In-Between "Here" and "There":
Cambodian People as Transnational Agents

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「ここ」と「そこ」を超えた新たな空間：
越境するカンボジア系の人びと

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概　　要

　グローバリゼーション化が進行する現代において、商品の物流や人の移動が国境を越えて加速している。移民や難民などの人びとの生活の中では、国家、言語、人種、民族、階級、そしてジェンダーなどの要素が複雑に交差し影響し合う関係性が存在する。内戦やポル・ポト政権の圧政により、多数のカンボジア国民がヨーロッパ、北米、日本などの国々に分散しディアスポラ・コミュニティーを構築した。本論文は様々な立場にあるカンボジア系の人びとのアイデンティティ形成と変容に注目した研究から生じたものである。カンボジア、日本、カナダで収集したインタビュー・データを基に4人の研究参加者に焦点を当てる。クメール・ルージュ時代を生き抜き、カンボジアの首都プノンペンでメディア・プロデューサーとして活躍する女性、生存者・難民としての経験をクメール語、日本語、英語で出版し、日本で定住する女流作家、そしてカナダのカンボジア系コミュニティーで生まれ育ち、クメール伝統舞踊を継承し指導する若者たちを紹介する。ミシェル・フーコー（2002）が提唱した「ヘテロトピア」の概念を用い、研究参加者たちが携わっている種々の活動に見られる越境性について考察する。カンボジア系の人びとの日常生活に存在するトランスナショナルな要素が異文化間において西洋／東洋、先進国／発展途上国、インサイダー／アウトサイダーなどの二項対立を超越する可能性を持つものとして論じる。

キーワード：カンボジア系ディアスポラ，アイデンティティ，ヘテロトピア，越境性
Key words：Cambodian diaspora, identity, heterotopia, transnationality

Living at the borders means that one constantly treads the fine line between positioning and de-positioning. The fragile nature of the intervals in which one thrives requires that, as a mediator-creator, one always travels transculturally while engaging in the local "habitus" (collective practices that link habit with inhabitance) of one's immediate concern.
(Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Elsewhere, Within Here*, 2011, p. 54)

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1. Introduction

We are currently experiencing various borders emerging and merging through the transnational flows of commodities and people such as immigrants, refugees, and hyphenated people. Originally, the location of nation-states is apparent, when we look at maps created by cartographers. However, it has become clear that cartography is not a simple act of recording and displaying where countries are situated and national borders are set; it entails some complex issues. The importance of examining maps critically has been emphasized by so-called critical cartographers (Harley, 1989; Wood, 1992; Nash, 1993; and Sparke, 1995). In his article: "Deconstructing the Map", Harley (1989) pays attention to the cartographic traditions developed in imperialism. Focusing on non-European cartography created by those who were once colonized, Harley deconstructs the discourse of colonial cartography, and introduces the concept of "critical" cartography to uncover the power of mapping. According to Harley, power is woven into the cartographic act in specifying boundaries and claiming land ownership.

The privileged act of mapping is deconstructed by Wood (1992) in his book entitled *The Power of Maps*. Focusing on the history of cartography, Wood investigates how certain political and social decisions have affected the production of maps. He asserts the need to observe the human activities behind maps closely, and urges the development of alternative cartography in which "[p]ast and future ... come together ... through the grace of the map" (1992, p. 7). Sparke (1995) utilizes an approach of "moving between demythologization and deconstruction" (p. 5), and suggests that "a whole set of essential and Eurocentric notions of identity, space and history" (p. 2) is inscribed in colonial cartography. Applying feminist theory and postcolonial theory to the case of Ireland, Nash (1993) reveals the fixed identity and boundary assigned to the country by the colonial mapping. In doing so, Nash proposes a new type of cartography embracing the aspects of identity, gender, language, and place as well as "the possibility of fluidity and openness" (1993, p. 54).

Indeed, an alternative form of cartography is essential for the case of Cambodia. Cambodia is a country whose Oriental-ness is proclaimed continuously by explorers from the West. For instance, a French explorer Henri Mouhot launched himself on an expedition to Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia in 1858. Mouhot was "... the first person ... to attempt to fill in the blanks on all the maps, for cartography had made no progress in this region since the seventeenth century" (Mouhot, 1989, p. xii). Mouhot's writing engraved the term "savagery" on the peoples inhabiting the areas "unknown" to the Western world: "Ever since I had been in Cambodia my servants had been in a state of alarm, and it reached its height when I informed them that we were about to set out on an expedition to the savage tribes" (p. 218). Such enthusiasm to disclose the unknowns was inherited by the latter-day travelers and anthropologists, who observed the "Oriental" world based on the "Western" view.

As I explained elsewhere (see Hara, 2014), Cambodian citizens were tormented with the civil war after the French rule. The political chaos such as the brutality by the Pol Pot regime caused the exodus of the people. A considerable number of Cambodian people left the country and dispersed around the world, seeking refuge. They formed and now retain the diasporic communities, which cannot be restricted to the national borders. In the case of the Cambodian diaspora, McLellan (2004) states, "Ethnic, political, and religious identities among Cambodian refugees ... are in large part constructed through connections with transnational communities and homeland linkages" (p. 101). In addition, Um (2007) regards the relationship between departure (homeland) and arrival (the country of residence) as neither simply one-way nor static: "References to 'home' are necessarily punctuated with notions of temporality, with constantly shifting power relations and with the multiplicity and simultaneity of identities that diasporas deploy" (p. 257). Thus, the conception of identity is getting more complicated along with the increasing movements of people beyond the national boundaries. I consider this type of identity, which is located in the interval and changes incessantly, as transnational.

A fine illustration of this transnational identity can be seen in Anzaldúa's concept of a "*mestiza*" (Anzaldúa, 1987). She calls the in-between space transgressing the border between the United States and Mexico "a borderland". "A borderland is", remarks Anzaldúa, "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition" (1987, p. 25). Borrowing Anzaldúa's argument to the border-crossing movements of transmigrants in the present time, we can say that the space inhabited by transnational subjects is a *mestiza*, the continually shifting in-between site where their identities constantly undergo a change and are negotiated. In this study, I attempt to create a fluid and open critical cartography of Cambodian people as transnational agents moving across the borders and allowing us to see more beyond the conventions. In doing so, I seek to accomplish two conceptual objectives: (1) to elucidate the complexity, multiplicity, and fluidity embodied in the lives of the study participants constantly shifting across spaces, and (2) to demonstrate the formation and existence of the in-between space inhabited by transnational agents. In this newly generated critical cartography, age, class, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality are all taken into consideration, and the previously established borders come to be destabilized.

2. Theoretical Framework

I draw on the concept of "heterotopia" proposed by Michel Foucault in this study. The rise of Cartesian knowledge and its emphasis on science as a rigid, reliable method depicting "reality" and thereby constructing knowledge and the absolute truth have a significant impact on the development of such academic disciplines as anthropology and education.

Regarding the construction of scientific knowledge, Foucault (1988) presents a critical analysis:

> ... [H]umans develop knowledge about themselves: economics, biology, psychiatry, medicine, and penology. The main point is not to accept this knowledge at face value but to analyze these so-called sciences as very specific 'truth games' related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves. (p. 17–18)

The tradition of cartography aiming at presenting knowledge of the unknown places to the Western audience is no exception. Foucault asserts the necessity of deconstructing the "regimes of knowledge", which generate and sustain the hegemonic discourse in Western society. In addition to the predominance of the scientific way of understanding the world, binarism is another important issue. Foucault (2002) explains the ways in which the binary system is deeply rooted in the Western civilization:

> ... [O]ur life is still governed by a certain number of oppositions that remain inviolable, that our institutions and practices have not yet dared to break down. These are oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example between private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work. (p. 230)

Here Foucault articulates how various types of spaces are simply divided into the two poles with no room left for doubt. Moreover, he suggests that the hierarchy is inscribed in the very system creating and maintaining the opposition and this leads to the preservation of "the space of emplacement" (2002, p. 230).

Problematizing this scheme retaining the hierarchy, Foucault offers a view deconstructing such a conventional way of thinking about spaces, and pronounces that "... we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another" (2002, p. 231). What Foucault means here is that it is crucial to "dare to" deconstruct the norm and acknowledge the world (s) we live in as heterogeneous sites, which he calls, "heterotopia". For developing this new vision, Foucault formulates "heterotopology", the alternative approach to look at the interplay of spaces. His "heterotopology" is based on the following six principles: 1) all societies form heterotopias; 2) heterotopia's functions can shift; 3) heterotopia maps a unique site to numerous conflicting sites; 4) heterotopias have unconventional relationships with time; 5) heterotopias have conditions for entry and exit; and 6) heterotopias relate functionally to all other sites. As an example of "heterotopia", Foucault directs his attention to colonialism and refers to colonies as sites embracing the complexity that is unable to be placed in the dichotomy of colonizer/colonized.

Demonstrating his theory of "heterotopology", Foucault defies the hegemonic view regulating the way in which people perceive the world and points out the need to recognize

the intricacies excluded from the binary production and cultivate the view appreciating the existence of the diversified worlds transgressing the binaries. His notion highlighting the interconnectedness of spaces is relevant to the concept of the "Third Space" presented by Homi Bhabha. Bhabha (1994) gives an account of the "Third Space" as follows:

> It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew. (p. 55)

Bhabha thus proposes the "Third Space" as an alternative site—resisting being essentialized by the norm—where various translations and interpretations are possible. In addition, Bhabha illustrates its potential that: "... by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves" (1994, p. 56). In this way, Bhabha contends that applying the perspective of the "Third Space" enables us to recognize and observe the power of the normative discourse legitimatizing "History" and the "Truth" and sustaining the system re-producing the opposition. In this study, I consider that Foucault's concept of "heterotopia" holds the potential similar to what Bhabha mentioned above.

Moreover, the theory of "heterotopology" seeking to deconstruct the norm has a potential for assisting us to take notice of the complexity and interrelationship embraced in people's lifestyles. Here the concept of "heterotopia" has relevance to Butler (1993) arguing the intricate interaction between subject and abject, which is occurring incessantly in the lives of people. Butler suggests that "... the subject is constituted through the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside to the subject, an abjected outside, which is, after all, "inside" the subject as its own founding repudiation" (1993, p. 3). Unlike the norm placing the two in the hierarchy, Butler asserts that the relationship between subject and object is not necessarily binary. The intricacy and interconnectedness are thus inseparable from the formation of multifarious spaces as well as the lives of people inhabiting these spaces. Drawing on Foucault's "heterotopology" described above, this study explores the diversity of spaces inhabited by the research participants and myself, and how these spaces intersect one another and mutate through the interaction.

3. Methodology

This research paper draws on the data collected in Cambodia, Canada, and Japan in 2010. I carried out interviews in various places including Phnom Penh, Ottawa, and Hiratsuka. In this article, I focus on selected research participants in order to attain the conceptual objectives described earlier. The accounts of the four participants below reflect diversity in terms of location and viewpoint, which cannot be labeled simply as "Cambodians". In the interviews, I as a researcher (specified as "R" in the dialogue) asked the following questions

in common: "Can you give me five keywords when you think of Cambodia?" and "Can you give me five keywords when you think of the country of your residence?" As a result, the responses of the study participants expand into not one-way but multifarious directions, which challenge the binary structure of departure and arrival. The representation of the stories in the third and fourth sections of this paper is an attempt to create a space where the three actors meet—a research participant expresses her/his opinion; I introduce her/him; and the reader corresponds with the research participant and me. Each person has her/his own story to tell.

3.1 The First Story

Ms. T S in her 50s is the co-founder and executive director of the Women's Media Centre of Cambodia (WMC), the non-governmental, non-profit organization producing and broadcasting radio and television programs that offer educational information to the public. She went through the Pol Pot times and currently lives in Phnom Penh. As an established media producer, Ms. T S provides the five key terms about Cambodia as follows:

1) Media and freedom of expression
Freedom of expression is very important for journalists and people working in the media. It relates to empowering women.

2) Women and empowerment
As you know, women in Cambodia are living in traditional condition. The tradition of Cambodia is very narrow and I guess it may be very similar to Japan. Women have been living under this tradition for many years, so I think that empowering women is very important.

3) Gender equality
Empowering women is relevant to gender equality because when women are empowered, gender equality will be existed.

4) Development
And talking about development, ... Cambodia is considered as a developing country, I mean, a poor country. WMC is working to upgrade the status of Cambodian women because in Cambodia the number of women is 52% of the whole population and both women and men are equally needed for developing the country. If women's status is equal to men, it is easy and faster to develop the country, you know.

5) Health
About health, I classify health as number one in our life. If you are rich, you have a lot of money but if your health is not good, it's no meaning; your life is nonsense. If you are poor but your health is good, you can go to work; you can do everything to get money. That's why I say health is number one. So far I learnt that Cambodian women are not interested much in their health. Usually, they don't do medical check-up regularly ... because of their low education and because of the lack of the educational information on health importance. If women's health is not good, it would cause poverty.

3.2 The Second Story

Ms. P in her 40s now resides in Japan and makes her living by writing. She grew up in Phnom Penh until the age of 10 when Pol Pot came to power. Her parents and siblings passed away under tyranny of the Khmer Rouge. Her works illustrating her experiences in Cambodia and Japan have been published in several languages including Khmer, Japanese, and English. Ms. P offers a detailed explanation of the five keywords concerning Cambodia:

1) *Johm riab sua*

First of all, it is '*Johm riab sua*' meaning hello. ... The reason I chose this word is that the Cambodian language does not have a phrase meaning 'How do you do?', so people get acquainted with each other by saying just '*Johm riab sua*', even if it is the first meeting. Hence, the word is associated with closeness. In the case of Japan, people start with 'How do you do?', do self-introduction, and then get to know each other gradually, as they have more meetings.

2) Birth, aging, illness, and death

The second key term is a combination of four *kanji*—birth, aging, illness, and death—an idiom representing the Buddhist teachings. My mother used to use it often in my childhood. It means that no one can avoid any of these. It describes a natural transition that a human comes into being, grows old, gets ill, and passes away. When I came across this word in Japan, I thought, 'This was the word my mother used to say'. I think it is a good word because it helps me suppress my fear for these and keeps me calm.

3) Having faith

The third keyword is having faith. It appears to be difficult but if humans do not have religious faith, the mind will be unstable. ... When we have certain faith, we can keep self-control. Even just closing our eyes makes us calm, when we suffer or we are desolate. Even believing that we are under the protection of our ancestors is to have faith.

4) A Cambodian proverb

The fourth key term is a proverb 'Being given by a crow and sharing it with an old man Mr. Wau'. The Cambodian people are the citizens with the spirit of sharing. When a person receives something, he/she takes it to a neighbor right away. It is neither that the person can afford money nor that it gets old and no longer needed. For example, when someone receives two sponge cakes, he/she takes one to a family in his/her neighborhood before eating the other. I think it is amazing to give it to other people before actually eating it. This is apparent in the countryside in particular.

5) Another Cambodian proverb

The last keyword is a proverb that I hesitated about choosing. It is 'Encountering a crocodile in the water and a tiger in the land' meaning being forsaken by everybody. Nothing can be better than having no experience as such. But there are times when humans are forced into a tight corner and cannot escape from danger. This can be applied to the Pol Pot times in the case of Cambodia. It is an apt remark for us, the Cambodian people who went through that era. It means that there are occasions when humans do not have much strength to escape danger. In short, it suggests that there is no way out. It also implies a wish to run away like 'I wish I could have wings'.

Then Ms. P starts to express the five key terms, when she thinks of Japan:

1) *Konnichiwa*

The first one is '*Konnichiwa*'. Suppose that I went to Cambodia and local people asked me about how to say greetings in Japanese, I would come up with '*Konnichiwa*' first. Of course, it is not just saying '*Konnichiwa*' but accompanying it with a smile. In the case of Cambodia, saying '*Johm riab sua*' with hands joined leads to eye contact and a smile pops out automatically. Similarly, when eyes meet in saying '*Konnichiwa*', people smile naturally, so I like this word.

2) Rejoicing, anger, sorrow, and enjoyment

The second term is a combination of four *kanji* meaning to express the four feelings—rejoicing, anger, sorrow, and enjoyment. ... If we are asked to remove any one of the four feelings, the balance will collapse. Of course, it is better when we have a lot of rejoicing and enjoyment. Conversely, it is better when we have less sorrow and anger in our lives. But we grieve over a family member's death. If a beloved family member got killed, everyone would be filled with rage. Speaking of my current situation, I am very happy with my life in which I can express these four feelings freely.

3) Having a sense of duty and humanity

The third keyword is having a sense of duty and humanity. It is as if a samurai was speaking. I feel that this is common to the spirit of sharing. I think it is good that people are warm-hearted and help each other when needing help. For example, when people receive some gift, in return they send a present in exact timing with a family celebration or send something worth half of the price of the received gift. This is a very interesting custom.

4) A Japanese proverb

... The other two words are proverbs. One is 'Taking pleasure in the misfortune of others'. I think it is a bit frightening that this exists as a proverb in Japanese. I think that it implies our desires in living in the current competitive society—such desires as to go to a better school, work in a better company, and ultimately, lead a wealthier life than other people.

5) Another Japanese proverb

The other proverb is 'Giving no credence to strangers'. It indicates that the security of a place is not good enough. It also tells us not to trust people. In earlier times, as an upbringing, parents send children to school, telling them to greet people properly. On the contrary, this word suggests that it is not good to greet strangers. I think that this kind of proverb might show a yardstick in society. ... Certain words reflect cultural aspects of a nation, national traits, and security in society. These proverbs are common to the ones I talked about before. Having senses of duty and humanity is common to the spirit of sharing. It is just that the ways of expressing are different; they are common beyond the nations.

3.3 The Third Story

A female study participant (Aria) and a male participant (Jadon) teach Khmer dance to students at a non-profit organization Soma Selepak located in Ottawa, the capital city of Canada. The two instructors with Cambodian heritage are Canadian-born and in their 20s. They come up with the following five keywords when they think of Cambodia:

1) Traditional
Jadon: I find that Cambodian dance itself is very traditional. You can find a lot of other Asian countries, uh, they all look very similar but I think there is something very unique about Cambodian traditional and classical dance.

Aria: I think it's something most Cambodians are very proud of. Many take a lot of interests in it. It's something that I personally would like to see passed on from one generation to another. I wouldn't wanna see it go away.

2) Mysterious
Jadon: When I say the word 'mysterious', I think of the culture itself. I mean Cambodia has been broken apart, rebuilt, uh, then torn apart again, and rebuilt. So it's really hard to know exactly the history of Cambodia. There's so much question that needs to be answered and so much thing you're still learning about it. So that's mysterious.

Aria: I guess mysterious for me just because I was born here in Canada. So there're a lot of things about Cambodia that I don't know myself. As a child I did do some reading up. But as I grew up, it kind of became part of just my past, so there's a lot of Cambodian dance very unknown to me, uh, and I haven't been there myself. So it is, in a sense, a mysterious country to me.

3) Historical
Jadon: If anyone has ever been to Cambodia, I think that no matter where you are, you always find something very historical about just what has happened in the past, and I think you'll find a great story with everything you see. That's my thing with historical facts about it.

Aria: ... I know that there's deep ancient history from what I've seen in videos and heard from family members and friends, who have been there. You see the past everywhere you go. And places like Angkor Wat and I know there are many other places but that's usually the only one I can really remember and relate to. It's a history that we are very proud of, even though there are also a lot of tragedies surrounding it.

4) Artistic
Jadon: ... I find that everywhere you go, like architectural everything is very artistic. It's not quite the way that, you know, we build buildings now. It's not how the Egyptians did their Pyramids. They have a unique artistic structure and land of how they make Cambodia. So I just find that everyone there is very artistic whether it is making baskets, making their own homes or creating history.

Aria: I'd agree. I find from what I've seen in a lot of Cambodians expressing the selves artistically— in the form of dance, in the form of music—there seems like a song for any and everything that we can do in life. It could be a completely random act but they alter it into songs and there're dances for it. I think they are very good at expressing themselves more than words.

5) Creative
Jadon: I think it also falls back with the 'artistic'. I mean even though in Cambodia they don't have anything and if they do, they'll find a way to create a bed, to create a lifestyle, and also create a hairdo. I mean they have nothing, so for them to be able to live and survive and make a life out of it, they are extremely creative. There are a lot of other Third World countries out there and I find

that Cambodia is one that can manage, most of them can manage for themselves by being creative.

Aria: I also agree. I see creativity more in the artistic form as well. But I do think that Cambodia may not be creative innovatively. They are very lacking compared to our modern world here. They are catching up but since the Pol Pot regime, it's been over twenty years now, we are still playing catch-up. That's where I see they are lacking creativity. But on the artistic side, it falls under, you know, creativity; they are very creative in that sense. But I guess technology wise, modernization not so much.

When thinking of the country of their residence Canada, Aria and Jadon provide these keywords:

1) Multicultural
Aria: ... When you look around, you see pretty much every race, every color—anything you can think of this Canada represents it all. When you go to other countries, it's very unique cultural or at least the majority is very unique cultural, whereas here in Canada you see it all.

Jadon: I agree with you. (laugh) It's very multicultural here. I find that everyone, whoever may be, we are all very open with each other; we are all accepted of each other and also we accept, approve the cultural differences.

2) Political
Jadon: ... I think political, what I think of Canada, you automatically think of the government. You also think of the political aspect of how to run our country. Especially, living in Ottawa, you find everyone has a government job. Everyone has a political life.

Aria: It's a very democratic country. Unlike that of Cambodia, which seems to be very much a monarchy, we have our rights here; it encourages everybody to vote and make sure they speak out for what they believe in. It's a politically driven country.

3) Very open
Aria: I think that also relates to multiculturalism. Obviously, when you look around, you see so many different cultures, so many different faces, and we are very open-minded to that. We are very welcoming. We encourage everyone to be who we are. We are very accepting our differences and our similarities.

Jadon: Especially, Canada is ... where you can have same sex marriage. I think that in Canada that's the place where again, you can be who you want to be without being fully judged or discriminated against. Canada is a very free country, a very free, open-minded country.

4) Lots of opportunities
Jadon: There are a lot of opportunities here in Canada. I'm sure that if you are coming from any other country or any other city or somewhere else, I find that in Ottawa there is so much more opportunity whether to be a teacher, whether that for education. Also, just for a lifestyle, there are a lot of places to live. There's a lot of networking that happens. So that also leads to a lot of opportunities.

Aria: Well, opportunities start from when we are born, where there's daycare and education. As you grow up, it's mandatory for school up to a certain point. Because of that, you know, it really gives everybody the opportunity to really gain skills, learn, gain knowledge, gain experience in life, and that really opens up doors for a bright future.

5) Historical
Aria: Well, Canada isn't as old as many other countries, like 1867. It's not the oldest country but definitely, just I think again, it ties in multiculturalism because there are so many people from so many different places. They bring in the whole bunch of different histories and all those different histories make Canada what it is.

Jadon: Yeah. I find that we have a lot of history here. It's a lot of recorded history, which is always great because we can go back from when we first started until now and not really miss anything in-between …. Everywhere in Ottawa has some sort of a historical monument or a flag or something, so it's really great to see that here.

In this way, the study participants—Ms. T S, Ms. P, Aria, and Jadon—portray Cambodia as well as Japan and Canada, the countries of residence based on a variety of positions and views. The stories above reveal the striking features of Cambodia and Cambodian culture(s), and challenge the grand narrative confining them to "History", which is neatly hemmed with Angkor Wat, armed conflict, the genocide by the Khmer Rouge, and the exodus.

4. Various Types of Heterotopia

As previously indicated, through the discussion of the concept "heterotopia", Foucault asserts the necessity of cultivating criticality to deconstruct the normative view and acknowledging the world(s) in which people live as heterogeneous spaces. The narratives of the study participants below describe various cases of heterotopia emerging from their activities; heterotopia exists taking various forms in their daily lives. I argue that heterotopia coming into being in the lives of the research participants questions the hegemonic view regulating the way of perceiving time and space. In other words, the models of heterotopia in this section negate not only the clear division of time into past, present, and future but also the unquestioning classification based on nationality. For example, considering the case of WMC disseminating information on their website, it is reasonable to suppose that cyberspace where the viewers located all over the globe have access to the old and the latest news is a type of heterotopia existing as a space beyond the national borders and with the past, present, and future intermingled. Besides this, I inquire into three more instances of heterotopia coming into existence between: 1) the producer/disseminator and the audience/participant; 2) the writer and the reader; and 3) the performer/teacher and the audience/learner.

4.1 Heterotopia between Producer/Disseminator and Audience/Participant

Heterotopia in the case of Ms. T S is layered. Entailing the transnational trait described above, heterotopia emerges as a space between the producer/disseminator of radio and television programs and the audience. In this type of heterotopia, the WMC's attempt to convey information with a gender perspective included challenges the norm sustaining the male-dominated society. In doing so, Ms. T S asserts the need to keep balance:

> Speaking of all the WMC radio and video productions, we insert the perspective—the gender perspective in our productions. We are not biased. For every production we interview, do a survey on both men and women, otherwise it is not accepted by men. As you know, changing behavior or educating women alone is not successful because woman understands that she is a victim; she faces a problem. If you educate her without educating men, it's useless.

Here it is clear that the disseminated information promotes changes in the viewers' perception and action. With well-balanced encoding practiced, radio and television can create heterotopia with the positive attribute, which gives the audience the opportunity to obtain information useful to their daily lives. Heterotopia of this kind is a kinetic space; it actually shifts its position as seen in the implementation of a "mobile broadcasting" program, one of the principal activities of WMC. Ms. T S describes the effectiveness of the program in detail:

> ... We have a set of videos, a small generator, and a loud speaker, and then we carry these from village to village, broadcasting the radio and television programs that WMC produced to educate the people in the remote area so that people can watch and listen. ... [W]hen I broadcast and air the program from village to village, I have a quiz show activity to make sure that the viewer understands the message clearly. If they answer the question correctly, we give them soap and T-shirt to encourage them because in the rural areas, people are shy and not familiar with answering the question, discussing or talking. So we encourage them, 'If you give a right answer, you understand the message correctly, so you get soap'. And now people are like 'Let me answer. Let me answer'. We want to encourage especially women to talk, to voice themselves. In the remote areas, low educated women are scared to talk, so we break the silence. That's what we are seeing as the impact.

Thus, Ms. T S suggests that the program creates a space that spurs the audience to join and the active participation makes the space lively and kinetic. The mobility of the program produces a sort of heterotopia in motion and what takes place in this heterotopia is very dynamic.

The emergence of a similar type of heterotopia is evident in what Ms. T S remarks on another project of WMC promoting active discussion among the participants:

> R: So many people living in the villages come to watch and listen to it.

> Ms. T S: Yes. And lately we just succeed in our new project called 'Citizen Engagement Campaign'.

We tried to engage people with media because we understand that people are facing the problem because they are missing information or educational program. So we organize, set up listeners' and viewers' clubs and then we have one facilitator whose house has radio, television, and recorder, and we provide our program for the facilitator. And the facilitator asks the neighbors or their parents or their relatives to come to watch and listen to the program, and then discuss it among them—exchange ideas. ... Sometimes we invite the expert in related field to answer the question of the caller. For example, a lawyer related to inheritance or related to land issues acts as speaker on the air, and callers call in and ask questions that they like to know. This is very interesting and very effective.

It is clear from the account of Ms. T S on the new project and the radio program that these projects generate heterotopia where people play certain roles such as the facilitator, the viewers, the speaker, and the listeners, and the participants utilize the programs produced by WMC as a vehicle for communicating and discussing ideas to settle the issues. In this way, this type of heterotopia confronting the dominant ideology of gender in particular transfers from place to place, and involves people as participants in building and sharing alternative knowledge unaffected by the norm.

4.2 Heterotopia between Writer and Reader
The following case of Ms. P proposes another type of heterotopia, a space existing between the writer and the readers. Ms. P's observation below is helpful in inquiring what heterotopia looks like in the context of diaspora:

It was 1980 when I came to Japan and in 1992 I went back to Cambodia in the first place .... Contrary to the time when I muttered to myself frankly, 'I am home' in going down to the airport in Cambodia, I did not mutter that 'I am home', when I came back to Japan. But after I arrived at my home, I felt that this is my home, thinking 'I can calm myself at last'. I feel that I am home only when I get home, rather than feeling that this is my country soon after I set foot on Narita. It is as if a box happens to be put in Japanese territory. What I am looking for is not like the interior of Japanese territory or Cambodian territory. Rather, a space where my mind is at peace is placed inside Japan by chance. And my beloved children and family are here. Suppose that I go to Cambodia and prepare a box for myself in my old age, my children would not be there. I think that at that moment, I will see clearly where my 'home' is located for the first time. This is a story of somewhat the distant future, so it is indefinable at present. All I can say at the moment is that my home located in Japan is the place where I can have peace of mind the most.

In this way, the account of Ms. P above suggests that in considering heterotopia in the context of diaspora, there is a need to apply a broad view without limiting the discussion to nationality. In other words, heterotopia exists as a space transgressing the dichotomy of Cambodia/Japan, Cambodian/Japanese, and insider/outsider.

Ms. P delineates the process of self-expression in heterotopia, a space where Cambodian and Japanese elements meet:

... If I could not write this book, I would not have been able to face my homeland. I realized the importance of basic education once again. Therefore, when I came to Japan at the age of sixteen, I decided to resume my schooling at primary school and started studying at Grade Four. ... Because of that, I was able to write the book in both Japanese and Khmer. ... And then all I need to do is making the best use of education I had in both Cambodia and Japan. There are many messages I want to convey. One is that giving children education is the most important thing. The other thing is that I write a book, caring for both cultures equally and putting both merits and demerits altogether, as if to wrap these in my book.

Thus, Ms. P indicates the importance of keeping balance between the knowledge and skills gained in Cambodia and those gained in Japan, and of having a good command of both languages in order to write what she underwent in Cambodia and release her works to the readers located in Japan. In this type of heterotopia, Ms. P writes books with the intention of conveying the message overlooked by a biased view regarding Cambodia and the people as well as the labeling of refugees.

4.3 Heterotopia between Performer/Teacher and Audience/Learner
The case of Aria and Jadon is similar to Ms. P's in that heterotopia for the two is a space where Cambodia/Canada and Cambodian/Canadian are interfused complicatedly beyond the dichotomy. By performing dance on stage, Aria and Jadon intend to create an inter-active space between them as performers and the audience in order to show that Cambodian and Canadian elements are interwoven. Their articulation of how they change the ways of performing dance is useful here:

R: Which dance style do you feel the most comfortable with?

Jadon: I don't wanna use the word 'comfortable' because in reality, I'm comfortable in all types of creative, artistic dance styles. Cambodian dancing, I find that it's either my past life or something just always there, which I always had an interest in. Definitely, it's a challenge but it's something I always love doing. Hip-hop dancing, I love doing it as well. That is hard to do but I find that I'm comfortable with both of them because they're two different styles of dance.

Aria: For me, I guess it's whom I am dancing in front of. Generally, if my audience is Cambodian, I would definitely feel more comfortable dancing Cambodian styles. Not necessarily performing dance, like just at Cambodian parties, I would be dancing Cambodian styles. It wouldn't be hip-hop or anything that the way you would be dancing in a club. And in a club, I wouldn't be dancing the way I would at a Cambodian party. Sometimes I do. (laugh)

Thus, for Jadon and Aria, heterotopia resulting from their dance performance is kinetic since the power relation of Cambodian and Canadian components shifts depending on where they are located and who the audience are.

As dance instructors, they also advocate the importance of offering a learning space

where people assemble together physically:

> Aria: It's also a good place to meet friends because we spend a lot of time practicing together and know each other's hardships. And sometimes it's just hilarious to watch each other. (laugh)

> Jadon: Yes, very much. I mean I think it's a great time to, especially for younger people, it's harder to get together or harder for your parents to allow you to hang out with certain people or a certain amount of people. I think it gives everyone an excuse to be together.

> Aria: And also, now as technology isolation has become a very big thing, everyone is, you know, on their MP3s or iPods or sitting in front of the TV or the computer. Even if it's a once a week practice, it gets people out of their usual isolated bodies and to be a team, be a group—socialize the network.

> R: Do you use English or Khmer when you teach dance at Soma Selepak?

> Jadon: It's mostly in English.

> Aria: Because our Cambodian ourselves isn't that great and if we spoke Cambodian to them, they wouldn't understand much. One of my nieces is in it but she doesn't understand a lot of Cambodian. So speaking Cambodian first will be a challenge to ourselves and even more of a challenge to them.

> Jadon: And last semester we had a Chinese girl. So we are not gonna isolate her by speaking Cambodian. English is definitely easier for everybody—easier for the parents, easier for ourselves. I find that it's just the main language we have to [use].

It becomes clear here that Aria and Jadon's dance class operates as heterotopia in which the binary structure does not exist and no one is excluded, no matter where they are from. I am aware that English is a hegemonic language. However, the practicality of English is crucial to this particular type of heterotopia where the two instructors and the students coming from diverse backgrounds interact with one another. In this way, Aria and Jadon as dance performers and instructors form heterotopia as a space where various cultural components are intermingled without being divided up.

4.4 Heterotopia in Dissonance

Heterotopia is not necessarily always a space with a positive feature. There are occasions when conducting activities in heterotopia involves unpleasant moments and issues arising from discord. As a person in the diaspora, Ms. P talks about unpleasantness and hardship accompanied by being in heterotopia:

> Ms. P: ... Although nobody imposes restrictions on us, what seems real to me is that there is a barrier among races and ethnicities to some extent, whenever we go. Especially, in our case, the hardest thing was a language problem. We are at a disadvantage in language and also our feelings wise, what happened to us in the past put us at a disadvantage. There was no clear direction we head for and no way to express ourselves in words. I had only a sense of inferiority and thought that it is hard to

live no matter where I go. And then, I spent a long time to learn the [Japanese] language and was able to link the past to the present composedly. As already explained, I acquired the language and was able to make a home. At the moment, I publish books and am invited to deliver lectures.

R: How are the past, present, and future are connected in your life?

Ms. P: I cannot separate any of these. With the past too painful to endure, I am here at present. ... Even if we have Japanese nationality, we are foreigners seen from Japanese society. Considering our past, it put us in great jeopardy. It has no merit for us at the present time. But seen from those who are in Japan, some people say, 'But all of you were able to come to Japan because of the past like that. In reality, it is not easy to come here; you are special'. There are people holding a view like that, so everyone puts the past out of her/his mind as much as possible and is living only this moment with all her/his might. I wish people would deal with me more ordinarily rather than treating me as special like that. There is a clear difference between the side of the sender of the message and the side of the receiver who interprets it.

In this way, what is evident in Ms. P's words is the issue of race and ethnicity in heterotopia where Cambodian and Japanese elements meet. Her case suggests that there is a gap between what the writer in the diaspora intends to convey and what the general public in Japan interpret from her books. In addition, it shows that some interpretations are likely to underline her difference. What becomes clear from this kind of reaction to her works is the impact of the normative view maintaining the line between "Us" (someone similar) and "Them" (someone different). In spite of the hard experience described above, Ms. P proclaims that she ventures to disseminate her message by writing books and never stops placing herself in heterotopia where the past, present, and future of hers are interrelated.

5. Conclusion

Drawing on the concept of heterotopia proposed by Foucault, I looked closely at the practices in which the research participants are actively engaged. Clearly, there exists a layer of heterotopic spaces—those emerging from their daily activities and the one arising from this research paper itself. First, it became clear from the accounts of Ms. T S, Ms. P, Aria, and Jadon that heterotopia comes into being between: 1) the creator of a website and the viewer; 2) the radio/television program producer/disseminator and the audience/participant; 3) the writer and the reader; and 4) the performer/teacher and the audience/learner.

Through the discussion of heterotopia, Foucault advocated the necessity of cultivating criticality to deconstruct the normative view and acknowledging the world(s) in which people live as heterogeneous spaces. Indeed, heterotopia coming into existence in the practices of the research participants questions the hegemonic view regulating the way of perceiving time and space. In other words, these models of heterotopia negate not only the clear division of time into past, present, and future but also the unquestioning classification

based on nationality. For instance, between the creator of a website situated in Cambodia and the viewers around the globe exists heterotopia transgressing the national borders. In this cyberspace, the past, present, and future are mixed together since the viewers are now checking out the old and the latest news. The producer/disseminator of radio and television programs in heterotopia encourages the audience to participate in the creation of alternative views challenging the dominant ideology of gender. Heterotopia for the writer in the diaspora exists as a space transcending the dichotomy of Cambodia/Japan, Cambodian/ Japanese, and insider/outsider. Her case implies that in considering heterotopia in the context of diaspora, there is a need to apply a broad view without limiting the discussion to nationality. Writing books and giving lectures in this space uncover what is disregarded by the biased view of Cambodia and the people as well as the way of putting a fixed label of "refugees" on those who are in diasporic situations. The dance performers/instructors' practice creates heterotopia as a space detaching itself from the binarism and acknowledging the reciprocal relation among the diverse cultural elements. In this way, it became obvious that heterotopia exists taking various forms in the daily lives of the research participants.

On the other hand, heterotopia is not necessarily always a space with a positive meaning. There are occasions when conducting activities in heterotopia involves unpleasant moments and issues resulted from discord. For instance, what became evident from the comments of Ms. P is the issue of race and ethnicity in heterotopia where Cambodian and Japanese elements meet and sometimes collide. Ms. P illustrated a gap between what the writer in the diaspora intends to convey and what the general public in Japan interpret from her books. She also stated that some interpretations tend to highlight her difference. Such a reaction to her works is clearly affected by the normative view sustaining the line between someone similar to "Us" and someone different (the "Other", foreigner). Despite her hard experience, Ms. P affirmed her strong will to disseminate her message continuously by writing books and placing herself in heterotopia where the past, present, and future of hers are linked with one another.

In addition to these models of heterotopia, I argue that this research paper itself promotes the emergence of heterotopia between the reader and the written text. Regarding the text, my attempt to bring forth heterotopia is embodied in the writing style applied in the third and fourth sections. These sections set great store by the comments of the study participants. This transferred the role of the narrator/storyteller to the research participants and destabilized the fixed relationship between the participants and me as a researcher. The critical cartography of Cambodian people, created in this study, challenges the hegemonic view perpetuating essentialization, categorization, and dichotomization. Cambodian people as transnational agents are likened to a dandelion. Its surface including the petals and leaves represents nationality and ethnicity. When we shift our viewpoint and

focus on what is inside without adhering to the appearance, we can see the deep roots forking, entwining with each other, and supporting the flower. Hence, there is a need to acknowledge the complex elements that cannot be simply placed in the dichotomy of Us/ Them. The presence of Cambodian people in the in-between space implies the importance of taking into account what is underneath the outward appearance. The currently growing flower of a dandelion denotes the present. Its deep roots symbolize the past and the memory, which support the flower at present. Its leaves growing towards the sky represent the future. With the passage of time, the petals are metamorphosed into fluffs, and they fly in all directions. And then, they take root into various environments such as fields and even asphalt cracks on the road. They grow, basking in the warmth of the sun, while enduring the coldness of wind and rain at times. And again, they transform themselves from petals to fluffs, and they scatter around and fly over hills and fields. In this way, the transnational movement of Cambodian people transgressing various boundaries and dwelling in-between here and there proposes a new viewpoint useful for interacting with people from diverse backgrounds and also provides us with an alternative model of participating in the globalizing world fully.

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