Text, Practice, Performance IV (2002): 51–63

"All the Things that Portray Us as Individuals and as a Nation": Reda Troupe and Egyptian National Identity in the Twentieth Century

Lauren Marie Siebert

The middle of the twentieth century in Egypt saw increased interest in folk arts and folkways. In 1957, the Egyptian government formed the Center for Folk Arts under the Ministry of Cultural and National Guidance. By the middle of the 1960s the quarterly journal *al-Funun al-Sha'biyya* (Folk Arts) was published regularly and the dance troupe *al-Firqat al-Qawmiyya* (The National Troupe) was founded and funded by the government. But it was a small dance ensemble, begun privately in the late 1950s, that received the greatest share of critical acclaim. This group, *Firqat Reda* or Reda Troupe, and its principal dancer Farida Fahmy became the physical manifestation of both folk arts and national identity in Egypt.

Consider this excerpt from a review of one of the Reda Troupe performances:

> These people have captured all our hearts…all our admiration…all our appreciation. They have effectively entered every heart because they have simply presented us with a sincere folk art that lives in our emotions, and reminds us of our childhood, our youth and happy

Benedict Anderson's concept of the "imagined community" is used to explore the ways in which the cultural products of the Reda Troupe articulate postcolonial Egyptian national identity. Formed in 1959, Reda Troupe was the first company of folkloric dance in Egypt and their artistic works were perceived by audiences as presenting the authentic cultural heritage and identity of the nation. Through a discussion of the troupe's motion picture choreographies, this paper proposes that Reda Troupe selected and defined a romanticized image of the folk and placed that image at the heart of modern Egyptian personhood.

> days…playing in the alleys…the nights…Ramadan lanterns…the eve of the feast…all the things that portray us as individuals and as a nation. (quoted in Fahmy 1987:24)

Here the reviewer attests to the genuineness of the folk dances performed by Reda Troupe, presenting as evidence the fact that the performance evokes memories of an Egyptian childhood. The reviewer intimates that identification with these scenes and experiences makes a person Egyptian. The quote, moreover, is particularly striking when one learns that the traditional form about which the reviewer speaks is a brand new form of dance—certainly one invented by Reda Troupe after the reviewer's childhood had ended. A similar pattern is apparent in popular understandings of Farida Fahmy's life. Madame Fahmy, with a British mother and raised within the affluent and educated class, has become a symbol of the *bint al-balad*, or daughter of the country. This concept connotes a clever, modest, working-class girl—who, although living in an urban center, still retains ties to tradition and the old ways. This character and her male counterpart, the *ibn al-balad* (son of the country) are important for Egyptian identity.

How did this conversion come about? Reda Troupe was founded in August 1959 with their first performance in the Engineering Syndicate Theater in Cairo. Early performances were largely dramatic dances arranged in the style of a play. Through the years, their repertoire expanded as the members went on ethnographic fieldtrips to study the dances of various groups in Egypt. Yet Mahmoud Reda, the founder and artistic director of the troupe, viewed these indigenous dances as purely inspirational and never intended to perform them on stage. Rather, the process of adapting indigenous dances into stage-worthy choreographies generated new forms that Reda himself recognized as being something other than accurate reproductions (Fahmy 1987:48). How did these newly created choreographies inspire such a vocabulary of ownership in the review above? How was an affluent, modern, and educated Cairene made into an icon of working-class traditionalism?

Explaining these processes and their implications is the subject of this article. To aid in this discussion, I turn to Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of nations as "imagined communities." Anderson begins by discussing the trend in studies on nationalism to differentiate between real and invented nations. Invented nations and their accompanying brands of nationalist fervor usually are assumed to be

byproducts of a more general strategy for coping with the transition to modernity. Anderson rejects this explanation as too firmly entrenched in a modernist dichotomy of “real” and “false.” He believes that all nations are not “invented” but rather “imagined.” “Invented” implies fabrication and is too easily compared to “authentic” or “original.” Nations are only possible when large and disparate groups of people can conceive of themselves as unified in time and space. They must be able to imagine themselves as part of a collective, as sharing a lifestyle, a mode of thinking, habits, experiences, and a communal past.

Anderson states that “apparent differences between Western and non-Western nations are not based upon falsity versus genuineness, but [upon] the style in which they are imagined” (Anderson 1991:6). He demonstrates how nations are imagined into being through the concept of “print-capitalism.” Even Western nations were imagined only after publishers helped to codify languages. Regular newspapers allowed individuals to imagine their everyday lives as occurring in concert with the actions of other individuals with whom they would never meet. The newspaper and other forms of print-capitalism gave people the sense they belonged to a vast community of individuals like themselves.

Anderson’s theory of the imagined community offers an explanation for the apparent contradiction between the “reality” of the troupe (the dances are new and heavily influenced by Western disciplines) and the perception of the “authenticity” of the troupe by Egyptian audiences. Whereas the notion of nations as “invented” might lead one to assume that the audience is being misled or lied to, in contrast, the idea of the imagined community places Reda Troupe in a larger effort to re-negotiate Egyptian identity and nationhood within the context of the modern and post-colonial world.

Anderson’s concept of print-capitalism offers a creative and elegant solution to the dichotomy of theories of nationalism. Despite this, many have rightly criticized his work as being too exclusively derived from Western models. Most prominent is Partha Chatterjee (1993) who argues that Anderson neglects to examine closely non-European and post-colonial situations. In his attempt at a universal theory, Anderson is unable to avoid placing the West at the center of his model. Chatterjee criticizes Anderson for once again making a Europe-based standard of nationalism that despite its many forms and manifestations, leaves no space in which to imagine non-Western and post-colonial

countries outside of the bounds of Western modernity (Chatterjee 1993:3-13).

Egyptian History

The source of Reda Troupe's accomplishments in imagining Egyptian identity stems from its ability to resolve conflicts of class and identity rooted in Egypt's colonial period. Egypt was part of the Ottoman Empire, and at the end of the 18th century, governed locally by the Mamluks, a group of Turko-Circassian administrators and princes. Because of their military prowess, the Mamluks enjoyed a high degree of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, yet in-fighting and famine had by the end of the 18th century weakened their power base. They offered little challenge to French forces when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798. The French stayed in Egypt until 1801 when they clashed with British forces trying to assert their own dominance over the region. Though the French occupation of Egypt lasted for only three years, it is perceived as having had a deep and lasting impact on Egyptian life (El-Hamamsy 1975:281). Indeed, many scholars cite this date, 1798, as the beginning of the modern period in Egypt (see Piterberg 1997).

The withdrawal of the French left a power vacuum in Egypt. Through political maneuvers between the Mamluks and the Ottoman Turks, Muhammad 'Ali, an Albanian officer in the Ottoman army, came to power. Muhammad 'Ali instituted educational and industrial reforms in Egypt during the forty-four years of his administration. Prior to these reforms, education was limited to small, locally run Qur'anic schools that taught the three R's—reading, writing and Qur'anic recitation. Muhammad 'Ali built new schools based on a Western curriculum and publicly financed programs that allowed the largely Turkish elite to attend European universities. This increase in foreign education fed elite Egyptians into the growing civil bureaucracy, a class of civil servants that came to be known as the *effendi.*

It is important to note that the withdrawal of French troops in 1801 did not remove European presence from Egypt. French, British, and Italian interests continued to assert themselves in the economic arena through finance capitalism throughout the 19th century (Gershoni 1986:4). Much of the scholarship on this period stresses the dominance by Europeans of all non-governmental sectors of the Egyptian economy. Furthermore, the British occupied Egypt directly beginning in 1882

and closed many of the new Egyptian schools. These two circumstances mobilized the upper classes to gain independence and to "Egyptianize" the economy—that is, to wrest it from European control and place it into their own.

Between 1882 and 1930, several Egyptian nationalist movements emerged, particularly after World War I and the demise of the Ottoman Empire after 1919. A brief revolution that year gained these movements greater autonomy from the British and led to Egypt's declaration of independence in 1922 and adoption of a constitution in 1923. These achievements, nevertheless, were tempered by the fact that the British retained responsibility for military "defense" and ultimate control over Egypt.

Efforts at Egyptianization by the upper and effendi classes, however, led to the growth of a new middle-income business and professional class, dubbed the "new effendi," and this is where the story of the Reda Troupe begins. The new effendi were perceived as being urban (largely Cairene), educated, middle-class, and native-born. They were also a direct result of modernization and Egyptianization. The founders of the Reda troupe, members of the Reda and Fahmy families, were new effendi, coming from an upper-middle-class suburb of Cairo. Mahmoud Reda's father was chief librarian and Farida Fahmy's father was professor of industrial engineering at Cairo University (Fahmy 1987:17–18). Likewise, Fahmy describes Reda Troupe's dancers as having come "from the educated class" (Fahmy 1987: 20).

Between 1930 and 1945, there was a growing backlash against the upper classes, which were seen as being so Westernized that they did not even know Arabic but instead spoke English, French, or Italian. Ambivalent feelings intensified throughout the time leading up to the Free Officer's Revolt of 1952, through which Gamal Abd'ul Nasser came to power.

This debate on Egyptian nationhood is characterized by tension between Eastern and Western identifications. Western-ness offered models for success and advancement necessary to achieve the parity with Europe desired by the middle and upper classes. Yet the legacy of colonialism and the devaluing of an Eastern identity led to Islamic pan-Arab identification in the wake of decolonization. Gershoni and Jankowski describe this tension as a "subtle crisis of Egyptian nationalism at the cultural level" (Gershoni 1995:214). According to this framework, the successful construction of an Egyptian national iden-

tity incorporated Western models of modernization, even as it resisted Western domination and established Egypt's "cultural and psychological distinctiveness from the West" (Gershoni 1995:214).

Discourses of Class and Citizenship

Thus, the rise of the new effendi in Egypt's principal urban center of Cairo can be seen as a result of modernization and Egyptianization. The new effendi values resulting from the growth of nationalist movements include a scorn for the (old) effendi, with their Western aspirations, and an advocacy for a more middle-class and religious lifestyle. In the above discussion of Egyptian history, class—whether "middle," "upper," "old effendi," or "new effendi—is a fuzzy and ill-defined concept. It is difficult to differentiate between new effendi and old, between middle, upper, and upper-middle class. In his argument against attempting to treat "class" as an objectively bounded entity, Richard Handler explains that the "persistence of disputes concerning attempts to identify classes and fragments of classes suggests that 'class' itself is not an objective and verifiable reality, but depends instead on the analyst's models" (Handler 1988:25). Further, he argues against national identity being invented by the middle class and reflecting middle class values. This circular approach, he maintains, ignores the problems inherent in using an invented model of class to explain an invented phenomenon of nationalism (Handler 1988:25).

The historical narrative above contains a discourse of Egyptian citizenship that allows for the Egyptianness of the effendi, descendents of the Ottoman Turkish elite in Egypt as well as the Egyptianness of individuals like Farida Fahmy, who had European parents. This evidence suggests that the definitions of "Egyptian" and "non-Egyptian" were not fixed at this time.

The point here is that even though these groups ("new effendi," "Egyptians") were not bounded by objective reality, a set of disparate individuals not united by any observable phenomenon had begun, between 1880 and 1950, to conceive of themselves as part of a group and seek to define a set of values that united them. The fact that these individuals were beginning to imagine themselves as a united community demonstrates the desire for national identity. The next section of this paper describes how Reda Troupe used a selectively defined and romanticized vision of the "folk" to imagine an authentic past for this

imagined Egyptian community.

Reda Troupe and the Definition of the "Folk"

Between 1965 and 1967, Reda Troupe members were led by their artistic director, Mahmoud Reda, on several field trips throughout Egypt in search of material on which to base their program. On his first trip, Reda traveled the Nile River from al-Minya to the Aswan Dam. The second trip was to the Western Desert and encompassed the Siwa Oasis and Marsa Matruh. The final field trip covered the Nile Delta and the northern region of the Sinai Peninsula, including the Gaza Strip. Farida Fahmy states that although the documentation made on these trips followed similar ethnographic methods to those she would later use in graduate research, Reda's purpose was not ethnographic, but to aid in recollection of details for later artistic interpretation.

In this process of artistic interpretation, Reda defined the romantic vision of the folk that would be the centerpiece of the national identity that he imagined for Egyptians. Throughout this process, Reda made key decisions determining which elements were appropriate to the troupe's vision of the folk. For example, Fahmy describes the effort asserted to identify and eliminate "extraneous" or "foreign elements" within these "indigenous dance[s]" (Fahmy 1987:46). She quotes Mahmoud Reda's memoirs about an incident during the research in Aswan:

> In Aswan, we met with a number of Nubian youths who presented a dance from which we were able to adapt many movement configurations. As for the 'Twist' that they proudly performed for us, we just closed our eyes to it, as if it had never happened. A researcher of folk arts should differentiate between what is authentic and what is foreign, as he is bound to come across it often in his field trips. (quoted in Fahmy 1987:46)

This quote demonstrates Mahmoud Reda's process of selectively defining "the folk" as a group. Notably, it is a group that is distinct and separate from the group with which Reda Troupe and its audiences identified. That is, Reda is defining the folk as a group untouched by the influences of the Westernization and modernization with which members of Reda Troupe and its audiences coped on a daily basis. The

folk are defined as a "baseline" of Egyptian identity, in a preserved, ahistorical state: premodern and pre-Westernized, quaint and timeless.

Reda Troupe and its audiences imagine the folk to be in an idyllic and untouched cultural state, and they see themselves as the direct benefactors of this heritage. Reda Troupe and its audiences imagine themselves to be united by this Egyptian folk identity. This idea of a uniting identity is reinforced by the presentation of various folk groups on the same stage. In many performances, Reda Troupe presents a series of tableaus picturing groups from different parts of Egypt one after another. This has the effect of a catalog, an ethnographic survey, a text bounded by a beginning and an end, that contains the sum total of Egyptianness.

This process is similar to Anderson's "museamization" in which European colonial powers discovered, cleaned, documented, and studied the historical and cultural artifacts of South East Asia. Through these processes, post-colonial governments transform various grand structures of particular regions into museum pieces or monuments. Museamization freezes structures and our knowledge about them in a polished and preserved ahistorical state. Then, with mass production through print-capitalism, images of these monuments become logos of the nation, symbols of identity and history (Anderson 1991:178-185).

Reda Troupe museumized their constructed folk forms through presentation on stage and screen by discovering, codifying, and polishing folk forms. Their performances presented a stream of constructed folk groups. Presented one after another, or appearing variously as part of a dramatic production, the objectified characters moved in and out of view in the manner of a pageant. In this way, the performance became a revolving museum of the folk identities of Egypt, giving the impression that this exhibit, united by its venue, was a tour of the entirety of Egyptian identity. A good example of this type of pageant in action was a particular performance in the mode of imagery called *Qitar al-Thawrah* (Train of the Revolution), in which six company members mimic a train moving throughout Egypt:

> At each destination, dancers appear on the stage and commence to dance the folk dances of the province they are representing. They end their performance by joining the train and falling into step with the dancers who portray the moving train. At the end of the dance the stage is occupied by a large number of dancers representing the various inhabit-

> ants of Egypt in one linear formation that progresses in a serpentine pattern. (Fahmy 1987:58)

In this performance, the dancers moved on stage through an imagined landscape of Egypt. As in a museum, they stopped at various exhibits where "typical" folk peoples demonstrated their "typical" dances. As they move to the end of the tour, the folk characters literally joined in the national revolutionary train and become united with each other and with the original six members of the dancing train. Because of the care taken to remove all identifiably "Western" elements from the choreographies, the folk pageant seemed to be preserved and unadulterated. Brought together under the patriotic theme of the 1952 revolution, the imagery of a unified nation was only accentuated.

The folk identity presented by the Reda Troupe on the proscenium stage resonated with its audiences. It had the power to capture minds, as the press review quoted at the start of this paper demonstrates. A further example of the effectiveness of this new folk identity in imagining Egypt as a nation is this quote from a 1962 article on Reda Troupe: "Whenever I see Farida Fahmy dance, I picture her as the sister or daughter of each and every one of us" (quoted in Fahmy 1987:58). Each of these speakers refers to Reda Troupe as representing some aspect of a shared experience and credits the troupe with envisioning and then presenting onstage an expression of commonality between disparate individuals.

By establishing an Egyptian folk identity, Reda Troupe created a basis for comparison that educated Cairenes could use to determine the Egyptianness of things or people and artistic efforts of the Reda Troupe contributed directly to creating a working solution for Gershoni and Jankowski's "subtle crisis of Egyptian nationalism." That is, once they knew what Egyptian folk identity looked like, they could negotiate the tightrope between Eastern-ness and Western-ness, imagining themselves in the shape of "authentic Egyptians"—modern and cosmopolitan, but still in touch with the old ways.

"Love in Karnak" and the Creation of the "True Egyptians"

Reda Troupe most clearly imagines a category of authentic Egyptians that includes urban, educated Cairenes in their 1967 movie

Gharam fi'l-Karnak (*Love in Karnak*). In this light-hearted love story Mahmoud Reda plays himself as he selects and leads a folk dance troupe up the Nile to Luxor in the south of Egypt for a performance in the ruins at Karnak. Though the change of venue from stage to screen makes these performances of the group an entity different from their theater performances, the theme of the folk pageant remains. What is striking about the film is that the background characters and incidental plot points form a virtual reference work of folk-types on the one hand, who can be thought of as "authentic Egyptians" and Europeans and Westernized Egyptians on the other—"non-Egyptians" or "false Egyptians".

Authentic Egyptians appear early in the film in a scene during the group arrival in Luxor. An Egyptian man is driving the main carriage that carries the troupe to their modern hotel. His folk-type is a rural man imagined to have come from a farming family and he is identified as an authentic Egyptian because of his manner of dress. He wears the traditional *gullabiyya* (a long, white, cotton gown) and a turban. He is not merely in touch with the "old" ways; he is still living a "traditional," and ethnically Egyptian life.

These two characters are contrasted sharply with various Europeans and Westernized Egyptians that appear in the background of the story. The Europeans are easy to spot, defined by their Western dress and foreign languages. One of these, a young Italian woman staying at the hotel, stands out as being non-Egyptian by speaking Italian, wearing sunglasses and keeping dogs as pets.

Nevertheless, the harshest criticism is reserved for Westernized or "false Egyptians, " represented by a young woman staying in the hotel, a friend of the Italian woman, with whom she speaks at dinner. One of the members of the dance troupe wants to dance with the Italian woman but does not speak her language. A companion of his quickly teaches him how to ask a woman to dance in Italian. The troupe member does as instructed, and they dance. Once on the dance floor, the man mutters to himself, making a comment that he would rather that she not hear. She then scolds him loudly and gruffly in Egyptian Arabic for talking about her in that way as if she was not even there. The young man is shocked that she speaks Arabic and stands gaping as she leaves him on the dance floor. Though this young woman, like the troupe members, is cast as urban and educated, she may not be considered as an "authentic Egyptian" because her manners are Westernized.

Furthermore, she principally speaks a European language and not Arabic. She looks and acts so foreign that she is not recognized by another Egyptian as part of the imagined Egyptian community.

The presence of such polar and equally imagined opposite folk-types versus Europeans and "false Egyptians" allows Reda Troupe to establish in *Love in Karnak* the "authentic Egyptians" as a middle ground. Mahmoud Reda, Farida Fahmy, and the other members of Reda Troupe occupy this middle ground and mediate between the two groups. As "authentic Egyptians," the members of Reda Troupe are cosmopolitan and comfortable in the modern world. The members demonstrate these traits in several ways. First, they have a broad command of Western languages. They are able to speak incidental phrases as well as conduct conversations in several languages. This fact of language ability means that the troupe members are able to negotiate the Westernized social world. They are not intimidated by the various nationalities present in their landscape because they can literally speak to Europe in its own language. Secondly, they wear modern, Western forms of dress. Unless they are engaged in formal performance, the troupe members are always seen in pants, knit shirts, dresses, skirts, button-down shirts, suits, and Western-style hats and shoes. In this way, they can separate themselves visually from the non-modernized folk-types. Despite this presentation of the group as clothed in the modern, Western style, the women still exhibit a degree of modesty in their dress. Though fashionable, hemlines always fall below the knee. Finally, the members of Reda Troupe are comfortable using modern modes of transportation. As the opening credits roll, Mahmoud Reda and Farida Fahmy are driving through the streets of Cairo in a red Volkswagen Beetle. The troupe travels to Luxor on a train, and at the end of the movie, Reda uses a motorcycle to try to reach his love interest before she flies back to Cairo on an airplane.

Despite their ease and comfort in Western and modern circles, however, the "authentic Egyptians" imagined in *Love in Karnak* are also intrinsically tied to the folk, tradition, and the Eastern world. In the film, they act as mediators to the folk world. Though they are not, strictly speaking, of the rural or urban peasantry, they do not scorn members of this group but rather look upon them with pride as their cultural heritage—the root of their "Egyptianness." They interact with the folk. For example, in the scene in which we see the carriage driver, the troupe sings a song and the main singer puts his arm jovially around

the shoulders of the driver. This number even allows for the driver to sing a solo line in the song.

As folk dancers, they are also tied to the folk through what are imagined to be their costumes and dance practices. At the start of an audition for new troupe members, we see Reda auditioning young dancers who dance to recorded rock and roll and do the Twist on stage, and Reda is neither annoyed nor impressed. At this point, Farida Fahmy's character is asked to dance on the stage. Dressed in modern fashion, she starts a metronome and dances in an identifiably Eastern style. Her dancing inspires the troupe's musicians to pick up Arabic drums and spontaneously accompany her. Representing the feelings of the audience members at this point, Reda sits up in his chair and his jaw drops open. Her dancing, like her character, is "authentically Egyptian" because she echoes those practices pre-defined by Reda Troupe as ethnically Egyptian and yet are new and modern.

This particular mixture of characteristics resolves the dilemma presented by Gershoni and Jankowski because it demonstrates parity with and cultural distinctiveness from the West. Mahmoud Reda, Farida Fahmy, and the members of Reda Troupe imagine a world and a people that have moved into a modern existence yet have not surrendered to cultural dominance by the West from which they derived their modern models. Through this presentation, Reda Troupe imagines Egypt as a national community by successfully negotiating the line between East and West, developing a form for Egyptian "authenticity" that is new and inspiring.

Conclusion

This paper has shown how Reda Troupe used a selectively defined and romanticized image of the folk to imagine a new national identity for Egypt and Egyptians. By imagining an Egyptian identity and a set of shared experiences, Reda Troupe enabled a set of disparate individuals not united by any observable phenomenon to conceive of themselves as a group culturally distinct from other groups. The images and dances presented by Reda Troupe also helped to develop an Arab modernity by negotiating the tricky terrain of appropriating Western technology and Western models of advancement while maintaining the uniqueness that is a necessary component of the imagined community.

The combination of these two traits, one firmly rooted in a

cultural heritage represented by the folk, and the other in progress and modernity, created an image that was entirely new. As we have seen, it was perceived to be the true and sincere reflection of the Egyptian nation. The apparent contradiction between these two is more clearly resolved, however, in the sense of Anderson's imagined community. Tests of falsity and genuineness have little meaning in this framework, because the imagined community has the force of being real to those who conceive of themselves as belonging to it. Likewise, Reda Troupe was successful not through its falsity or genuineness, but because of the degree to which its endeavors resonated with its audiences.

WORKS CITED

Anderson, Benedict
1991 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. 2nd edition. London: Verso.
Chatterjee, Partha
1993 The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
El-Hamamsy, Ila Shukry
1975 The Assertion of Egyptian Identity. *In* Ethnic Identity: Cultural Communities and Change. George deVos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds. Pp. 276–306. Palo Alto: Mayfield.
Fahmy, Farida (Melda)
1987 The Creative Development of Mahmoud Reda, a Contemporary Egyptian Choreographer. M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.
Gershoni, I., and James P. Jankowski
1986 Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900–1930. *In* Studies in Middle Eastern History. Bernard Lewis, Itamar Rabinovich and Roger Savory, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
1995 Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930–1945. Cambridge Middle East Studies 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Handler, Richard
1988 Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. New Directions in Anthropological Writing. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Piterberg, Gabriel
1997 The Tropes of Stagnation of Awakening in Nationalist Historical Consciousness: The Egyptian Case. *In* Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East. James P. Jankowski and I. Gershoni, eds. Pp. 42–61. New York: Columbia University Press.