Abstracts

Udi Adiv, Department of Sociology & Political science, Open University, Israel

The Challenge of Globalisation for the Left: Marxism, Post-Colonialism or Republican Nationalism

The aim of this paper is to present a critical perspective of the leftist attitude to globalization. In respect of critical theory it is evident that, historically and conceptually, the leftist response to globalization moves between two extremes—the 19th century global economic orientation of Marxism on one hand, and the late-20th century pluralistic/hybrid tendency of post-colonialism on the other. My criticism is directed against both the Marxist tendency, or as Miliband put it, 'one form or another of economic reductionism', and the multi-culturalist attitude of the post-colonial school. In the light of some critical neo-Marxist explorations of nationalism and state, I suggest that republican nation-states and their interactions should be viewed as the main protagonists of the historical process. In the words of Poulantzas: "The only thing that really exists is a social whole at a given moment in its historical existence" (Poulantzas, 1987). Thus, it is mainly politics, rather than economics or culture, that actually creates and conditions our historical existence and, subsequently, the collective mode of its resolution. Following Croce, I suggest that political activity is a synthesis of moral utilitarianism. This dialectical distinction is the essence of enlightenment, of which republican nationalism is almost certainly the most radical realization.

Orkideh Behrouzan, M.D., University of Oxford, Clinical Medicine Department

Homeless Mind: The Fate of Persian Identity in Exile

There are various studies showing how immigrants engage themselves in an impassioned construction and reconstruction of their history, in order to reclaim and even create anew a homeland in exile. In the age of globalization, citizenship can not amount to a true nativeness, and this is why in many cases, exile is not a tragedy anymore. Identity is a dynamic and multidimensional concept. It has to do with self-orientation, as well as with self-construction and categorization by others, conditions, roots, lands, and cultures. According to Edward Said, our world is living in a "Generalised Condition of Homelessness;" hence, there seems to be a need for redefining national identities, taking into account not only the roots, but also the various interactions between displaced cultures, places and peoples. In this sense, one can hardly deny the important role that memories and imaginations play in order to create attachments for people. In order to explore the dilemma of Iranian identity in exile, this paper takes into account the above introduction, as well as an analytical framework developed and applied in the account.

Bart Bonikowski, Graduate Student, Department of Sociology, Duke University

Flying While Arab (Or Was It Muslim? Or Middle Eastern?): A Theoretical Analysis of Racial Profiling After September 11th

Although the term "racial profiling" had long been used to describe the tendency of law enforcement agencies to disproportionately target Black males, its meaning expanded after 9/11 to include the targeting by counter-terrorist organizations of individuals with ties to Muslim (and particularly Middle Eastern) countries. This shift in emphasis has been fuelled by news stories of airport searches and detentions, mandatory government registrations, unexplained deportations and arrests, and community surveillance—all focused on U.S. residents of Muslim and/or Middle Eastern origin. This paper aims to situate the "new racial profiling" (an intentional misnomer) in the context of two long-standing trends in American society: the continual intensification of surveillance and the persistence of Orientalism in the dominant social discourse. Based on an analysis of these two trends, this paper develops a normative critique of racial profiling by questioning its internal logic and challenging its efficacy as a viable counter-terrorism measure. Furthermore, the paper calls for an examination of the social costs of profiling practices.

Fouad Bouguetta, Professor, University of Anaba, Algeria
Sally Bould, Professor of Sociology, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware

Oil Revenues and Problematic Development: The Case of Algeria

Algeria was a model of development during the 1970s with prosperity assured by oil revenues. Economic and

political development, however, became blocked. Edward Said's concept of *orientalism* provides a basis for understanding the blockage. The cultural, organizational, economic and political sub-systems each became bifurcated into "rational- secular modernity" and "orientalism." Initially, high oil revenues were used to satisfy all actors and concealed the underlying split. But the decline in oil revenues has revealed a system without cohesion, an economy without production, and an ineffective but gigantic bureaucracy. This blockage cannot be understood as a clash between the west and Islam. In criticizing the "clash of civilizations," Said wants to emphasize the parallels between the west and the east. These parallels exist internal to Algerian society.

Jorge Capetillo-Ponce, Assistant Professor of Sociology, UMass Boston

The Theoretical Construction of a Latino Oppositional Culture in Samuel Huntington's "The Hispanic Challenge"

Having presented his views previously regarding the so-called "Clash of Civilizations," Samuel Huntington recently published another influential essay that draws again sharp boundaries between two cultural traditions, Anglo-Protestant and Latino, as a key methodological element, but this time the cultural antagonists exist side by side within one country: the United States. Entitled "The Hispanic Challenge," the essay appeared in the March/April 2004 issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine, shortly after Said's death. My objective in this paper is to look closely, inspired by Edward Said's work on Orientalism, at the theoretical tradition that Huntington's latest work both stands on and furthers, the one that has made possible his vision of an "abnormal" or "unnatural" Latino culture. Doing so will help us to understand how Huntington is able to so passionately depict a Latino oppositional will or culture, and to adopt such a deeply pessimistic view of Latino non-assimilation as a trend which, if left unchecked, will prove itself uniquely capable of undermining the unity of a United States that has stood proudly on the solid bedrock of Anglo-Protestant values and the English language.

Agnes Czajka, Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology, York University, Toronto

The African Orient: Edward Said's Orientalism *and 'Western' Constructions of Africa*

The following paper utilizes the framework established by Edward Said's *Orientalism* to examine 'Western' constructions of Africa. The goal of the analysis is threefold. First, it aims to establish a general framework for the comparative examination of the phenomenon of 'Othering', extending it beyond the scope of Said's *Orientalism* in order to present it as a broad configuration that structures the interactions of the 'West' with the remainder of humanity. While acknowledging this comparability between 'Western' conceptions of the Asia and Africa, the analysis, secondly, endeavours to illustrate the variations that exist within these discourses. Through an examination of these tensions, the essay attempts to expose the complex structure instituted by the 'West,' which establishes relationships of hierarchy among diverse entities, yet places 'Them' all firmly below itself. Finally, in an effort to account for the material foundations of these discursive hierarchies, an attempt is made to theorize their articulation with politico-economic concerns.

Leila Farsakh, Assistant Professor of Political Science, UMass Boston

What Future for Palestine: Independence or Bantustans

Palestine was central to Said's life and work. In many ways, it was central to his work on *Orientalism*, among other works. His relation to Palestine, the way he saw the conflict and sought to articulate it to a western, often orientalist, audience, the way he campaigned for a just solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and tried to get an effective political solution to it echoed much of his struggle in researching, explaining and fighting Orientalism. The aim of this paper is to explain how the two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is dead, despite all the international support that this idea has obtained over the past four years. I explain how a process of bantustanisation has taken place, and how the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have become analogous to the South African Bantustans during the apartheid era, despite the historical differences between the Israeli-Palestinian and the South African conflicts. By Bantustanisation is meant the process by which Palestinian territories have been transformed into *de facto* population reserves out of which Palestinians cannot exit without the possession of a permit issued by Israeli military authorities. These "re-

serves" have remained dependent on the Israeli economy, but at the same time have been unable to gain access to it, nor capable of evolving into a sovereign independent entity. Whether by default or design, the Israeli response to the Al-Aqsa Intifada and the Road Map have simply consolidated this process. If the prospect for a two-state solution is buried by default, if not by design, the only prospects that remain are either a continuous war or a new form of state, be it bi-national, multi-national or secular state. The former is not a viable alternative, and the latter is not yet as well defined, let alone accepted. In both cases, though, there is a need for the Palestinians, and their supports abroad, to rethink the nature of their political vision, resistance and mobilization, albeit by drawing, or not, on the South African resistance movement.

Christopher Gauthier, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan
Jennifer McFarlane-Harris, Department of English and Women's Studies Program, University of Michigan

Verdi's Disciplined Subjects: Radamès, Amneris, and the Power of the Panopticon

This article utilizes themes from Edward Said's influential work Orientalism and Michel Foucault's analyses of power to locate Verdi's Aida in a social and cultural context of colonization and control. Said considered Aida to be an Orientalist opera due to what he saw as Verdi's exoticized representations of Egypt and Egyptians, but his analysis failed to consider the representations of Ethiopians. By employing current scholarship on Orientalism and Western art music, and through close analysis of the musical, textual and visual elements of representations within the opera, we present the reader with an interpretation of Aida that seeks to lay bare the subtle strains of Orientalism. We contend that Aida acts as a discourse on effective colonial rule; control is exerted and maintained by forever exposing the colonized to the Western gaze, making them knowable and containable. With visibility comes the production of "truths" about the "Other" as constructed by the colonizer, the right to place the exoticized East in relation to the civilized West, and, finally, the ability to compel the colonized to exert power over themselves through unflinching self-discipline.

Michal Ginach, Psya.D., The Institute for the Study of Violence, Boston Graduate School of Psycho-analysis

Blaming the Victims Revisited: Fantasy and Politics in the Context of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Blame is an ominous word, pregnant with the weight of wrongs that can neither be forgiven nor forgotten. It is a word beyond which there is no relationship. Blame is the justification most Israelis, and some factions of the Palestinian people as well, use in order to maintain the status quo of war between them. When Edward Said titled his book *Blaming The Victims* (2001), he meant it literally. Seeing the Palestinians as the real victims, he protested against the world conspiring to blame them for the bloody impasse in the Middle East. I revisit his writing with the idea that if we are to understand the reality of Palestinian victimization at the hands of Israel, which Said's book seems to call for, it is not enough to talk in terms of injustice and blame. In *Reflections On Exile*, a book of collected essays published in 2003, paraphrasing Jacqueline Rose, Said emphasizes the need "to make connections" between the normally disparate realms of states and fantasy, "unavoidable for us all"(2003:498). It is upon this elusive connection between fantasy and politics that I elaborate in this paper.

Panagiota Gounari, Assistant Professor, Applied Linguistics Graduate Program, UMass Boston

Intellectuals Rethinking Politics of Difference: A Pedagogical Project

I explore the role of intellectuals who are university professors associated with institutions of higher education in modern globalized societies as it articulates on three levels: the intellectual's interventionist role in the public sphere in the project of revitalizing politics, the intellectual as a witness in that s/he historicizes politics and the public sphere, and finally the pedagogical dimension of this project. Ultimately, I argue, the intellectual's political project is necessarily a pedagogical one, to the extent that pedagogy must always be an act of intervention, a form of academic labor, an immanently political and ethical practice. In this respect, it is the intellectual's responsibility to make the pedagogical more political by creating environments where students can translate private issues into public troubles.

Pamela Irving Jackson, Director, Justice Studies Program, Professor of Sociology, Rhode Island College,

Providence
Peter Zervakis, Dr. phil, Project Manager, Bertelsmann Foundation, Guetersloh, Germany
Roderick Parkes, Researcher, Centre for European Integration Studies (ZEI)

A Contextual Analysis of the Integration of Muslims in Four Western Societies

This project seeks to explain why Muslims are perceived to be more integrated into the general population in the United States and, to some extent, in England than they are in France and Germany. The characteristics of first generation Muslim immigrants in these societies are not sufficient in explaining the differing levels of Muslim integration. Nor are the variations in Muslim visibility adequately explained by existing theories relating diversity and globalization to minority/majority conflict. We consider instead the influence of historically defined cultural distinctions among the nations in shaping state attitudes toward Muslim integration. Recognition of differences in the relationship between the state and religion, and in the primacy of state identity as an integrating force, facilitates understanding of the interaction between the host society and its Muslim population. We identify a dichotomy between–on the one hand- the U.S. and to a lesser extent England, where the state's primacy over society is comparatively limited, and–on the other- France and Germany, where the state's power is greater. Using this matrix, we examine underlying conditions accounting for the greater success of the 'limited state' model in the U.S. than in England. We conclude that the degree of state primacy in matters relating to societal integration has influenced both the integration of Muslims into the host society and the political salience of their presence.

Anil K. Jain, Ph.D., Social Scientist and Publisher, Munich, Germany

Differences in Difference: "Cognitive Mapping" of the Landscape of Otherness

Different things are different with difference. It is a liquid, fluid category, which evades any effort to fix it. Paradoxically, the closer you approach to it, the more you move away from it, for the different, by its character, can never be identified. Once it seems to be grasped, it suddenly disappears, even turns to the opposite— it becomes in-different: identical. No space of unfolding difference is left in the process of defining the different. Defining difference means violating, means destroying it. Is there a way out of this trap? Perhaps we have to take a different route to approach the field of difference. In this paper I try and conceive difference not as a fixed category but as a certain relation. Difference is a space in-between—that "third" space that opens up in the process of constructing "otherness." Accordingly, difference can either be seen as a "gap" or as a "bridge." It is only possible to speak of difference in relation to other categories, things, people etc. Or to be more accurate: difference is created in this relation. So it seems that if we know about the other categories, things, people, etc. (and their relation), we get very close to the difference which differentiates them.

Jemadari Kamara, Associate Professor of Africana Studies, UMass Boston
Tony Van Der Meer, Adjunct Professor of Africana Studies, UMass Boston.

Constructing Decolonizing Methodologies: Theories and Praxes of Difference

The United States government's post 9/11 domestic and international policies are important reasons to revisit the work of Edward Said. The implications of his writing for those most culturally and politically marginalized are extremely salient. In this essay we see that critque of racism parallels the ideas of Said's *Orientalism* (1979). We engage these ideas comparatively, and as our title suggests, explore the process of constructing decolonizing methodologies. Edward Said discussed the necessary conditions required for "the other" to be able to confront the oppressor's injustices. However, this is a necessary but insufficient step in social resolution. Said further illuminated the structural character of oppression. It is the institutionalization of the process that produces the capacity for systemic reproduction. Therefore, achieving systemic change must be an objective. Even with the best of intentions, unabated structural inequality will lead to increased tension and resistance. Some open, public discussion must occur regarding resources required to repair and redevelop those harmed. Reparations are part of the resolution which must be considered. The systematic use of violence as a vehicle to impose the colonial order has produced a twenty first century cultural environment where violence is endemic. Achieving reconciliation without disarma-ment (or minimally a truce) is a recipe for frustration. The creation of a new cultural environment is what's required. The transformation of values, guaranteeing a basic human quality of life, health care, housing and education, is possible if we have the political will. It is essential to demonstrate cross cultural respect, social justice and economic inclusion. Because

if society doesn't, there will be no peace.

Mehmet Kucukozer, Doctoral Candidate in Sociology, CUNY-Graduate Center

Reevaluating State Formation and Transformation in Light of the Current Debate on 'Failed States'

There is a wide consensus that the concept of "failed states" is poorly understood. The purpose of this paper is to break with long-standing macro-structural theories of state formation in order to begin the process of articulating a more dynamic theory of "failed states, or "disrupted states" as I prefer to call them. This involves looking at state-society relations through the prism of two intervening variables that interact with one another: state institutions, which constitute the state, and societal institutions, which develop around patterned and recurrent social practices as they recursively take shape through the interactions of individuals and social groups. The state, through its institutions and its efforts to extract and allocate resources, gives incentives to certain social groups and their institutionalized practices and alters, represses, and excludes others. The process of exchange between state institutions and societal ones is a complex one in which environmental factors (i.e., wars, population movements, social conflict, natural disasters, changes in the economy, etc.) transform the institutions themselves and their relationships. These processes can be observed historically and empirically.

Winston Langley, Associate Provost for Academic Affairs

The Great Dis-Orientator: Edward Said

Fromm suggested that our capacity for self-awareness, reasoning, and imagination requires a picture of the world, requires images. Second, that satisfying this requirement permits one to organize all the impressions that impinge on one and provides a basis to act purposefully, whether or not the content of those images is false. Third, this need for images is not a historical or contingent one; it is universal and trans-historical. Edward Said understood the powerful need to which Fromm referred; he understood even more deeply, the witting and unwitting ways—note his work *Culture and Imperialism* (1994)—by which culture is used as a map to shape orientation, by which one's social, political, aesthetic, and moral outlook become hinged to that orientation, and the construction of identities based on that hinging. He, therefore, became the great dis-orientator, as he witnessed the building of empires of meaning based on those images, as he countenanced the humiliation and undoing of cultures and peoples, and as he faced the progressive denuding of the everything human of individuals and societies. *Orientalism* (1979)*,* as well as *Culture and Imperialism*—to cite two of his works—were efforts to dis-orient people; to reverse centuries of false devotions, fears, and loyalties; and to awaken the world and its generations of people to the cruel truth that the self itself is constituted in the activity of making and moving among images. As such, the great disorientator, knew that it is not enough that the intellect identifies and wrestles with the defects and evils of our or any age or—indeed—the culmination of ages. It is not even enough to identify the instrumental remedies for those evils. What we must do is nothing less than become what we truly are—humans. To so become, we need to eliminate the hierarchies within ourselves—as individuals and collectivities—between word and deed; and then begin the work of eliminating other hierarchies of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, social class, cultural status, among others. Finally, the dis-orientator warns us about tomorrow—the history we imagine, the promise of the better. That promise is an orientation, also, that allows for present brutalities. So he told us that no moment holds more promise than the one we have; do not privilege tomorrow. Now is the accepted time. Let us begin.

Charles Lemert, Andrus Professor of Sociology at Wesleyan University, and Professor of Sociology at the Boston Graduate School of Psychoanalysis.

Said and "Edward": Dispossession and Overcoming Nostalgia

Edward Said's politics of dispossession are truly original as well as bold and important. *Out of Place* (1999)*,* like many memoirs of childhood, could well have been nostalgic, at least to the extent of romanticizing his Palestinian past. Yet, the book is anything but. Said tells his story at the literary remove he invents in order to open a space for the distances in the story—the social distances from his family, his late coming to terms with the politics of dispossession, his career in English literature as distant from the orientalist attributes of Anglophone culture, the political and economic distances between his family comforts and misery of the Palestin-

ians he devoted himself to serving. Said himself was distant by every measure from the truly dispossessed, the economically uprooted, and the socially unsettled. Yet, having settled deeply into the higher cultural circles of the West, he did not lapse into sentimentality for his past. *Out of Place* is very much a story of childhood, but very much NOT nostalgic. It could not have had the effect it has had had it been. And, this, when it comes to literary work is as much a political as a cultural accomplishment. Rather, for him, this book and all the books of his career were cultural achievements only to the extent that they were based, either biographically or historically, in the politics of his own dispossession within (and at odds with) Palestinian dispossession. Though the types of dispossession differ in degree and kind, Said is surely right. Like it or not, to do the critical work of using one's elite cultural capital to unsettle the world is to become an exile—even a traitor to the class, even a terror to the prevailing culture. One cannot do social theory without being an exile. The modern world of the liberal romance, so pleased with itself that it welcomes the uprooted, has never taken well to free-floating intellectual social critics, many of whom find their way to prisons of other or another kind. Against the modern, Said set the Palestinian as a global figure able to confront the global world as it is by repossessing what had been lost—not by a crude fundamentalism of the original, but by a daring new beginning of a story already being told.

Neil McLaughlin, Associate Professor, Sociology, McMaster University and the Canadian Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) "Globalization and Autonomy" Project

The Global Public Intellectual, Academic Professions and the Intellectual Hero: Reflections on Edward Said

The death of Edward Said represents a defining "moment" in history that allows us to think analytically and politically about the emergence of global public intellectuals. After outlining an overview of various theories of the "public intellectual" in the context of a new global environment, this essay discusses the response to the death of Said among academics, journalists and public intellectuals. Said, it is clear, refused to bow to academic or political orthodoxies, the temptation of power or the vagaries of intellectual fashion. Said was not quite as amateur, however, as his own theory of the intellectual suggests. This point is illustrated by a comparison of Said to the great French sociologist Bourdieu, another prominent global public intellectual. Said was a global intellectual hero who emerged from inside the professional American university system in ways that exhibited genuine political courage and created space for intellectuals and movement activists without his fame and scholarly status.

Bruce Mazlish, Professor Emeritus of History, M.I.T.; Director, The New Global History Initiative; Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Edward Said: The Colonial Spirit in a Globalizing World

Edward Said's accomplishments are legendary. He was a scholar of unsurpassable erudition, who used his scholarship to try and influence political change. He strove for intellectual impartiality, while infusing all his work with passion. He was at home in comparative literature and literary theory alike. His name will forever be linked with the notions of Orientalism and post-colonialism. Divided, so to speak, in his natal origins—a Christian Palestinian living most of his life in the USA—he constructed his identity as an exile and a cosmopolitan—a marginal man—who could see inside the culture of others. He will forever be an inspiration to anyone working on culture and imperialism, which he indissolubly linked. Though one can glimpse this linkage in his early work, he and it grew together in a deeper and more mature fashion as he moved toward the end of his life. This essay is an inquiry into a few aspects of Said's work that hopefully benefits from a tangential view of his work, perhaps illuminating some sides of him passed over by scholars more immersed in the details. A theory about the sociology of knowledge, about the relations of culture and politics, about the nature of representation, and about the role of the intellectual, these surely are major contributions to social theory that Edward Said made. Just as clearly, they are not in the positive mode of much of modern-day sociology. But this is to say that such sociology is narrow; it must be made insistently complementary with the hermeneutic approach. While Said, to my knowledge, does not use that particular word, hermeneutics, such an approach is central to his achievements in social theory. The way of Said staked out his position was to invoke the name of Vico frequently. The over-all result of Said's hermeneutic, or should I say literary, inclinations, when added to his double consciousness, and his exilic awareness is a lasting gift to the world of social theory. I also honor Said by viewing him critically, as he would have wished. My thesis is that Said came to the edge of a global world, but never truly transcended the colonial spirit that informed and inspired his work. His mi-

lieu was basically that of the anti-colonial movement, which spawned the nationalisms that he came to criticize so severely, necessary steps though they were, and which he wanted to go beyond to what he called liberation. Liberation for Said meant a transcending of local identities in the name of humanity. It is at this point that Said stood at the edge of what we now characterize as globalization, and peered into that world, but did not enter fully into it, certainly not in the sense of trying to analyze it with the tools of social science.

Atossa Movahedi, American University, Washington D.C.

The Hyper-Real Enemy & Spectator-Sport Warfare in the West: The U.S.-Iraq War Paradox

War and sports have always been close bed fellows. Winning is valued so highly in American sport culture, argues Ian Robertson (1997), that playing of a game has taken a secondary role. "Winning is not everything, it is the only thing," is a slogan which has captured every aspect of sportsmanship. One may argue that in Olympic Games, nations engage in nothing but a symbolic war. Changing the actual war into television sport has many social and psychological functions. It makes it easy for people to identify with their home team. It makes people feel good about themselves as a fan of a winning team. It converts the violent nature of war into some health driven sport activity. It robs the war of its reality of death and destruction by casting it in into a TV fantasy narrative in which actors die in one scene only to be resurrected to play a different role in the next scene. The Western experience of war has been one through a protective bubble, and I argue that it has desensitized individuals to the actual horror and destruction of war. This paper will show how the current U.S.-Iraq war demonstrates this notion of spectator-sport warfare.

Khaldoun Samman, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Macalester College

Occidentalizing and Orientalizing the Self in the Middle East

In this paper I invert Said's focus on how the "other" was constructed and made real to the more perplexing issue of how these constructs were received by its referent "other." That is, how precisely does the "oriental" negotiate the constructs produced by the Orientalist discourse? The irony of this form of analysis is that it demonstrates that as the world becomes more permeated with the transnational flow of goods, culture, and military bases from the West, the people of the periphery look "inward" and create a space for themselves by producing what they believe represents their authentic culture. In this sense the actual dynamics of a given locational identity rely on, and are shaped by, activities and forces that are global. But there are multiple ways the "Oriental" produces his or her identity. In this paper I explore how the Orient produces its self through the binaries constructed by the Western gaze. The example I shall use is that of the Middle East, where the "Arab-Islamic world" reproduced the binaries given to it by the "West" in multiple ways, sometimes complicitly accepting the binaries as objective cultural realities while at other times resisting these same assigned constructs. Islamists and Arab nationalists were satisfied as being "different from the West" while Zionists and Kemalists vigorously refused to accept the Oriental label by removing their imagined identity from the Orient and becoming part of "Western" civilization. The argument presented here is that the identities produced in response to the hegemonic power of the global north have come in largely three forms: Modernizing (Arab Nationalism), Occidentalizing (Zionism and Kemalism), and Orientalizing (Islamist Movements).

Solen Sanli, Doctoral Candidate in Sociology, New School University

Veiling as Identity Politics: The Case of Turkey

This paper argues that veiling occupies its place in public consciousness precisely because of women's symbolic role as bearers of modernity in Turkey. In doing that, it utilizes Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, symbolic violence and cultural capital. It is argued that symbolic violence is exerted towards individuals in Turkey so that they conform to the secular, modern and nationalist norms of the Republican elite. "Republican habitus" requires a certain life-style and a set of bodily dispositions privileged by the ruling elite. In the 1980s and especially 1990s, the symbolic violence exerted towards the overtly religious, migrant, and ethnically diverse segment of the population has diminished in severity partly since such dispositions found more representation in the newly privatized media, and those with diverse dispositions increased their economic capital

through Turkey's liberalization in those years. It is argued that today, the struggle in the field of power has resulted in increasing integration of contested identities into the mainstream consumerist culture. At the same time, a rise in "racism," that is, a growing hostility between the republican elite and the "others" is also being observed. A constructive revision of Ataturk's project, one which allows its own criticism, is needed.

Frank Scherer, Doctoral Candidate, Social/Political Thought Program, York University, Toronto

Oriental(ist) Scenes: Orientalism of Psychoanalysis / Psychoanalysis of Orientalism

This paper proposes to explore the "Orient" that emerges in the writings of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). Largely biblical or in Minor Asian key, Freud's Orient pertains not so much to the field of area studies as it delineates defining features of his modernist *Weltanschauung* which is inevitably caught up with the founding of psychoanalysis as a general interpretative science. If the 19th century saw the birth of modern Orientalism in the sense of Edward Said's (1978) path breaking and, at the same time, precarious critique, it also witnessed the unraveling of European colonial pretensions on a global scale. Freud's Orientalist discourse mirrors, in this context, not just European ambitions abroad, but—in an atmosphere of growing nationalist fragmentation of an otherwise multi-national Austro-Hungarian Empire and accompanied by the massive influx of so-called *Ostjuden* (Eastern Jews)—a mise-en-scene of the "Occidental" self.

Hormoz Shahdadi, Adjunct Faculty, Political Science Department, UMass Boston

Orientalism as Praxis

As an empirical phenomenon, difference is subject to a multiplicity of interpretations. In this paper I argue that the phenomenon of difference cannot be studied, as modern positivism and scientific approach assert, in a value neutral way. Difference, in the case of human agents, requires a special humanistic attitude. Otherwise, the cognitive operation involved would imply a "power differential" which in turn would result in relation of domination and the division into independent and autonomous (the observer) and dependent and subordinate (the observed). Orientalism, I propose, is an academic and institutional, therefore, socially structured Praxis. This praxis is rooted in two epistemological foundations: the first foundation is the ontological paradigm of positivism of science itself; and, the second, the "socialized self" of the Orientalist—his consciousness—which is one necessarily framed by the "oppositional" attitude. In terms discussed, the only solution seems to originate in total rejection of domination—the Master/Slave relation of consciousness—and its substitution with Kantian Categorical Imperative: extension of the self to include all other selves as one's own. Such universalism, of course, can be a *strategy for research and analysis.*

Rajini Srikanth, Associate Professor of English and Director of the University Honors Program, UMass Boston

Discussant Introduction: Orientalism and the Poverty of Imagination

In this introductory remarks on a panel on "Orientalism and Mass Media," I return to the theme of the poverty of imagination. The Orientalist mind, the imperialist impulse, can only exist when the Arab, African, or Asian is construed as a blank, a void, to be filled with images of the West's fashioning. That the nations of the West moved beyond their geographical boundaries did not guarantee that they would also move beyond the narrow boundaries of their imagination. The psychologists in the audience will probably attribute this reluctance to the Western valorizing of "a solid self," a self that guards against infiltration by foreign elements. In contrast, an individual like Said spoke of the power of the shifting self, the special insights provided by the exile who lives a life of dissonance. The exile is blessed with an abundant and textured imagination. By contrast, the producers of mass culture flatten their imaginations in representing the African, Middle Eastern, and Asian. The papers on this panel defy Orientalist producers of mass culture and the productions that come from impoverished imaginings.

Mohammad H. (Behrooz) Tamdgidi, Assistant Professor, Sociology, UMass Boston

Orientalist and Liberating Discourses of East-West Difference: Revisiting Edward Said and the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam

Through his writings, Edward Said exposed the underpinnings of the orientalist looking glass self images of the East in the mind of the West, and ushered a lively, sophisticated, and long lasting critical dialogue in our academic and public forums. Ironically, however, the discourse Said ushered may be misread to signify dismissal altogether of the substantive relevance and interpretive value of the East-West difference itself. The very process of critique of European imperiality and orientalism implies the expression and articulation of a subaltern, largely non-European, perspective that draws upon heritages that may have long preceded the rise of the West. This paper revisits Said's text on the subject to demonstrate that underlying his political rhetoric regarding the orientalist dichotomizations of East and West is not a denial of the cultural difference itself but a critique of a particular (orientalist) way of dealing with that difference. This paper argues that Said's discourse on orientalism and the East-West difference needs to be itself historically contextualized in terms of the post-WWII and especially post-Cold War global conjuncture. I argue that a blanket dismissal of East-West difference may itself signify the internalized presence of a subtle eurocentric attitude in disguise that implicitly and indirectly reproduces the orientalist perspective by denying distinctive identity and power of representation to the non-European world. This is not to say that Said advocated such a perspective for he was well aware of the significance and value of post-colonial and subaltern literature seeking to rediscover and/or articulate authentic voices in the East; but the rhetorical form of his arguments leaves room for misreading and misinterpretation of his otherwise valuable contributions in exposing the false orientalist representations in favor of authentic historiographies. The distinctive contribution of Eastern world-view is its holistic and integrative approach to knowing the self and the world, an epistemological attitude that challenges the artificial disciplinary boundaries long invented and rigidified in Western cultural and academic discourse. However, neither the integrative nor the analytic modes of cultural production and innovation as represented by Eastern and Western world-views can succeed in the absence, in opposition to, and in clash with the other. A dialectical conception of the East-West cultural difference, in fact, aims to accommodate both into a singular holistic framework while maintaining the distinctive contributions of each to the world culture. I will revisit Omar Khayyam's rubaiyat to illustrate the way in which the very problem of "translating" his poetry invented and represented the orientalist discourse and how efforts in retranslating his quatrains can help illuminate both the validity of East-West cultural difference and the articulation of liberating discourses of that difference.

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GURLZ N GUNS: Popular and Firearm Culture in Contemporary America

This study evolves from observations of the growing presence of women characters who "kick ass" in contemporary American popular culture. The research here compares and contrasts the realities of actual armed women and the stereotypes of girls with guns in American movies and television. The numbers of notable women characters with guns have increased in American popular culture since the 1970s. Roughly twenty years later, the rise in the statistics on actual armed women followed. With this in mind, this study will provide analysis of the difference between reality and fiction of armed women, how depictions of tough women in American popular culture are the manipulated embodiment of the feminist ideal or the subversive commodification of the feminist culture, and how the fiction of girls with guns in popular culture is affecting the minds of the next generation of young armed women today. In this paper I also posit that the depictions of hyper feminine characters of armed women in action/thriller and sci-fi movies can be viewed as a manifestation of orientalism.

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Hegel's Philosophy of Freedom, God, and the State as World-Historical Discourse on Power and Domination: The West Versus the Rest of the World in Edward Said's Critical Hermeneutic

Georg Hegel is one of the leading philosophers in the history of Western civilization. This paper summarizes his theory of Freedom, God, and the State, and concludes that the theory is not only Eurocentric but a discourse on power and domination with negative consequences on particularly Third World people. Relevant themes from Edward Said's Orientalism were selected and used to deconstruct the Eurocentric presuppositions of Hegel's theory. The main thrust of the paper is demonstrating how modern Orientalism impacts development theory and policy, especially in the Third World. The paper maintains that modern Orientalism is built into contemporary mainstream development theory and policy, which is neoliberalism.