

# Migrant Cartographies

## New Cultural and Literary Spaces in Post-Colonial Europe

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# Introduction

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## CULTURAL TRAVELERS AND NEW LITERATURES

Migration is a one-way trip. (Stuart Hall, *Minimal Selfes*, 1996)

This book focuses upon the role migration plays in reshaping European identities. The wide-ranging articles gathered here adopt an interdisciplinary and comparative approach in which the literary and cultural representations of the migrant experience are interrogated across boundaries, languages, and identities. The increased significance of the migrant condition in contemporary society is, in fact, demonstrated not only by the exponential growth of texts produced by artists operating beyond national parameters but also by the flourishing of tropes of dislocation as necessary to capture the fleeting momentum of the urban experience.

It can therefore be said that grand historical narratives of former European metropolitan centers are being interrupted and de-centered by people shifting among multiple locations whose diasporic sensibilities refashion traditional definitions of literary canons, identities, and genres. But it can also be said that the settled experience has changed its connotations, from being related to origin, centrality, and authenticity to an increased awareness of its endless iteration and transformation.

Migration as a key moment in historical awareness breaks down the persisting force of oppositional discourses that strategically places white Western

Europe as the sovereign subject by marking the "rest" as excessive, disturbing, and strongly secluded. As Stuart Hall so poignantly has written:

Identity is formed at the unstable point where the "unspeakable" stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history, of a culture. And since he/she is positioned in relation to cultural narratives which have been profoundly expropriated, the colonized subject is always "somewhere else": doubly marginalized, displaced, always other than where he/she is, or is able to speak from.<sup>1</sup>

### Playing Out Definitions

Migrations to and within Europe continue to be interpreted as relating to people from less affluent countries such as former colonial outposts or new destitute areas. It refers to disenfranchised people venturing toward the wealthier European metropolises that—as central locations of culture and rationality—are thus opposed to the migrants' lands of origin, seen as multiple peripheral arteries that depend upon the center for their definition. However, the question of migrant intelligentsia (cosmopolitan jet-setters and nomadic globe-trotters), which is quite central to the literary debate, risks turning the notion of migration into a "culturalism": an isolated emphasis upon the discursive aspects of representation, identity, and cultural hybridity would entirely miss those material and social implications of migrancy relating to issues of gender, ethnicity, class, and nationality.

Migration as a demographic phenomenon is far from being a contemporary and homogeneous movement that concerns Europe as the main recipient of global relocations of cultures and resources. Migrations have always been part of human civilization from ancient times to our days, and have been characterized by multiple articulations of difference. It has often concerned human migrations to and from regions, such as in the Arabic regions or the Far East, that were barely aware of Europe as a future hegemonic bulwark. Yet, the advent of European colonialism marked a turning point in the mapping of Europe as a self-contained entity, progressively defined through its opposition to the many ends of its empires. The colonies were, in fact, separated at political, geographical, and racial levels. This implied that the dislocation of white settlers and rulers to the colonies was reconfigured as a form of internal movement, and not as migration, since the hegemonic relationship guaranteed territorial continuity for the rulers well beyond their metropolitan centers. It was in fact during the colonial expansion that racial taxonomies were invented and deployed to secure the cultural supremacy of the West upon the natives. The need for an ideologically informed and scientifically motivated racial hierarchy was caused by the menacing proximity of the colonizers and the natives in the Tropics. This urge to justify the colonial exploitation as a civilizing mission (the white man's burden) rested

heavily on the original implementation of racial disparity and continued to symbolically demarcate the center/periphery divide regardless of specific geographical locations.<sup>2</sup> This legacy was protracted far beyond the demise of Western empires and is still nowadays at the source of contemporary racism and xenophobia within Europe, sentiments that are often coupled with and played out against questions of migration and the redefinition of citizenship.

The changed nature of migration in the twenty-first century has resuscitated the phantom of the other in new fashions. The irreversible process of globalization—facilitated by new means of transportation, telecommunications, and internationalization of the labor force—has rendered national boundaries highly porous. Paradoxically, rather than being dissolved, the necessity to re-imagine and re-construct notions of political belonging along ethnic and religious identifications has become even more heightened. Migration has therefore come to signify all possible processes of identification and dis-identification relating to the trespassing of borders and of “off limits” territories—both material and symbolic. It is an almost utopian notion that is highly charged with the legacy of the past and promises of the future.

Hence migration becomes a literal and metaphorical transition in space but also a translation in time. It refers to a past and a present whose territorial boundaries do not overlap anymore. As Salman Rushdie has written, “The Past is a country from which we have all migrated.”<sup>3</sup> It refers to a notion of home that becomes an abstraction, a desire for a lost origin, an ideal setting for nostalgia and memory, whereas migrancy becomes a new location to be inhabited, a new form of self-writing and imagining. Much of post-colonial theorizing has reified the category of migration as the leading metaphor—along with others such as diaspora, exile, expatriation, and cosmopolitanism. This is meant to express the reopened traffic between center and periphery, to contest those frontiers that cut across languages, cultures, and religions in hegemonic ways, and to convey the space where multiple selves, origins, and belongings can be articulated and jostled.

### European Visions

As Marc Augé wrote, the “acceleration of history” and “the excess of space” is correlative with the shrinking of the planet.<sup>4</sup> It is, therefore, necessary to address the experience of migration both in terms of its traditional reference to human movements and as a signifier for the condition of “super-modernity” in which we all negotiate our networked self. In order to expose the conundrum of these world articulations this volume focuses on the relationship between migration, literature, and culture.

The development of migrant literatures in the European languages reveals indeed that not only people but also ideas have been traveling, transcending, and interconnecting apparently separate colonial legacies. This is happening

at a moment when Europe is changing institutionally, and is renegotiating belongings, communities, and borders.<sup>5</sup>

Within the European scenario it is high time to ask when an idea of European literature will supersede the national literatures, or when migrant literature will be an object of comparison without having to pass via the national canon. What are the implications of globalization for literature? Does it reinforce the "re-location" of literature by rekindling regional literatures? Is Europe really moving toward a European literature that also reflects new migrant writings? To which audience is migrant literature directed? Does the migrant label enhance the visibility of writers shifting between languages and cultures, or does it simply relegate them to a luxury ghetto?

These questions relate to the difficulties we encountered while discussing how to define the "migrant" and subsequently the "migrant writer and artist." The major thorny question was whether such a notion would not be ethnocentric, by assuming that the migrant is not just a traveler, a wanderer, but implicitly the person who reproduces the colonial divide in new global terms. Indeed, very often the label of "migrant" is imposed upon exoticism and ethnic difference in order to mark "otherness," even in literary terms. So far migrant literature as a category has been relegated to the realm of social studies: therefore it is time to search for new paradigms of interpretation that can assess the value of a literature of migration in its own terms. However, it is difficult not to fall into the pitfall of historical demarcation. When does a migrant stop being a migrant? Often second or third generation immigrants are still strategically enclosed within the tradition of migrant literature, risking therefore their ghettoization from the mainstream canon, be it of the home or hosting nation. Within the international scenario the question of canon has become rather debatable since migrant or transnational writers are better equipped to evoke a new global poetics that cuts across literary compartments based on political boundaries and untenable cultural essentialisms. If we appeal to a new global aesthetics, in which both themes of dislocation and styles of hybridization are taken as indicators of the new contemporary intellectual experience, the category of "migrant literature" becomes redundant. The label is in fact used to mark writers who are at home in the world—though linked to a familiar genealogy of migration—and invalidate the notion of literary appropriation.

The only clear connection is that these are writers and artists who address and investigate issues of home and abroad, identity and language, private and public domains, in more acute forms. They often posit questions of cultural affiliation in terms of the way the inherited legacy of migration impinges upon integration and belonging in the country of destination—or better, in the country of new belonging. This creates a hiatus between the transformative force of migration and its positive metabolization of differences, and the conservative aspect of migration, which reinforces communal and ethnic en-

claves in order to safeguard the identity of the guests vis-à-vis the omnivorous assimilationist force of the host country.

The much-celebrated cultural fusion has, in fact, its global backlash. This refers to claims made by religious fundamentalism or resurgent "ethnic" literatures or artistic enclaves to the right of engaging in authentic celebrations of the self that are often dissonant with the spirit of migration as a renovating and challenging force. By exploring the intersections between migration, literature, and culture, the dual goal of this book can be summarized: First, we aim to upgrade migration from its natural association with the myth of origin and authenticity in sociological and anthropological terms. Second, we aim to show the processes by which the writing of literature can be interpreted as a form of migration in itself, as a journey of the mind and as an itinerary of discovery. This is achieved by emphasizing the very migrant nature of creative writing, as exploration of the self, both as a process of identity formation and of critical investigation.

According to this interpretation Trinh T. Minh-ha's definition of the voyage as a re-siting of boundaries can be very useful. She writes that

The traveling self is here both the self that moves physically from one place to another, following "public routes" and "beaten track" within a mapped movement, and the self that embarks on an undetermined journeying practice, having constantly to negotiate between home and abroad, native culture and adopted culture, or more creatively speaking, between a here, a there, *and* an elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore migration implies both movements within and without, a becoming a "stranger in a strange land" (Minh-ha, 1994, p. 9) but also a form of undoing the self, what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have defined as "deterritorialization," a process by which one becomes "minor" in one's own country, language, and culture. To be a migrant becomes therefore an imperative, an injunction against the reproduction of hegemonic discourses, but also a way of keeping that double insight, that sharpness of critical experience that is based on the tingling feeling of unbelonging, of yet but not quite, of comforting un-homeliness.

The experience of migration, of what it means to be a migrant—in between spaces, identifications, and forms of expression—becomes lionized as the new existential condition that is based on the re-siting of imposed boundaries, undermining of codified cultural outings, and negotiation of multiple sites of differentiations.<sup>7</sup> This jargon has become common practice even in literary theory, where the legacy of postmodern thinking meets post-colonial critique imposing new explorations of "culturally different texts." The issue of positionality, of who is writing for whom, and of interpretation, who is "competent" to translate culturally different texts for whom, remains at the source of the multicultural scenario.

However unsatisfactory the term multiculturalism might be, and however contested it might be because of its implied leveling and essentializing of differences as cookie-cutter categories, one fits all, it remains an inevitably controversial arena. Stemming from differently articulated European public policies, multiculturalism remains useful to expose the limits and drawbacks of identity politics as much as the merits and potentiality of a common ground for alternative practices.

### Theoretical Background

In order to explore the impact of migration on Western hegemonic cultures and on the definition of the nation-state, the various papers gathered in this collection question the very notion of Europe as an imaginary community. This is meant to undermine what Edward Said has defined as Orientalism—a Western projection of the other for the mere purpose of identifying the self as superior, unified, universal, and unassailable. The European borderline is now being redefined by voices which once were excluded or marginalized from its main body. Europe is, therefore, discussed as a terrain interlocking past legacies of empire and new global push and pull factors, and as the privileged site for investigating questions of migration both in their material and historical development and in their symbolic and creative overtones.

For that purpose this book focuses on questions of migration and their relation to artistic productions, in specific literary texts and cultural productions. Migrant literature has still the function of negotiation between the legacy of the past and the accelerated momentum of the present. The compression of space and time is already an integral part of being a migrant. By contributing to a form of particularization migrant literature resists global warming, literally meaning the panic of a world which is not one but is ruled as one.

However, this reading of migrant literature creates some critical questions. Does this migrant literature negotiate a space in-between or move further toward the creation of a third space, which is neither the local nor the global but something hovering between the two? Is hybridity a sufficient term to express the restlessness of literature and of literary affiliations? To explore the condition of migration as hybridizing force means to recognize the transformative effects of modernity and imperialism for both indigenous and metropolitan culture. It is based on the assumption that, unlike the old definition of the nation-state, all cultures are, in actual practice, heterogeneous, unmonolithic, mobile formations, as Edward Said,<sup>8</sup> among others, has argued. For Bhabha, the hybridity bound up with empire is not a simple mix, but a way of living and narrating unequal and antagonistic cultural encounters that disrupt and disturb the authoritative gaze of the oppressor and the discourse of colonial hegemony. Here it is a recognition of the disjunctive



temporalities and cultural spaces that form the life-world where tradition, modernity, and community unevenly coexist or combine. In contemporary culture, one could conceptualize hybridity in relation to the emergence of a "third space," a space of transgression and subversion, the place whence "newness enters the world." Hybridity in this sense participates in a counter-hegemonic move.

More recently, a variety of insightful explorations such as in the work of Stuart Hall,<sup>9</sup> Paul Gilroy,<sup>10</sup> Cornell West,<sup>11</sup> or Anthony Appiah<sup>12</sup> have established the extent to which the polarities inscribed in the notion of the West and its "others" misunderstand and distort the complexities of the identities forged in the long time of living with racism and making one's own a critical modernity. Paul Gilroy has strategically focused on the importance of seeing whiteness and Europeaness not only as one of the many pieces of the mosaic, but as being racialized from within, as being formed and based on its very articulation of otherness. The history of Western modernity is in fact not based on the opposition between a Europe and its colonial liminality, but constructed upon and generated by that very "alterity" that operates from within. The empire was not something out there but inherent to the construction of the Western metropolitan self, as inherently and implicitly racialized, not existing without the other. Thereby all cultures are inherently diasporic, rhizomatic, and contaminated. To uphold authenticity and purity as a crucial aspect of minority cultures automatically reignites the Eurocentric discourse that migrant literature tries to undermine. Therefore, though the term is useful to identify shifts in global relations and in tracing the hybridization of cultural aesthetics, it should not be used as a dogma, but only deployed as a critical term, with more careful discrimination and need for specificity.

Female critics like Spivak,<sup>13</sup> hooks,<sup>14</sup> and Minh-ha,<sup>15</sup> among others, add the factor of gender to the overriding questions of subjectivity, questioning the new position of women within the new world relocation of multinational capital. The feminization of migration is one of the most remarkable features of recent movements due to the increased numbers of women requested in the West to work in the housekeeping sector. The domestic tasks have often not been redistributed between the partners, and Western women are increasingly engaged in a work career outside their home. Consequently, the private chores are left vacant, open to be filled up by a new migrant labor force, generally female and very often from the Philippines and Cape Verde. Other migrant women are involved in the new sweatshop industries, multinational garment factories that are based not only in Asian countries such as Bangladesh and India, but often within the heart of European metropolitan cities. Furthermore, migrant women from Eastern Europe are often the main target of sex trafficking within Europe, but this occurs significantly also from Latin America and Nigeria. Despite the policy of legalization of prostitution

embarked upon by the Dutch state, there remains a host of problems centered around the exploitation of illegal migrant women who are not accepted or protected by the law remain. This vulnerable category of migrant women is often helped in its migration to Europe by human smugglers under false pretenses. Allured by the possibilities of attractive jobs, they land in the prostitution circuit in which they remain enslaved. It must be said, however, that many migrant women intentionally and freely enter the profession as a temporary business, either to save enough money to support their family at home or to initiate an economic activity in their homelands on their return.

### Directions

So what next? How is this kind of hybridity as transition reflected in recent cultural productions, and for this specific purpose in migrant literature and culture? What is what Gilroy frames as the “rhizomorphic, fractal structure of the transcultural”?<sup>16</sup> What then is beyond hybridity and syncretism in literature? What new identities? These are questions that resist neat solutions, not least because they resist the problem of subjectification, metropolitan versus migrant, and resist the normalization and re-appropriations to which the machinery of otherness is prone.

As a consequence, literature and art cannot be framed anymore within national canons, due to the global relocation of people and cultures: now every attempt to grapple with questions of origin and belonging becomes tainted by further questions of hybridity, syncretism, in-betweenness, interculturality, multiculturalism, transformativity, cosmopolitanism. However, there is still the need to classify, categorize, and find common parameters to define new literary texts as part of world production. New cultural dimensions opened up by migration are re-shaping the spaces of identification. Migration—often in the form of the return of the repressed, and relating to people at the outposts of the empire now coming to share the old metropolitan center—forces an operation of hybridization not only of the metropolitan culture and of the literary representations of cultural difference, but also of the urban landscape and media culture at large.

This book, through an interdisciplinary and comparative approach that cuts across boundaries, languages, and identities, aims to highlight and rectify many of the fateful myths around migration and ethnic absolutism. It further aims to shed a new light on the potential of migrant literatures as a form of metropolitan transformation and new cosmopolitan humanism.

The various strands of literary and artistic productions within Europe are explored, addressed, and questioned in the various essays here gathered. They investigate the changed nature of migration and its impact on cultural representations within Europe as connected to wider transnational and trans-historical phenomena. However, these explorations concern not only litera-

ture and the arts in the traditional sense but also other cultural expressions as reflections of the lived experience. Migrants outside and around the literary representations are here, the last part of the book being devoted to the arts and mass culture in general.

The first part, "Mapping Europe: Theoretical Interventions," offers a critical view of the state of the art in theories of migration, on concepts of dislocation and their role in reshaping categories of thought and in visualizing new existential conditions.

In his opening article "Mapping the Mind: Borders, Migration, and Myth" Robert Fraser makes a major historical intervention by mapping the contribution made by migrancy to European national formations and the cartography of segregations. The incursion of the "other" as the dissident, diseased, or exotic nomad, has permeated European perception and definition of the self from the origin of Christendom to the contemporary digital traveler.

He examines in particular two dissenting societies that have marked the thinking around the previous fin-de-siècle: gypsies and bohemians. By means of this equation, the bohemian figure—artist, thinker, or revolutionary—becomes a paradigm of the alien within, the settled nomad, and the stranger with Eastern affinities whose very presence threatens the status quo. This leads the author to analyze within contemporary culture the way in which the concern with migration still feeds the vision and connotations of disjunctive grouping such as "counter-cultures," "alternative societies," and "new age travelers."

Following on Fraser's historical footpath, Tabish Khair argues in his essay "The Politics of the Perception of Human Movement" that travel writing and migration are not a specificity of European culture. In medieval times, for example, travelers within Asia and the Arabic world were hardly aware of Europe as such. Khair sketches three phases within the history of human movements. First, prior to the fifteenth century human movement appears to have been largely a random phenomenon—all communities and cultures could be just as mobile or as static depending on various material and symbolic factors (along with Marco Polo there was a very rich tradition of non-European travel writing ranging from Ash-Sharif al-Idrisi, 1100–1166, to Ibn Battuta, 1304–1369). Second, during the early Renaissance from the sixteenth century onward the visibility of travel writing and the related texts from outside Europe start to become invisible. Finally, only on the wake of European colonial conquest do Western tales completely overwrite the narrative of travel to Europe by non-Western travelers.

In short, even though Asians and Africans continued to "travel" during and after the sixteenth century, their movement appears to grow progressively less visible until the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With the demise of European empires however, non-Western travelers to Europe become magnified as the new migrants, the postcolonial refugees who came to

occupy the former imperial centers. This new direction in human movements to Europe clearly brings with itself the racial connotations established in the outpost of empires by the European supremacy. Khair not only challenges the asymmetrical report and ideological claims about the visibility of these movements, but contests the very notion that European modernity was constructed in the pure outward mobility of Western travelers.

This contested synonymy of Europe with whiteness is strongly criticized by Paul Gilroy in his essay, "A Cat in a Kipper Box, or The Confessions of a 'Second Generation Immigrant.'" Gilroy adds a different slant to the theoretical debate by claiming that there cannot be a discourse on migration without addressing the historical source of current racism in contemporary Europe. The exploration of racial taxonomies created at the other end of the empire needs to be addressed and contested within the cultural contexts of Western metropolitan culture in order to understand how race thinking is intrinsic and not external to the European project of modernity. All across Europe, Gilroy argues, national identities are articulated with the language of absolute ethnicity and racialized difference. Gilroy nudges us to rethink the origin of racism, back to imperial and colonial domination, in order to understand contemporary nationalism and patriotism that often turns bad in racist, ultra-nationalist, and neo-fascist movements. To do away with race would be Gilroy's theoretical solution since, as he writes, "exposure to otherness always promotes ontological jeopardy." However, the abolition of the category of race does not mean the elimination of racism, and in order to fight totalitarianism the conflation between cultural terms and politics should be kept under strict scrutiny.

Paul Gilroy is troubled by the very notion of migration, regardless of its creative or sociological component. Migration to Europe implies the vision of a "white Europe" engrossed in its postcolonial melancholia, an essence in itself that reactively works against those "racialized" groups that are already within, and not at the other end of history. Migration functions as one more dangerous tool of multicultural myopia, an instrument that makes of diversity a "culturalism" and erases the still dominant political and economic materiality of racism and prejudicial representations.

On the wave of Gilroy, Graham Huggan questions the idea of Britain as a truly multicultural society. He explores and questions the insidious nature of the multicultural terminology and ideology within the British contexts. He surveys the literary, cultural, and sociological "unlikability" of "real" equality in a condition of "virtual" pluralism. In his essay, "Virtual Multiculturalism: The Case of Contemporary Britain," he argues that the term *multiculturalism*, as currently recycled by New Labour, is part of the clash between two apparently incompatible discourses: the modernization one, according to which all different ethnic communities are part of Britain, and the integrationist one, which stands for the notion of unity-in-diversity, with its racial-

ist undertone. Huggan is particularly fascinated by the idea of “media spin” through which New Labour managed to create an idea of *virtual community*, linked by technology across race, class, and gender barriers. The question remains, in any case, as to whether multicultural policies are able to counteract systemic racial discrimination and interethnic violence in any effective way. Certainly in Britain, the recent evidence suggests that multiculturalism is trapped in a state of multiply encoded *virtuality*—“virtual” both in the sense of being part of an unfinished, perhaps unfinishable, social project and in the sense of being apparently condemned to exist—in effect not fact, theory not practice—at the level of the hyperreal.

Graham Huggan repeated his important statement that migrant literature is often accused of, or at least labeled as, being “sociologically overdetermined and aesthetically underrated,” thereby reinforcing or reinventing the binarism between life and art, history and fiction, truth claims and arbitrariness that is not any longer tenable. This is the case nowadays not only in the realm of cultural studies but as well in more strict literary practices (post-colonialism, postmodernism, new historicism) and sociological practices (oral histories, gender studies, multiculturalism), which are at the crossroads with each other and in constant dialogue.

The first part on theoretical interventions is closed by Mineke Schipper with her essay “One Bangle Does Not Jingle: Cultures, Literatures, and Migration in a Globalizing World.” Schipper asks the important question: what does this flow of intellectuals, writers, and artists to Europe mean in their respective countries of origin? The author emphasizes investigating the negative impact of the brain drain from the African academy and scientific world and the continuous production and reproduction of Africa’s marginalization from the centers of economic and discursive power. The colonial paradigm of the West going to Africa in search of raw material seems to repeat itself within the new global system of corporate multinationals digging for resources at both the material, intellectual, and spiritual levels. In analyzing the nature of migration to Europe, Schipper points out the importance of focusing on historical and geo-political differences but also the importance of finding similarities, in an attempt to sketch a sort of humanism and common ground that are spread with globalization. This invocation to situate differences within similarities is further articulated in the next cluster.

The second part, “Writing across the Borders: New Literatures in Europe,” goes more into the emergence of migrant literatures within the various national literary traditions and the way in which they are absorbed, rejected, or marginalized in the various national discourses.

In his essay “Stranger in a Strange Land: Jamal Mahjoub’s *The Carrier*” Theo D’haen analyzes the past representations of Europe’s other through the novel of Jamal Mahjoub, published in 1998 but set, in one of its narrative frames, in the dark days of medieval Europe, when the Arab world was at its

peak politically, scientifically, and culturally. *The Carrier* also “ethnographically” represents to us Europe as seen by its “others,” upending most clichés the West holds with regard to itself as well as to Islam. What is at stake in *The Carrier* is obviously the relationship between East and West, between Christianity, or Europe, and Islam.

D’haen defines *The Carrier* as an example of “counter-postmodernism,” that is, a fiction that avails itself of all the trappings of the postmodern paradigm not simply to undermine the certainties of Western civilization from the inside, but rather to provide a corrective from the margins of that civilization. D’haen goes on to further analyze the relationship between postmodernism and postcolonial theorizing, and he quotes Stephen Slemon, who proclaims the value of “rewriting the canonical ‘master texts’ of Europe,” with the difference that “whereas a post-modernist criticism would want to argue that literary practices such as these expose the constructedness of *all* textuality, . . . an *interested* postcolonial critical practice would want to allow for the positive production of oppositional truth-claims in these texts.”<sup>17</sup> Instead of defining the relationship between postmodernism and postcolonialism as antagonistic, D’haen prefers to see it as complementary or “supplemental.”

In “From Guest Worker to Hybrid Immigrant: Changing Themes of German-Turkish Literature,” Meyda Yeğenoglu continues the analysis of the other as religiously differentiated and orientalized in her essay on Turkish migrant communities living in Germany. By departing from the reiterated claim that “Germany is not a country of immigration,” Yeğenoglu goes on to discuss the legal and epistemological status of more than twenty million immigrants living in Germany who are labeled as “guest workers,” therefore temporarily present and meant to return to their respective homelands. The author focuses on the presence of Turkish immigrant communities who from the beginning have written about their experiences in their new environment. From a first phase when immigrants longed to return home, glorifying the notion of origin, a shift has occurred for the second generation, which appears to have become hyphenated, Turkish-German, moving in and out of cultures. The language used seems to reflect this hybrid identity and double affiliation. By rejecting the label of “guest workers” as well as the role of spokesperson for their particular ethnic group and cultural tradition, this new generation of immigrants corrodes the divide between a no longer tenable notion of pure German society and the guests. By making a sophisticated intervention into the notion of the other as guest, using Derrida’s argument about hospitality, Yeğenoglu highlights the inherent paradox in the conditional *and* lawful welcoming of the other as guest: since it can also be productively understood as conforming to “the structure of exception,” it is thereby just a realignment of sovereignty.

Like Yeğenoglu, Angelika Bammer also refers to the Turkish-German writer Emine Sevgi Özdamar, whose novel *Mother Tongue* (1994) represents

a milestone for the study of crossing boundaries, generations, and identities through language itself, by contaminating and reinventing the grammar of migration. In her essay, "Between Foreign and Floating Signs: The Language of Migrant Subjects," Angelika Bammer focuses on the notion of the migrant as seen from a position that has been officially declared vacant. Bammer's question is, then: What is the language of such a subject? How does a signifying absence speak? Bammer explores the possibilities of a language which is in between that of domination, the hegemonic Self, and that of resistance, the marginalized other. That space in-between is recognized by Bammer as a strategic play with silence, a silence that lets the body speak. Bammer goes on to apply her reading in two texts: the first one by the Franco-Moroccan writer and literary scholar Abdelfattah Kilito, "Les mots canins" ("Dog Words," 1985), and the second one by a Korean-American writer and video and performance artist, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, *Dictée* (1982). Through the analysis of these two texts Bammer explores how silence and the articulating body are means by which available notions of self-identity can be questioned and resituated. Bammer proceeds to apply the theoretical framework elaborated by exploring the place of silence and its strategic use in relation to identity categories in the work of other contemporary immigrant European writers (Emine Sevgi Özdamar, Assia Djebar, Herta Müller).

Lourdes López-Ropero engages in the broader theme of migration from a diasporic perspective in her "Roots and Routes: Diaspora, Travel Writing, and Caryl Phillips's Sounding of the Black Atlantic." By connecting the reading of Caryl Phillips's travelogue *The Atlantic Sound* with Paul Gilroy's influential work *The Black Atlantic*, Lopez-Ropero investigates the resonances among these two projects that focus on the transcendence of "ethnic absolutism" and the relocation of the fluid network of black diasporic movements across historical, national, and cultural divides. Phillips charts in his fiction what Gilroy has defined as the black Atlantic world, "one single and complex unit." By discussing the black diaspora without relying on the paradigm of race Gilroy offers a response to the essentialist excesses of contemporary black cultural studies and politics. According to the author, Caryl Phillips is an exemplary writer of the new migrant Europe since his travelogue is a mature statement of the author's black identity politics that allows him to transcend the "watery boundaries of Gilroy's black Atlantic and explore new sites."

The exploration of new sites is central to Rosemarie Buikema's essay, "A Poetics of Home: On Narrative Voice and the Deconstruction of Home in Migrant Literature." She explores the role of the migrant author as a relatively new phenomenon in the Dutch literary industry. However, this sudden interest in the "migrant author," at least in the press, runs the risk of categorizing these authors only in sociological and biographical terms. The

lack of literary analytical principle, Buikema warns us, can reignite orientazing discourses according to which migrant authors are slotted in uncomfortable and discrediting literary niches. By exploring the work of bicultural authors in the Netherlands, such as the prize winning Dutch-Moroccan Abdelkader Benali, Buikema explores the new literary interventions through which these authors engage with style, themes, and genre and create new identities through new modulations in the use of the Dutch language. By showing the intersection between postcolonial and postmodern strategies the author elaborates on the complex ways of envisaging the concept of home in the context of migration.

Language and migration is also very central for Ena Jansen, who in her essay "The Risks Migrating Words Take': Some Thoughts on the Afrikaans Poetry of Elisabeth Eybers in a Context of Transmigration" explores the important tradition of Afrikaans literature at a linguistic and cultural crossroads between South Africa and the Netherlands. Through the analysis of Elisabeth Eybers, a South African poet currently living in the Netherlands, Jansen voices the theoretical complexities of the discourse on transmigration and the unique position Eybers takes within it. The author proposes a reading according to which writing in exile does not mean loss and fragmentation but rather active negotiations along borderlines by forging alternative poetic spaces in which two or more languages, cultures, and countries can be expressed. Through a close reading of Eybers's poems Jansen outlines the personal and poetic trajectory of a unique poet who has chosen never to settle down in one specific home, identity, and accent.

The third part, "Mind the Gap! Cultural Trans/formations," investigates a range of cases where migration has an impact on the reinvention of public space and public memory in several art forms, such as cinema, cultural manifestations, visual arts, music, and urban culture.

Alec Hargreaves focuses in his essay "Street Culture: Dead End or Global Highway?" on the locus of the street as a site of cultural production and consumption. Seen both as a peripheral sub-culture and as part of wider global interaction, the street culture of the French *banlieues* both circumvents national boundaries and qualifies global pulls. Alec Hargreaves emphasizes the importance of "alternative voices," *beurs* or writing of other descent in France, as a necessary stage to problematize the French assimilationist policy, based on the Enlightenment model of "equality," for failing to take into account the different articulations required by non-Western histories and different collective identifications. Migrant identifications, or postcolonial discourses, have therefore an important role to fulfill in order to contest from within the ethnocentric assumption hidden behind a supposedly progressive agenda.

The next chapter, "Migrant Websites, WebArt, and Digital Imagination" by Daniela Moerolla echoes Hargreaves's interest in the technological revolution that has changed the relationship between spaces of migration and com-



munities of belonging, but from a different angle. Given the proliferation of “migrant websites” on the World Wide Web, Merolla explores the redefinition of European identity and multiculturalism through new media, such as the Internet and the World Wide Web, which allows and encourages the reframing of group identities despite their global displacements. Merolla explores the values of these virtual communities not only for their rearticulation of belonging but also for their artistic output. So far, the author argues, the interaction between online and offline migrant productions has not received sufficient attention. Her chapter implies that new parameters must be developed to get a handle of new artistic innovations made possible by new technologies and the reformulation of forms and genres from various media. By addressing new digital imaginations as emerging from migrant websites, in this case the Netherlands, Merolla explores new artistic forms through which migrant communities reinforce local group identification as well as aspire to transnational recognition on the other. The question for Merolla is whether these migrant websites are pioneering in the creation of new forms of visual art.

John McLeod focuses in his “London-stylee!/: Recent Representations of Postcolonial London” on the literary images of multicultural and multiracial London as emerging from the representations of Caribbean writers such as Fred D’Aguiar and Bernardine Evaristo. Both writers resident in London inflect their imaginative endeavors with a politics of transfiguration. As the author highlights, this is achieved through innovative modes of representation that intertwine social consciousness with playful modes of resistance. In this way previous anti-racist discourses are transposed into new witty and poetic imageries that are clearly celebratory of a new appropriation of the city from its very heart. By discarding oppositional politics and tales of victimhood these black migrant writers defamiliarize racist violence by adding unexpected registers and metaphors, such as the “red rose” to express the bruises of police beatings. Through their new language D’Aguiar and Evaristo, as examples of a new generation writing on the city, resist the representations of social marginality imposed on them and reimagine a space, both in the language of memory and in the political future, where London becomes part of a wider transcultural web. Much in line with Gilroy’s black Atlantic, these writers reconceptualize themselves in the city of London by recurring to a transcultural consciousness.

In her essay “The Colonial Past in the Postcolonial Present: Cultural Memory, Gender, and Race in Dutch Cinema” Pamela Pattynama analyzes how the Dutch colonial past comes to haunt Holland through a powerful medium, the cinema. By analyzing a movie set in the Dutch East Indies, *Oeroeg* (1993), the author explores cultural interchanges, in the form of friendship, which get undone with the advent of nationalism and decolonization. The film is treated as a reconstruction of the colonial past, which

has been so far locked up in traumatic memories, repression, and displacement. Such movies offer therefore a way of understanding the Dutch multicultural present through an account of collective, national memory. However, as Pattynama warns us, films are concrete manifestations of ideological constructions, and therefore her analysis takes into account the discursive formations around gender and ethnicity.

Stephen Gundle opens up a new cultural discourse by analyzing ethnic identity and nationality within Italy's mass media. In his essay "Miss Italia in Black and White: Feminine Beauty and Ethnic Identity in Modern Italy" he explores the phenomenon of a specific beauty contest. In 1996 a great national commotion was stirred when a black woman, Denny Mendez, originally from the Dominican Republic and resident in Italy, won the Miss Italy competition. This unleashed a wave of widespread and heated media discussion about the nature of Italian identity, and more specifically, of feminine beauty. By making a historical overview Gundle explores how the ideal of Italian female beauty developed through the ages, from Dante to Botticelli to the nineteenth century, and how this served to create a sense of national belonging. The author argues that this idea of blondeness and whiteness has been subject to various crises and challenges derived from mass communication, globalization, and female emancipation. Blondeness and whiteness were emphasized in the late nineteenth century to counteract racial theorists who sought to identify the Italians with darkness and primitivism. With the advent of mass communication, dark hair and Mediterranean bodily characteristics were reevaluated, exemplified in the Hollywood allure of the so-called typically Italian stars such as Sophia Loren and Gina Lollobrigida. However, the ambivalence between "olive skin" and darkness has retained a kind of symbolic significance for the Italian national identity, and was expressed in the strong reaction provoked by Mendez's candidature and election.

Questions of racism and national identity are also central to Sandra Ponzanesi's essay "Outlandish Cinema: Screening the Other in Italy." By accounting for the fundamental and strategic role that Italian cinema played in the construction of the national identity, both in Italy and abroad through the history of the diaspora, the author makes an intervention into recent cinematic traditions that combines aesthetic merits with new pressing societal issues, such as immigration. The author focuses in particular on the representation of immigration in the Italian cinema of the 1990s and more specifically in three films that focus on different historical and geo-political fluxes of migration: the Roma; the recent labour immigration from Africa; and that connected to sex trafficking and prostitution. According to the author, "outlandish cinema," a concept specifically developed here, is a cinema that reflects on the political power of imagination by making outlandish (migrant, foreign, exotic, nomadic, transgender) characters central

to the narrative structure, thereby steering away from biased representations of the "other" as menacing and outsider. It enacts therefore the transformation of the idea of centrality, normality, and sedentariness through the encounter between different cultures and identities. The author explores how outlandish cinema weaves traditional narrative forms with new stylistic tools such as intertextuality, voice-over, architectural relocations, multilingualism, and sensorial details. This poses at the same time new requirements on the audiences, who need to develop new sets of viewing skills. Outlandishness becomes therefore a concept that re-orientates both the discourse on integration and assimilation and the spectator's identification with the status quo.

### MIGRATIONS IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Migration has come to signify all possible processes of identification and disaffiliation evident in such material and symbolic phenomena as the trespassing of borders and labeling of certain territories as "off limits." Accordingly it is an almost utopian notion, one highly charged with the legacy of the past and promises of the future. It goes without saying that creative traditions and literary genealogies have been revived by postcolonial criticism, slanted narrowly in the main along language groups and national boundaries aligned with the major colonial axis. What is remarkable is that while the situation is slowly evolving, within critical theory itself these remain almost separate worlds. Their narrow focus is either on the English empire *writing back* (clustered around the former notion of Commonwealth literature) or with the world of *Francophonie* (although constantly questioned about its implication in the colonial past).

Since the 1980s this tendency has been progressively muddled because there are innumerable "second generation" migrant writers who live and work in Britain or France.<sup>18</sup> The recent appearance of a comparatively large volume of studies and collections in Dutch, German, Portuguese, and Italian testifies to how literary productions can become "cross-overs" when new interest emerges in those linked to other European colonial expansions, and to migrant traditions expressed in languages that play a minor role in cultural globalization. The new audience for these works encourages us to reevaluate the relevant universe of discourse in the ongoing critique of migration, multiculturalism, and literatures in English and in French.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the linguistic and national divide, the flourishing of these recent studies offers new opportunities to chart contemporary literary productions as historically linked to different migration flows from, to, and within Europe. Although we know a brief historical resume risks recreating and legitimizing further rigidification of the very borders of nation, language, gender,

and ethnicity this book invites you to leave behind, the value of rethinking the passages and denouements of the various European literatures as they have grown is nevertheless clear.<sup>20</sup> How else will we make visible how these have been modified and changed in relation to the multiple voices and writings which are constituted today—as much as in the past—by migration?

The symbolic date of 1492 signals the progressive intensification of global displacements caused by European expansion. In the next two centuries empires built by Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands trampled the populations and cultures in the Americas and Indonesia, which laid the groundwork for further expansion in Africa, Asia, Australia, and New Zealand. In the ferocious competition for supremacy, Britain and France progressively imposed their respective economic and political colonial interests worldwide, annexing areas that were previously subject to other colonial powers. In the eighteenth century they indeed succeeded in limiting and outplaying the empires of Portugal, the Netherlands, and Spain. It was human forces and resources from their colonies that largely paid for the military and economic conflicts generated by their rivalry for colonial leadership. Without question this expansion marginalized the Mediterranean area in the European economy, a state of affairs exploited by the entrenched Ottoman Empire and the Arabic sultanates.

Late in the eighteenth century revolts in South and North America began, marking the historic shift from empires to nations. Benedict Anderson has underlined<sup>21</sup> the fact that this transition not only signified the emergence of new nationalisms within Europe and of new colonial ambitions, but also set the model for future anticolonial struggles across the world.

Europe consolidated itself into different nations in the second half of the nineteenth century. The expansion fostered by the “industrial revolution” determined the need for new markets, which motivated the creation and expansion of European empires, which flourished at the expense of people and properties in Africa and Asia.

Britain and France occupied immense territories, while Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, and Belgium directed their expansionistic drives toward Africa.<sup>22</sup> Early in the twentieth century a variety of different nationalistic ideologies and movements emerged, beginning an anticolonial struggle for independence. These nationalist movements for self-determination tended to unify and absorb the internal oppositions and religious rivalries, often appearing as socialist and communist waves. After long and bitter fighting, the independence of India in 1947 and Algeria in 1962 marked the dissolution of the British and French empires and symbolically the end of European colonialism, a process lasting till the late 1970s that culminated in the breakup of the Soviet empire a decade later.

This is not the place for a detailed comparison of the different colonial histories and systems or their devastating impact on indigenous populations.

But it is important to note that the reference to some European empires as 'minor' in a few of this book's articles is intended to indicate they were marginal only with respect to the longer duration and scope of British and French colonial supremacy. This of course does not mean they were experienced as minor by those who were subject to this domination. There is extensive documentation of the massacre of Indians and their cultures by Portugal and Spain in Central and South America in early colonization, and the later brutal occupation of present-day Congo (Belgium), Libya, Somalia, Eritrea, and Ethiopia (Italy), Angola and Mozambique (Portugal), North Morocco and South Eastern Sahara (Spain), and Togo, Cameroon, Tanzania, and Namibia (Germany).

A major direction of migration was the forced displacement of millions from Africa to the Americas in the profitable slave trade. These flows of goods and wealth contributed to Europe's relative affluence and higher living standards in the eighteenth century. Subsequently the situation changed with the destabilizing effect of the industrial revolution which condemned the European urban lower classes to extreme poverty, famines, and eventual displacement. The major solution involved new colonial settling policies<sup>23</sup> and mass migration from Europe to North and South America between 1850 and 1930.<sup>24</sup> While migration flows from and within Europe for religious and economic reasons had occurred in the previous centuries and never really stopped, the intercontinental migration waves at the start of the nineteenth century were of a magnitude unknown before and even now.<sup>25</sup> The subsequent depopulation coupled with economic improvement created a niche for new arrivals in Europe.<sup>26</sup> As Portes states

Contrary to widespread perceptions, immigrants come to wealthier nations less because they want to than because they are needed. A combination of social and historical forces has led to acute labor scarcities in these economies. In some instances, these are real absolute scarcities. In other instances, the scarcity stems from the culturally conditioned resistance of native-born workers to accept low-paid menial jobs commonly performed by their ancestors.<sup>27</sup>

In the colonized countries, on the other hand, social destabilization and poverty were increased by the cumulative effect of political and military domination, land expropriation, and industrial modernization. The European urban centers together with North America became the most attractive destinations.

After World War I, impoverished people from Algeria, and later from Morocco and Tunisia, started to cross the Mediterranean Sea in search of work in France. Immigrants from India came to Britain en masse after the creation of Pakistan in 1947—created through a partition of India—and from the West Indies and Africa after the 1950s. During this period migration flows from the former Soviet Union also increased. During the interwar period, and increasingly

after World War II, the British and French colonial school systems very often redirected colonial students and intellectuals toward Europe. The assignment of grants and scholarships to “ex-colonized subjects” to study at the “centers” of science and knowledge continued in the postcolonial period. In the 1960s recruitment toward Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands was initially directed to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and later to Morocco and Turkey. The last decades of the twentieth century saw southern European countries experience a dramatic shift from being net sources of emigration to become net targets of immigration, an overall intensification of previous migration flows, and growing immigration from Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>28</sup>

The extent to which the converging in Europe of wealth, ideas, and techniques accumulated from across the world supported the affluence of the colonizers, and the flourishing of sciences, technologies, philosophies, and literatures, is still under investigation.<sup>29</sup> But what is patently certain already is that the colonial expansion strongly contributed to the forging of the unitarian notion of Europe.

Recent reflections in all disciplines—from legal studies to history, from biology to cultural anthropology, from geography to philosophy—have shown<sup>30</sup> that racial taxonomies were created to demarcate the cultural supremacy of the colonial center upon the created peripheries, of the dominant majorities upon the internal minorities. The contemporary configuration of the twenty-five-member European Union was founded on the erasure of old economic borders and differentiations. In the process new barriers were raised against the migrants, who, while participating in the army, industry, schools, and farms, were still reified and racialized, and were refused the recognition of their founding intellectual and human contribution. The book before you tells one story—how in the last century the draining of human forces and imaginative powers by European colonization and economic-political hegemony has found expression in literary creations that put key aspects of canonical cultural, national, and artistic identities into question.

## New Literary Spaces

### *Britain*

While the presence of the colonized other intervenes in British literature from Shakespeare to the colonial literature of the twentieth century,<sup>31</sup> the other as subjective voice starts to make him- or herself heard only from the end of the eighteenth century. Except for the newly resuscitated text *Ooronoko: or the Royal Slave* (1688) by Aphra Ben, the first woman in England to make her living by writing (1640–1689), there are no early examples of colonial awareness in British literature. Aphra Ben’s text is set in Suriname. It is not only an emancipatory text that precedes by a hundred years the first anti-slavery narratives,

and written in a voice proudly feminine, it is also the very first modern English novel.<sup>32</sup>

However, it has been demonstrated (against the assumption that British society was exclusively white until the contemporary era) that a conspicuous community of twenty to thirty thousand black people was already present in London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As David Theo Goldberg wrote in his article "Heterogeneity and Hybridity: Colonial Legacy, Postcolonial Heresy":

The heterogeneous mix of population making up the capitals of colonial empires has largely been downplayed—and indeed until quite recently all but ignored. Second, relatedly but more deeply, the occlusion of blacks from the representational historical record of this urban diversity indicates by extension that blacks for the most part were rendered invisible in the daily political life of those cities. This can be seen in sharp contrast to the persistent (one might say insistent) concern with colonized black people deemed administratively problematic by the colonizer.<sup>33</sup>

The view of Britain from the "outsider's" perspective therefore starts already around the concomitant arrivals of these first black—often forced—visitors. A somewhat limited range of writing, the so-called autobiographical slave narratives of Africans and Caribbeans,<sup>34</sup> characterized this early period. A major moment of production of migrant literature in Britain occurred later, signaled by the growing publication of poems, short stories, and novels by West Indian writers who converged on London after World War II.<sup>35</sup> This was also in the aftermath of the Nationality Act of 1948, designed to encourage immigration from Britain's colonies and former colonies.

However, prior to the demise of the British Empire, there were always regular exchanges between the British metropolitan centers and its colonial outposts. It has been widely studied and theorized about—how people from India regularly visited Britain (Gandhi visited London many times, and he, Nehru, and Jinnah studied law in England, just to mention the most famous). Various people from India came to the heart of the empire during the Victorian era, creating the first visible instances of racial encounter and further mobilizing the rigid divide between center and periphery, as demonstrated in the accounts of Pandita Ramabai, Cornelia Sorabji, and Behramji Malabai.<sup>36</sup>

Apparently black people who arrived in London before the end of the empire were not exposed to the same racial hatred as other immigrants of the 1950s, who reminded the colonizers not only of their lost empire but also of their socio-political responsibilities. Those migrants came in fact to stay and were not just passing through. The arrival of the first postwar/postcolonial immigrants in significant numbers marked the transition between exotic indifference to fierce intolerance. For this generation of immigrants London was a big disappointment. The glorious center of the empire, perceived as

the model of civilization and grandeur, came to be experienced by migrants in the 1950s and 1960s only in terms of greyness and squalor, decadent suburbs, and cramped bedsits. The dreams of a better "home" turned into disillusionment with the metropolitan center, as narrated in Samuel Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) and George Lamming's *The Immigrants* (1954). Instead of constructing an unexplored but wildly imagined territory, Britain came to symbolize the shattering of dreams, both of the empire and of future life in the metropolitan center. However, this disillusionment with the metropolitan center proved to be a necessary stage in the process of decolonization and demythologization of the colonial center.

Other representatives of a later immigration from the Caribbean are writers such as Jean Rhys (1890–1979), alias Ella Gwendoline Rees Williams, Andrew Salkey (1928–1995), and V. S. Naipaul (1932–), whose works were eagerly and enthusiastically received and won important literary prizes. While Naipaul, awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 2001, remained in Britain, Selvon and many others returned to the West Indian islands—where the changed political situation at the end of the 1970s powerfully contributed to the development of Caribbean postcolonial literatures. Such (at least) double directional migrations signal a manifold series of connections and linkages between those influences of writing in and out of Britain.

Interconnections indeed also characterize the production of African and South Asian writers who spent a period of their life working or studying in Britain and then went on to assume cultural and political positions in their homelands. These include writers such as Tsitsi Dangaremba (1959–), Alex La Guma (1925–1985), Dambudzo Marechera (1952–1987), and the renowned writers Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1938–) and Wole Soyinka (1934–), and from India, Toru Dutt (1856–1877), Mulk Raj Anand (1905–2004), Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949), and Raja Rao (1908–), whose works constitute a crucial reference in postcolonial African and Indian literature. Likewise, intersections and interconnections mark the production of those who settled in Europe, as in the famous cases of Kamala Markandaya (1924–2004), Nirad C. Chaudhuri (1897–1999), and Attia Hosain (1913–1998) (as a consequence of Partition). In the 1970s, with the war in Bangladesh, a new flux of diasporic South Asian people arrived in London, adding to the already stabilized group of Asians who had arrived with the partition of Pakistan in 1947. This new ethnic stream within the country faced an apex of intolerance which crystallized in Enoch Powell's infamous Rivers of Blood speech, which categorically denied immigrants any legitimate claim to British identity.

In the 1980s and 1990s people born in Britain or of mixed parentage created a new shift in the notion of London as metropolitan center, bringing to the fore all the submerged ethnicities, and creating a discrepancy between the proposed model of national cohesion and the new diversification from within. As Paul Gilroy wrote in his influential *There Ain't No Black in the*



*Union Jack*: *The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (1987), the notions of British identity and of blackness were considered to be mutually exclusive. Britain had built its fortune on the divide and rule principle, which allowed it to keep half the world under one crown. However, with the end of the empire several divisions had come to coexist in a relatively small territory, crammed into the same urban space—which reflected the colonial legacy and yet the separation from it—and the empire became split from within. Most of the African, Caribbean, and South Asian migrants recreated their diasporic space within the British urban spaces, transforming the heart of the empire into their new homeland. They had to fight rejection, racism, and exclusionary policies in order to transform the notion of Britain as a sovereign state still based on imperial dichotomies.

Writers such as Buchi Emecheta (1944–) and Ben Okri (1959–) from Nigeria, Okot p'Bitek (1931–) from Uganda, Salman Rushdie (1947–) and Amit Chaudhuri (1962–) from India, and Abdulrazak Gurnah (1948–) from Tanzania became prominent writers in Britain and most influential in the literary world of their respective lands of origin, transforming both the canon of British literature and shaping new cultural dimensions for world literatures. By the 1980s other extremely productive streams, again highly variegated in style, voices, and perspectives, were raised in Britain. We refer to the writings of the so-called second (and third, and so forth) generation, implying writers such as Hanif Kureishi (1954–),<sup>37</sup> Leena Dhingra (1942–), Ravinder Randhawa (1953–), Sunetra Gupta (1965–), Aamer Hussein (1955–), Atima Srivastava (1961–), Meera Syal (1963–), Zadie Smith (1975–), and Caryl Phillips (1958–) who were born or arrived at a young age in Britain when their parents had migrated from ex-colonial territories or from depauperated and politically risky areas.<sup>38</sup> Some of them live permanently in Britain, contributing to re-map London and re-design British identification. Others have migrated again together with their families or moved away when adults, as in the case of Mahjoub Jamal (1960–), presently living and working in Spain after several years in Denmark, whose works assemble and relocate East and West, Christianity and Islam.<sup>39</sup> Since the 1980s the visibility of migrant writing has grown and enlarged to include works by writers from other geo-cultural areas such as Japan, Hong Kong, and China in the respective cases of Kazuo Ishiguro (1954–), Timothy Mo (1950–), and Jung Chang (1952–).

This growing literature and the related questions of definitions and analysis and the present (re)construction of British literature progressively interacted with the discourse of multiculturalism in Britain.<sup>40</sup>

### *France*

Migration literature in France is strongly marked by the history of colonization and decolonization of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia and by the

long-term migration flows from these Maghrebian lands to France. Colonial literature and the arts created and invested the Maghreb with the imagery of the French Near Orient. In the 1950s student and intellectual migration from Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia developed in a spectacular production that—not without difficulty and ambiguous paternalism—started to mark the literary world of Paris. The writers who settled in France, such as Assia Djebar (1936–), Driss Chraïbi (1926–) and Albert Memmi (1920–), and those who went back to the Maghreb after the end of French colonization, such as Kateb Yacine (1929–1983), Ahmed Sefrioui (1915–2004), Mohamed Dib (1920–2003), and Mohamed Khair-Eddine (1941–1995), have left their imprint on the literary production in France and in the Maghreb. Writers working in the Maghrebian lands often established or maintained long-term relationships with France because of national political censure, as in the case of Mouloud Mammeri (1917–1991), who lived and worked in Algiers but, because of his outspoken minority belonging (Kabyle Berber) and his antitotalitarian position, could not publish his works in independent Algeria.<sup>41</sup> These writers of the 1950s have published extensively and some of them are still active.

Maghrebian writers were not, however, the first to be engaged with displacing spaces and languages in France. At the beginning of the 1930s, Paris was indeed the center of the stream lately known as “négritude” stemming from the works of the Martinican André Césaire (1913–), the Guyanese Léon Gontran Damas (1912–1978), and the Senegalese Léopold Senghor (1906–2001) and pivoting on the journal *L'Étudiant Noir*. Their works, reflecting on literary assertions and cultural propositions of both Surrealism and the American Harlem Renaissance,<sup>42</sup> contributed to form a transnational movement of black intellectuals.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, this current became influential in the Maghreb, as it is shown by the poems singing Africanity and “Berberitude” of Jean Anrouche (1906–1962), and later on in the literary works of Albert Memmi and in the political essays of Martinican Franz Fanon (1925–1961). Négritude was a literary and political stream, as signalled by the exemplary trajectories of Césaire and Senghor, who left France and became outstanding figures in the political life of Martinique and Senegal, respectively.

In the 1950s several writers from Africa and the Caribbean, such as Camara Laye (1928–1980), Edouard Glissant (1928–), and René Depestre (1926–), worked in Paris, but most of them went back to their respective homelands. In the following decades new impressive writers emerged. Their works and lives reveal the dialectical relationship of going to and fro between France and their homelands, the Maghreb for a majority of writers. But there were also other lands, as in the case of the Egyptian-born Andrée Chedid (1920–); the most famous Caribbean authors, Maryse Condé (1937–),<sup>44</sup> Raphaël Confiant (1951–), and Patrick Chamoiseau (1953–); the Lebanese Amin Maalouf (1946–); and the Cameroonian Calixtha Beyala (1961–). Outstanding writers

from the Maghreb had also settled in France, such as Lahn Ben Jelloun (1944–), Hélène Béji (1948–), Nabile Fares (1940–) and Leila Sebbar (1940–), while others decided to live in the Maghreb, such as Abdelkebbi Khatibi. In the 1990s several writers, Rachid Boudjedja (1941–) and Rachid Mimouni (1945–1995) among others, were compelled to leave Algeria because civil war erupted after the halt of the election with the rebellion of Islamic groups. Fahaï Djaout (1954–1993), a writer and journalist was killed in an attack in Algiers.

The second generation writing made its first appearance in France with the novel *L'amour quand même* of Hocine Touabti (1949–), published in 1981. Since then the publication of works by authors issuing from the Maghrebian communities in France and in Belgium continues to grow, and is also evident in other fields, such as film and theater, sometimes trespassing genre borders.<sup>42</sup> The new stream is again largely but not exclusively Maghrebian. In the 1990s we also find novels by second generation writers from the Sub-Saharan African immigration, such as Marie Ndiaye (1967–), who actually always lived in Normandy and never met her possible Senegalese father, and from Asian immigration, such as the Vietnamese Linda Lê (1963–).

Critics and publishers labeled the writings by authors of Maghrebian origin, such as Mehdi Charef (1952–), Azouz Begag (1957–), Faïda Belghoul (1958–), Sakina Boukheddena (1959–), Tassadit Imache (1958–) Amiz Tamza (pseud. Messaoud Boussemani, 1957–), as *beur* literature, a term initially used by Maghrebian street children and youth to name themselves but this term was rapidly discarded. Most writers refused it as a form of ghettoization. Opting instead for 'literature' as such, they refused to be marginalized by being cast with references to geo-cultural origins. The opportunity and relevance of the definition 'migrant literature'—or of other labels—applied to the works of writers whose 'homeland' is France, likewise in the case of authors born and/or raised in Britain is indeed under fire in literary and public debates. The question is about whether or not migrant is assumed as a metaphor for what Michel Laronde calls the 'para-doxical' position of such writing within the dominant cultural and literary paradigm.

Cette présence est para-doxale puisqu'elle donne lieu à des découpages et des regroupements d'éléments hétérogènes de la littérature française qui éclatent (transitivement) l'unicité de cette littérature. De par leur position d'interlocutaire à la culture française, les discours des immigrations décalent encore le discours post colonial vers d'autres horizons.<sup>46</sup>

Anew we find open questions about the parameters of national belonging and literary canonization, about inclusion or exclusion of works and writers. Likewise critical interrogations concern literary and social significance of these streams and further related literary developments and directions.<sup>47</sup>

### Germany

In the last two decades new European migrant literatures have appeared. Works by new writers—migrant themselves or from immigrant communities—gained wide recognition in Germany and in the Netherlands. They also started to attract the interest of readers and critics in Italy and Portugal.

"Germany is a reluctant land of immigration," Philip Martin writes,<sup>48</sup> although in time it has become one of the first countries to receive immigrants and refugees in Europe; there are about 7.5 million newcomers living in Germany at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

After World War II, the Federal Republic of Germany professed early on the "postmodern" idea of a flexible labor market that considered immigrants as a temporary presence, *gastarbeiters* or "guest" workers who had "to go back" when German industrial and agricultural sectors did not need them anymore. On the other hand, East Germany received students and workers from communist and socialist countries, but without granting them lasting permits or citizenship. These policies, linked to the national identity myth of blood rights to citizenship, led to the perception of immigrants as lasting "foreigners" and to the refusal of thinking of Germany in terms of multiculturalism. However, already in 1920 immigrant laborers from Eastern Europe and Italy had started to arrive and settle in Germany, not to mention the forced laborers enslaved during World War II. After the war, the international recruitment agreements with Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, and the former Yugoslavia brought thousands of immigrants who, in the 1970s, were joined by their families. To these flows should be added the immigration of German descendants who received the right to "re-enter" from Eastern Europe, and refugees from all over the world, since the Federal Republic of Germany—in memory of the tragedy of the Jews—adopted an open policy toward asylum seekers. Immigration from the few former colonies has been slight because German colonization lasted less than forty years and colonial policy did not stimulate African workers or intellectuals to move to—let alone to stay in—Germany.<sup>49</sup> A specific history of marginalization, however, is that of the children of Afro-German unions—which mainly occurred during the respective French and U.S. army occupations after World War I and World War II—who were regarded as "foreigners" in their own land at least until the 1980s.<sup>50</sup>

Although migrant writings were published as early as the 1950s and the 1960s,<sup>51</sup> the first large wave of production appears at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s with the works of Franco Biondi (1947–) and the poet and scholar Gino Chiellino (1946–), who had both immigrated from Italy. In the 1980s there was indeed the outbreak. Currently well-known authors started to publish in this period, such as Kemal Kurt (1946–2002) from Turkey, Libuse Moniková (1945–) from the former Czechoslovakia, the poet György Dalos (1943–) from Hungary, Natascha Wodlin (1945–), born in a

Ukrainian family who immigrated to Fürth, Rafik Schami (1946–) from Iraq, Suleman Taufiq (1953–) from Syria, Dante Andrea Franzetti (1959–) from Switzerland, and the poet José Oliver (1961–), son of a Spanish family in Hausach. Almost one-third of the new writers had immigrated from Turkey, with outstanding authors such as the poets Aras Ören (1939–), Zehra Çirak (1960–), Zafer Senocak (1961–), and Hasan Özdemir (1963–) and the novelist Alev Tekinay (1951–).<sup>52</sup>

In the 1990s the writings of Emine Sevgi Özdamar (1946–), born in Istanbul, won multiple prizes, while works by Ilija Trojanow (1965–) from Bulgaria and Yoko Tawada (1960–) from Japan have also received an enthusiastic reception. On the other hand, the “street” novels by Feridun Zaimoglu (1964–), who emigrated with his family to Germany when he was four, have raised interest in and discussion of language use and related themes, as in the case of other street novels in France and the Netherlands, for example, those by Mehdi Charef and Hans Sahar, respectively.

The literary flourishing of the two last decades has been signaled by the institution of the Adalbert von Chamisso<sup>53</sup> prize in 1984, an award created for “foreigners” or “authors of not-German native language for the enriching and development of German literature.” Assigned to many of the above-mentioned writers, the Chamisso prize has given them public acclaim and recognition. At the same time the apparently unforgettable extraneousness of such authors was clear when Emine Sevgi Özdamar said once (ironically) that they were accepted as “guest-writers,” the intellectual counterpart of the *gastarbeiders*. The discussion about and within migrant literature as a production constitutive of a renewed German literature is nowadays in full swing.<sup>54</sup>

### *The Netherlands*

The new stream of the 1990s corresponds to relatively new migration flows in the Netherlands. However, colonial history also determined the presence of different—in time and geo-cultural origins—migrant writings. The peculiar position of the Republic of the Netherlands in a Europe of empires and kingdoms (16th–18th centuries) and its tradition of domestic tolerance led to multiple strands of immigration flows throughout the modern and contemporary periods. Religious tolerance was the reason for Jews to immigrate to the Netherlands from Spain and Portugal in the 16th century,<sup>55</sup> and from Germany and the rest of Europe during the 20th-century interwar period. This European role of the Netherlands as a progressive, democratic, and tolerant country is strongly in contrast with its aggressive foreign policy in the far-off worlds of the colonial frontier, first with the Dutch mercantile expansion during the Golden Age<sup>56</sup> and later with the institutionalized colonial rule in what is present-day Indonesia, Suriname, and Antilles.<sup>57</sup>

Since the sixteenth century different immigrant flows have thus contributed to create Dutch culture. This finds expression in the writings of several writers born in refugee families and integrated in the national canon.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, Dutch colonial expansion stimulated the growth of a literature written by colonizers and administrators, in particular in and from Indonesia, the former Netherlands East Indies.<sup>59</sup> A strikingly high number of works by Dutch-Indonesian writers still mark and inform the contemporary national literature.<sup>60</sup>

On the other hand, Dutch colonialism determined the development of literary productions in Dutch written by Caribbean authors who eventually spent a period of their life in the Netherlands but mostly worked in their homelands, such as Tip Marugg (1923–), Frank Martinus Arion (1936–), and Cola Debrot (1902–1981).<sup>61</sup> These writers' works did not, or only with much difficulty, enter the Dutch literary canon.

The settlements of Dutch colonizers in South Africa likewise determined the growth of literary productions in Afrikaans (Dutch-African), but the separate historical developments determined a certain marginality of this literature in the Dutch canon, lately modified for the works critically treating the apartheid system, such as the novels of André Brink (1935–) and Breyten Breytenbach (1939–),<sup>62</sup> or at least marking the distance from such a system as do the poems of Ingrid Jonker (1936–1967) and of Elisabeth Eybers (1915–), who moved to Amsterdam in 1961.<sup>63</sup> A fresh interest in "Afrikaans" literature has developed in these last years, as shown in recent debates, conferences, and academic courses.

As in France and Britain, the process of migration from the ex-colonies to the Netherlands intensified after World War II and in the decolonizing period. It concerned different social classes of migrants or repatriates, and among them a number of writers who maintained interests in and communication with the respective migrant communities and homelands, such as Talje Robinson (1911–1974) and Rob Nieuwenhuys (1908–1999) from the former Indonesia, Frans Lopulalan (1953–) and Eddy Supusepa (1950–) from the Molukken, and Astrid Romer (1947–), Ellen Ombre (1948–), and Edgar Cairo (1948–2000) from Suriname.

Successive streams of migrants and refugees came from the former Eastern European block or escaped from totalitarian regimes in South America and in the Middle East. In the 1980s the refugees were largely from Sri Lanka, Ghana, and Somalia, and in the 1990s from the former Yugoslavia. The Netherlands was in need of workers because of market expansion and thanks to recruitment agreements between states.<sup>64</sup> Since the mid-1960s labor migrants arrived from southern Europe, leaving space for immigration from the rest of the Mediterranean basin, particularly Turkey and Morocco. Other minor migration flows arrived from Pakistan and from China. New immigrants and refugees have encountered restrictive domestic policies, also in

contradiction to the Dutch liberal tradition, cosmopolitan cultural habitat, and professed progressive multicultural policy. The presence of immigrants is acknowledged differently from Germany. The Dutch system of "pillarization"<sup>65</sup> leads to both recognition and creation of ethnic and/or religious minorities and "their" rights "in" Dutch society.

Since the 1980s new migrant literature began to be published.<sup>66</sup> Yet it is in the 1990s that the explosive growth of publications occurred, strongly sustained by the publishers' policy, including both writers who immigrated as adults and the so-called second generation that issued from immigrant families.<sup>67</sup> There is wide recognition by the public and critics of the works by, among others, Kader Abxlollah (1954–), who arrived as a political refugee from Iran; Lu Wang (1960–), who emigrated from China; Moses Isegawa (1963–) from Uganda; Vamba Sherif (1973–), coming via Syria from Liberia;<sup>68</sup> Fouad Laroui (1958–) from Morocco;<sup>69</sup> Ramsey Nasr, born in a Dutch-Palestinian family in 1974, who has already had an impressive career as actor for theater and films; and Yasmine Allas (1967–), from Somalia, who also worked as an actress.<sup>70</sup> Indeed the outbreak of literary talent in the 1990s has also marked artistic fields such as films, theater, and the visual arts.<sup>71</sup> The works by Klark Accord (1961–), Antoine de Kom (1956–), and Alfred Birney (1951–) have further enriched the already highly productive streams of Caribbean and Indonesian Dutch writing.<sup>72</sup>

The "second generation" writers have had a prominent position in the new production since the 1990s. The immigrant community from Morocco indeed nurtured a strikingly high number of young and successful writers. Two of the most appreciated writers, already translated into several languages, are Hafid Bouazza (1970–) and Abdelkader Benali (1975–),<sup>73</sup> whose works won important literary prizes in the Netherlands and in Belgium in 1996, 1997, and 2003. Well known to the public and critics are also the works by the poet Mohamed Sütou (1974–), the youth book writer Naima El Bezaz (1974–), the novelist Hans Sahar (1974–), and more recently Saïd El Haji (1976–) and Khalid Boudou (1974–), who have successively obtained the yearly El Hizja prize.

As in other European countries, the attribution of definitions and labels in critiques and the publishers' marketing—such as "Allochthonous literature" and "Allochthonous writers" or even "Dutch-Moroccan writers"—has been at the center of polemics and adamant refusal by numerous writers and artists. Such labels, attracting the social interest of the public and institutions, have initially sustained the publication of new texts, but they risk becoming a hindrance to freedom and creativity. These terms presuppose agreement about migrant themes and languages, and then impose them as if they were the only way to knowledge and literature for those who biographically have experienced immigration or are immigrants' children.<sup>74</sup> Alternative vision is searched for and created by writers and artists, as well as by the critics.<sup>75</sup>

*Portugal and Spain*

Marginalized empires, self-enclosed under dictatorship, Portugal<sup>76</sup> and Spain<sup>77</sup> exported laborers and imposed economic and cultural dependency on their colonies up until the 1970s. At the end of Salazar's and Franco's fascist regimes, African colonies obtained their independence and Portugal and Spain, re-admitted into the European Community, started their progressive economic growth. In the last decades, the economic improvement led to decreasing emigration toward northern Europe and increasing immigration from South America, North Africa, former sub-Saharan Portuguese colonies, and Eastern Europe.<sup>78</sup> This relocation in the migration flow reopened and revitalized questions about cultural and national identification already debated in the fight against Portuguese colonization in Africa, and in the controversial conflicts around minority languages and rights in Spain. However, recent immigration has not found voice in literary writings in Portuguese, or such writings have not found a way to publishers. In Spain, recent immigrant conditions are mainly "spoken about" in literary and film productions by Basque writers and directors. Artistic exchanges and reciprocal influence between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, notwithstanding their historical importance and richness, are accorded little attention. This is shown by the absence of institutional support for artistic and literary developments by Berber artists either in Spanish or in Tamazight in Melilla, the important Spanish outpost in Morocco.<sup>79</sup>

While Portugal and Spain only in recent decades have become receivers of immigrants and refugees, the colonial past has still caused linguistic and cultural dissemination and reciprocal influence—even when not wanted or even recognized—between former colonizers and colonized.<sup>80</sup> When literary criticism started to question colonization and decolonization and the role of writing in Portuguese and in Spanish, it was addressing sophisticated forms of literary relocation and shifting of the self. These of course encompassed a multitude of languages and cultures, and the interaction between writing and oral literature that had developed in Central and South American literatures. This is not surprising, since such literatures have not only retained international appreciation, but have also been highly influential for literary developments in Spain and in Portugal.

On the other hand, interest began later in African Lusophone literatures, or African literatures in Portuguese, and has slowly increased since the 1980s.<sup>81</sup> Artistic and literary productions from Africa were denied recognition in the Portuguese literary and artistic canon until the end of Salazar's regime—and the subsequent end of colonization in Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé, Cape Verde, and Guinéa-Bissau. Nunes (1987, p. 63) mentions Amílcar Cabral, who accused the Portuguese of ignoring—at the same time a lack of knowledge and a gesture of arrogance—all cultures and peoples of



Africa.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the mystifying self-image of a Portuguese cultural colonization leading to creolization and to a pan-Lusitanian society, covered up—in Portugal—the reality of harsh colonial exploitation and racialization, which were militarized by Salazar's fascist New State. Another aspect of the marginalized position of African Lusophone literatures was the difficulty of writing and publishing. Economic underdevelopment and poor investment in education restrained Lusophone literary creation in Africa. However, in 1936 a small number of intellectuals and writers gathered around the journal *Claridade*, which was founded by Manuel Lopes (1907–2005) and Baltasar Lopes (1907–1989). They were the initiators of Cape Verdean neorealism in literature, under the influence of American and Brazilian authors such as Ernest Hemingway and Jorge Amado.<sup>83</sup> The presence of a few well-known writers and poets who moved from Portugal to Cape Verde and Mozambique, such as Manuel Ferreira (1917–) and Glória de Sant'Anna (1925–), also contributed to stimulate African Lusophone literary creation.<sup>84</sup>

After World War II the increasing settling policy enforced by Salazar's New State caused a deep economic crisis in Angola and Mozambique and an intensified racialization of these societies. However, the Portuguese immigration was connected to a relative increase in schooling and strengthening of the local press. It was also the backdrop to the interaction of political dissidents who moved to Angola and Mozambique with members of the African nationalist movements in the fight against fascism and colonialism. In this period and until independence a most important trend in African Lusophone literature was the "revolutionary poems" of authors such as Alvos Preto (alias Tomás Medeiros, 1931–) from São Tomé, Osvaldo Osório (1937–), and later Sukre d'Sal (1951–). Among famous writers who were politically committed in their writings and in their lives we find the Angolans Agostinho Neto (1922–1979) and Pepetela (alias Artur Carlos M. Pestana, 1941–) and the Mozambican Luís Bernardo Honwana (1942–). An important development was the experimentation with African languages carried out in Angola by Luandino Vieira (1936–) and Uanhenga Xito (1924–), who were also politically engaged and suffered many years' imprisonment.<sup>85</sup> The production of Lusophone African writers has slowly increased and in the 1980s new outstanding works were published, for example, the novels and short stories of the Cape Verdean Germano Almeida (1945–), the Angolan Manuel Rui (1941–), and the Mozambicans Mia Couto (1955–) and Suleiman Cas-samo (1962–).

Writers also traveled to Portugal to study or work. Some went back to Africa, such as the already mentioned Luís Bernardo Honwana, Baltasar Lopez, Alvos Preto, and Agostinho Neto.<sup>86</sup> Others settled in Portugal, such as Manuel Lopes, and sometimes moved on to—and back from—France, Brazil, or the United States. These include writers such as Francisco José de Vasques

Tenreiro (1921–1963) from São Tomé; Nôema de Sousa (1926–2002), the first woman poet from Mozambique; and in the following decades the writer and singer Amélia Muge (1952–); later Paulo Teixeira (1962–) from Mozambique, Germano Almeida from Cape Verde, and Wanda Ramos (1948–1998); and most recently José Eduard Agualusa (1961–) and Paula Tavares (1952–) from Angola. Lusophone writings address identification and displacement in a high poetical style challenging geopolitical borders and temporal distinctions.

### Italy

Besides a national history marked by dictatorship, Italy shares with Spain, Portugal, and Germany some recent migration patterns. As in the case of Portugal and Spain, Italy changed from an emigration to an immigration country only in the last two decades.<sup>87</sup> As in the case of Germany, the relative brevity of the colonial expansion (from 1880 to 1941) stimulated neither immigration from the African former colonies or the development of an African literature in Italian.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, schooling in Italian was hardly encouraged during the colonial overture. In contrast to Britain and France, Italy did not invest in a “civilizing” mission via education. To the contrary, it was forbidden for native pupils to attend the Italian schools after the fifth grade. Therefore, until the last decades contemporary migrant literature largely concerned the writings of Italian immigrants in Germany, Belgium, Canada, and the United States. Displacement is indeed central to the productions of re-immigrants, such as Ungaretti’s poems, which are marked by the colors, sea, and desert of his birthplace Alexandria and by what he called the impossibility of “accasarsi,” that is, to find somewhere a stable anchor, home, and family.<sup>89</sup>

The limited colonial experience did not hinder the development of a colonial literature<sup>90</sup> that mystified Africa and the Orient, revitalizing and manipulating symbols and clichés present in Italian literature since its beginnings. The brief duration of Italian colonialism, however, has been considered the principal cause for the absence of a literary stream based on that event. After World War II, there was indeed a striking reticence to reflect on Italian colonialism. Along with its short duration, other factors concurred to narrow the Italian role in Africa and make it seem less stretched out. The association of the colonial enterprise with the defeated fascist regime<sup>91</sup> and the national self-vision of the Italians as “good people” and of Italian colonialism as “poor man’s imperialism” worked together to increase the national desire to forget the past (and related responsibilities) for good.

Few are the examples of a reflective gaze on the colonial encounter, such as the ambiguous *Tempo di uccidere* [Time to Kill] (1947) by Ennio Flaiano (1910–1972) or the frankly sarcastic Mario Tobino’s *Il deserto della Libia* [The Desert of Libya] (1952) and Enrico Emmanuelli’s *Settimana Nera* [Black

Week] (1966). Other texts propose a mystifying vision of Africa, as in Alberto Moravia's short stories and essays published in the 1970s<sup>92</sup> and in his last novel *La donna leopardo* [The Leopard Woman] (1991), in which Africa becomes the locus of self-investigation and self-understanding for the (European) traveler.

Between 1970 and 1990, the post-colonial reflection on colonialism and self-identification coincides with the works by Alessandro Spina, who after World War II had spent several years in Africa, and by two outstanding women writers, Erminia dell'Oro (1938–), a daughter of Italian colonizers in Eritrea, and Maria Abbebù Viarengo (1949–), a daughter of an Piedmontese-Oromo marriage.<sup>93</sup> Whereas Erminia dell'Oro is a Jewish Italian citizen who emigrated to Eritrea to escape fascist persecution, Maria Abbebù Viarengo embodies the generation of métisse children, born to an Italian father and a native mother.<sup>94</sup> The fear of miscegenation in the colonies was strongly regimented with the introduction of apartheid laws in 1938, which created a sharp racial divide.

In the 1990s, the first publications by writers who had immigrated to Italy in the preceding decades appeared, such as those of Ndjock Ngana (1952–),<sup>95</sup> Salah Methnani,<sup>96</sup> Pap Khouma (1957–),<sup>97</sup> Sira Hassan (1962–),<sup>98</sup> and many others.<sup>99</sup> Other collective works, mostly poems and short novels, were published thanks to politically engaged associations, such as the volumes *Le voci dell'arcobaleno* (1995), *Mosaici d'inchostro* (1996), *Memorie in valigia* (1997), *Destini sospesi di volti in cammino* (1998), and *Parole oltre i confini* (1999), edited by Alessandro Ramberti and Roberta Sangiorgi. They all derived critical attention by virtue of their selection for the prize Eks&Tra, which is awarded for poetry, literature, and essays by migrant writers.<sup>100</sup>

The collaboration between the author and an Italian editor characterizes many of the above-mentioned texts. It implies not only “split authorship” but also “split authority” since the interference by the Italian academics or journalists into the “immigrant grammar” often involved serious manipulation. This shows the difficulties encountered by immigrant writers in mastering Italian as literary language—often mediated not only by their mother tongues but also by French or Portuguese in the case of writers emigrated from Africa. It also shows, however, the difficulties immigrant writers encountered in working within the stifling Italian publishing system that takes no risks in promoting “alternative texts” in which the use of transgressive grammar exemplifies the ongoing contamination between Italian traditional literature and new voices.

However, against the conservatism of the established publishing houses, a flourishing of electronic journals online, specializing in migrant writing, has appeared in Italy during the last decade. These journals, such as *Sagarana* ([www.sagarana.net](http://www.sagarana.net)), edited by the writer of Brazilian origin Julio Monteiro Martins, and *El Ghibli* ([www.el-ghibli.provincia.bologna.it](http://www.el-ghibli.provincia.bologna.it)), edited by the

Senegalese Pap Khouma, are a testimony to the vitality and maturity reached by these new literary productions. Furthermore the University of Rome maintains a database on migrant writers active in Italy that goes under the name Basili ([www.disp.let.uniroma1.it/basili.html](http://www.disp.let.uniroma1.it/basili.html)). This is also connected to another online journal, *Kúmá: creolizzare l'Europa*, which, like *Sagarana* and *El-Ghibli*, explores and accounts for the emerging multicultural space within the Italian society and its interactions with Europe and the rest. These coordinated activities highlight not only the pervasiveness of migrant literature in Italy but also how against all odds, rather than vanishing, it has achieved a certain level of institutionalization and canonization.

Nevertheless, while it is clear new Italian writings have so far achieved far less media and public recognition than their German or Dutch counterparts, they have significantly begun to attract scholarly attention.<sup>101</sup> Several studies are informed by the discourses and theories developed within the postcolonial debates, while others focus on interviews with the authors or on newspaper articles that use those polarizing definitions (immigrant writers, migrant literature, and so forth). It shows the irreversible process of Italian culture coming to terms with new ethnicities, voices, and styles—a nation opening up from its southern location the gateway to a new Europe.

## NOTES

1. Hall 1996, p. 115
2. Stoler 1995; Gilman 1992, pp. 171–197.
3. Rushdie 1991, p. 12.
4. Augé 1995, p. 26 and p. 31.
5. Brinkler-Gabler and Smith 1997.
6. Minh-ha 1994, pp. 9–26, 9.
7. See Ponzanesi 2002.
8. Said 1993.
9. Hall 1997.
10. Gilroy 1993.
11. West 1994.
12. Appiah 1993.
13. Spivak 1998.
14. hooks 1990.
15. Min-Ha 1989.
16. Gilroy 1993, p. 4.
17. Slemmon 1991, p. 5.
18. For example, Ashcroft et al. 1989; Gontard and Bray 1996; Dejeux 1993, 1994; Dennis and Naseem 2000; Ibnifassi and Hitchcott 1996; Jack 1996; Green et al. 1996. The focus on different geo-cultural partitions may overcome language differences, as in a number of studies of Caribbean and African literatures. See the site Contemporary Postcolonial and Postimperial Literatures in English (G. P. Landow, Brown Uni-

versity) Likewise, the focus on gender allows for an enlargement of the comparison in the collection edited by Bunkler-Gabler and Smith (1997) Also, Bonn 1995 includes articles concerning migrant literatures in different European languages

19 Boehmer 1995, Haigreaves 1991 Taronde 1993

20 Adelson 1990, Allen and Russo 1997, Chahal 1996, Lachinger 2001, Leijne and van Kempen 2001, Nunes, 1987 Parati 1999

21 Anderson 1983

22 Japan's invasion of Manchuria led to a massive administrative partitioning of its emerging Asian empire

23 For example, in Algeria, Congo, and Angola

24 About fifty million Europeans emigrated to North and South America between about 1850 and 1920 to escape religious and political persecution, extreme poverty linked to industrialization, and violent reorganization of the rural world

25 Because of religious persecutions, there were large Jewish migration flows, and after 1922 there was political emigration from Spain Portugal and Italy directed toward Britain the Netherlands, and France Huge Chinese migrations toward Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines also occurred before the nineteenth century while Japanese emigration toward Asia mainly took place in the first half of the twentieth century

26 Large groups migrating toward Europe are from South and South East Asia (from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Philippines Indonesia and Thailand), North Africa and the Middle East (from the Maghreb mainly toward France Spain, Belgium, and Italy, from Turkey toward Germany and from the Netherlands, and from Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan toward Britain), and less extensively Sub-Saharan Africa (typically toward France, Belgium and Britain but more recently to Italy the Netherlands, and Portugal)

27 Portes 1995, p 10

28 The socio-economic divide underlying present migration flows is roughly indicated by two macroeconomic facts about one seventh of the global population uses four-fifths of global resources, and one-third of the Mediterranean population produces nine-tenths of the National Bruto Production in the area

29 Harding 1998 (in particular chapter 2), Hess 1995 (in particular chapter 3), Needham 1978

30 See in this book the discussion carried out in the papers by Fraser, Khair, and Gilroy

31 See the so-often cited *Othello* (1601) and *The Tempest* (1612) by William Shakespeare, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe (1719) *The Jungle Book* (1894) by Rudyard Kipling, and *Heart of Darkness* (1902) by Joseph Conrad Cl Brantlinger 1988

32 See Azim 1993

33 Goldberg 2000, p 77

34 For example, see the works by Quobna Ottobah Cugoana (1787), Olaudah Equiano (1789), Ignatius Sancho (1782) Mary Pains (1831), and Mary Seacole (1800) The presence of African, Caribbean and Asian slave servants in Britain slowly grew in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries See Phillips 1997

35 Dabydeen 1991

36 See Visram 1986, Burton 1998 Grewal 1996 and Nasta 2001

37 This novel *The Buddha of Suburbia* was transformed into a TV series, and both *My Beautiful Laundrette* & *Others* and *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* were successful movies worldwide

38 See in this book the chapters by McLeod, Lopez-Ropero, and D'haen

39 This new flourishing has involved different media and artistic fields. An example is Hamit Kureishi, who began his artistic career as screenplay writer and film director and whose novels have been adapted for theater and film

40 See in this book the way Huggan frames this debate

41 On the Beiber presence in French literature see Merolla 1995

42 See the role of the American Josephine Baker within the French artistic world of the 1930s. See also Archer-Stuart 2000

43 Successively, however, the "negitude" stream was criticized because its fundamentally essentialist and masculine assumption of a natural opposition between black man and white man entirely failed to perceive, or grasp the meaning of, the underlying complicity with the colonial and European vision of the other/black

44 She began to publish in the 1970s and then international fame came with her historical novel *Segou*

45 See the essay by Hargreaves in this book

46 Luronde 1997, p. 38

47 See in this book the essays by Schipper, Hargreaves, and Bammer

48 Martin 1998

49 The geo-temporal limitation of the German colonial empire is related to the late period of German unification as a nation (in 1870)

50 See Camp 2003, Lusane 2002, and articles by B. Cooper in *Encarta Africana*, [www.africana.com](http://www.africana.com). The activities of the association Initiative Schwarze Deutsche (Black German Initiative) started in the late 1980s

51 See the works by Cyrus Atabay (1929–1996) and Bahman Nruvand (1963)—who both immigrated to Germany from Teheran. They have published in German, respectively, since 1956 and since 1967. See also the works by Elizat Benyoetz (who was born in Austria, emigrated as child to Israel and then to Germany in 1964, and has published in German since 1969)

52 See Rosch 1991, Adelson 1990

53 Award of the "German as foreign language" institute at the University of Munich in cooperation with the Bavarian Arts Academy

54 See the essay by Yegenoglu in this book

55 Sephardic Jews were banished from Spain after 1492, and a significant number of exiles came to Holland, where they made a huge contribution to the Dutch secular culture. The influential philosopher Spinoza was the son of Jewish-immigrant parents

56 More precisely the expansion of the VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) and WIC (West-Indische Compagnie)

57 Gouda 1995

58 See the philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and later the writers Isaac da Costa (1798–1860), Jacob Israel De Haan (1881–1924), and Israel Quevedo (1872–1932), of Jewish families that emigrated early to the Netherlands. More recently, there is the internationally famous Anne Frank, child of a German Jewish family that fled to the Netherlands before World War II

59 Such as Multatuli (alias Eduard Douwes Dekker 1820–1887) Augusta de Witt (1864–1939), and Edgar du Ponton (1899–1940). Although laden with ambiguities, this literature is often critical of the colonial condition.

60 See, for example, Marion Bloem (1952–), Adrian van Dis (1946–) and Hella S. Haasse (1918–). Cf. Nieuwenhuis 1972, 1988, Burney 1998, Baay and van Zonneveld 1988, Francken and van Zonneveld 1995. See also Speerstra 2001, Buikema and Meijer 2003.

61 In Indonesia Dutch was not officially endorsed and most writers continued to write in Indonesian. Only a few writers such as Karim and Soewarish Djopjoespito adopted the language of the colonizers. A famous example is Pramoejya Ananta Toer.

62 These writers also write novels and essays in English.

63 See in this book the essay by Jansen.

64 Dutch agencies in Morocco and in Turkey had the task of recruiting workers for Dutch industries and agriculture.

65 Different communities (traditionally Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish) had rights to autonomous religious organization, schooling, unions, and so forth.

66 See, for example, Seia and Milo Anstadt (from Poland), the poet Leo Serano (from Chile), Ana Sebastian (from Argentina) and Ahmed Sefa and A. Pooyan (respectively from Christian and Kurdish minorities in Turkey). Dimitri Sideri (from Greece) belongs to the migration of the 1950s and her autobiographical novel *Vaderlanden* was published in 1992.

67 Merolla 2002.

68 Isegawa and Sherif actually wrote their novels in English, but they are published in Dutch translation. Likewise Snezana Bukal and Nasim Khaksar write respectively in Serbo-Croatian and in Farsi and publish Dutch translations, while Mimoun El Walid, Ahmed Essadki, and Ahmed Ziani publish bilingual editions of Berber poems with Dutch translation.

69 Laroui published in French extensively before writing for the first time in Dutch in 2001.

70 She was in her teens when she arrived in Belgium, and then she moved to the Netherlands. Allas played in *Idil: een meisje* [Idil: a Girl], a film based on her first novel and adapted by Karim Triada, an Algerian director and writer who has produced films in French and in Dutch. See also Sevrap Baycili (from Istanbul) working in the Netherlands as a theater actress and columnist since 1991, who published her first novel in Dutch in 1999. Likewise Nilgun Yarli, who arrived in the Netherlands when she was ten years old, works as columnist and theater actress, and had her first novel published in 2001.

71 See in this book the essay by Pattinama. On the interaction between theater, films, and the Internet, see Merolla 2002 on Amazigh/Berber authors.

72 Burney and De Kom were born in The Hague, respectively in 1951 and 1956.

73 On migrant themes in their works, see Merolla 1998, 2002, and 2003.

74 This discourse was particularly explicit in Bouazza's unpublished lecture on literary influences, 27 November 2001, Ierden.

75 Bouazza 2001, Kuitert 2001, *TLC* 2001, *Literatuur* 1999, Merolla 2002. See in this book the essay by Buikema.

76 The expansion of Portugal began in 1415 with the conquest of Ceuta in North Africa, and continued in the sixteenth century with the acquisition of ports and markets.

and the establishing of alliances in Sub-Saharan Africa (present-day Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Sao Tome and Principe), Asia (India's coasts Malacca and Ceylon, and a few port rights in China and Japan) and South America (coast settlements in Brazil). Between 1578 and 1640 Portugal was subjected to Spanish hegemony, while the Netherlands acquired economic rights in Asian areas of previous Portuguese expansion. After 1703 Britain imposed its economic and political hegemony. In the early nineteenth century the Portuguese court escaped Napoleon's occupation and moved to Brazil, which became the administration post of Portugal, inverting the previous hegemonic relation. Brazil acquired independence in 1822. In Portugal the republic established in 1910 lasted only seven years. Then a first period of dictatorship started, and continued under the infamous Salazar regime until the Carnation Revolution in 1974 (Nunes 1987, pp. 1–18).

77 In the sixteenth century Spain colonized vast areas roughly corresponding to the present-day Spanish-speaking South and Central American countries. The destruction of the Spanish Armada and the subsequent loss of naval supremacy sunk Spain into decadence and opened the way to British supremacy. The Spanish empire in Europe (Belgium, Luxembourg, Milan, Sardinia, and Naples) was lost, while Britain gained the colonies of Gibraltar and Minorca. After the Napoleonic invasion, the Spanish colonies in America started wars of independence (a famous independence leader was Simon Bolivar). Venezuela gained independence in 1821 and the other lands followed (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia). The Cuban Revolution of 1895 was the beginning of the Spanish-American War. In 1898 the United States annexed the Spanish colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. At the turn of the century Spain enlarged its colonized territories in northern Morocco and in Western Sahara. Morocco was finally freed in 1956, but Western Sahara remained under Spanish colonial mandate until 1971, just one year before the death of the dictator Francisco Franco, who took power in 1938 after a long and cruel civil war. Spain maintains two ancient posts in northern Morocco, the cities of Ceuta and Melilla. After the retreat of Spain the Western Sahara was partly annexed by Morocco against the will of the local Frente Polisario, and the conflict is still going on.

78 The actual population in Portugal is about 10 million. Official data count about 200,000 legal foreign residents, while estimates of illegal immigrants range from 35,000 (official) to 150,000 (unions account). Immigrants in Portugal come from Cape Verde, Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and East Timor, and increasingly from Eastern Europe. The number of immigrants in Spain is estimated to be about one-fifth of the population (about 600,000 people), and an estimated 15 percent of the immigrants come from Morocco. See discussions in Della Piana 2000, Migration 1999, p. 15 (on Portugal), and Tortegrosa and El Ghayib 1994 (on Spain).

79 Melilla, geographically in northern Morocco, is Spanish but obtained Autonomous City Status in 1995. There are 65,000 inhabitants—Christian, Muslim, Jewish, and a small Hindu community, and several languages are spoken: Spanish, Arabic, and Berber/Tamazight. The productions by Berber writers either in Spanish or in Amazigh are still very limited, but recently music and songs by Berber artists from this area have received some attention in Spain. See Toutah 1999.

80 Since the 1980s several postcolonial literary studies on Lusophone (Portuguese language) literatures have appeared, such as Nunes 1987 and Chabal 1996.



See also Moser and Ferreira 1993. Previous pioneering works were Hamilton 1975, Ferreira 1977, and a number of anthologies (de Andrade 1958, Cesar 1969, Ferreira 1975).

81. Since about 1850 a local colonial literature developed, mainly characterized by exoticism toward the local aspects and following the models for language and style from the center.

82. Amílcar Cabral, assassinated in 1973, was an important leader of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde.

83. The literature from Brazil has historically played a particularly influential role on Lusophone literatures in Africa. Among the first attempts of colonial literature concerning the Portuguese colonies in Africa were the writings of Brazilian intellectuals deported to Angola, such as Gregório de Matos, and to Mozambique, such as Tomás António Gonzaga a century later (Moser and Ferreira 1993, p. 20).

84. Moser and Ferreira 1993 pp. 21–22; Petes 1997 pp. 7–15.

85. These writers renewed a trend already started with Nho Eugénio Tavares (1867–1930) writing in Crioulo, the language of Cape Verde. Also, Manuel Ferreira interspersed his texts with Crioulo.

86. Pepetela, on the other hand, was exiled to Paris and to Algeria for his political activity.

87. Before Mussolini's fascist policy closed the way to Italian emigration in the 1920s, about a third of the population, largely from southern Italy, emigrated toward the Americas. In the 1950s, there were more limited migrant flows to Italy (about 150,000 immigrants) largely arriving from European countries. In the 1970s the number of immigrants doubled. In the 1980s the presence of immigrants became more visible, reaching about 750,000 (about half were illegally staying in the country). In 2000, immigration reached about 1,500,000 people (of whom the arrivals from outside the European Union were about 12 percent), representing about 2.5 percent of the Italian population. In the European Union, immigrants today are about 5 percent of the whole population. Immigration statistics are difficult to read since they classify varying populations whose definition alters over time (for example, data on immigration flows may or may not include temporary immigrants, children of immigrants, persons who acquired citizenship but were born abroad, and so forth).

88. Italian expansionism resembled Portuguese colonialism, which—coupling demographic growth with poor economic development, could reassure the national pride suffering from the otherwise low international political and military position. However, French colonialism—and not the German or the Portuguese—was the explicit model for Italian colonial expansion.

89. See *Ungaretti commenta Ungaretti* and Zingone 1993, pp. 62–73. This attitude is echoed by Italo Calvino in a short autobiographical text (‘I was born when my parents were about to come home after years spent in the Caribbean, hence the geographical instability that makes me forever long for somewhere else’) although it did not explicitly mark his literary production. Calvino was born in Santiago de las Vegas, Cuba, in 1923. His Italian parents re-emigrated to San Remo (Italy) in 1925.

90. Including works by well-known authors such as Gabriele D'Annunzio and the founder of Futurism, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. See Manacorda 1993; Ponzanesi 2004; Tomasello 1984.

91 Italian colonialism started well before fascism but it ended with the defeat of fascist Italy in World War II

92 Alberto Moravia (1907–1990), pseudonym for Alberto Pincherle, *A quale tribù appartieni?* [To What Tribe Do You Belong?] (1972), *Lettere dal Sahara* [Letters from Sahara] (1982) *Passeggiate Africane* [African Walks] (1987)

93 Alessandro Spina *Il giovane maronita* [The Young Maronite] (1971) *Le nozze di Omar* (1973) *Il visitatore notturno* (1970), *Storie di ufficiali* (1967), *La commedia mentale* (1992), *La ruota della vita minore* (1997) Emma Dell'Orto *Asmara Addio* (1988) *L'Abbandono, Una Storia Eritrea* (1991), *Il Fiore di Merana* (1994) Maria Abbebu Viarengo *Scuscu n demma* (Andiamo a Spasso), *Linea D'Ombra* (1990)

94 See also Ponzanesi 2000

95 Ndjock Ngana comes from Cameroon (Basa language)

96 Salah Methnani emigrated from Tunisia in the mid-1980s and works in Rome as translator and writer

97 The Senegalese writer Pap Khouma went first to the Ivory Coast, then to France. He later went to Italy, where he works as journalist

98 Saad Hassan born in Mogadiscio, was brought up and educated in the United States. She lives in Italy and in the United States. See Ponzanesi 2000 (Writing against the Grain)

99 See also the following writers: Mohamed Bouchane, who arrived in Italy from Morocco in the 1980s, Saidou Moussa Ba, who arrived in Italy from Dakar in 1988, Mohsen Mellou, who arrived in Italy from Tunis, where he had studied at and graduated from the Faculty of Arts and who volunteered as a social worker for illegal immigrants at the decaying Pantanella building in Rome, Nasseria Cholna, who arrived in Italy from France at the end of the 1980s and who was born in Marseilles, in an Algerian family from the southern Sahara, Shira Ramzanah Tazel, who was born in a Somali Pakistani family and arrived in Italy from Somalia in the 1970s. Kpan Teagbeu Simplice, who arrived in Italy from Abidjan graduated in Rome, where he also volunteered as a social worker with legal and illegal immigrants, and lives in Palermo, Mohamed Ghonim who has lived in Italy since the 1980s and who emigrated from Egypt, where he had published poems and theater texts, the journalist Maria De Lourdes Jesus from Cape Verde, who presented *Non solo nero* [Not Only Black] (1988), one of the first television programs on immigration in Italy, Ribka Sibhatu, who escaped from the war in Eritrea in the mid-1980s and lives in Rome where she graduated from the Faculty of Modern Languages, and Younis Tawlik, who was born in Iraq, has lived in Italy since 1979, and works as journalist and translator

100 Dadina and N'Diaye 1991. On the Senegalese-Romagnol theater of Ravenna Teatro see Picarazzi 1995, on the African theater groups *Le Albe* and *Maschere Nere*, see Moussa Ba 1995

101 Grisci 1992, 1995, 1998. Parati 1993, 1995, 1997, Ponzanesi 1999 and articles by Matteo, Parati, and Picarazzi in *Italian Studies in Southern Africa* 1995

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