

# The Changing Face of the U.S.A.

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## 1. Demographic Vistas

The U.S. Census 2000 illustrated the massive changes that the United States of America has been undergoing over the past decades in terms of its ethnic composition. Nationwide the percentage of the white population has declined from 79.8 percent in 1980 to 69.1 percent in the year 2000. Although the white population increased from 180 million in 1980 to 194 million in 2000, other ethnic groups grew much more rapidly: the number of Asians tripled and the number of Hispanics more than doubled during those two decades. The changing face of the U.S.A. in terms of ethnic composition is illustrated by the two tables below.

**Fig. 1: U.S. Population by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1980, 1990, and 2000**

Population group	Population in thousands		
	1980	1990	2000 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Total</b>	226,545	248,710	281,422
<b>Non-Hispanic</b>			
White	180,603	188,128	194,553
Black	26,092	29,216	33,948
Asian <sup>2</sup>	3,551	6,968	10,477
American Indian	1,433	1,797	2,069
Some other race	264	249	468
Two or more races	NA	NA	4,602
<b>Hispanic<sup>3</sup></b>	14,603	22,354	35,306

Non-Hispanic	Percent of total		
White	79.8	75.6	69.1
Black	11.5	11.7	12.1
Asian <sup>2</sup>	1.6	2.8	3.7
American Indian	0.6	0.7	0.7
Some other race	0.1	0.1	0.2
Two or more races	NA	NA	1.6
<b>Hispanic<sup>3</sup></b>	6.4	9.0	12.5

NA: Not applicable

<sup>1</sup> The 2000 figures are not comparable to the other years because respondents could mark more than one race.

<sup>2</sup> Includes Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders.

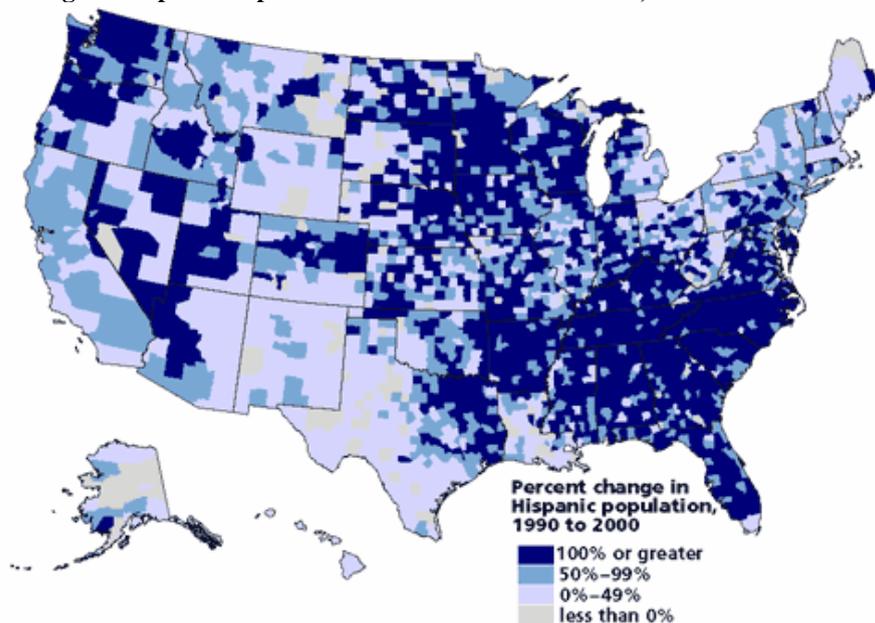
<sup>3</sup> More than 2 million Hispanics marked two or more races in 2000 (KENT et.al.)

Hispanics have by now become the largest ethnic minority group in the United States, outnumbering African Americans. As KENT et al. state, "The Hispanic population has grown faster than

the U.S. black population because Hispanics have higher birth rates and immigration rates than blacks. Although many blacks immigrated from Africa and the Caribbean, the flow is minor compared with the entry of Hispanic immigrants from Latin America." And in many places Latinos are no longer a minority. For example, census data for Los Angeles show that in 2000 the city was home to 1,719,073 people classified as "Hispanic or Latino" and to 1,734,036 whites (cf. U.S. Census Bureau). In view of the respective growth rates of these two groups, we can assume that by now the Latino population of Los Angeles outnumbers all other ethnic groups. National projections indicate that "in just 30 years, one out of four Americans will be either Hispanic or Asian in ethnic makeup. Furthermore, there are almost three million interracial marriages today – about five percent of all couples, compared to three percent in 1980. The current demographic changes follow a common pattern in American history: The metropolitan areas are becoming highly diverse, and areas outside the cities are more homogeneous" (SEALEY).

It seems that this latter assumption of "more homogeneous" areas outside the metropolitan centers is gradually losing its validity: in figure 2 the darkly shaded areas indicate regions that have seen the percentage of their Hispanic population (more than) double between 1990 and 2000.

**Fig. 2: Hispanic Population Growth in U.S. Counties, 1990–2000**



(KENT et al.)

While the Southwest and California (having been Mexican territories until 1848) already had a sizable Latino population before 1990, many areas where few Latinos had settled in the past (e.g. the South, the Midwest, and the Pacific Northwest) have recently witnessed significant changes in terms of ethnic composition. The face of the U.S.A. is changing: despite conservative attempts at re-establishing a "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant" (WASP) dominance U.S. Latinos are increasingly moving from the margins toward the center of the nation.

## 2. National Narratives

Demographic changes have been accompanied by political, economic, educational, and cultural changes. In the U.S.A. – as in the Americas, in Germany and elsewhere – we are increasingly dealing with multi-faceted cultures that defy essentialist claims and interpretations. When conservative politicians in Germany started speaking of a so-called "*Leitkultur*" ["guiding culture"] for Germany a while ago, it soon became obvious that some of the advocates of standards for "Germanness" were at a loss when it came to defining what exactly they considered to be quintessentially German. Similar conservative tendencies in the U.S.A. include the English-only movements, PAT BUCHANAN and others privileging so-called "Euro-Americans," and the versions of American identity propagated by the self-proclaimed RUSH LIMBAUGH Institute for Advanced Conservative Studies.

But such essentialist positions are increasingly being pushed aside by social realities, especially in the metropolitan areas. In Latin America, as NÉSTOR GARCÍA CANCLINI reminds us in *Hybrid Cultures*, there is, on the one hand, a continuation of residual traditions. But on the other hand there is what GARCÍA CANCLINI calls "modernity;" throughout the Americas, we encounter plurality,

polyvocality, code-switching, *mestizaje*, and cultural syncretism – especially in the Caribbean. For Mexico City, ILAN STAVANS has spoken of a resulting "ethos of ambiguity" (12). In view of the different cultural realities that shape the Northern and Southern parts of the New World, we may ask in what ways the interaction between European colonizers and indigenous populations in the sixteenth and seventeenth century can still be felt today. Are the mestizo cultures of Spain's and Portugal's former colonies leading the way to developments in the U.S.A. in the twenty-first century, presenting models of cultural hybridity?

As global trends and inter-American cooperations and connections are competing with isolationism, localism, or ethnic and social separatism and as an increasing number of people in the New World in general and in the U.S.A. in particular defy easy categorization (as illustrated, for example, by the sizable portion of the U.S. population who, according to the Census 2000, consider themselves to be of "two or more races"), in-between positions are becoming more common. ROLAND HAGENBÜCHLE has pointed out that *Die demographische Durchmischung der unterschiedlichsten Religionen, Rassen und Kulturen nimmt Dimensionen an, die man vor kurzem nicht für möglich gehalten hätte... . Es ist deshalb keine Übertreibung zu behaupten, dass neben der Globalisierung des Marktes die kulturelle Globalisierung zum Kernproblem dieses Jahrhunderts wird.* (110 – 111) HAGENBÜCHLE therefore calls the future subject a "Grenzgänger" ["border dweller and border crosser"]. DAVID A. HOLLINGER has even spoken of a "Postethnic America."

Although HOLLINGER goes a little too far in presenting (ethnic) group membership as purely a matter of choice, participation in diverse cultural arenas is becoming more frequent. There is a definite trend away from "either ... or" and toward "both ... and." In-between positions are gradually replacing essentialism. HOMI BHABHA writes:

These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.

It is in the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated... .

The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of *pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation. (1 – 2)

The interstitial position, i. e. the in-betweenness in which nations, regions, ethnic and other groups find themselves in the New World, requires a constant negotiation of individual and communal identities – a negotiation that is carried out in all aspects of life and that is reflected in literature and culture.

Almost a century before BHABHA the American philosopher WILLIAM JAMES argued in *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909) and elsewhere that in modern, industrialized societies there is a multiplicity of subjective experience and a plurality of world views. Depending on the individual subject's perspective and discourse, the same concepts or events will be rendered differently. This idea of competing stories – including narratives of national identity – is nicely illustrated in the Chicana artist ESTER HERNÁNDEZ' etching "Libertad" (1976). HERNÁNDEZ presents the image of the Statue of Liberty in the process of being reshaped: A woman artist is seen chiseling away at the statue and has already transformed its bottom half into the base of an Aztec warrior figure, on which the name "Aztlán" appears. In this way ESTER HERNÁNDEZ contests the national narrative of the U.S.A. as a nation that came out of thirteen English colonies which declared their independence in 1776, a nation to whom a European ally presented the Statue of Liberty as a commemorative symbol. Instead, HERNÁNDEZ foregrounds the indigenous narrative of the U.S.A. and the mythic Chicano homeland of Aztlán, thus contesting the master narrative of a Eurocentric, English-speaking nation.

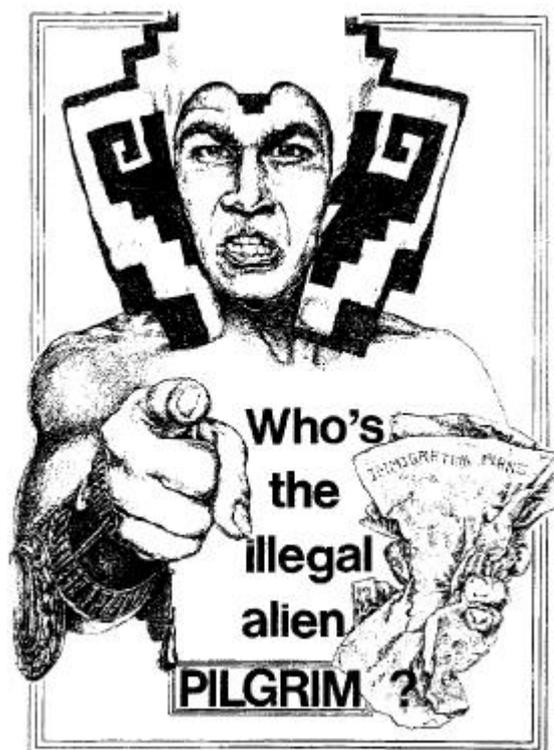


Fig. 3: YOLANDA LÓPEZ, "Who's the Illegal Alien, Pilgrim?" (1978)

Similarly, YOLANDA LÓPEZ, in her print "Who's the Illegal Alien, Pilgrim?" (1978, Fig. 3), contests official interpretations of what "America" means. Echoing the famous World War I army recruitment poster in which an Uncle Sam points his finger at the spectator and tells him "I Want You," LÓPEZ offers a counter-narrative, stressing the Amerindian historical primacy and the unlawful appropriation of the Americas by Europeans.<sup>1</sup> She presents the image of an irate Aztec warrior who points his finger at the spectator and to whom we can attribute the question "Who's the Illegal Alien, Pilgrim?." Apart from the pointed finger the warrior's facial expression and his de-centered position in the picture convey his rage, as does the fact that on three sides his figure ruptures the picture's three-lined frame. The cause of his rage is in his left hand, a document entitled "IMMIGRATION PLANS," which he is crumpling. This act demonstrates his rejection of the authority which the document (and the government that issued it) try to exert over him. YOLANDA LÓPEZ links New England's seventeenth-century Pilgrim Fathers with the Immigration and Naturalization Service's practices in the present time, and she rejects the interpretation of North America as Uncle Sam's country.

What we see with both ESTER HERNÁNDEZ and YOLANDA LÓPEZ are artistic or discursive performances that voice a distinct view of America as less homogeneous than the official story of the Statue of Liberty or of Uncle Sam would have us believe. But at the same time new official stories or master narratives of cultural identity are constantly being propagated. Especially the events of September 11, 2001 and the current foreign policy of the U.S. administration have fostered a "United We Stand" mindset and the creation of accompanying narratives. One of these is a montage by FOX Television that was broadcast right before the 2002 Super Bowl. It is a self-proclaimed celebration of "American heroes past and present, [... of] this American way of life that means so much to so many, [... and of a] common vision." Although token efforts at depicting ethnic diversity do appear in this two-and-a-half-minute portrayal of national pride, most of the representatives of this co-called "common vision" that we see are in uniform and are shown in front of American flags. The group or ideology which this "common vision" opposes is not depicted explicitly but is inferred as those who are 'un-American'. When the announcer's voice tells us that "we are here today, standing as one people, united in the fight to preserve not only our present but, more importantly, our future and our children's future", we are reminded of a political speech and its essentialist notions (like President Bush's term of "an axis of evil" or defense secretary Rumsfeld's talk of a "new America" versus an "old Europe").

The frequent cuts and the flashlight effects of FOX Television's portrayal of the U.S.A. as well as the use of split screens and of a screen within a screen illustrate the supposed hybridity that is

<sup>1</sup> The artist told me that she had not been consciously thinking of the Uncle Sam poster when she came up with the idea for "Who's the Illegal Alien, Pilgrim?." Nonetheless, the similarities between the two depictions are striking.

being shown. But much more significantly, these visual devices underline the importance of the media in creating national images. The cultural narrative that is constructed here is dominated by three concepts, all of which are seen as printed words on the screen – "heroes", "hope", and "homeland" –, by men, and by the colors red, white, and blue. Elements that might illustrate the plurality of the U.S.A. are appropriated by this new national narrative, and there is an implication that competing narratives would be unpatriotic. However, the construction of national identity in FOX Television's montage competes with innumerable other views of what "America" is or should be. Of course these are not new developments: one might say that contact zones and hybridity have long been markers of most cultures around the world.

### 3. A Hybrid U.S.A.

In view of competing narratives and more frequent interstitial positions from which individuals define themselves and their world, can we speak of the U.S.A. as a hybrid nation with a hybrid culture?

HELMBRECHT BREINIG and KLAUS LÖSCH have pointed out that

Discursive presences of Latin America(ns) [in the U.S.] range from the long-standing construction of the Latin American world (whether within the U.S. borders or beyond) as the radical and inferior (and thus paradoxically absent) other – a discourse legitimizing both imperialism and internal colonialism –, to the deconstruction of such dichotomous thinking and the decentering of the concept of Anglo-American cultural, political and biological-racial superiority, the acceptance or even deliberate production of hybridity, the questioning of purity and of the center/periphery pattern. (300)

This section of my essay will present various examples of such hybridization.

After a biological explanation of the term "hybrid" *Webster's Dictionary* gives two more definitions: "2 : a person whose background is a blend of two diverse cultures or traditions [and] 3 a : something heterogeneous in origin or composition" (567). In the context of U.S. social realities it might be more appropriate to change the first of these definitions to "a person whose background is a discursive interaction of various cultures and traditions," since this process can lead to a blending just as well as it can lead to a competition or rejection and since often more than two cultural backgrounds are at work.

In his preface to the English translation of NÉSTOR GARCÍA CANCLINI's *Hybrid Cultures*, RENATO ROSALDO also presents two distinct views of cultural hybridity:

On the one hand, hybridity can imply a space betwixt and between two zones of purity in a manner that follows biological usage that distinguishes two discrete species and the hybrid pseudo-species that results from their combination. Similarly, the anthropological concept of syncretism asserts, for example, that folk Catholicism occupies a hybrid site midway between the purity of Catholicism and that of indigenous religion. On the other hand, hybridity can be understood as the ongoing condition of all human cultures, which contain no zones of purity because they undergo continuous processes of transculturation (two-way borrowings and lending between cultures). Instead of hybridity versus purity, this view suggests that it is hybridity all the way down. From this perspective, one must explain how ideological zones of cultural purity, whether of national culture or ethnic resistance, have been constructed. (xv)

ELISABETH BRONFEN and BENJAMIN MARIUS favor ROSALDO's second view; they define "hybrid" as *alles, was sich einer Vermischung von Traditionslinien oder von Signifikantenketten verdankt, was unterschiedliche Diskurse und Technologien verknüpft, was durch Techniken der collage, des samplings, des Bastelns zustandegekommen ist.* (14)

For Latin America, NÉSTOR GARCÍA CANCLINI has diagnosed three processes that promote cultural hybridization: "[(1)] the breakup and mixing of the collections that used to organize cultural systems, [(2)] the deterritorialization of symbolic processes, and [(3)] the expansion of impure genres" (207). It remains to be seen whether these processes also apply to the United States. The heterogeneous cultural discourses in the New World are accompanied by a hybridization in terms of the academic disciplines that study cultural changes. Nonetheless, MONIKA KAUP and DEBRA ROSENTHAL have aptly pointed out that "the intricate processes of cultural and racial interaction in racial consciousness and identity in the Americas ... have been obscured by the dominant oppositional thinking that undergirds both ethnic studies and the nationalist frameworks of American and Latin American Studies." It is therefore the goal of their collection of essays, *Mixing Race, Mixing Culture*, to

chart an alternative map of the Americas which undoes the dominant linear genealogies of racial and national purity, displaying a decentered web of lines and crossings, points of encounter and fusion across boundaries ... [, to] remap the Americas as a multicultural and multiracial hemisphere, constituted through hybrid narrative geographies [, and to] chart a transracial Other America, in JOSÉ MARTÍ's sense, from between the cracks of the dominant cultural map of the Americas. (1)

In this context we should keep in mind the notion of culture which HOMI BHABHA, SALMAN RUSHDIE, JUDITH BUTLER, JEAN-FRANÇOIS LYOTARD and others have articulated, namely culture as a site of competing representations of world, subject, history, etc. (cf. BRONFEN / MARIUS 11). Political and collective subjects are not to be seen as given, but as the continually evolving results of discursive practices; their active contestations, responses, and proclamations offer them a chance for self-assertion in relation to discourses that may have tended to exclude or marginalize them in the past. Active participation in all kinds of cultural discourse opens up what HOMI BHABHA calls "cultural difference," which designates the internal difference also between the speaking subject and the subject that is spoken about or partially shaped in that act of speaking as well as the difference between Self and Other. Narratives and discursive cultural performances articulate this cultural difference. As BHABHA explains:

Cultural difference must not be understood as the free play of polarities and pluralities in the homogeneous empty time of the national community. The jarring of meanings and values generated in the process of cultural interpretation is an effect of the perplexity of living in the liminal spaces of national society... . Cultural difference, as a form of intervention, participates in a logic of supplementary subversion similar to the strategies of minority discourse. The question of cultural difference faces us with a disposition of knowledges or a distribution of practices that exist beside each other, *abseits* designating a form of social contradiction or antagonism that has to be negotiated rather than sublated. (162)

This need to negotiate differences applies to both communal and individual identities; it underlies the hybrid discourses that constitute culture.

We have moved away from the utopia of a 'cultural diversity' in which the Other is an object with a certain essence that can be known. Instead, when we speak of *cultural difference* nowadays, we imply a willingness to accept and further develop what one perceives to be worthy in the mainstream, while also fostering critical subcultures. The subject occupies an in-between position from which she or he can choose (and discard) different allegiances, an act that results in ever new hybrid identities. The Chicana feminist writer GLORIA ANZALDÚA, portraying herself as the "new *mestiza*," presents her way of dealing with her own in-between position as follows:

I am cultureless because, as a feminist, I challenge the collective cultural / religious male-derived beliefs of Indo-Hispanics and Anglos; yet I am cultured because I am participating in the creation of yet another culture, a new story to explain the world and our participation in it, a new value system with images and symbols that connect us to each other and to the planet. *Soy un amasamiento*, I am an act of kneading, of uniting and joining that not only has produced both a creature of darkness and a creature of light, but also a creature that questions the definitions of light and dark and gives them new meanings. (80 – 81)

The polyphony of cultural practices – no matter whether they are contesting one another or joined together into a new cultural discourse, whether they illustrate contacts, contrasts, or confluences – accounts for the general departure from essentialist notions of cultural identity. It also makes cultural identity fluid and changing. A hybrid cultural identity evolves out of the many models toward which the subject in the U.S.A. and in other multicultural environments takes a position (affirmative, distancing, or – more commonly – affirmative in some parts and distancing in others). Whether the term "hybridity" is the best one to use here or whether notions like "transdifference", "heterotopia" or "intersubjectivity" might be more suitable is a question for future research to elucidate. The artist YOLANDA LÓPEZ once said: "I don't call this hybridity, I just call it the way we all live."

Indeed, contemporary America is full of mixtures and side-by-side practices. Among such hybrid cultural phenomena are the *día de los muertos* celebrations in areas with a sizable Mexican-American population (where Catholic, indigenous, and carnivalesque elements are blended into a party for the deceased), the Presidents' Day Parade in Laredo, TX (where mostly Latino adolescents compete for the best representation of George and Martha Washington), or the West Indian Labor Day Parade in Brooklyn, NY (where the largest carnival parade in the United States moves through a mixed neighborhood of mostly Afro-Caribbeans and Hasidic Jews, Fig. 4).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> As the Caribbean-American novelist EDWIDGE DANTICAT has pointed out, "At the core of carnival is the notion of a community, a beloved community, coming together to act out its history of joys and pains, all the while creating a newer and richer narrative." Thus carnival also participates in reshaping and hybridizing the U.S. national narrative.

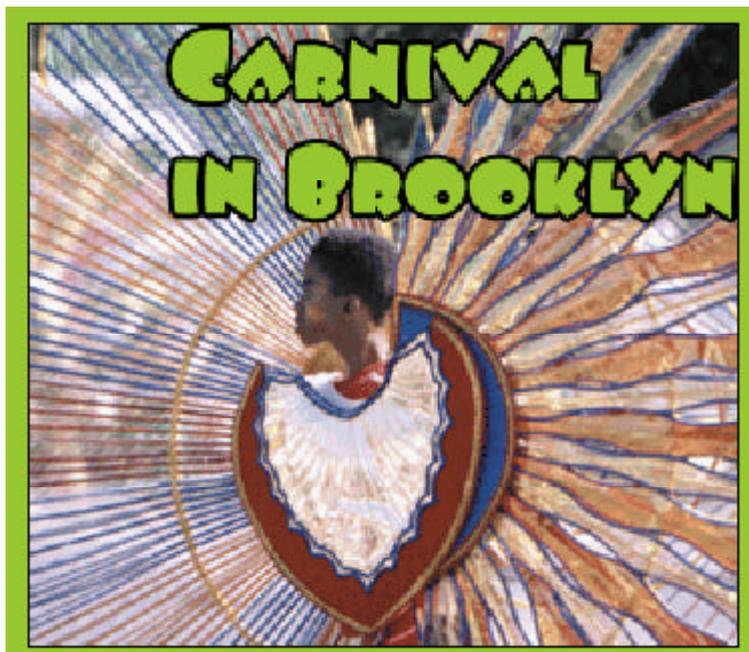


Fig. 4: Poster of the "Carnival in Brooklyn" exhibit at the Brooklyn Public Library.  
Photo: © Shawn Walker, Brooklyn Public Library

Out of the interstices of individual and group identities in the multicultural, multiethnic U.S.A. new narratives emerge to shape a hybrid cultural identity.

Another example of the changing face of the U.S.A. is seen in figure 5.



Fig. 5: Botánica shop window on 125th Street, Harlem, NY

This shop window of a botánica in Harlem assembles icons of Caribbean Santaríá religion, illustrating the easy mixture of very diverse beliefs and their use in a syncretic, hybrid religious practice. The fact that this assembly is equally at home in the Dominican Republic and on the streets of New York City may be an indication of more widely changing conceptualizations of (inter-)American cultures. Such developments are also accompanied by linguistic change: in his memoir *On Borrowed Words*, ILAN STAVANS describes New York City, for example, as a place "where tongues intermingle to such a degree that a new language seems to be born every other second, where everyone pretends to be a bit more than what he really is, where all nationalities and backgrounds coexist by seeing each other face to face without an alibi" (13).

Food, of course, is another sign of hybrid cultural practices.

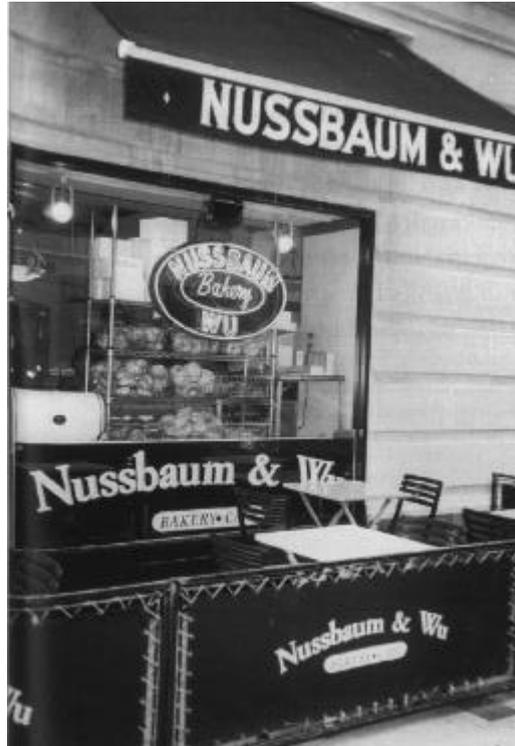


Fig. 6: Nussbaum & Wu Bakery on Broadway, New York

The Jewish-Chinese joint venture seen in figure 6 is staffed primarily by Latinos and specializes in Italian breads and Americanized versions of Italian coffees. Chains like Taco Bell have of course also adapted "Mexican" dishes to Euro-American tastes, thus creating a new blend, an intercultural fare which has re-entered Mexico, where it competes with the original culinary practices that inspired it in the first place.

In television, finally, Telemundo, the second-largest Spanish-language television network in the U.S., has also discovered the marketing possibilities of hybrid fare. In the 1998/99 season the network started to veer away from the programming of traditional Spanish-language television. Having recently been acquired by the transnational Sony corporation and its partner Liberty Media, Telemundo

set out to remake English-language television series from the 1970s and '80s, series that happened to be owned by the network's new parent company. But Sony and Telemundo introduced some variations on the old series: this time the dialogue was in Spanish, the actors were Hispanic, and the narratives were supposed to speak to the contemporary experience of young Latinos/as who live in the U.S. and [who] retain a sense of their ethnic heritage. (LEVINE 33)

This hybrid programming has a fondness for 'Spanglish,' a mixture of Spanish and English, and it often uses English subtitles. Programs like *Reyes y Rey* (a remake of *Starsky & Hutch*), or *Angeles* (a remake of *Charlie's Angels*) and new versions of *The Dating Game*, *The Newlywed Game*, and *Candid Camera* are among the network's popular attractions (cf. LEVINE 33). In using this strategy of hybrid remakes, Telemundo promoted itself as "The Best of Both Worlds."

Increasingly, the notion of "both," i. e. of only two worlds, no longer characterizes the range of diversity found in the United States today. The Mexican performance artist and essayist GUILLERMO GÓMEZ-PEÑA, who has been living in the U.S.A. for many years, describes his impressions of the new cultural reality in which borders are being crossed easily and constantly as follows:

for me, the border is no longer located at any fixed geopolitical site. I carry the border with me, and I find new borders wherever I go.

I travel across a different America. My America is a continent (not a country) that is not described by the outlines on any of the standard maps. ... My America includes different peoples, cities, borders, and nations. ...

When I am on the East Coast of the United States, I am also in Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean. There, I like to visit Nuyo Rico, Cuba York, and other micro-republics. When I return to the U.S. Southwest, I am suddenly back in Mexamerica, a vast conceptual nation that also includes the northern states of Mexico, and overlaps with various Indian nations. When I visit Los Angeles or San Francisco, I am at the same time in Latin America and Asia. Los Angeles, like Mexico City, Tijuana, Miami, Chicago, and New York, is practically a hybrid nation / city in itself. Mysterious underground railroads connect all these places – syncretic art forms, polyglot poetry and music, and transnational pop cultures function as meridians of thought and axes of communication. (5 – 6)

#### 4. Shifting Ground

Although conservative agendas continue to push their essentialist notions of the U.S.A., one-dimensional national narratives no longer reflect the demographic and cultural realities. Former "margins" multiply and increasingly change the former "center," making it multi-dimensional and processual.



Figure 7: Bilingual Warning Sign: "Attention – Cuidado: Wet Floor – Piso Mojado"

As the Mexican American film maker GREGORY NAVA explains:

it's a very exciting moment for Latinos in the United States right now, because we're moving from the fringes into the mainstream. You already see this happening with music. The whole country is in love with Latino music. One of the reasons it's so exciting, is because it's happening right now. Latinos feel that they're part of this wonderful nation, and that they're contributing to this nation. ("Interview")

The countless interrelations, contestations, contacts, contrasts, and confluences that characterize present-day cultural practices and performances account for the constant alterations and adjustments of structures, languages, and dividing lines. The challenges are enormous – also for academia. ROLAND HAGENBÜCHLE writes that *Ethisch-politische Grundkonzepte ... aus interkultureller Perspektive vor den Blick zu bringen und damit einen transkulturellen Werthorizont für gemeinsames politisches Handeln zu entwerfen ist eine Aufgabe, die nur in interdisziplinärer Zusammenarbeit überhaupt Chancen auf Erfolg hat. ... 'Bifokales Verstehen' ist die unabdingbare Voraussetzung für ein fruchtbares interkulturelles Gespräch.* (186) HAGENBÜCHLE uses the term 'bifocal understanding' to designate the individual's openness toward the Other as well as the willingness to see oneself from an external perspective, through the eyes of the Other. Indeed, a nation whose face has been changing

so dramatically over the past few decades needs a willingness for such bifocal understanding – on a national as well as on an international level – if it wants to avoid the danger of constant conflict.

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