GLOBAL MEDIA, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY

Theory, Cases, and Approaches

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Contents

CHAPTER **9**

Remediation and Scaling
The Making of "Global" Identities

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Chapter Description

This chapter analyzes the processes through which coherent claims about global identities are articulated. It argues that invocations of scale, such as the global, are contingent: they become meaningful in specific historical and cultural contexts. Two sets of media productions—"Global Indian" branding commercials and representations of "Hapa" identities centered in North America—constitute the empirical basis of the analysis. The chapter proposes that the construction of global identities is gainfully interrogated through the notions of *scale-making processes*[1] and *remediation*[2]: understanding media representations of global identities as remediated, scale-making processes disrupt straightforward conceptions of media and draw attention to the ways in which they are embedded in specific historical and cultural contexts. The chapter brings together theories of remediation and scale-making processes to highlight the ways in which particular

imaginations of scale and media forms are choreographed into coherent articulations. In doing so, it also offers a methodological contribution toward analyzing claims to the "global."

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The cover image of the August 1999 issue of the *National Geographic* magazine features two women—one older and clad in a South Indian sari; the other younger, wearing a tight, shiny black dress unzipped halfway down to her abdomen.[3] They are seated on a marble-topped bench—outdoors, but nowhere in particular. The younger woman, perhaps the daughter, is resting her right arm on the mother's shoulder. The mother is glancing sideways at the daughter, fondly, and perhaps with a hint of nostalgia. The younger woman is staring straight at the viewer, confident, and daring to be challenged. The clothing, jewelry, and accessories that these women wear hint at their affluence. Her clothing and jewelry help to identify the older woman as an Indian; the younger woman is made conspicuous by the absence of such ethnic markers. The image, contained within the familiar yellow borders shared by every issue of the *National Geographic* magazine, is captioned "Global Culture."

One interpretation of this image suggests that the "global" here is the movement, in time and in space, from the "traditional" to the "modern": the older woman displays specific ethnic markers, whereas the younger one does not. The movement is from *somewhere* to *nowhere*, or perhaps *everywhere*. The contrast in age between the two subjects—the maternal glance of the older to the younger woman, who does not return the glance but directs her eyes toward the reader—marks a linear, outward progression. The passage of time is accompanied by a movement away from the maternal figure, from a culture that is not global. The *National Geographic* masthead sits in the top half of the cover but is relegated to the background, creating a sense of transparency that is crucial for imagining an immediate connection between the viewer and the women in the image. The image caption "Global Culture," placed in the foreground over the subjects' feet, mediates between its subjects and viewers.

What makes this an image of global culture? Is it the play of contrasts, between the traditional and the modern, and the local and the worldly? Is it the provocative gaze of the young woman, captured in a photograph? Or is it the neat, commodified, reproducible, mass-mailed container of the magazine? In this chapter, we view these questions as inseparable. We are interested in understanding how such imaginings of the global are produced through interlocking processes of mediation and scale making. Our overarching argument is that the global is far from universal. Claims to the global are contingent: they emerge from and are articulated alongside particular imaginings of other scales. Paying attention to the ways in which the

global is constituted helps to uncover these specificities and draws attention to its omissions.

To make our argument, we use examples from two sets of imaginings of global identities. The first set derives from television commercials aired in India, which stake a claim to a "Global Indian" way of being. The other set concentrates on representations of "Hapa"[4] identities in North America.

For the analysis, we draw on two distinct concepts: *remediation* and *scale-making processes*. Remediation has been used in media studies to understand the ways in which digital media represent developments of older media even as they create new forms of mediation. We draw upon the idea of scale-making processes to see how scales such as the global, the national, the regional, and the local are mutually intertwined and acquire meaning in relationship to each other. We make two related arguments: (i) the global assumes meaning only alongside other spatial imaginaries, and (ii) the global assumes meaning and significance through the interplay of various media forms. We use these cases to show how attention to remediation creates possibilities for critical reflection on claims to the global by highlighting the synergies that link these examples to culturally and historically specific modes of representation and broader projects of scale making.

Scales, Remediation, and the Global

Anna Tsing defines scale as "the spatial dimensionality necessary for a particular kind of view, whether up close or from a distance, microscopic or planetary."[5] Scales are frames through which cultural practices become intelligible. These frames are not neutral: scales mediate and impart meanings to cultural projects. They are neither static nor universal: they are tied to particular historical moments. According to Tsing, scale-making projects become powerful by enrolling other scale-making projects—globalisms and localisms can reinforce each other, as they become intertwined in the process of producing a particular representation of the world. Successful scale-making projects naturalize their products and create the appearance of universality and transparency in what Tsing playfully calls APHIDS—Articulations among Partially Hegemonic Imagined Different Scales.[6] Tsing argues that, when APHIDS are successfully produced, their constructedness is hidden and they become self-evident and transparent. Scales articulate and mediate claims that attempt to produce privileged views on the real by drawing together diverse sets of culturally available resources.

Remediation refers to the "representation of one medium in another."[7] The content of any medium is always another medium (the written word is the content of print, and print is the content of the telegraph), that is, *every*

medium is always already remediated. Remediation, according to Bolter and Grusin, is defined by the interplay between the logics of *immediacy* and *hypermediacy*. Immediacy refers to an attempted erasure of the medium while producing representations, that is, the desire to provide unmediated access to that which is being represented. The immersive nature of virtual reality, for example, demands that the technology of mediation disappear. In contrast, by hypermediacy, they refer to the multiplication of media forms. A web page, for example, may simultaneously contain text, pictures, and video. Rather than an attempted effacement, it is the sense of fullness and presence that such environments create, which provides the viewer with a perspective on reality.

As such, immediacy and hypermediacy are in tension with each other and mutually constitutive. Hypermediated productions strive to create a sense of reality by drawing in other forms of media. Immediacy is threatened by this appropriation and juxtaposition with other media. In other words, media productions that emphasize hypermediacy cite, deconstruct, and critique those that attempt to produce immediacy, and vice versa. Remediation makes it possible to read certain differences between media representations not just as contingent and local stylistic choices but also as negotiations within cultural spaces where only some paths are available. Analyzing media representations through the lens of remediation allows us to map these spaces.

Remediation disrupts straightforward conceptions of "media" by seeing each media form as a *cultural* production.[8] By recognizing remediation and scale making as cultural processes at work in media representations of the global, we show how such representations produce, on one hand, a seemingly self-evident and transparent view of the global and, on the other hand, the possibility of deconstructing these representations. We analyze two sets of examples, one focusing on the production of transparency and the other on its deconstruction. A primary contribution of this chapter, then, is to examine the production of scales, by drawing on theories of remediation. A second contribution is methodological: we provide a way of unpacking the processes through which coherent articulations of scale are made possible.

Global Indians: In the Immediate Presence of the Global

In this section, we highlight the ways in which different scales articulate and reinforce each other to produce the global through the interplay of various media. We use examples of advertisements aired by two Indian corporations that seek to make Indianness a defining feature of their brand identity. Both ads follow a similar narrative trope—they highlight their

Indian roots while also foregrounding their desire for global expansion. The first ad is a branding commercial for Videocon,[9] a leading Indian manufacturer of consumer electronic goods, and the second is for an Indian conglomerate, the Aditya Birla Group (henceforth ABG),[10] which operates in a highly diverse range of industries. Though very different in size and scope, both these companies make the idea of "taking India to the world," while firmly holding on to their Indianness, a central part of their brand identity. The question generated by these advertisements is, how can India be taken to the world without being taken by the world? The question suggests a tension between individual/national uniqueness and a collective global homogeneity and the basis for reconciling them. By comparing these two ads through the lenses of scale and remediation, we can discern the cultural work expended to seamlessly present the interface of different nations as one that also serves to link transnational corporate identities to Indian national selfhood.

Consider the ad for brand Videocon. To articulate the Global Indian, the ad uses three different kinds of media—video, audio, and text. Individually, each of these media is deployed in very different ways to construct the global and the Indian, and it is their interplay that creates the desired effect of a transcendental Indianness. The video depicts a series of stereotypical images of very diverse people across space and time, from a Mongol tribesman to a businesswoman on Wall Street, and from Bushmen in the sub-Saharan African desert to Inuit in the ice-covered Arctic region—who are all chanting the Gayatri Mantra, an important chant in Hinduism. Also present continuously in the backdrop is a world map that very literally indexes the global, suggestive of the Indian company's counter/neocolonial aspirations.[11] Overall, the series of images in the video creates a sense of heterogeneity and an all-encompassing globalism.

The audio, which consists of various people chanting the Gayatri Mantra, creates a first layer of uniformity. The chant is repeated twice over the course of the video (about 50 seconds long)—during the first cycle, different people chanting the Gayatri Mantra are introduced successively, and each of their voices is layered onto the ones preceding them to form a uniform chorus. Other than the sounds of subdued bells, there is little background music. The overall effect of the rhythm and the tone of chanting is not unlike that of priestly chanting during Hindu rituals. The sound of a flute precedes the second cycle of the chant. In contrast to the first cycle, the second cycle is marked by the presence of prominent drumbeats in the background. The voices continue in chorus, until the very end when a female operatic soprano departs from the chorus, with the effect of highlighting the uniformity of the chant even further. The drum and the soprano together create a sense of fusion, of a blending of different cultures.

The text overlaid on these images creates yet another level of uniformity. A semitransparent Sanskrit text depicting the Gayatri Mantra appears throughout this video. The Devnagari script indexes the distinctly Indian roots of Videocon. The translucence of the text further creates an effect of an undergirding Indian core of a world otherwise in flux. The penultimate shot of the video reads: "Taking India to its rightful place in the world." The text appears against the background of the world map mentioned earlier—in white Roman characters, but stylistically presented with a hint of the Devnagari script, enhancing the sense of cultural fusion. Against the video and audio that precede it, the text suggests that being its spiritual basis is India's "rightful" place in the world. The ultimate shot reads "Videocon: New Improved Life" in bold, metallic silver letters, suggesting that Videocon is the means through which this rightful place will be attained.

As a hypermediated representation, the Videocon ad represents global Indianness as something that works at a level other than visual human difference. Aural uniformity and transcendence through text are the primary means through which India becomes global and vice versa. By juxtaposing individuals representing different cultural stereotypes with uniformities performed in text, sound, and maps, Videocon becomes the means through which the rest of the world becomes Indian, overcoming superficial physical and cultural difference by colonizing and structuring thought and utterance. Videocon takes India to the world by making the world Indian.

Like the Videocon commercial, the brand advertisement for ABG also foregrounds its Indian identity while emphasizing its global outreach. As in the previous example, the ABG advertisement depends on a specific choreography of aural, visual, and textual media to construct both the global and the national (Indian) scales. This commercial, aired in 2006, was part of an advertising campaign begun in 2005 that sought to project the 125-year-old company, with its more recent international presence, as "India's first multinational company."[12] The ad exemplifies the globalism that it seeks to depict: an executive describes the production of the ad film thus, "In the end it was a team of 500 highly charged creative technicians who worked across 3 continents for 8 months, to give shape to this epic commercial."[13]

The ad film depicts protagonists whose representations highlight their diverse roots. Using computer-generated graphics (CG), the protagonists in the commercial are shown harnessing the elements of nature—wind, water, fire, and earth—to bestow them with mystical and superhuman powers. The text passing over this movie reads, "Over 70,000 people . . . Across 9 countries . . . 20 nationalities . . . 4 continents . . . 1 Team." The final text crawl, simultaneously narrated in an assertive male voice, reads, "Aditya Birla Group: Bringing India to the world." "Vande Mataram"—a

Sanskrit mantra which translates as "[I] worship the Mother[land]"—forms the background chant for this video.

The ad suggests that its protagonists are deploying mystical powers toward global expansion. "Bringing India" to the world consists in showing globalism as the complementarity between naturalized and essentialized ethnic cultures, symbolized by its Oriental protagonists. This along with the use of CG to heighten and emphasize the human/nature interface as magical and superhuman can be read as an attempt to show that globalism not only includes all nations but also exceeds them and that technological supplementation (CG/magic supplementing film) is also what makes the human or natural into the superhuman or supernatural. The background chant suggests that a strong patriotic sense of duty, rather than the desire for corporate expansion, drives the company's quest for global outreach.

In both these examples, the global is constructed through the interplay of visual, aural, and textual media. In the Videocon commercial, the global is created through a series of images of spatially and temporally dispersed people. In the commercial for the ABG, it is created through the use of a CG-generated movie and a text that explicitly foregrounds its global reach. In both cases, the global is constructed in relation to multiple localities, some concrete, and others abstract. In both examples, India is created primarily through the use of audio and the narrator's synthesis at the very end. In the branding of Videocon, India is presented as that which unites, which provides coherence to otherwise unrelated peoples and places. In the branding of ABG, global expansion is presented as an act of obeisance to the motherland. Furthermore, through its use of computer-generated effects, the ABG advertisement emphasizes the seamless transition between the everyday worlds of industrialization and global expansion and the supernatural realm in which national difference becomes essential, elemental, and empowering. In its attempt to produce a sense of immediacy, national differences are naturalized into complementary elements, which point to a larger global order. India becomes one among many who constitute the globe, and ABG takes on a life independent of the Indian nation as one manifestation of a globalist cosmology. Compared with Videocon's nationalism, the ABG is supernational.

The synergies between different scale-making processes that Tsing suggests in her use of APHIDS are apparent here. Particular ideas of the globe and the nation converge in both these ads to articulate a consumer-nationalism. The global here is articulated on a consumerist register; Indianness, on the other hand, is enacted on a cultural-nationalist register. By attending to the cultural work of remediation, we see that Indian consumer-nationalism is not all of a kind but defines a space in which different ways of placing India in the world can be articulated. The hypermediated

consumer-nationalism exemplified by the Videocon advertisement places India as a hypernationalizing, colonizing entity that operates by drawing the rest of the world into India's cultural sphere of influence. By contrast, ABG occupies the consumer end of the space, emphasizing a shared global order that ABG itself embodies and to which India, imagined as one among many, is subordinated.

Hapa Cosmopolitanism, Remediated Globalisms, and Nationalisms

Although the last section focused on how different scales articulate to produce a sense of the global, this section will look at how various media forms are drawn together to produce the global. This section offers readings of Jeff Chiba Stearns' short animated film *What Are You Anyways?*[14] and Kip Fulbeck's photobook *Part Asian, 100% Hapa*[15] to show how different media are brought into mutual articulation to produce a Hapa identity. In Stearns' film, different media are used to situate the individual Hapa in relationship to hegemonic ethnoracial categories and various scales. In Fulbeck's book, hypermediated parodies of bureaucratic manifestations of identification construct a formal unity that produces a view on the authentic but multiple Hapa subject.

Jeff Chiba Stearns' film *What Are You Anyways?* is situated in this space of cultural production. *What Are You Anyways?* is an animated narrative of the filmmaker's struggles with ethnicity growing up in Canada. It is presented as a journey of self-discovery through which Stearns comes to recognize a Hapa subjectivity, outside race and racelessness, which promises a coherent individualism versus the partial Japanese/Caucasian subjectivity he occupies at the beginning of his story. We focus on two visual features in the film. First, the film exploits a characteristic of hand-drawn animation known as "line boil" that we interpret as a remediation of the still image into the motion picture that embodies the artist's agency and his immediate presence to the subject and viewer. Second, the film invokes images of the Earth as a visual metaphor for Stearns' rejection of one kind of globalism and its replacement with a different one that affords him a space to exercise his individual agency.

The film begins with Stearns as a child in the small community of Kelowna in the interior of British Columbia. Not initially seeing himself as an ethnic other, his classmates' jibes impose Japanese ethnicity on him, which creates the narrative tension that structures the rest of the story. The story follows Stearns into adulthood in Vancouver, where he comes to understand himself as Hapa and not "half-Japanese" through a series of encounters that culminate in a romantic relationship with a Hapa named Jenni. At the beginning

of the story, Stearns' character goes through experiences that spark uncertainty regarding his own identity that lead him to reject his half-*Japanese*ness. At its conclusion, Stearns resolves this uncertainty by following Jenni's lead and asserting his *Hapa*ness. Stearns narrates, "No longer would I have to tell people I was a half-breed."

Visually, the film is rendered in a rough, hand-drawn style that evokes cartoonish sketches done in pencil on a paper. The lines of the animated characters quiver through the use of line boil, an artifact of hand-drawn animation in which variations between frames make lines appear to wobble. Line boil is used here as a device for evoking a sense of the rough, in progress, and the personal. The film attempts to draw the viewer into imagining the work's producer as the single author with pencil in hand.

The story told by these moving sketches contains a commentary on the tension between global cosmopolitanism and localism. Images of the globe appear at key points to illustrate the remaking of Stearns' identity that takes place against an unstable set of spatialities that need to be rethought and reconstituted to arrive at a sense of self. The first moments of the film show a spinning Earth set against a field of stars. The picture fades just as Japan passes the middle of the frame and disappears over the horizon. The world continues to turn, eventually centering on North America. As Stearns' narrative begins, a series of satellite photo-style images bring us closer to Kelowna. The sound of a camera shutter accompanies each step toward the ground. National, provincial, and state borders become visible in succession as we zoom in on southern British Columbia, until eventually we are shown the location of Stearns' hometown, on a map where political borders, major cities, and topographical features such as the Rocky Mountains provide visual signposts. In images that string together planetary, international, and regional perspectives on the Earth, we are given an initial glimpse into spaces of belonging that are imagined as a nested hierarchy of globe, nation, province, and city. Within this hierarchy, the nation is privileged as a determinant of identity. The first borders we see appearing on the globe highlight national divisions. Later on, we see an early stage of Stearns' search for identity—in which he recognizes his ability to "pass" for a variety of ethnicities in a scene midway through the film, which equates ethnic and national identities. Stearns narrates "I can be Filipino when I visit the Philippines, or Brazilian when I travel to Brazil . . ." accompanied by images of his character in settings and attire stereotypically associated with those places.

This equation is soon disrupted. At the climax of the film, Stearns introduces his high-school nickname, "Super Nip," and the globe is shattered. Super Nip is Stearns' alter ego in the film, an anime-inspired superhero that embodies his frustrations and feelings of alienation. With cape waving in the wind and eyes peering out from beneath the shadow cast by his conical hat, Super Nip stands across from three "redneck" adversaries wearing work boots and lumberjack shirts. During the battle, the rednecks mock Super Nip with ethnic stereotypes, taunting him with fake karate moves and offering to pose for his tourist pictures. Super Nip, speaking in Japanese with a deep, menacing tone, flies into the sky to prepare his counterattack, momentarily leaving the Earth behind. Against a backdrop of stars and with a distant globe below, we see Super Nip let loose a terrifying scream that is muffled by the vacuum of space before he propels himself back toward the ground with superhuman speed. The impact shatters the landscape, sweeping his adversaries away. The scene closes with the victorious Super Nip laughing, levitating among fragments of the ground on which he and his enemies had been standing.

The final appearance of the image of the globe occurs at the very end of the film, when we once again see it whole and spinning. There are no discernible national borders now, and Stearns' voiceover tells us that he had come to appreciate "just how lucky [he was] to be a Hapa living in Canada." As North America spins out of view, Stearns' parting message appears: "Hapa'ly Ever After."

Taken together, these representations of the globe narrate how Stearns comes to see himself as the bearer of a global, postnational subjectivity that cites nation, race, and ethnicity but is not defined by them. Prior to the imagined destruction of the globe, Stearns is constrained by nations, but afterward, the globe remade becomes the scale on which Stearns' individuality can be truly expressed. It diverges from conventional cosmopolitanisms, because Stearns' Hapa subjectivity is not positioned to mediate between the East and West. However, it is still imagined as cosmopolitan through its desire to allow the individual to transcend parochial categories and carve out a space for self-definition. At the film's conclusion, Stearns is not half-Japanese-Canadian or Hapa-Canadian, but a Hapa living in Canada.

In contrast to Stearns' work, which focuses on the perspective of the individual Hapa artist, Kip Fulbeck's book *Part Asian, 100% Hapa* presents 116 Hapa subjects, each allocated two pages in a volume of alternating pages of sketches and texts done by hand and spartan color photographs. Fulbeck's book is driven by the same question as Stearns' film: "*What are you?*"[16] It not only shares a pencil-on-paper immediacy but also draws heavily on forms of identification closely associated with the nation-state. The American national imaginary is brought into an articulation of a Hapa global that exceeds it. Although Stearns traces the life of an individual over time, Fulbeck considers a cross section of people in a hypermediated rendering of Hapa diversity and unity, which carefully places them in relationship to several frameworks of identification. Considered together, Fulbeck and Stearns' works highlight how Hapa identity emerges as both subjective lived

experience and collective identification, each of which cannot be encompassed by the other. Responding directly to a *Time* magazine framing of Eurasians as the "poster children of globalization for the 21st century,"[17] Fulbeck writes, "That's a lot of expectation placed upon a group that's been ignored for centuries. And now it's our time because we're in vogue? The way I look at it, it's always been our time."[18] For Fulbeck, Hapas have always been global and closest to the most authentic way of being human. This book can, therefore, be interpreted as both the emergence and the recovery of an identity; made present and visible by combining still photography, sketches, and texts and playing off of the individual, national, ethnoracial, and global. Fulbeck's book aligns several strategies for producing immediacy into a hypermediated rendering of Hapa identity that produces a view on the real subject by stressing diversity, unboundedness, and uncategorizability.

Fulbeck presents his book as giving voice to a silent but significant group within American society that has been without a voice because it does not easily fit within ethnic categories. For Fulbeck, this is a symptom of American "laziness," the desire for straight fits into simple categories. For example, the U.S. census, he writes, has only recently let him answer the question on ethnicity "accurately" when multiple answers became acceptable.[19] Each set of two pages in Fulbeck's book begins with a typeset string of ethnic categories, printed in small lower-case text for each subject. "chinese, english, scottish, german" follows "filipina, japanese, german" follows "chinese (toisan), jewish (russian, polish)." Fulbeck explains in his introduction that this is a response to the "ethnic guessing game" that Hapas are often forced to participate in by curious others, but in this case, the game is appropriated as an expression of the value of diversity and the lived experience of mixedness. "In this scenario, it gets used with assertion, with claim. 'Name that Asian' becomes *our* game."[20] The astounding variety of categories listed exceeds the list of races in U.S. censuses. Along with racial and ethnic categories appear "wasp," "shanghainese," "cherokee," and "palauan" all rendered in the same typeface and occupying similar positions on each page. They cite a range of scales through and against which the other elements of the person's record take on meaning.

On opposing pages are color photographs that show each subject from the shoulders up without any visible clothing, jewelry, or makeup. The 116 subjects include men and women, from infants to the elderly. Fulbeck explicitly seeks to evoke familiar forms of photo identification, such as the driver's license or passport. But, over pages and pages of similarly framed photographs depicting people stripped of similarities and differences performed through dress or makeup, Fulbeck presents the participants' bodies as a collective embodiment of irreducible diversity. In contrast to the ethnoracial categories listed beside them, the photographs assert difference and sameness that cannot be rendered precisely in text. They stand as an incitement to think through and against textual labels.

In the white space below the list of ethnicities, participants offer drawings, prose, and poetry that range from messy scribbles to dense blocks of text. Some offer lists of their most cherished roles in life or other things they take pride in, whereas others refer to more immediate, banal life occurrences. One explains, "This morning I thought I was going to the movies. Then my mom made me come here."[21] Where in another kind of identification practice we may find names, dates of birth, hair and eye color, and height and weight, in this book the space beside a photograph is filled by a reproduction of that person's own sense of what constitutes their identifying traits, expressed through short statements ("Queer Eurasian"),[22] longer responses ("What are you? Hard to say, except maybe self-contained, leftist and humorous . . . and increasingly impatient with the nonsense of others? . . . Is Hapa enough for you?"),[23] or drawings (one submitted by a young boy shows himself and four members of his family).[24] Here, as in Stearns' film, we are invited to imagine the subject of the photograph putting pencil directly to paper. The words and pictures appear to us as faithful reproductions that leave intact the person's handwriting, the words crossed out or squeezed in, the grammatical misses and the spelling mistakes, which authorize the sense that we are seeing the unedited work of the person depicted. Working around the mechanical uniformity of the industrially printed book, the pages recall the moment of their production and locate the ability to define an identity with their creators.

Through the orchestration of these three modes of representation—ethnic categories, identifying photographs, and writings and sketches done by hand—the book creates a hypermediated perspective on Hapa identity. The use of photographs and ethnic and national categories seeks to critique and appropriate institutionalized forms of identification associated with the nation-state, whereas the white space embodies a freedom in which identities can be presented. It is also the form in which these media are presented—the book—that allows an additional dimension of diversity to be enacted. Hapa identity is recognizable not through any straightforward shared characteristics or traits but is represented in the book as a collective artistic performance. The juxtaposition of more than a hundred similar records establishes a new ground on which to represent diversity.

Stearns and Fulbeck are both driven by the same question—"what are you?" Both answer "Hapa," but reading their works as remediated, scale-making projects shows that the referent Hapa remains unstable. Fulbeck, in particular, draws attention to the diversity of people for whom Hapa has deep personal meaning. But it is not unstructured. Imaginings of the nation, the globe, and the individual permeate both accounts, and these

circumscribe the kinds of selves and worlds that can be represented. If Hapa cosmopolitanism and a view of the global had been seen as straddling the gap between tradition and modernity, the exotic and the familiar, and the East and the West, then the works of these two artists reject these binaries, one by focusing on the individual's negotiation through a racialized landscape and the other by emphasizing a collective performance of diversity. Together they show how the constraints and play inherent to representations of racialized subjectivities structure a space in which new imaginings of the global can take shape.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have offered interpretations of two sets of representations of the global—the Global Indian and Hapa—figuring identities as remediated, scale-making projects. In our account, representations of various scales such as the global, the national, and the individual are wrought from the choreography of media forms, which are brought into alignment along with a "real" identity. In the examples from India, globalisms are produced through remediations that make an Orientalist traditional cultural form of "India" into its necessary counterpart for a consumerist globalization. In the North American Hapa examples, national imaginaries that evoke the state or discrete national cultures are brought into hypermediated representations that awaken and subvert hegemonic ethnoracial categories.

In many ways, this chapter embodies the very globalism that it engages. From inception to conclusion, the chapter took shape on two different continents and three different countries. The chapter itself is also an instance of remediation. Descriptions of books, pictures, and videos comprise its empirical base. The visual is remediated and rendered meaningful in textual form. Hypermediation defines both the chapter and its constitutive examples. The "excess and fullness" of its constitutive examples is deliberately subverted to imagine a different kind of hypermediated space—one in which contingencies within hegemonic constructs are highlighted. Remediation is repurposed toward a critical awareness of scale, rather than its disavowal. It is precisely in cultivating a critical awareness of scale that, we believe, lies the promise of analyzing scale making through the lenses of remediation.

Endnotes

1. Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
2. Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
3. *National Geographic* 196, no. 2 (August 1999): cover.

4. According to Pukui and Elbert (1986, 58), "Hapa" refers to fragments, parts, and mixed blood. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian*, rev. and enlarged ed. (University of Hawaii Press, 1986). In North America, the word has been appropriated to refer to individuals of mixed Asian and European background. Hapa is often taken to be synonymous with terms such as Eurasian, which have been used to address mixed Asian and Caucasian heritage exclusively.
5. Tsing, *Friction*, 58.
6. Ibid., 76.
7. Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 45.
8. Teri Silvio, "Remediation and Local Globalizations: How Taiwan's 'Digital Video Knights-Errant Puppetry' Writes the History of the New Media in Chinese," *Cultural Anthropology* 22, no. 2 (2007): 285–313; Karen Strassler, "The Face of Money: Currency, Crisis, and Remediation in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *Cultural Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (2009): 68–103.
9. Videocon, "Gayatri Mantra," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-iuEOUhdxqs (accessed January 14, 2011).
10. Aditya Birla Commercial, "Taking India to the World," 2006, http://www.vgc.in/film2006/home.html (accessed March 27, 2009).
11. The image can be read as the remediation of a certain genre of map. Anderson (2006) has argued that colonial maps, conceived of as projections of the real world on to paper, played an important role in the formation of the nation as an "imagined community." The nation becomes a privileged determinant of identity, and the constant world map in the backdrop is suggestive of novel configurations (i.e., "globalization") in which identities exceed the frame of the nation-state. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York, NY: Verso, 2006).
12. Atul Hegde, "The Making of an Epic," 2006, http://www.vgc.in/film2006/home.html (accessed March 1, 2009).
13. Hegde, "The Making of an Epic."
14. Jeff Chiba Stearns, *What Are You Anyways?* (Meditating Bunny Studio, 2005).
15. Kip Fulbeck, *Part Asian, 100% Hapa* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2006). Hereafter cited as *PA*.
16. *PA*, 11.
17. In 2001, the Asian edition of *Time* published an article subtitled with what has become one of the most often invoked statements about Hapas: "Why Eurasians' multicultural heritage has made them the poster children of globalization." Hannah Beech, "Eurasian Invasion," *Time Magazine*, April 4, 2001.
18. *PA*, 17.
19. Ibid., 14.
20. Ibid., 16.
21. Ibid., 116.
22. Ibid., 182.
23. Ibid., 216.
24. Ibid., 58.