoples across national boundaries: "The principal objective of Via

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charged and changed by their travels" (*Friction* 8) – something which parallels Roland Robertson's notion of "glocalization" (Robertson 1995) and Dipesh Chakrabary's injunction to "provincialized Europe" (Chakrabarty 2000). Both forms of cosmopolitanism are concerned with universals; however, the difference is in their attitude towards localities. A territorialized cosmopolitanism seeks ways to locate these universals in specific cultures and locations, and further recognizes the context of these universals, whereas traditional cosmopolitan projects seek to apply these universals without acknowledging this context and often presuming that context is of limited importance. Nonetheless, we must be attentive to who is locating these universals and whether it is just a reiteration of existing power structures using different language.

Campesina is to develop solidarity and unity in the diversity among small farmer organizations" ("What is La Via Campesina").

To see this resistance to large scale global frameworks such as NAFTA as anti-cosmopolitan is, I think, to miss the point of this kind of radical rural cosmopolitanism. La Via Campesina, and other groups like them, express a truly territorialized cosmopolitanism in their resistance to globalist discourses which are underwritten by notions of deterritorialization and which seek only to mimic the unfettered mobility of capital through an absolute rejection of national affiliations and ties.[62] Roger Epp suggests that "the most radical position that can be adopted against globalization's compression of time and space – its transience, its culture of consumption, its bottom-line ideology of efficiency – is one that strives to inhabit a particular place in a serious way" (318). This is exactly the work that La Via Campesina attempts to do. One of their tactics to inhabit "a particular place in a serious way," however, is to explicitly connect their local battles with the wider world through the internet and the global media. In this way, they become cosmopolitan. Anna Tsing describes an Indonesian friend, Uma Adang, attempting a species list (an important local genre for disseminating knowledge about place) of the area where she lived. Uma Adang creates this list in response to her fears of a global environmental crisis – fears which Tsing posits emerge out of conversations with nature hikers or heard from radio announcers; she "took this local genre and did her best to use it as a connection to international sources of knowledge" (169). "This was a self-conscious project of placing a local niche within a global imagining" yet, through this, "she *made herself cosmopolitan* by making this globalism her own" (*Friction* 156, 169; emphasis added).

Nonetheless, this making-oneself-cosmopolitan is still reliant upon specific, localized knowledge. By bringing local rural concerns, cultures and knowledges into global discourses, La Via Campesina makes themselves cosmopolitan – whether or not they apply this category to themselves – and by doing so expand the conditions of possibility for the cosmopolitan. What is particularly relevant to this chapter is the way the group is also explicitly rural – La Via Campesina is concerned with farmer's rights and biodiversity. The model of rural cosmopolitanism the group offers is more radically political, however, than some other possible cosmopolitan models enacted by rural communities.

One form of global connection that is increasingly important to rural communities is global agribusiness. The demands of keeping up with the growing international scope of agriculture means that members of rural communities must locate themselves and their livelihoods within global markets. Farmers must be

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[62]   In the case of large-scale trade agreements like NAFTA, it is U.S. national interests that are being protected rather than any truly cosmopolitan goal of equality for North American producers. The seemingly cosmopolitan calls by the U.S. and Europe (among others) for trade liberalization actually mask protectionist national policies. Therefore, a group like La Via Campesina is more truly cosmopolitan than supporters of policies like NAFTA.

aware of global markets for grains and livestock, as well the petroleum market. The website for the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), a co-op of Prairie farmers, features links to various international commodities markets ("Commodities Links"). John Deere, a major manufacturer of agricultural machinery, features similar information on their website ("Information on new and used agricultural equipment..."). Farmers also make use of complex GPS systems to map the productivity of their farms. In order to compete in the global economy – something which is increasingly necessary to make farming profitable – farmers must explicitly engage with the global. Indeed, many farmers might be much more conscious of the connection between their local lives and the global economy than many urban office workers as they must engage with it so plainly everyday. Global affiliation here also suggests a skill set that must be learned in order to engage with the global. Global agribusiness is another global interface besides the commodity consumerism present in the rural.

Global agribusiness is not, in and of itself, cosmopolitan. However, should the global connections that agribusiness fosters prompt new solidarities with other farmers throughout the world, then global agribusiness may lead beyond just a recognition that rural farmers are global subjects but that they are global citizens, cosmopolitans. What global agribusiness reveals, however, is the tension between neoliberalism and cosmopolitanism. Neoliberal policies are "wedded to the belief that the market should be the organizing principle for all political, social, and economic decisions" (Giroux xiii) and push for the permeability of borders (though this is uneven in that borders become increasingly permeable for capital and goods but simultaneously less permeable for those whose labour produces that capital and those goods). This call for the permeability of borders would seem to echo cosmopolitanism – which tends to depend on freedom of movement.

Yet neoliberalism demands no sense of responsibility to anyone beyond the individual; the individual here is the limit to responsibility. The superficial form of connectedness that frequently goes by the name of "cosmopolitanism" today echoes this limit of the individual; however, territorialized cosmopolitanism takes up the ethical and political responsibilities that characterized cosmopolitanism as it was first formulated by the Stoics and Kant, for example, in order to imagine more just global and local connections. Postcolonial theory's emphasis on social justice shapes territorialized cosmopolitanism in the contemporary context. Neoliberal policies might, coincidentally, provide some of the conditions of possibility for territorialized cosmopolitanism in rural places – the need, say, for farmers to locate themselves in global markets – but a territorialized cosmopolitanism can only start to emerge once these same farmers begin to establish bonds of solidarity with other farmers throughout the world, for example, or with global environmental groups – something which entails resisting neoliberalism's atomizing tendencies.

Despite the different ways in which the rural connects with the global – a connection which is assumed in cosmopolitan theory to promote increased engagement with difference, many rural inhabitants may express an understandable hostility to difference, especially in the face of economic depression, further reinforcing the notion that the rural is intrinsically parochial and anti-cosmopolitan. This community self-promotion as homogeneous may only suggest that the development or recognition of cosmopolitan subjectivities requires more active and explicit work on the part of those who wish to claim them for themselves, or to access cosmopolitan values for specific local political projects. Unlike metropolitan centres, where municipal governments quite frequently promote their city's cosmopolitan makeup, small rural communities, for instance, often emphasize a particular ethnic heritage in the face of the community's actual ethnic diversity. In a settler society like Canada, this celebration of a specific ethnicity can also act to cover up the community's historical role in driving Aboriginal groups off their traditionally-held land. For instance, in Camrose, the small rural town I grew up in, the town's local government and Chamber of Commerce actively promote the town's Scandinavian roots through the commission of a Viking ship for the town's tourism building, and the town's mascot, a Viking named "Ole Uffda," among other things. Large metropolitan cities tend to have a number of different ethno-cultural festivals and events, small rural municipalities have far fewer of these. Yet the decision to continue to focus these few events on one nationality often requires denying the actual multiplicity of even a small town's founding *or* of the town's actual current ethnic makeup. Camrose, for example, is no longer predominantly Scandinavian in its ethnic makeup; however, it would be difficult to recognize this if you only saw the town's self-promotion.[63] Rural cosmopolitanism, then, requires considering rural communities in different ways than their Chambers of Commerce might promote them.

This chapter will examine three novels set in rural places in different parts of the world: Sharon Butala's *The Garden of Eden*, set in rural Saskatchewan and rural Ethiopia, Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide*, set in rural West Bengal, and Zakes Mda's *The Heart of Redness,* set in rural South Africa. While each novel is written out of a different national context, they each raise a number of overlapping questions about the rural and the cosmopolitan.   The novels each consider several cosmopolitan characters – either ones that already identify as such or ones who develop cosmopolitan subjectivities over the course of the novel – and also suggest that a cosmopolitan world-view which emphasizes multiple affiliations to different places teaches us how to read the way that multiple historical and cultural trajectories converge in one place – positing its

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[63]   According to the 2001 Canadian Census, the most common countries of ethnic origin (excluding Canada) in Camrose are Germany, England, and Ireland. Norway and Sweden are both in the top 10 but towards the bottom. While the town has clear Scandinavian roots, this is less true of the city's current ethnic makeup ("Ethno-Cultural Portrait of Canada, Table 1").

heterogeneity. All three novels differentiate, however, between a territorialized cosmopolitanism and a cosmopolitanism from above that is shaped by the competing agendas of transnational capital and humanitarianism.

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All three of these novels feature two or three characters who, by the end of the novel if not earlier, are becoming-cosmopolitan. These characters begin to form multiple affiliations to both the global and local and develop a growing sense of ethical and political responsibilities to others – both other humans and the environment. In *The Garden of Eden*, Iris moves from a clearly territorialized identity to one which is also cosmopolitan. For the main characters of *The Hungry Tide* and *The Heart of Redness*, the movement is in the opposite direction: the characters already express cosmopolitan affiliations but must become territorialized – a process that involves rooting themselves and developing a clear sense of the obligations that a just cosmopolitanism demands. Nonetheless, for all these characters, their changing cosmopolitan subjectivities centre on lived places. For Iris, the need to deal with her farm after the sudden death of her husband as well as the search for her niece prompts her to interact with the land in a new way. For Piya and Kanai in *The Hungry Tide*, the trauma of surviving a (possible) tiger attack (in Kanai's case) and a cyclone lead them to re-evaluate their previous rootlessness. In *The Heart of Redness*, Camugu's increasing sense of belonging in Qolorha is a way of ameliorating his own sense of alienation in post-apartheid South Africa after a long exile in the U.S. These different ways of locating cosmopolitan characters mark the myriad ways of developing territorialized cosmopolitan identities in rural places.

Iris' travels around the world in *The Garden of Eden* to find Lannie lead her far away from the large farm where she grew up and lived as an adult outside of a small Saskatchewan town. Iris follows up ephemeral clues and possibilities that lead her to a ranch near Calgary, to Toronto, to Ottawa and then to Ethiopia. This is a journey of discovery for Iris as she develops a greater sense of the world around her and her place in it. As well, it gives her a greater sense of global ethical and political responsibility rather than the purely local yet relatively vague accountability she has previously felt. Her decision to sell her farm and allow it to become reclaimed prairie instead of letting it be transformed into a mega-farm with an agribusiness feedlot comes directly out of her trip, particularly her days in Ethiopia.[64] Travel acts as a catalyst for Iris' sense of herself-in-the-world and her burgeoning sense of cosmopolitanism. When she arrives in Toronto, for instance, "she hails a cab – how cosmopolitan she has become in a few short days" (203). Iris envisions herself as a cosmopolitan like a businessman who flies from city to city. Indeed, the narrative remarks frequently on the sameness of the hotels that

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[64]   Iris' trip to Ethiopia has many parallels to the trip to India in E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India* of Adela Quested, who sees India as a site of personal discovery. Iris' experiences in the churches of Labilela, in particular, echo Adela's in the Marabar caves.

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she stays in at her various destinations (155-56, 203, 216). All difference here is easily consumable – and readily understandable. The sameness of the hotels suggests that the differences in the places Iris visits are ultimately nullified by the sameness of corporate hotels. This is not even cosmo-multiculturalism where discriminating taste is paramount as there is only homogeneity on offer. This suggests an oddly immobile mobility. Despite the change in cities, nations and even continents, Iris repeatedly encounters sameness. And this sameness cannot prompt any real engagement with difference.

Yet this superficial cosmopolitanism that is only about intercontinental travel and the movement between hotel rooms is disrupted by Iris' arrival in rural Ethiopia. This is noted in the description of the hotel room she occupies in the small town of Kombolcha: "the room is clean, but so dismal with the poor light and the shabby, insufficient furniture, that the thought of staying here for any time longer than she absolutely has to chills Iris" (235). This room is the first in Iris' series of hotel rooms not marked by its anonymity. Its shabbiness becomes its marker of difference. And it is on this portion of Iris' global travels that she develops a cosmopolitanism that recognizes difference deeper than the superficial and also begins to develop a sense of her responsibility to other human beings – no matter how different (both physically and culturally) from her own experiences. On the drive to the stone churches at Labilela and at the churches themselves, Iris' interactions with her driver and her guide lead her to recognize the limits to her own understandings of the world as a result of her own privileged position. At the same time, despite her initial sense of Ethiopia as unimaginably foreign, these churches and the drive allow Iris to see parallel situations between rural Ethiopia and rural Saskatchewan:

> She senses that she has flown out of time and into *now*. Every step of her way from her farm outside Chinook to this mountain village on the other side of the globe has been leading her out of her personal history, her family's history, her country's history – into this alien one that she has discovered as an explorer discovers a continent or a river. How little she has understood about anything. (257)

While this recognition of parallels and search for meaning may seem reductive (and which echoes the rhetoric of colonial "discovery"), the consequences of drought and mismanagement of land are highly differentiated and of different magnitudes in the novel. What has been disastrous for individuals (small farms and families) in Saskatchewan has affected larger groups of people and the nation in Ethiopia. Iris' movement between Saskatchewan and Ethiopia prompts her decision to sell her farm and transform it into reclaimed prairie, reducing the environmental pressure on the land. As Iris' neighbours, Ramona and Vance demonstrate, however, travel is not necessary to challenge views of the land as solely private property or something to be used until it will no longer yield profit and then discarded; that is, to see the importance of

stewardship of or responsibility to the land rather than control of the land. This way of looking at the land is a cosmopolitan act in its recognition of the connection between the way farms are run in Saskatchewan and the global climate. In this novel, the connection is made more specific through the invocation of the Ethiopian famines of the 1980s and the resulting political landscape of the 1990s. Iris (as well as Lannie, Ramona and Vance) come to see themselves as cosmopolitan citizens of the world and also of a small community. In fact, their actions suggest the conflict between cosmopolitanism and localities; as Vance warns Iris about her decision "if you fight [the land developers], you'll be fighting the whole community too" (334).

Unlike Iris, who has, prior to her trip to find Lannie, never traveled far from the farm and community where she was born and raised, Piya in *The Hungry Tide* was born in India and immigrated to Seattle when she was young. She went to university in California and since then has travelled around the world studying Orcaella dolphins. At the beginning of the novel, Piya resembles the prototypical "global soul" in her near-constant movement and her difficulty in connecting herself to any particular ethnic or national identity. Piya does not speak Bengali or any Indian language (11) nor does she feel any particular connection to her parents' Indian subjectivities: "neither her father nor her mother had ever thought to tell her about any aspect of her Indian 'heritage' that would have held her interest – all they ever spoke of was history, family, duty, language" (79).

While this difficulty in identifying with an ethnic or national background echoes the in-betweeness of second generation diasporic individuals, Piya's attachment to Orcaella dolphins suggests a larger, global citizenship than the diasporic. Diaspora evokes the experience of a community being forcibly dispersed from one place to many places and individuals subsequently feeling torn between two different ethno-national identities. But this seems inaccurate for considering Piya whose family chooses to emigrate from India and who does not seem particularly torn between identifying as Indian or American. Instead, she rejects both and identifies with the dolphins and whatever place she is able to find them. Her affiliation with the dolphins and her career as a cetologist means that she "never stay[s] long in one place" (256).

While Piya is the prototypical "global soul" who is constantly moving around, Kanai is the prototypical urbane sophisticate. His job as a translator further reveals this. On first meeting Piya, he quickly ascertains that she was raised in the U.S., and tells her that he is "very rarely wrong about accents. I'm a translator you see, and an interpreter as well, by profession. I like to think that my ears are tuned to the nuances of spoken language" (9). Kanai's superficially cosmopolitan self-importance also marks his affluent class position; his smugness reminds Piya of "her relatives in Kolkata: they too seemed to share the assumption that they had been granted some kind of entitlement... that allowed them to expect that life's little obstacles and annoyances would always be swept away to suit their convenience" (8-9). Whereas in *The Garden of Eden*, Ramona

and Vance are economically disadvantaged in comparison to Iris and most of the community yet are able to espouse cosmopolitan ideals without having had the benefit of extensive travel, the cosmopolitan characters in *The Hungry Tide* are explicitly financially secure. Piya recognizes Kanai's upper middle class privilege as well as her own, made even more privileged by her American upbringing.

However, in their interaction with each other and, most importantly and problematically, with Fokir, the fisherman, they begin to territorialize their cosmopolitanism in the landscape of the Sundarbans. Piya and Kanai's interaction with Fokir echoes Iris' exposure to the Ethiopian landscape and the victims of tribal marginalization. Fokir remains for the most part a cipher through which Piya and Kanai learn more about themselves. He catalyzes their moments of self-recognition through his actions.[65] These two novels remain invested in colonial encounter narratives – though both authors point, however incompletely, to the shortcomings of this model of encounter. Iris' trip to Ethiopia is counterpointed with the cosmopolitanism of Ramona and Vance, where their sense of themselves within the global develops out of their experience of economic marginalization in Saskatchewan (their farm is unprofitable and they are, therefore, kept at the outside of the community; this reveals to them the limits of the globality encouraged by agribusiness that does not attend to the particularities of local experiences). Kanai's uncle, Nirmal, attempts a cosmopolitan intervention in Morichjhāpi out of his fascination/ infatuation with Kusum, a young woman who used to live on the same island as Nirmal but eventually ended up on Morichjhāpi and who is killed in the forced eviction. But Nirmal's intervention is ultimately unsuccessful, in part, because of his inability to truly commit himself to the uprising (arguably it would have been unsuccessful in any case, given the fate of the island's inhabitants). The juxtaposition of Ramona, Vance and Nirmal with Iris, and Piya and Kanai suggests that there are multiple ways of developing a cosmopolitan worldview and also points to the (quite literal) dangers of cosmopolitan world-views when it views the local as exotic or romantic.

The moments which prompt Kanai and Piya to "root" themselves in Lusibari, the small community which is nearest the islands and waterways most of the novel is set in, are prompted by traumatic experiences on land. Fokir's abandonment of Kanai on one of the islands where he encounters/ hallucinates a Great Bengal tiger (native to and numerous in the Sundarbans) leads Kanai to

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[65]   While novels perhaps need symbols that are strong enough to prompt believable epiphanies yet are two-dimensional enough that they do not interfere with the development of the primary characters, the fact that these two novels about cosmopolitan development require such clearly exoticized landscapes and characters to prompt these epiphanies is worrying. Is cosmopolitanism predicated then on an exotic other who prompts an increased sense of the possibility of multiple affiliations? In the novels I examine in other chapters which depict cosmopolitanism in different zones, there *is* less of this apparently-necessary exoticism.

reevaluate the smug sense of self-importance about his class and educational background that has alienated Fokir and even Piya from him (260-73). In his rage at Fokir's amusement over his loss of urbanity on the island, Kanai comes to a realization about his own commitments to various forms of privilege:

> His anger came welling up with an atavistic explosiveness, rising from sources whose very existence he would have denied: the master's suspicion of the menial; the pride of caste; the townsman's mistrust of the rustic; the city's antagonism toward the village. He had thought he had cleansed himself of these sediments of the past, but the violence with which they spewed out of him now suggested that they had only been compacted into an explosive and highly volatile reserve. (269)

All Kanai's elitism, gathered under the paradigm of "urbane sophistication," is exposed when he must engage with the physicality of a landscape. His outburst directly follows his getting stuck in the mud – the land itself undoes him. After his experience alone on the island with the (possible) tiger, he abruptly returns to New Delhi. However, the epilogue to the novel intimates that Kanai returns to Lusibari. The trauma of his experience on the island and the transformative effect of reading Nirmal's diary of his involvement with the Morichjhãpi uprising, therefore, lead Kanai to root himself in Lusibari, however temporarily, and feel responsibility to the place and its inhabitants.

Piya's experience during the cyclone that hits the islands towards the close of the novel likewise prompts her to root herself in Lusibari. In an effort to avoid being swept out to sea by the giant waves formed by the storm, Piya and Fokir secure themselves to a large tree. Fokir uses his body to protect Piya from the wave's impact and is killed in the process. This event crystallizes Piya's growing desire to remain in Lusibari, which has developed out of her relationship with Fokir and, to a lesser extent, Kanai. Like Kanai, Piya initially leaves Lusibari after the storm; however, also like Kanai, she returns quickly thereafter. Her departure, in fact, is prompted by a cosmopolitan humanitarian project; she collects money from her friends throughout the world to raise money for Fokir's wife and child. As well, she raises funds to continue her dolphin research in the Sundarbans. She connects with international conservation and environmental agencies in order to support her research and also to have them act as advocates on her behalf with the Indian government.

Piya's sense of responsibility to both Fokir's family and the dolphins requires her to root herself specifically in a place. Yet these responsibilities simultaneously demand a more clearly delineated connection between the global and the local. Whereas prior to her experiences in the Sundarbans, Piya has seen her responsibilities as being first and foremost to the global species of Orcaella, now she sees that she can more actively engage with this responsibility by increasing her local affiliations, by becoming cosmopolitan. In explaining to Nilima (Kanai's aunt) why she has returned to Lusibari and how Nilima can help

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her research, Piya says: "You know a lot about the people who live here... And for myself, I don't want to do the kind of work that places the burden of conservation on those who can least afford it. If I was to take on a project here, I'd want.... the local fisherman [to] be involved" (327). Local knowledge, in the end, becomes central to Piya's research but in conjunction with global funds and her own cosmopolitan knowledge.

In *The Heart of Redness*, Camugu is recently returned to South Africa after thirty years of self-imposed exile in the United States. In a post-apartheid South Africa, Camugu, who is well-educated and Westernized, finds it difficult to secure appropriate employment and contemplates a return to the U.S. where he is confident he will be able to find a job more commensurate with his skills and education. Camugu's years abroad have now led him to feel "an exile in his own country" (28). His exile from South Africa at its point of political upheaval has alienated him from those who remained – an alienation signaled by his inability to join in the freedom dance which "he never learnt... he was already in exile when it was invented... he regrets now that he acquired so much knowledge in the fields of communication and economic development but never learnt the freedom dance" (31). In short, his global sophistication has come at a price. He has traveled and has developed affiliations to communities beyond his own nation, ethnicity and class – leading him to feel rootless. This has, however, impeded his affiliations to his nation – a nation he still feels a strong emotional connection with – by depriving him of the now-appropriate actions and language. Indeed, Johannesburg feels alien to him: "He did not dare go into the streets. Throughout the night they swarm with restless humanity... Yet he is dead scared of the town. It is four years since he came back from his American exile, but he still has not got used to the fact that every morning a number of dead bodies adorn the streets" (29). His cosmopolitan alienation here is clearly linked to his discomfort with the physical place itself and the conditions of life there. The implication throughout the beginning of the novel is that Camugu feels more connected to the small American town where he attended university.

His trip to Qolorha – initially in search of an unearthly beautiful woman whom he encounters in Johannesburg and who is from there – helps Camugu develop a physical affiliation with this new South Africa: "reconnecting with the land, then, and recalling precolonial knowledges is a postcolonial strategy in Mda's... text" (Woodward 294). As with Iris, Piya and Kanai, Camugu's new commitment to place is catalysed by his encounters with so-called "rustics" (Mda 9). Qukezwa, the daughter of the leader of the Believers, and her earthy sexuality repeatedly entice Camugu to feel increasing ties to the village. While he initially comes to Qolorha for a short period, his involvement with Qukezwa leads him to remain there indefinitely. His roles as the father of Qukezwa's son and her husband further cement his position within the community. His relationship with Qukezwa is contrasted with his simultaneous relationship with Xoliswa Ximiya (the daughter of the leader of the Unbelievers), a woman who is considered

urbanely cosmopolitan by the members of the community. Xoliswa Ximiya is repeatedly shown to be cold and self-aggrandizing (11, 69, 172 - 73, 300 – 02). Her frequent insistence on her shared cosmopolitanism with Camugu is repeatedly shown to be false by his wider experience and by his growing sense of responsibility to Qolorha. At the village feast at the beginning of the novel, for instance, when Xoliswa Ximiya first meets Camugu and learns of his plans to return to the U. S., she insists that "he must remind her to give him a few pointers on how to survive in America" (72). Camugu's assertion that not only is he confident of getting a job in the U.S. but that he had lived there for nearly thirty years prompts "a hint of anger in her eyes" (72) and real anger at being shown up in front of the other villagers as the expert on America (73). Similarly, Camugu is repelled by her aversion to his re-assertion (and suggestion that he should be above such beliefs) of his clan totem:

> I [Camugu] am not from America. I am an African from the amaMpondomise clan. My totem is the brown mole snake, Majola. I believe in him, not for you, not for your fellow villagers, but for myself. And by the way, I have noticed that I have gained more respect from these people you call peasants since they saw that I respect my customs. (173)

Xoliswa Ximiya's self-positioning means that she cannot sustain, as a result, a romantic relationship with Camugu – particularly in comparison to Qukezwa who is deeply connected to place.

Another potentially cosmopolitan character in *The Heart of Redness* is John Dalton, the owner of the local store. His position as a white South African in a predominantly black village yet a villager like all others indicates his cosmopolitanism:

> Dalton is a white man of English stock. Well, let's put it this way: his skin is white like the skins of those who caused the sufferings of the Middle Generations. But his heart is an umXhosa heart. He speaks better isiXhosa than most of the amaXhosa people in the village. In his youth, against his father's wishes, he went to the initiation school and was circumcised in accordance with the customs of the amaXhosa people. He therefore knows the secret of the mountain. He is a man. (7)

However, despite his just-asserted position within the amaXhosa, in the next sentence the text aligns him with "his fellow English-speaking South Africans" (7). Dalton is also the descendent of a British colonialist who was actively involved in the colonization and oppression of Qolorha. The text, then, identifies many different lines of affiliation: race, tribe, language, history, place and ethnicity. Along almost all of these lines, Dalton expresses and enacts multiple positions. Unlike Camugu who must develop a territorialized cosmopolitan subjectivity, Dalton already claims one. Dalton's cosmopolitanism, however, is one that has developed out of a history of oppression. His ability to identify from

multiple sites is predicated on his family's (a metonym for all British colonizers') oppression of the very people who he now views as fellow villagers, fellow isiXhosa speakers, and whose customs he has taken part in – something to which the narrator directs our attention even while he explicitly compares Dalton's skin colour to that of those "who caused the sufferings of the Middle Generations."

Like Camugu, though, Dalton, despite the many ways in which he belongs to this community, is able to move between the camps of the Believers and the Unbelievers. This mobility between these two groups points to the privileged position of the cosmopolitan in this community. While this privilege also has much to do with both Camugu and Dalton's lack of kinship ties within the village, it also had to do with the way their expertise is called on by the various villagers in the debate about development. Dalton is not only presumed to be able to negotiate better with the developers as a fellow white, English-speaking man, but also as a business owner he is assumed to be well versed in the discourse of commerce. This cosmopolitan ability to speak in multiple valences – Camugu's graduate degree is in Communications – offers Dalton and Camugu voices in the community that otherwise would be denied them because of their status as outsiders.

In addition to Camugu and Dalton, however, the characters of NoManage and NoVangeli and their strategic deployment of a stereotyped version of an "authentic" African traditions point to how and by whom cosmopolitan world-views develop. In *The Garden of Eden* and *The Hungry Tide*, the Ethiopian landscape and people and Fokir act as static catalysts for the protagonists developing territorialized cosmopolitanism. NoManage and NoVangeli, while far more peripheral to the main plot, suggest how the appearance of authenticity is never quite that simple. The two women, along with Dalton, at the end of the novel, operate a cultural village to attract tourists "who are usually guests at the Blue Flamingo" (315), the nearby hotel. This tourist operation with its commodified vision of amaXhosa culture appeals to tourists who are all too similar to Euro-Americans like Iris and allows for the opportunity to appreciate, but not engage with, a culture different from their own.

While this cultural village might seem to exploit the ethno-cultural heritage of NoManage and NoVangeli, and its other employees, this ignores the women's active participation in the promotion of "cultural tourism" as a way to earn an income from white tourists: they "are two formidable women who earn their living from what John Dalton calls cultural tourism. Their work is to display amasiko – the customs and cultural practices of the amaXhosa – to the white people who are brought to their hut" (109). Xoliswa Ximiya characterizes the women as "con artists" (109) – suggesting again the women's agency in this tourism. Rita Barnard posits that "the reader is left to wonder if Dalton's ethnic village does not represent a postmodern version of pacification: a domestication and commercialization of otherness, and a collapse of both time and space" (169). This may well be true of the ethnic village itself – a place which Camugu believes

depicts the "amaXhosa people [as] a museum piece," denying that "like all cultures their culture is dynamic" (286). Nonetheless, unlike the catalyzing characters in *The Garden of Eden* and *The Hungry Tide* who are never given a voice, NoManage and NoVangeli reveal, through their strategic use of apparent authenticity, the very falseness of this authenticity; "often when tourists come, NoManage *pretends* that she is a traditional healer, what the tourists call a witchdoctor, and performs magic rites of *her own concoction*" (109; emphasis added).

Thus, while Iris, Piya and Kanai all presume that they encounter authentic places and people – in distinction from their own more fluid subjectivities and world-views – Mda suggests that that authenticity might be a façade. This is not to deny the problematic nature of Butala's and Ghosh's characterization of these "authentic" places and characters; instead, Mda suggests the potential impossibility of actually finding such authentic places and characters to prompt cosmopolitan world-views. While NoManage and NoVangeli are not central characters in the text and, therefore, are relatively undeveloped, it might be possible to read them as cosmopolitan characters in ways similar to Camugu and Dalton. Because they wear traditional costumes and perform ostensibly traditional customs and rites, NoManage and NoVangeli appear to be totally localized. Yet their agency in undertaking this performance demonstrates their position in and affiliation to globally circulating forms of tourism. While this is not a form of cosmopolitanism that prompts any obvious activism or even critique, it does point to how cosmopolitanism – here one characterized by commodified cultural products – is taken up by those who are not part of a highly-mobile global elite.

Unlike Iris in *The Garden of Eden* and Kanai in *The Hungry Tide*, who occupy clear positions in the rural communities in each novel because of their familial connections to prominent community members, the only parallel character in *The Heart of Redness* is Xoliswa Ximiya who, in contrast to Iris and Kanai, leaves Qolorha at the end of the novel for a job in a larger centre. Kanai and Piya, like Xoliswa Ximiya, begin the text with a deterritorialized cosmopolitanism but eventually come to re-territorialize themselves through their connection with both the local *and* the global – a multi-territorialization which develops out of social, intellectual or territorial mobility. Mda's text, on the other hand, seems to suggest that when cosmopolitanism is coupled with a desire for a self-aggrandizing power it may be unsalvageable. I would suggest that Iris, Piya, Kanai, Camugu, and, to a more limited extent, Dalton, NoManage and NoVangeli, develop territorialized cosmopolitan world-views over the course of these novels as they come to express solidarities to both the global and the local and see these solidarities in terms of ethical and political responsibilities. Xoliswa Ximiya, on the other hand, lacks this sense of responsibility to either the global or the local – suggesting that while her mobility would suggest a cosmopolitan world-view, it is only superficially so. Mda critiques, then, a superficial cosmopolitanism,

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synonymous with sophistication and the consumption of cultural products. This form of cosmopolitanism which does not have social justice as its goal is one that only reproduces existing inequalities.

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As discussed in chapter two, Doreen Massey has posited a "progressive sense of place," a notion that "what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus" ("Power-Geometry" 66). This suggests that a place is made up of various different, often competing trajectories and histories. Massey's conceptualization of place is cosmopolitan in its recognition of the global element to place; the relations that make up any place are never only local. This is true in all places, of course. Because of the rural's limited architecture and more spread out population in comparison to the urban, however, the global links of place are often missed or ignored. Common stereotypes about the rural as backwards mean that the connections to the global in these places are similarly missed or ignored. *The Garden of Eden*, *The Hungry Tide* and *The Heart of Redness* all articulate this "progressive sense of place" by drawing attention to the particular constellation of social relations in the places they depict but also by highlighting the global dimension to this constellation.

These novels consistently challenge Heideggerian representations of space (in the Lefebvrian sense – conceptual or imagined space[66]) that posit the rural as homogeneous and the essentialized site of a cultural imaginary that is relatively unchanging. All three texts demonstrate how rural places are the locus of many different and often simultaneous representations of space. This way of depicting place informs the territorialized cosmopolitanism that these texts describe. Not only do the novels demonstrate, through their characters, the process of becoming-cosmopolitan, but by describing rural places as heterogeneous they teach the reader how to read these landscapes. These texts demonstrate the impossibility of reading rural places as homogeneous or unchanging by focussing on the different representations of space that shape any place. In the physical settings of these novels, these myriad imaginations of space stem from their colonial past and neo-colonial present. All three novels, however, also point to representations of space shaped by gender and class. These places are the location, then, not only of many representational spaces (Lefebvre's term for lived

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[66]   Keith Halfacree takes Lefebvre's three-fold model of space (spatial practices, representational spaces and representations of space) and brings it into conversation with a model of rurality (rural localities, everyday lives of the rural and formal representations of the rural are his corresponding terms) (Halfacree 2007). I am choosing to continue to use Lefebvre's terms here instead of Halfacree's, which are, arguably, more appropriate, to maintain a consistency in terms from chapter to chapter. Nonetheless, Halfacree's usage of the Lefebvrian framework points to the continuing usefulness of Lefebvre's paradigm in the rural despite Lefebvre's exclusive focus on the urban.

space or place) but also of many representations of space – suggesting a truly territorialized cosmopolitanism.

This territorialized cosmopolitanism takes different forms in the three novels. In Butala, the recognition of the cosmopolitanism of place is centred around Iris' recognition of the possibility of different histories and different representations of space relating to land use. In Ghosh and Mda, there is a similar sense of the multiple historical representations of space that shape how place is understood and related to; however, both texts are also attentive to the larger bioregional multiplicity. Ghosh is attentive to the animals and weather patterns which shape a place, while Mda discusses the colonial history of plants in South Africa with the simultaneous invasion of British colonial forces and non-indigenous trees.[67] In all three novels, nonetheless, these cosmopolitan ways of reading place lead to an increasing awareness on the characters' part of their ethical and political responsibilities to place and its inhabitants.

In *The Garden of Eden*, while Iris' choice to return her land to indigenous prairie seems on the surface to be an anti-cosmopolitan one, Butala argues the opposite. Not only does this pattern of land use limit environmental damage and its global impact, but, as the text repeatedly suggests, it is a cosmopolitan way of reading the land itself as it points to the ways that the rural Saskatchewan landscape has developed out of various and competing histories. Despite the seeming "naturalness" of agriculture as it is practiced in the rural west, Iris grows to recognize the various discrepant views of the land – along both ethnic and gender lines. Butala's description of the coulee on Iris' property and its still visible markers of Aboriginal presence shows just one way in which the land, in its physicality, marks difference. Iris goes to the stone circles, somewhat reductively, as a site of mythic power and comfort, prompting her recognition of the multiple pasts of the land, human and otherwise: "The coulee was filling with purple shadows, a chasm opening to swallow them, dropping down to its bottom more than a hundred feet below, passing through time incarnated as layers of earth, to those millions of years earlier. And hidden in the grip of the soil and rocks, the fossilized bones of monsters" (74). Iris' memory of the coulee and its stone circles echoes throughout her trip to find Lannie. Indeed, like her trip to Ethiopia, the coulee offers another way for Iris to envision herself as having a connection with the larger world: after dreaming of the coulee, she wonders that "how she once conceived of the world had spread apart to reveal a dimension she'd never guessed at – whole, perfect, transcendently beautiful" (159).

Similarly, Iris' emotional and spiritual connection with the coulee connects her to her female relatives who have fought to keep the few remaining

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[67]   In her article "Postcolonial Ecologies and the Gaze of the Animals: Reading Some Contemporary South African Narratives," Wendy Woodward offers a detailed reading of the animals in *The Heart of Redness*, arguing that Mda's representations of animals challenge "the dualistic episteme of Western metaphysics which categorize humans and animals hegemonically" (291).

stone circles. Iris' grandfather and father both favoured getting rid of the circles as well as the falling-down barn near the coulee in order to plough more land, making the farm more economically profitable. Her mother and grandmother, on the other hand, were both insistent on the importance of these spaces, and it is these women Iris remembers the most clearly in connection with the coulee (73, 100). While this echoes a binary that suggests that women are more intuitive and "connected" to the land in comparison to the rational and pragmatic men, this attitude towards the land is also shared by the most cosmopolitan characters in the novel. Iris and Lannie, and Ramona and Vance emphasize the importance of maintaining the historical markers of difference on the land – maintaining the signs of these differences is integral to a territorialized cosmopolitanism as these signs mark a resistance to the homogenizing forces of corporate cosmopolitanism. Jay Anselm, a writer from Toronto in Chinook to do research for his next novel, expresses a similar belief in preserving these historical markers. As Iris shows Jay the coulee and the circles, he asks "don't you care… that all that history got lost when people turned up the land" (101)? He is seemingly oblivious to Iris' protestations about her role in preventing the remaining circles from being ploughed under. While Jay's superficial cosmopolitanism is ultimately rejected by the novel through a romantic subplot between him and Iris, at this point in the narrative his reiteration of and approbation for Iris' view of the land points to her developing cosmopolitanism. Butala suggests, then, that the recognition of the multiple representations of space articulated around a particular location is in and of itself a cosmopolitan act.

When she arrives in Ethiopia, Iris' cosmopolitan readings of land are further developed as the competing colonial and neocolonial claims being made on African land are made clear to her. On her drive to Labilela, Iris is informed that they are traveling on "the Chinese Road:" "'The Chinese build it,' [Giyorgis, her guide] says. 'When Mengistu was here. I admire them for it. Chinese died building it. It is a good road'" (239). Similarly, Lannie is informed by Dr. Abubech of the American presence in Ethiopia through its involvement with and promotion of the so-called Green Revolution and the Global 2000 project (170-71).[68] These neocolonial and globalizing projects change the Ethiopian landscape and its land use. As Abubech describes the intentions behind the Global 2000 program: "It is an American initiative, with the backing of the World Bank. Introducing hybrid seeds and high technology, high input farming techniques like the ones you use in North America, here in Africa, because they get such high yields, as an answer to the problem of food shortages and famine" (170-71). As Vandana Shiva and others have suggested, these kinds of programs often wreak

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[68]   Both projects encourage third-world farmers to increase their crop-yield through a promotion of chemical fertilizers and hybrid seed strains, among other things. The projects promote the export of North American-style industrialized agricultural practices to Africa and other third-world countries. For more information on the Carter Center's Global 2000 project, see: http://www.cartercenter.org/health/agriculture/index.html.

havoc on an ecosystem's biodiversity, thus changing the land itself through eco-systemic change. Those who farm the land are encouraged to see the land as only productive rather than something that they dwell with – changing the cultural value of the land. These programs encourage the development of monocultural agriculture which is much more precarious than multi-cultural agricultural because one pest can destroy an entire industry rather than only a portion: "the destruction of diversity and the creation of uniformity simultaneously involves the destruction of stability and the creation of vulnerability" (Shiva 48). As Anna Tsing notes in relation to the Indonesian forestry industry, the change to a focus on monocultures (like those engendered by the Green Revolution and the Global 2000 project) "also emptied the forest, conceptually, of human residents, since the fruit orchards, rattans, and other human-tended plants of forest dwellers were now mere waste" (*Friction* 16). These monocultural projects create representations of space that see place only in terms of production. While the territorialized cosmopolitanism located in the Saskatchewan landscape, as described by Butala, is focused on its diachronic history, in the descriptions of Ethiopian landscapes, the emphasis switches to the synchronic. Reading rural places as cosmopolitan, then, not only requires thinking historically but also thinking critically about the present. While this is not surprising, the popular emphasis on rural homogeneity very much extends to the contemporary landscape, which is seen to be overly-determined by a singular industrialized agriculture. Butala shows the multiple ways of imagining the land through multiple imaginations of agriculture.

As in *The Garden of Eden*, cosmopolitan ways of reading the landscape of *The Hungry Tide* are made explicit. Nirmal's suggestion "that in a way a landscape is not unlike a book – a compilation of pages that overlap without any two ever being the same" (186) is a more metaphorical observation of the way that multiple histories and affiliations overlap in the rural places of the Sundarbans. Nirmal's observation stems from his changing perception of the tide countries: "To me, a townsman, the tide country's jungle was an emptiness ... I saw now that this was an illusion, that exactly the opposite was true... here in the tide country, transformation is the rule of life: rivers stray from week to week, and islands are made and unmade in days" (186). The juxtaposition between Nirmal's "urban" perceptions and his "rural" ones is key here. His inclination, like that of so many others, is to view the rural as empty and homogeneous, the site of an unchanging Heideggerian dwelling. Instead, he grows to recognize that that apparent blankness is full of change and life. Rural places, as depicted by Ghosh, are not, then, static backdrops to the "proper" action of the novel but are in constant motion themselves – like the characters of the novel.

The names of the small towns of the Sundarbans, for example, are shown to be unstable signifiers which have been applied extraterritorially. Lusibari has been so named by a British army officer, after one of his relatives. Its translation, of sorts, into the vernacular language shows its ongoing transformation. While this process of colonial naming is hardly unique to the rural and was a common

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colonial practice as "the renaming of colonized territories… played an important part in the domination of these territories" (Bohata 11), nonetheless, it is one way of marking how transformation is as constant in rural places as in other places. Similarly, it rejects a reified and essentialized notion of rural places as static and ahistoric. By emphasizing the contingent and arbitrary nature of the naming of these places, Ghosh attempts to demonstrate, by echoing an actual phenomenon of place-naming in the formerly-colonized world, the way that the communities of the Sundarbans have been constantly involved in the developments of metropolitan modernity. Rather than relegate the rural to an ahistorical premodern hinterland, Ghosh draws the reader's attention to the way that the rural has always been connected to, if often at the mercy of, the metropolitan.

The description of the settlement of Canning and its role in the tide country's weather and ports further demonstrates the way that the land has been shaped quite literally by British colonialism. Canning was founded by Lord Canning for the British as "they needed a new port, a capital for Bengal" (235). Ghosh describes the incursion of British surveyors and planners into the thinly-populated area: "Here on the banks of the smiling river the work continued: an embankment arose, foundations were dug, a strand laid out, a railway line built" (235). Like so many places colonized by European powers, colonial infrastructure shapes the layout and appearance of the land. Here, in Canning, this new infrastructure requires the deforestation of the mangroves from the island on which Canning is situated and which "were Bengal's defense against the bay… it was the mangroves which kept the hinterland alive" (236). Mr. Piddington, a scientific soothsayer, warns that, with this environmental destruction, there is an increased chance of destruction by larger storms and waves. In 1867, the town is more or less destroyed by a giant wave.

This interruption of the novel's primary narrative to tell about Canning serves two purposes: it demonstrates the way that the tide country, and India more generally, have been physically shaped by its colonial legacy, teaching readers how to read landscape through a cosmopolitan lens – seeing its global and local trajectories, and it foreshadows the large storm and wave that wreaks so much destruction during the siege at Morichjhãpi and at the end of the novel, further indicating the ongoing legacy of the colonial past. Ghosh thus resists a strictly linear view of the history of the Sundarbans. There is a circularity to these storms which parallels the cycle of various colonialisms that the Sundarbans are subject to. In the first storm, it is the British, in the second, the Indian government's attempt to colonize and manage the rural refugees (who became refugees at the time of Partition and the India-Pakistan war in East Pakistan in the 1971), and in the third storm, the implication is of another colonial power, the U.S. or the West more broadly. This emphasis on cyclical weather patterns further challenges notions of a straightforward progress towards a supposed modernity. For, just as the rural here is caught in repeating patterns, so too are the metropolitan powers. At the same time, this focus on meteorology resists a view of place that

acknowledges only the human inhabitants. While the weather is connected in the narrative to human events, it still suggests that human residents of a place must live with the natural world.

Similar to *The Garden of Eden* and *The Hungry Tide*, *The Heart of Redness* repeatedly demonstrates a cosmopolitan way of reading place. However, unlike the other two texts in which this cosmopolitanism is articulated by the characters themselves or through interruption by the narrator (Ghosh's history of Canning, for instance), in Mda's text the multiple histories and their role in shaping the present are narrated as dramatized flashbacks. The story of Twin and Twin-Twin, the ancestors that first came into conflict over Nongqawuse's prophecies, is threaded throughout the contemporary narrative as both a way of clarifying the schism between the Believers and Non-Believers and as a suggestion of the repetition of the conflict between the two groups, and between the village and a vaguely defined colonial power. As in *The Hungry Tide*, this connection between past colonial experiences and the present suggests a circular (or at least non-linear) view of history. Like Ghosh, Mda draws particular attention to the way that this history is articulated around physical place. The particular trauma that prompts belief in Nongqawuse's prophecies is the spread of "lungsickness" in the village's cattle. The lungsickness is believed to have been imported by the British. The diseased livestock causes famine which then forces the villagers away from their homes and land to other villages in an attempt to stave off starvation. The villagers' previous sense of identification with place is disrupted entirely as a result.

Likewise, in the contemporary narrative, Mda repeatedly mentions the invasion of non-indigenous plant species into the area. Indeed, this invasion acts as a crucial plot point in Qukezwa's narrative when she is arrested for chopping down non-indigenous trees. One of the closing images of the novel has Camugu returning to Qolorha and observing that:

> as he drives back home he sees wattle trees along the road. Qukezwa taught him that these are enemy trees. All along the way he cannot see any of the indigenous trees that grow in abundance at Qolorha. Just the wattle and other imported trees. He feels fortunate that he lives in Qolorha.   Those who want to preserve indigenous plants and birds have won the day there. At least for now. (319)

Part of the ongoing debate in the community around the casino tourist development is about its ability to maintain the local ecosystem without changing it drastically. Bhonco, spokesperson for the group in favour of the casino, argues that "it is foolish to talk of conserving indigenous trees. After all we can always plant *civilized* trees. Trees that come from across the seas" (168; emphasis added). His use of the word "civilized" here is telling as it echoes colonial language of civilization and barbarism. This notion of civilized and barbaric trees suggests the ostensible urgency of changing place to reflect a representation of

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space that connotes "civilization." In the earlier narrative, one of the colonial administrators is referred to as "The Man who Named Ten Rivers," referencing his role in renaming South African places (echoing the similar project undertaken by the British in India that Ghosh describes).

This colonial project of naming is repeated in the tourist development: "This place is ideal for [a retirement village for millionaires]. We can call it Willowbrook Grove" (234). The developers are so taken by this idea that it prompts them to start brainstorming and, thus, ignore the views of the villagers:

> The developers seem to have forgotten about the rest of the people as they argue about the profitability of creating a beautiful English countryside versus that of constructing a crime-free timeshare paradise. Even Lefa Leballo [the token black African presence among the developers] is left out as they bandy about the most appropriate names: names that end in Close, Dell and Downs. At first the villagers are amused. But soon they get bored and drift away to their homes, leaving the developers lost in their argument. (234)

While this scene is played for humour, it echoes earlier colonial representations of space. As in *The Garden of Eden*, there are multiple demands on the land with similar stakes for the community: ecological sustainability, or jobs for the unemployed and an influx of money into the village. Again, as in the community in Butala's novel, the ultimate decision in favour of ecological sustainability (this time, in the form of an eco-tourism hostel) prompts a seemingly insurmountable disjuncture among the members. Camugu's pessimistic "At least for now" recognizes that "the whole country is ruled by greed. Everyone wants to have his or her snout in the trough" (319). Camugu's national pessimism could be enlarged beyond national boundaries as a similar sense of greed seems to prompt the development in *The Garden of Eden* – especially since, in that case, the backers of the project are a multinational group of investors rather than the government *per se*. The land itself again is used as a pawn between these two groups; it is both the site and cause of conflict. These differing views of possible land-use and different personal and emotional investments in the land again challenge a view of rural places as homogeneous and unchanging – pointing to a cosmopolitan ways of reading place.

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Despite the cosmopolitan readings of place and the generally positive stance towards characters' territorialized cosmopolitan development, *The Garden of Eden*, *The Hungry Tide*, and *The Heart of Redness* remain highly cognizant of the potential problems of a non-territorialized cosmopolitanism for rural places. All three novels depict the way that colonial powers – whether past or contemporary, national governments or multinational corporations – attempt to impose a universalizing vision of globality on the rural where the values and

practices of the metropole are applied without attention to the cultural and historical specificity of the rural. The three texts show the slippage that occurs when universalizing cosmopolitan projects attempt to include the rural without actually considering the specificity of a non-stereotyped rural and the rural's interaction with the global more generally. Cosmopolitan universalizing projects are shown to run roughshod over rural autonomy and places, the voices of whose inhabitants are often disregarded or unheard. Therefore, while these texts *do* point to models of a more responsible cosmopolitanism, one which is territorialized, they remain highly critical of a cosmopolitanism that is applied from outside these places and that assumes that rural places are waiting to become metropolitan rather than having cultures of their own.

In *The Garden of Eden*, for instance, Iris' growing cosmopolitanism is depicted positively by the text. The text validates her increasing awareness of and sense of ethical and political responsibility to the world outside of her farm and small rural community and is particularly positive about her decision to turn her farm over to prairie reclamation.[69] Similarly, Iris' changing cosmopolitan perception of the land she lives on and the Ethiopian land she visits is posited as a parallel moment of self-awareness and of amelioration. Butala is openly critical, however, of a neoliberal global project that is reflected in free-trade agreements and the promotion of production at the cost of sustainability. Butala draws the reader's attention repeatedly to the costs of this kind of cosmopolitanism to communities, to nations and to the land. *The Garden of Eden*'s narrative focus on the Ethiopian famine of the mid-1980s and on the North American farm crisis of the late 1980s/ early 1990s (though ongoing) is particularly attentive to the ways that neoliberal economic agreements like NAFTA and the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement have impacted the rural throughout the world.

While the text never explicitly connects these two crises to specific political negotiations or agreements, the setting of the novel and the historical context of the novel's writing and publication point to the importance of this geo-political maneuvering. Further, the text is also written within the context of the ever-increasing corporatization of agriculture, further endorsed by trade agreements like NAFTA, as large-scale agribusiness makes the small family farm less and less sustainable. Iris' neighbour, Vance, who agrees to farm her land while she looks for Lannie, argues that "Farmers like Barney [Iris' husband who practiced industrialized farming] ruined this country... They drove away the wildlife and they poisoned the land with their chemicals. Never could get enough. Just kept breaking more land and breaking more land till there's hardly no grass left. Old farmsteads, the road allowances that don't even belong to them" (122). Later, when Iris drives him around the farm itself, Vance examines the soil and

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[69]   This attitude towards Iris' decision is unsurprising since Butala and her late husband undertook a similar reclamation project with their own ranch – something Butala documents in *The Perfection of the Morning* (1997) and *Old Man on his Back* (2002).

says: "'It looks like ashes. It ain't even soil any more. It's got no fibre, it won't even stick together.' He spreads his fingers and the dirt slides easily between them to drift, pale and powdery, onto the land. 'Got no nutrients left. When the soil's got no nutrients left it can't grow wheat with good protein" (126). The cost to the land, to say nothing of the livelihoods of those who farm and are dependent upon it, is clear. The adoption of farming practices that fall in line with the global capitalist imperatives of agricultural corporations like Monsanto and Cargill – which have an implicit cosmopolitan agenda as they seek to create universal norms and practices but one which lacks any sense of responsibility to either local inhabitants or the global environment – not only makes it increasingly difficult to maintain more traditional agricultural practices but also makes agriculture itself progressively less tenable.

The possibility that farming will become unviable suffuses this book and is shown to have an impact on more than just individual farmers. Iris feels pressured to cave in to the demand of the land developers as they plan to build a feedlot and, as she recognizes, "a feedlot means a slaughterhouse and a packing plant and that means jobs" (96). The economic importance of this (potentially) international investment in an economically depressed community makes it difficult for Iris to resist a proposal that would benefit her and the community financially yet would have destructive environmental and cultural effects. This tension between the cosmopolitan-seeming interests of major investors and corporations, and rural communities which wish to maintain local autonomy is one that is familiar throughout the North Atlantic rural where "the countryside… is coming to serve two new and very different purposes – playground and dumping ground – as the traditional rural economy declines" (Epp and Whitson xv). At a town meeting in Chinook to consider the possible land development, one speaker criticizes Iris and the conservationists who are there, saying:

> It's no skin off your nose when we get shoved out of our jobs or
> off our land and can't look after our own families any more. You
> don't have to live with the shame of being on welfare. Or all the
> bad things that happen when a family falls apart – drinking, wife
> abuse, kids going delinquent because they can't see a life that
> makes any sense any more. When they got no future and no place
> to call home. When you think about it, that's what happened to the
> Indians when we came – only a thousand times worse. (345)

It is not only the land, then, that suffers from agribusiness' vision of cosmopolitanism but the culture of small rural communities.[70] Ironically, though, this speaker (echoing many actual members of rural communities) argues in favour of development because of the damage already wrought by environmental degradation. While the speaker's hyperbolic parallel between the displacement of Aboriginals and rural farmers minimizes the violence done to Aboriginals and

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[70]   Bharati Mukherjee depicts similar consequences to the farm crisis in *Jasmine* (1989).

their systemic marginalization, this statement does point to the colonial echoes of a cosmopolitanism imposed from above.

Similarly in *The Hungry Tide*, Ghosh's constant attention to class privilege suffuses the novel, most particularly in conjunction with ideas about the conservation of nature, and raises questions about the motives of those who make plans for communities but who refuse to include these communities in the making of these plans. Here, class becomes an explicitly global and, therefore, more obviously cosmopolitan category of subjectivity. Like so many other moments in *The Hungry Tide*, an encounter with the landscape and its inhabitants prompts a realization of the complex interactions between class, nationality, gender, and power. On their more extended surveying trip in search of the Orcaella, Piya, Kanai and Fokir encounter a community that has managed to trap a tiger that has killed at least two of its inhabitants. The tiger is trapped inside a small hut where people stab at it with sharpened sticks. Fokir joins in enthusiastically, and Kanai joins in more slowly and less enthusiastically. Piya, on the other hand, is horrified and attempts to convince Kanai that this must be stopped. As a result, the community members turn on the group, who must make a quick departure. Later, Piya remains traumatized by the scene and Kanai questions how she can want to protect a tiger that has already killed two people and, if left alive, would no doubt kill more. Kanai argues that conservation is the domain of the wealthy and, often, the extraterritorial. Piya can afford to demand conservation areas in the Sundarbans because she does not (at this point) live there and, if she did, she could afford proper housing. She can be sympathetic to the suffering of the tiger because she does not know or identify with those who have lost family and fellow community members to the tiger. Kanai shares many of these points of identification with Piya yet does not fully share her outrage at the death of the tiger. The text suggests that this is, in part, a gendered response.[71] Kanai feels he *must* join in with the other men to demonstrate his masculinity – suggesting a greater ability to actually deploy multiple (and sometimes conflicting) affiliations for men.

Ghosh clearly aligns sympathy with the tiger and conservation projects with the more cosmopolitan characters, Piya and Kanai. While this sympathy and these projects might seem to be positive and worthy of support, Ghosh is much more reticent and cautious in his endorsement. In his dramatization of the Morichjhãpi uprising, Ghosh makes this caution quite explicit. The Indian

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[71] Catriona Sandilands argues that "early ecofeminism relied on woman's essential difference from man in order to highlight the ways in which a woman's standpoint on nature could produce less exploitative, more nurturant, and more harmonious human relations with nonhuman and (human) nature" (111); however, Sandilands suggests that "the ecofeminist category 'woman'... was challenged by a variety of differently situated women because of its Western and white, middle-class and (eventually) heterosexual bias and because of its overtones of biological determinism" (111). Piya, as characterized in *The Hungry Tide*, positions herself within the earlier paradigm Sandilands identifies – a position which Ghosh challenges.

government physically enforced the eviction of the refugees on this island because the island was designated a nature preserve. Ghosh, as articulated through Nirmal's diary, is highly critical of the preservation of natural spaces at the expense of the most unprotected humans. Conservation movements, often global in their focus, are thus depicted as insufficiently attentive to local, human concerns. As Morichjhāpi demonstrates here, the rural local is at the mercy of the urban national (and, implicitly, global). This tension between local lives, and national and global environmental concerns echoes those of Thomas Dunk in his discussion of logging in Northern Ontario:

> The potential for the creation of a subject position in which both workers [in the context of the novel, this could be understood to refer, more broadly, to both paid and non-paid work] and environmentalists find common cause is overdetermined by pre-existing narrative structures which refract environmentalist critiques of forestry practices onto long-standing concerns about external domination. (2)

Ghosh dramatizes an instance where this anxiety comes to a head and the more ideological external domination Dunk refers to becomes literal, physical expressions of domination. This dramatization of the Morichjhāpi uprising, then, demonstrates some of the very real dangers of un-territorialized cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitan ideals about environmental and humanitarian protection have the potential to threaten rural places here. Unlike in *The Garden of Eden,* where cosmopolitan corporate business poses a threat to rurality, here the threat is from extra-territorial cosmopolitan environmentalism, though Butala and Ghosh depict the encroachment of these forces as similar. Notably, there seems to be some possibility of resisting cosmopolitan corporatism whereas national humanitarian efforts (unlike in *The Garden of Eden,* these efforts in *The Hungry Tide* are not those of non-profit organizations but of the Indian state) seems relatively unstoppable and, ironically, has the potential to use violent repression in its support – reflecting the state's sovereign power of exclusion.

The Heart of Redness depicts a similar tension between environmental sustainability as understood by a place's inhabitants and metropolitan cosmopolitan development. However, whereas Butala and Ghosh centre this debate around business and humanitarianism, Mda centres the debate in his text around global tourism. Not only does the decision between casino complex and eco-hostel divide the villagers, both options increase the village's reliance on tourism – the results of which are seriously questioned by the text. Mda seems highly skeptical of the interaction between tourists and the locals of Qolorha as "the realities of a tourist economy inevitably make it difficult to preserve one's dignity and autonomy: the lines between the roles of host, servant, entertainer, and spectacle are not easy to draw" (Barnard 169). Travel, which is often the prototypical action of the rootless cosmopolitan, is depicted here as locked into a narrow range of possibilities and as often exploitative of difference. The

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interaction of NoPetticoat, a casual employee at the hotel, with a family of British tourists highlights this racist exploitation: "They asked her to talk into the machine in her language. And say what? Anything. Any old thing as long as it is in the clicky language. She uttered some words that meant absolutely nothing. Then they asked her to sing" (163). For these tourists, NoPetticoat is there for "local colour" in a superficial way. They do not really ask for a depiction of "locality" but, instead, a representation of "the African" – signified by their demands for her to speak in "the clicky language." The British family's interaction with NoPetticoat further troubles the notion that tourism can produce a form of responsibly territorialized cosmopolitanism, as the family's exposure to difference in Qolorha is predicated on their own *assumptions* about that difference, rather than on any *actual* difference. The family remains invested in colonial stereotypes of the premodern "Noble Savage" – NoPetticoat is asked to perform as a pre-colonial "African" not as a modern South African woman.

Not only is Mda critical of the assumptions made by tourists about the villagers, but he suggests that the villagers themselves become locked into the patterns that the tourists set for them. NoPetticoat, for instance, is unable to do anything but perform to the tourists' requests for fear of the hotel manager accusing her of being rude to hotel guests. NoManage and NoVangeli perform traditional household tasks, all the while dressed in their "full isiXhosa traditional costume of the amahomba, which is cumbersome to work in. Such costume is meant to be worn only on special occasions when people want to look smart and beautiful, not when they are toiling and sweating. And the tourists pay good money for all this foolery" (110). The tourists' illusory sense of their own urbane and sophisticated cosmopolitanism is developed through their introduction to difference at the expense of the villagers' ability to act as they really are. Instead, they must perform a way of life that is almost equally foreign to them – whether by its belonging to an imagined Africa (in NoPetticoat's case) or its role in the historical past (in the case of NoManage and NoVangeli). As for the cosmopolitan characters in this novel and in *The Garden of Eden* and *The Hungry Tide*, engagement with metro-cosmopolitanism comes at a price. Its narrative of evolution towards modernity seems predicated on someone or someplace remaining pre-modern. Metro-cosmopolitan interaction with Qolorha, then, is centered around an understanding of the postcolonial rural as being hopelessly removed from the global. For not only are these three women and other villagers asked to perform a stereotypical "Africanness," it is a sense of Africa that is pre-conquest. These women act out traditions that have, seemingly, not been corrupted by the global, in the form of European colonialism. Instead, they play back a postcolonial fantasy for the European tourists that suggests that colonialism did not *really* change anything about Africa. Not coincidentally, the town has primarily white tourists – Camugu who claims, initially, to be a tourist is greeted with surprise by a villager because "we only see white tourists" (67).

The Heart of Redness is thus a text that is much more wary about celebratory claims of cosmopolitanism as it is traditionally understood. While *The Garden of Eden* and *The Hungry Tide*, despite a few misgivings, ultimately embrace a territorialized cosmopolitanism, Mda's text suggests the real dangers of too readily adopting a cosmopolitan world-view. Mda implies throughout that cosmopolitanism of any stripe seems to be merely a re-iteration of colonial binaries of civilization and barbarism, rationality and irrationality, modernity and pre-modernity. Butala and Ghosh both raise similar questions, yet they seem to ultimately posit the possibility for productive interactions between the global and the local, articulated in rural places. This points, perhaps, to the different national and even continental contexts of these three texts. Butala and Ghosh set their texts in nations that occupy increasingly prominent roles in the global economy. Canada is fairly well established on the international stage while India grows ever more important. Although South Africa, the national setting of *The Heart of Redness*, also has a changing relationship with the global economy, it is in the context of continued international marginalization of Africa. Given this background, it is unsurprising that Mda might have greater difficulty embracing cosmopolitanism – something which so often seems to mimic the vagaries of global capital.[72]

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[72]   The *Heart of Redness* is the only one of these three texts that does not engage with cosmopolitan humanitarianism – which is interesting given the humanitarian preoccupation with African nations. While a text set in Africa is hardly required to address these efforts, given *The Heart of Redness*' general interest in the way the "West" interacts with rural South Africa, it is perhaps surprising that these sorts of charitable projects remain out of the frame of the novel.

Conclusion

For the most part, this dissertation has been preoccupied with what fiction has to say about cosmopolitanism and what it might add to the category of cosmopolitan theory. I want to briefly, in closing, reverse the focus and consider the corollary to this: why is looking at contemporary postcolonial fiction through the lens of cosmopolitan theory useful? What does cosmopolitan theory have to add to our reading of fiction? As I have argued throughout, a territorialized cosmopolitan sensibility is one that is explicitly conscious of the movement between the local and the global that cosmopolitanism entails and the shifting and multiple affiliations this movement produces. K. Anthony Appiah suggests that cosmopolitan sensibilities produce reading practices – a process that would also seem to work the other way around with reading practices producing cosmopolitan sensibilities: "new cosmopolitan reading practices are often undergirded by the same instinct: we travel in books to learn 'mutual toleration,' even the sympathy and concern for others" ("Cosmopolitan Reading" 203). This attempt to come to terms with difference in the world shapes how one might approach reading fiction critically. I suggest that reading texts through the lens of territorialized cosmopolitanism might nuance how we see the depiction of the global and the local, the mutable affiliations to both and the different kinds of movement between them.

Appiah imagines a cosmopolitanism where texts (broadly understood) are central: "cosmopolitanism imagines a world in which people and novels and music and films and philosophies travel between places where they are understood differently, because people are different and welcome to their difference. Cosmopolitanism can work because there can be common conversations about these shared ideas and objects" (*Ethics* 258). For Appiah, the novel is, particularly, the genre which prompts cosmopolitan thinking (see his "Cosmopolitan Reading"). This suggests that cosmopolitanism is focused on the exchange of cultural products alone – a dubious goal and one which uncomfortably echoes that of the global publishing industry which "verifiably expands through the promotion of those who can be marketed as postcolonial, colonizing audience niches through the incorporation of difference" (Brouillette 24). The global publishing industry might also be seen as producing cosmopolitan niche audiences.

There are certainly problems in how Appiah frames the centrality of reading: does he mean certain kinds of texts (a new canon, as it were) or all texts of all sorts?[73] Does he envision the general act of reading as central or specific

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[73]   Appiah lists a variety of genres but, in both his essay "Cosmopolitan Reading" and the chapter on rooted cosmopolitanism in *Ethics of Identity,* the examples he refers to are so-called "great works" by Laurence Sterne or Gustave Flaubert, or texts that are part of the more recent canon of postcolonial literature such as Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions.* It is difficult, then, to tell whether he sees these as part of a paradigmatic genre of literary fiction that prompts

kinds of reading? Nonetheless what remains compelling to me is how Appiah's vision of cosmopolitan reading puts the act of interpretation – not necessarily of fiction but as a broader moment of engagement – as a necessary condition to cosmopolitan world-views.[74] Cosmopolitan world-views where conscious interpretation is prioritized can never truly be finalized; they are always becoming, never being.

For Appiah, however, the endpoint of cosmopolitanism is morality and ethics. I would suggest – as I have throughout this dissertation – that the pedagogical lessons of interpretation must be taken further to encompass not just morality and ethics but a conscious politics that considers more explicitly actual responses to the world. Fredric Jameson argues that "all ethics lives by exclusion and predicates certain types of Otherness or evil; that these must ultimately have political consequences is obvious" yet also notes "the temptation of ethics to recontain itself by assigning hostile and more properly political impulses to the ultimate negative category of *ressentiment* [a concept coming from Nietzsche that suggests a kind of scapegoating]" (60). Jameson thus points to the potentially self-contained limit of ethics and cautions against the way ethics can lead to a similarly self-contained politics, rather than a larger, more collectively-driven notion of the political. I share Jameson's concerns about the possible limits of ethics – a concern which informs my suggestion that the morality and ethics of Appiah's liberal-bourgeois cosmopolitanism must go beyond the self to encompass a collective politics. Jameson posits that "all literature, no matter how weakly, must be informed by what we have called a political unconscious, that all literature must be read as a symbolic meditation on the destiny of community" (70) – an idea which shapes my reading of postcolonial literature throughout this dissertation.

What does this mean, however, for the fiction that I have examined so far? How do we read them differently when we read them under the rubric of territorialized cosmopolitanism? I have suggested that fiction acts as a corrective to cosmopolitan theory through fiction's focus on everyday lived cosmopolitanism and by depicting cosmopolitan sensibilities in places that are typically understood as un-cosmopolitan. Fiction, then, points to the gaps in cosmopolitan theory and offers its own theoretical possibilities.

The novels examined in this dissertation usefully expand the range of locations of cosmopolitanism (typically understood as exclusively the metropolis)

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cosmopolitan ethics and feelings or whether these are just two examples with which he just happens to be most familiar.

[74]   Appiah's model of a liberal cosmopolitanism centered around reading is similar to Martha Nussbaum's cosmopolitan reading program outlined in "Cosmopolitanism and Patriotism" where students become aware of their position as citizens of the world by reading texts written by authors different from themselves. Cosmopolitanism and fiction, then, are very much connected in models of liberal cosmopolitanism. For Appiah and Nussbaum, cosmopolitan sensibilities are both produced by and produce reading practices.

– an expansion that might help to resist the repetition by metropolitan theorists of metropolitan privileges. The rural texts in particular point to the different cosmopolitan world-views that emerge out of an experience of rural places – world-views that are more explicitly attentive to the natural environment as we see in Sharon Butala's *The Garden of Eden*, Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide* and Zakes Mda's *The Heart of Redness*. These world-views are not just a re-iteration of a (superficial or otherwise) metropolitan cosmopolitanism but actively engage with how global and local affiliations are articulated through rural places. Fiction's ability – even responsibility – to fully imagine the world in which it is set – whether that world is characterized by fantasy or verisimilitude – further allows it to describe things in ways that the generic limits of theory might not accommodate.

In a sense, then, fiction, by offering another way to consider what cosmopolitan sensibilities might look like, reveals some of the limits to cosmopolitan theory as it is currently imagined. Perhaps paradoxically, cosmopolitan theory seems to offer the same possibility of re-thinking contemporary postcolonial fiction. A territorialized cosmopolitan sensibility is attentive to simultaneous affiliations to the global and the local and, therefore, prompts a reading practice that is similarly attentive to the way the global and the local are inter-implicated. Reading texts through the lens of territorialized cosmopolitanism means considering how that text addresses the tangled question of the global and the local. The texts I have discussed throughout this dissertation have all been engaged – explicitly or not – with depicting a territorialized cosmopolitanism and are, therefore, consciously grappling with questions about the inter-relationship between the local and the global, and how this relationship can be created/ maintained in a responsible way – whether by depicting an ongoing uneven relationship between the two or by offering suggestions for re-orienting this relationship. In *Transmission*, for instance, Kunzru depicts the way local lives become externalities of global economics; however, in *The Hungry Tide*, Ghosh suggests the possibilities and necessity of global and local solidarities in humanitarian projects. These are texts, then, that are actively engaged in understanding and developing territorialized cosmopolitan sensibilities. Postcolonial theory can become trapped in the legacies of past and ongoing violent oppressions where distinctions between the colonizer and colonized are understood in relatively stable ways. Territorialized cosmopolitanism offers another way of considering global inequalities by focussing on their fluidity and by thinking through complex moments of agency and non-agency.

A critical territorialized cosmopolitanism, however, can also be brought to bear on texts that are not engaged in a project of territorializing cosmopolitan sensibilities. This is useful as it draws readers' attention to the use of either the local or the global as artificially isolated categories – something which can be seen, for instance, in Pico Iyer's discussion of the global soul. While it is obviously impossible for a text to suggest that the local or global exist in complete

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isolation from one another – indeed, local and global are relational terms that only make sense in conjunction with one another – various texts make claims about the preferability of one space over the other. And these claims become more visible when reading a text through the lens of territorialized cosmopolitanism.

I have argued throughout that a territorialized cosmopolitanism is one that takes as its central concern the creation of a more just world. Whereas cosmopolitanism has often been seen as a way of differentiating between the haves and the have-nots, territorialized cosmopolitanism, as I have theorized it, is one that is not dependent on the markers of economic privilege and can, in fact, develop out of situations of economic disadvantage. However, a territorialized cosmopolitanism should not be content with the fact that those in disadvantaged situations are able to access cosmopolitanism at all; instead to be truly territorialized, cosmopolitanism must take seriously the question of global citizenship and the equitable extension of these rights and privilege to all, rather than just some. I would suggest that this entails recognizing the ethical relationships that one has to others throughout the world, and a corresponding sense of political commitment to working towards a more just world for both oneself and global others. This, of course, runs the risk of echoing the colonialist and neo-colonialist rhetoric of European empires, transnational corporations and global charitable initiatives. Therefore, while we should avoid becoming paralyzed by them, we must be attentive to the lessons of post-colonialism which demands far more self-reflexivity as well as greater attention to the way existing inequalities reflect past and ongoing colonial relationships.

What the territorialized cosmopolitanism in the various novels I discussed reveals is that local and global connections are always present in place and that, in order to be a citizen of the world – something which these novels suggest is unavoidable – one must find ways to create local and global connections that can be emancipatory and non-marginalizing as a way to resist the de-territorializing forces of contemporary globalization. Thinking through cosmopolitan sensibilities that have been territorialized not only expands what we mean when we talk about the cosmopolitan but acknowledges the oscillation between the global and the local of everyday lived cosmopolitanism.

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