Breach of Copy/rights: The University Copy District as Abject Zone

Kate Eichhorn

U of T Copy

At first sight, U of T Copy seems to be an erroneously named establishment. It is not located in the sprawling district of copy shops that borders the University of Toronto's downtown campus. Rather, U of T Copy is approximately five kilometers west of the university, where a network of train tracks, factories, car dealerships, and newly gentrified houses and artist lofts intersect.

The first time I visited U of T Copy, I was illegally copying several out-of-print books borrowed from the University of Toronto library. After commenting on the source of my books and asking about my affiliation with the university, the owner of U of T Copy boasted about the other academics who frequent his shop. As he surveyed my books, I surveyed the row of diplomas and certificates hanging on the wall above the self-serve copiers. The documents offered a familiar narrative of immigration, education, and employment and a possible explanation for the copy shop's out-of-place name. A Bachelor of Science degree and a Master of Science degree, both from the University of Winnipeg, and a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Toronto hung next to a real-estate license, an insurance-sales license, and a certificate verifying the owner's ability to fix copy machines. On subsequent visits, the owner of U of T Copy completed the nar-

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rative implied by his diplomas, which he dismissively described as "just paper." I was not surprised to learn that he completed four years of doctoral studies in chemistry at the University of Toronto before he was forced to abandon his studies due to financial and familial responsibilities in Canada and Vietnam.

As someone connected to the university, I was left with the impression that the owner of U of T Copy welcomed my presence even more than my business. He became especially delighted when his two-year-old son, Nicholas, expressed an interest in my stack of books. Still in diapers, Nicholas already displayed many bookish habits. As I engaged in the monotonous task of copying out-of-print books from cover to cover, he playfully copied my act of copying with other books retrieved from my bag, taking care to never crease a page or crack a spine. I knew that Nicholas, who has yet to learn his alphabet, already understood the value of books. I also knew that the name of his father's copy shop is not the result of a geographic miscalculation; the hastily painted sign hanging outside U of T Copy was never intended to tell customers where they are, but rather to tell them where the proprietor ought to be (see fig. 1).

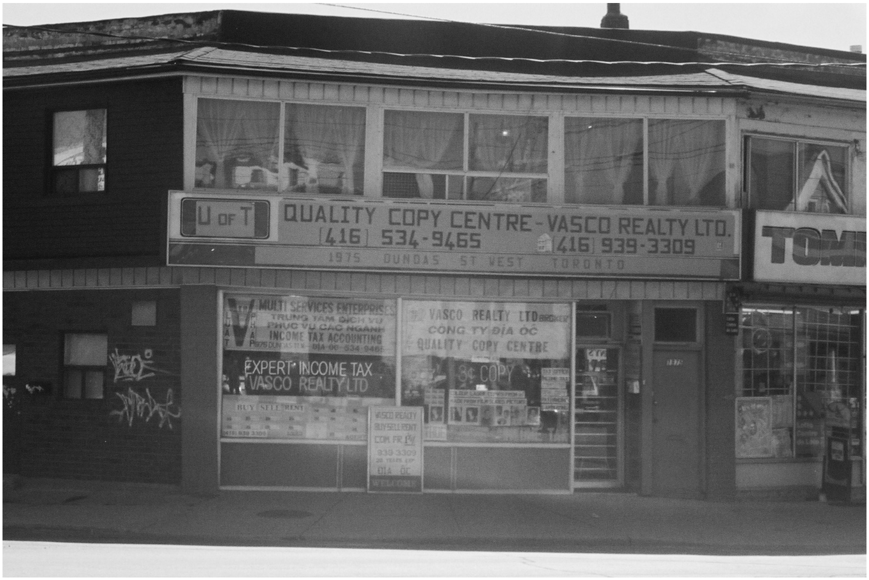
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Figure 1 U of T Copy, located on Dundas Street West at Sorauren Avenue in Toronto's West End. Photo: Kate Eichhorn

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My account of U of T Copy is significant precisely because it draws attention to a configuration of spaces, practices, and technologies that are typically taken for granted. With the exception of legal discourses on the photocopier's threat to copyright law and a limited number of studies on its role in micro- and self-publishing initiatives, researchers have paid little attention to the photocopier and even less attention to modern copy shops and their owners.[1] This is somewhat surprising, since most academics spend a considerable amount of time photocopying, often illegally, and many academics teach on campuses that are surrounded by districts of independently owned copy shops. In *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), Elisabeth Eisenstein remarks that one of the far-reaching consequences of movable type is its impact on the nature of scholarship, specifically historical research. Historians are "indebted to Gutenberg's invention," she maintains, since "print enters their work from start to finish." She further remarks, "Because historians are usually eager to investigate major changes and this change transformed the conditions of their own craft, one would expect the shift to attract some attention. . . . Yet any historiographical survey will show the contrary to be true" (3). In the past three decades, due in part to Eisenstein's study, literary critics, historians, and sociologists have increasingly turned their attention to the histories of medieval manuscript and print cultures. Photocopying has had much less impact on scholarly work, but it may represent another example of a technology that academics have failed to recognize as integral to their work. Although it is unlikely that a stack of photocopied materials will ever have the symbolic currency carried by a wall of printed books, most academics would find it difficult to imagine conducting research or teaching without access to photocopying. My interest in the copy shops and the copy districts that border many university campuses recognizes that these localities offer insights into not only the history of print cultures but also the changing nature of the university and its relation to the state, the academy, and patterns of migration in the early twenty-first century.

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[1] Beyond technical manuals and legal discourses on the photocopier's relation to copyright laws and publishing, the photocopier has been largely ignored as a subject of research. Some notable exceptions include Julian E. Orr's *Talking about Machines: An Ethnography of a Modern Job* (1996) and Hillel Schwartz's "Ditto" in *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (1996). Several studies on the production of zines also discuss the photocopier's contribution to cultural production in the late twentieth century; see in particular Chris Dodge's "The Revolution Will Be Photocopied: A Trip to the Underground Publishing Conference Reveals that America's Alternative Press Is Livelier Than Ever" (2001), and Stephen Duncombe's *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (1997). I discovered no studies that focus on the subject of copy shops and copy districts or the people who work in these sites.

Clustered on the border of urban university campuses, copy districts represent geographic and symbolic boundaries. This is especially true in the case of subtly fortified campuses, such as the University of Toronto's St. George campus, which exists in a clearly demarcated urban location where it simultaneously benefits from and claims to contribute to the diverse cultural life of the city while effectively filtering out most pedestrian traffic. In this case, the copy district acts as a visible buffer between the university and the city. A pedestrian zone inhabited by academics and the people who serve them, the copy district caters to the needs of the university and is dependent upon the university for survival, but despite such interdependence, it belongs to the city rather than the university. This status is essential, since the copy district is not only a known site of illegal copying but also a site sometimes associated with the reproduction of forged documents, including documents used to aid people's movement across borders. Notably, these borders are both geographic and symbolic. Copy shops are sites where people frequently reproduce the documents required to apply for passports (e.g., birth certificates and photo IDs) and the documents required to move across institutional thresholds (e.g., résumés, reference letters, and transcripts). It is nearly impossible to estimate the extent to which photocopying technologies, as a form of document production that can take place with minimal surveillance, facilitate the reproduction of fraudulent documents.

In this respect, the copy district that clings to the edges of the urban university campus arguably represents an "abject zone," a term Anne McClintock uses to describe sites that are invariably part of society but are inhabited by people and practices that society-at-large must repudiate (1995: 72). Although McClintock's discussion is primarily concerned with the abject zone in the context of nineteenth-century British imperialism, abject zones also serve an important role in contemporary processes of globalization. Like the Victorian era's slums and brothels, today's refugee camps and first world ghettos inhabited by third world professionals[2] are sites where the erosion of national boundaries is both most apparent and most vigorously policed. In my reading of the interrelations between the academy, the city, and the manuscript, print, and copy cultures, the university is the social entity that must struggle to assert itself as orderly. The copy districts that border many urban university campuses are cast as spaces inhabited by everything the university must reject yet cannot live without, including the unauthorized reproduction of texts and the labor of a skilled but underrecognized workforce comprised largely of immigrant laborers.

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[2] According to 2001 Canadian census statistics, nearly half (49.4 percent) of Toronto's population is comprised of immigrants, and 42 percent of these immigrants are recent arrivals (people who have immigrated in the past decade). Census statistics further reveal that most of the city's new arrivals are visible and linguistic minorities who have moved to Canada from China, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, or the Philippines (Social Policy Analysis Research Unit 2003). Given Canada's immigration guidelines that privilege immigrants who possess professional and graduate degrees but do not guarantee that these credentials will be recognized once applicants arrive in the country, it is not surprising that a growing number of Toronto's working-class neighborhoods are now populated by highly educated immigrants. In a 2004 series on Thorncliffe Park, an apartment complex located in a working-class suburb of Toronto, Jan Wong of the *Globe and Mail* observed, "At Thorncliffe

The Family of Guillaume de Sens: Medieval Stationers

Copy districts are as old as the idea of the university itself. In the late Middle Ages, Paris was shaped not only by the presence of developing universities but also by the services established to meet the needs of a growing population of students and scholars. Established beside and in conjunction with Paris's universities, the copy districts of the Left Bank and the Latin Quarter were sites of book production, but they were also sites of lively intellectual exchange. They teemed with students, thinkers, and artisans, as well as stationers, scribes, and illuminators (Bjerken 1973: 84). The relation between the copy district and the university in medieval Paris may be best illustrated through the story of the family of Guillaume de Sens, the city's most well-known producers and renters of manuscripts in the late Middle Ages.

Guillaume de Sens and his wife Marguerite established their copy shop on the Left Bank in the mid-thirteenth century. In an era when the work of copying and illuminating books was shifting from monks to secular tradespeople (Rouse and Rouse 2000; Bjerken 1973), Guillaume and Marguerite wisely chose to establish their shop near both a house of Dominican brothers and the city's emerging universities, a location that enabled them to be in proximity to the two groups of people most likely to require their services. Working as copyists over two centuries before the invention of print and the rise of capitalism, Guillaume de Sens and his family obviously worked under remarkably different conditions than contemporary copy shop owners. Although a direct comparison between the medieval and

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Park, PhDs in genetic engineering serve doughnuts at Tim Hortons. Those with MBAs 'volunteer' endlessly, hoping free labour will count toward that elusive, all-important qualification: Canadian experience." The series of articles, each focusing on one or more of Thorncliffe Park's educated but displaced residents, offers a stark depiction of the people who have been permitted to cross international borders on the basis of their recognized credentials yet who are forced to wait, sometimes indefinitely, for their credentials to be recognized by Canadian professional associations, universities, and businesses.

contemporary copy shop is impossible, there are some parallels worth noting. As their name suggests (Sens is a town roughly 80 miles from Paris), it is likely that Guillaume de Sens and his family were part of a wave of urban migration that took place in Europe in the late Middle Ages (Lilley 2002: 1 – 16) and that they opened their shop as relative newcomers to Paris. Their copy shop, which remained in operation for nearly a century, was also operated as a family business — first by Guillaume and Marguerite, then by a widowed Marguerite, and later by a succession of sons, nephews, and grandsons. Moreover, the family of Guillaume de Sens was comprised of men and women with specialized technical skills in the arts of copying and illumination upon which medieval scholars were dependent. Finally, the family produced and rented texts to students and scholars and hence played an important role in fostering and sustaining the intellectual life of the university and the city.[3] The family of Guillaume de Sens and contemporary copy shop owners whose businesses border university campuses share a clientele with and a proximity to the university. However, while contemporary copy shop owners are rarely acknowledged by the university, Guillaume de Sens and his family, like other merchants and artisans working in the book trade in medieval Paris, were considered an extension of the academy itself.

Upon being sworn in as *libraires* or stationers,[4] members of the de Sens family would have become servants to the university. Although this position exempted the family from paying taxes, it also meant that they were obliged to conduct their work in accordance with university regulations, which included the regulation of book-rental prices and the need to obtain permission before introducing a new text or taking an existing text out of circulation. Whether or not the university had any means to enforce such regulations, in a society where few people outside the academy were literate, it seems unlikely that many *libraires* and stationers would have been willing to risk noncompliance. Nevertheless, there is evidence suggesting that the demise of the Guillaume de Sens family shop, nearly a century after it was established, may have been the result of such an act of defiance.

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[3] Most notably, the family is believed to have established the city's first *exemplar-pecia* system. The system facilitated the rapid copying of in-demand books through the rental of book sections, or *pecias*, which enabled several scholars to copy different sections of the same book simultaneously and thus eliminated the long delays that occurred when individual scholars attempted to copy entire manuscripts (Rouse and Rouse 2000: 85 – 86).

[4] In the late Middle Ages, the term *stationer* was usually used in reference to scribes, while the term *libraire* was used in reference to people who rented manuscripts to people who wished to make their own copies. Some copy shop operators, like Guillaume de Sens, were known to work as both stationers and *libraires* (Rouse and Rouse 2000: 85 – 86).

In the early fourteenth century, Thomas de Sens, Guillaume and Marguerite's grandson, refused to take the stationer's oath in an attempt to protest an unspecified change to the university's regulation of Paris's thriving book trade. Although he eventually did sign the oath, historical records from the period make reference to the university's blacklisting of Thomas, and by the mid-fourteenth century there is no further recorded evidence of his connection to the university nor any indication that he ever assumed the position of principal *libraire*, a post to which his lineage would most certainly have entitled him. Although the university's decision to force Paris's stationers and *libraires* to take an oath of service was partially rooted in its desire to guarantee the accessibility and affordability of required texts, the decision also reflected a recognition of the potential danger, already lurking in the copy district, to the university's monopoly on the production and distribution of texts. In the early fourteenth century, a commercial book trade was beginning to appear in Paris through the circulation of vernacular texts (Rouse and Rouse 2000: 95). Although Thomas de Sens's name has never been linked to the production of a vernacular text, the absence of complete and reliable records on book production from this period make it impossible to determine the extent of his involvement in Paris's emerging commercial book trade. As a result, it is possible that his refusal to sign the university's oath in 1316 may have been connected to his own interest in the establishment of a book trade that was free to operate independently of the university. Whether Thomas's fate was sealed by his refusal to work under the complete control of the university's governing council is unknown, but his family's longstanding connection to the University of Paris reveals, at the very least, how integral copy shops and districts were to the development of Paris's universities in the late Middle Ages and how porous the division once was between the university and local copy shops and districts (Rouse and Rouse 2000: 81–95).

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Today, the university's relation to copy districts and individual copy shop owners is more likely to be predicated on denial than official recognition. However, the copy districts that border university campuses continue to operate as sites where certain university and state ideologies are enacted, albeit in a far less transparent manner than in official academic arenas.

In Toronto, the most clearly demarcated copy district borders the University of Toronto's downtown campus that stretches from Bloor Street to College Street and from Spadina Avenue to University Avenue; some shops in this district almost exclusively serve the university community (see fig. 2). The copy district surround-

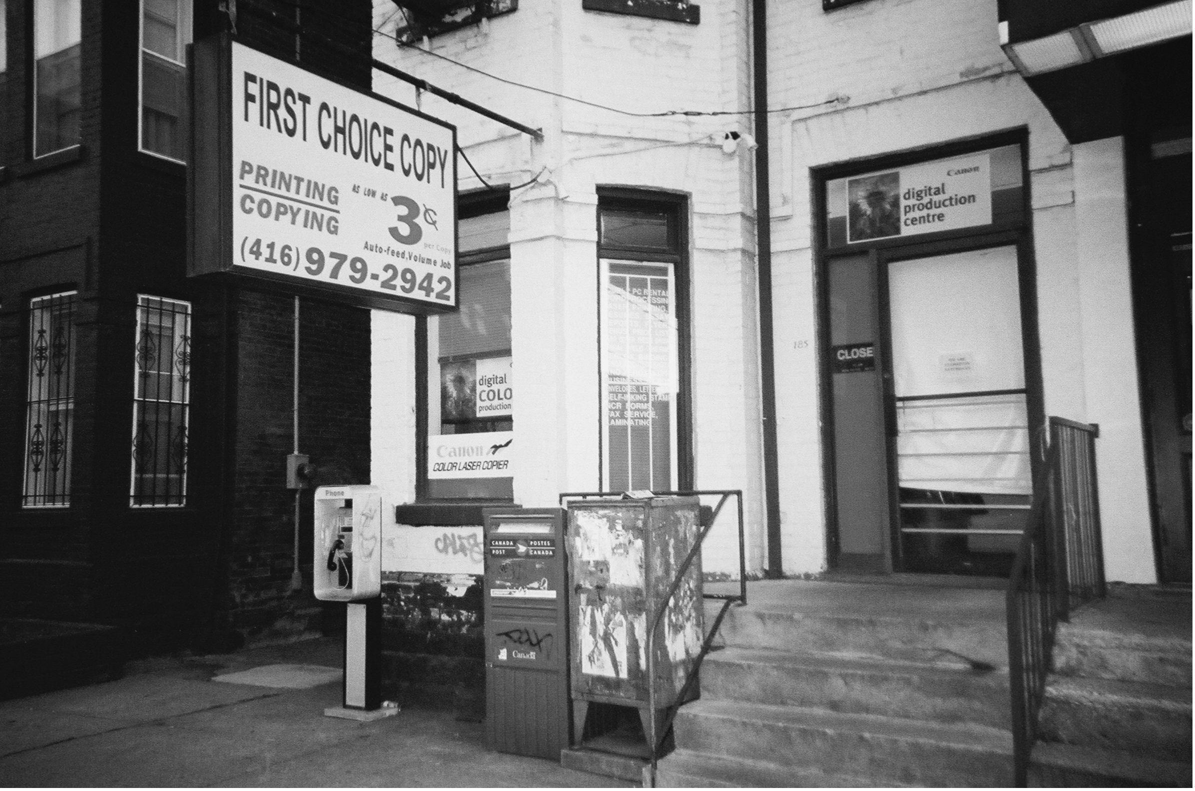
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Figure 2 College Street on the border of the University of Toronto's St. George campus. Photo: Kate Eichhorn

ing the University of Toronto campus grew as photocopying technologies became increasingly affordable in the 1980s. A survey of annual business directories for the city of Toronto reveals that in 1980 there were no businesses on the border of the University of Toronto's downtown campus that exclusively offered photocopying services; by 1985 at least six shops dedicated to copying had opened on the edge of the campus, and since the mid-1980s the number of copy shops in this district has continued to rise. However, the increasing accessibility of photocopying technologies cannot fully account for the continued spread of copy districts since 1990. Additional factors, such as the rising cost of books and the changing demographic of university students and faculty, also need to be taken into account.

Since 1990, the cost of books has increased drastically. In Canada, factors contributing to this increase include the 1990 termination of Canada's long-standing tax exemption on books, the decreased value of the Canadian dollar in the 1990s, and a less competitive publishing and book-distribution industry (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage 2000). During the same period, enrollment at

Canadian universities has steadily increased, along with the proportion of students from working-class families.[5] Surprisingly, the increased participation of working-class students has occurred as the cost of postsecondary education has increased.[6] Combined, these factors mean that there are more students than ever for whom buying books is truly a luxury, making the availability of inexpensive photocopied materials, in the form of official course kits as well as pirated course kits and textbooks, a necessity. Additionally, as the demographic of the student body has changed, so has the profile of university faculty. Since the late 1980s, the number of courses taught by sessional faculty has continued to increase throughout North America.[7] Although most sessional faculty have access to photocopying services on campus, their access is often severely limited. Sessional faculty, who frequently teach in the evenings or on weekends, may only have access to on-campus copying services during regular business hours, when they are not on campus.[8] As a result, they are frequently found standing side by side with students in independently owned copy shops, usually reproducing course materials at their own expense or with money collected from their students.

The copy districts that cling to the edges of urban university campuses clearly provide essential services to students and faculty. What is far less obvious is the extent to which these districts enable the university to manage a student popula-

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5. Louis N. Christofides, Jim Cirello, and Michael Hoy report that although people from middle-class to upper-middle-class backgrounds continue to be more likely to attend postsecondary institutions and appear to disproportionately benefit from government subsidy programs, “it is clear that, whatever the reason, the time period 1975 to 1993 has seen a larger increase in postsecondary education for individuals from relatively lower income families” (2001: 177). Since 1993, the trend identified by Christofides, Cirello, and Hoy has continued as a growing number of Canadian colleges and universities have expanded their part-time studies programs and opened satellite campuses, which are both factors that make postsecondary education more accessible to working-class students, who often must continue to work on a full-time basis and/or live with their families while in school.

6. A 2001 study by the Canadian Association of University Teachers reports that between 1991 and 1998 there was a 25 percent decline in provincial and federal funding for postsecondary education and a more than 125 percent increase in the average student debt load, which went from an average of $8,000 in 1990 to $25,000 in 1998. The Canadian Federation of Students (2004) reports that between 1993–94 and 2002–3, the average cost of tuition at Canadian universities rose from $2,023 to $4,025.

7. *University Affairs* reports that the rates of sessional labor on university campuses across North America has steadily increased for the past two decades. Between 1992 and 1998, full-time university faculty at Canadian universities dropped 9.6 percent while part-time faculty grew in most provinces; in 1998, 45 percent of all teaching staff on Canadian university campuses were employed part-time (Mullens 2001: 11).

8. *University Affairs* reports that lack of clerical and office support are among the conditions most frequently cited as contributing to the poor working conditions of part-time faculty (Mullens 2001: 25).

tion, a workforce, and a set of practices that are integral to their operation yet pose a threat to their status and legacy. In sharp contrast to the conditions under which Guillaume de Sens's family shop was operated in the late Middle Ages, few contemporary copy shop owners have any official connection to the university communities they serve. If the copy district is a site where certain members of the university community and certain modes of production integral to scholarly work are managed, it is the absence rather than the presence of university regulations and recognition that makes this possible. Although copy shops are obligated to post notices about the consequences of breaching copyright law, breach of copyright in copy shops is inevitable and tolerated. People who open copy shops presumably do so on the assumption that such breaches can and will occur without significant legal or financial consequences. Everyone knows that illegal copying is an essential part of scholarly life for students and faculty; privately run copy shops located just off university property enable this illegal activity to be carried out without implicating the institution itself.[9] However, illegal copying is not the only thing that the copy district enables the university to conveniently ignore without completely banishing.

Copy districts provide essential services to a temporary academic workforce, which continues to be comprised of a particularly high percentage of scholars from traditionally underrepresented groups in academe, including visible and linguistic minorities.[10] Copy districts represent one place where third world professionals can work in proximity to other academics and professionals, even though their own credentials as scholars, engineers, doctors, or lawyers remain unrecognized by the university, professional organizations, and the state. Thus, copy districts arguably sustain the status and legacy of universities by creating a convenient annex where illegal practices, ranging from breach of copyright to the forgery of documents, can take place without directly implicating the university, and where highly educated minorities can work for the university, both as copyists and sometimes as researchers and educators, without being admitted as full-fledged members of the academy or being afforded all the privileges and administrative support associated with full recognition. As the following account suggests, however, it may be the presence of this often highly educated but only partially recognized population of immigrant workers that explains why copy shops and copy districts, even those known to serve primarily the university community, continue to be associated with other types of legal breaches, including the breach of national borders and state security.

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[9] Until recently, the copyright law of the United States and the Canadian Copyright Act have prohibited researchers from reproducing more than 10 percent of any publication, even for personal research purposes. However, a March 2004 Supreme Court of Canada ruling may change how copyright laws are applied to Canadian researchers. In *CCH Canadian Ltd v. Law Society of Upper Canada*, the court ruled in favor of the Law Society, whose librarians were initially seen to be in infringement of the copyright act on the basis of their decision to (1) photocopy and distribute legal materials on behalf of Law Society's members and (2) maintain a photocopier in the library and post a notice that the library will not be held responsible for copies made in infringement of copyright law. If the decision is interpreted as expected, copying materials for the purpose of research will no longer be interpreted as a breach of copyright law. However, the decision acknowledges that it may be difficult to determine whether copying is for personal research purposes, and the decision appears to place the onus on librarians to determine this on a case-by-case basis. The decision does not address whether similar decision-making powers will be granted to the owners of private copy shops who, unlike librarians, have no recognized credentials that might give them the authority to make such decisions on behalf of the state.

[10] Indhu Rajagopal's study on contract faculty at Canadian universities reveals not only that women account for a high proportion of part-time faculty but also that female part-timers generally earn less money than their male counterparts. Significantly, while there are many statistics on the number of women in part-time faculty positions, it is considerably more difficult to locate statistics

Best Copy

A multicolored business card for Best Copy is tacked to the bulletin board in my office. I received the business card from a former student whose family runs the shop, with the promise of a discount and free delivery. If the innocuous name of the copy shop sounds familiar, it is probably because Best Copy is arguably one of the world's most notorious copy shops, although its infamy is only partially connected to the services it offers. In September 2001, Best Copy was the scene of a midnight raid by Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers equipped with machine guns, dogs, and battering rams. During the raid, several computers and dozens of boxes of documents were seized from the premises. It was not Best Copy's owner, a local Muslim cleric, who was under investigation, but rather his nephew, Nabil al-Marabh, who once worked for his uncle at the shop.

Arrested in a Chicago suburb in late September 2001, al-Marabh was brought to a Brooklyn detention center where he was held without specific charges for

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on the proportion of visible-minority faculty. Rajagopal's study indicates that in 1993, only a small proportion of part-time positions were occupied by visible-minority faculty (5 percent) (2002: 74). However, a 2001 report by the Canadian Association of University Teachers reported that visible-minority university teachers, who account for 12.4 percent of all university faculty, "earn well below the average salaries of all professors and are more likely to experience unemployment" (2004: 1). The fact that visible-minority faculty earn less than their white counterparts may indicate that a higher proportion of visible-minority faculty hold part-time and temporary positions.

several months. Although al-Marabh had worked as a taxi driver and held a variety of other part-time and temporary jobs, his link to the copy shop proved to be a key factor in constructing his profile as a terrorist with direct connections to the 9/11 attacks. On September 28, 2001, an article in the *Globe and Mail* introduced al-Marabh as a "34-year-old Syrian" who "worked behind the counter of a small downtown Toronto photocopy shop" (Smith, Moller, and Freeze 2001). The article went on to describe the circumstances of the raid on Best Copy, noting that the shop would have housed "sophisticated lamination and printing equipment" (Smith, Moller, and Freeze 2001). Less than a month later, the case against al-Marabh was mounting, and his connection to Best Copy had emerged as a key piece of incriminating evidence. The initial case against al-Marabh had focused on his Syrian citizenship and the fact that he had once shared a Chicago-area apartment with two other suspects who were found to be in possession of airport employee badges. By late October, al-Marabh's association with the Chicago suspects had been eclipsed by his connection to Best Copy. On October 23, 2001, the *Globe and Mail* reported that "investigators allege [al-Marabh] produced forged documents for the terrorist network" while working at Best Copy (Mitrovica 2001). One week later, Best Copy appeared in another article's lead: "In downtown Toronto, the photocopying shop where Nabil al-Marabh once worked has been closed until further notice, its sidewalk sign blown over by the wind" (Cheney and Freeze 2001). By this point, for many Canadians, the closure of Best Copy had become a chilling reminder that Islamic communities in Canada were not immune to the heightened surveillance and erosion of human rights being experienced by their counterparts in the United States following September 11 (see fig. 3).

By the end of October, Best Copy's owner was also beginning to come under media scrutiny. Newspaper reports emphasized that Best Copy's owner had once posted bail for al-Marabh when he was detained in an attempt to cross the border on an illegal passport. Reports also emphasized that he was the vice-principal of a local Islamic school founded by Mahmoud Jaballah, who had been put on trial on two previous occasions for his alleged connection to terrorist organizations (Cheney and Freeze 2001). By November 2001, connections to Best Copy had become commonplace in articles about suspected Canadian terrorists. Hassan Almrei, a Syrian refugee claimant, was described by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service as involved with bin Laden and connected to a "forgery ring with international connections that produces false documents" (Priest 2001). Evidence supporting Almrei's detainment and the Canadian government's decision to sign a certificate declaring him a security threat included his possession of a false pass-

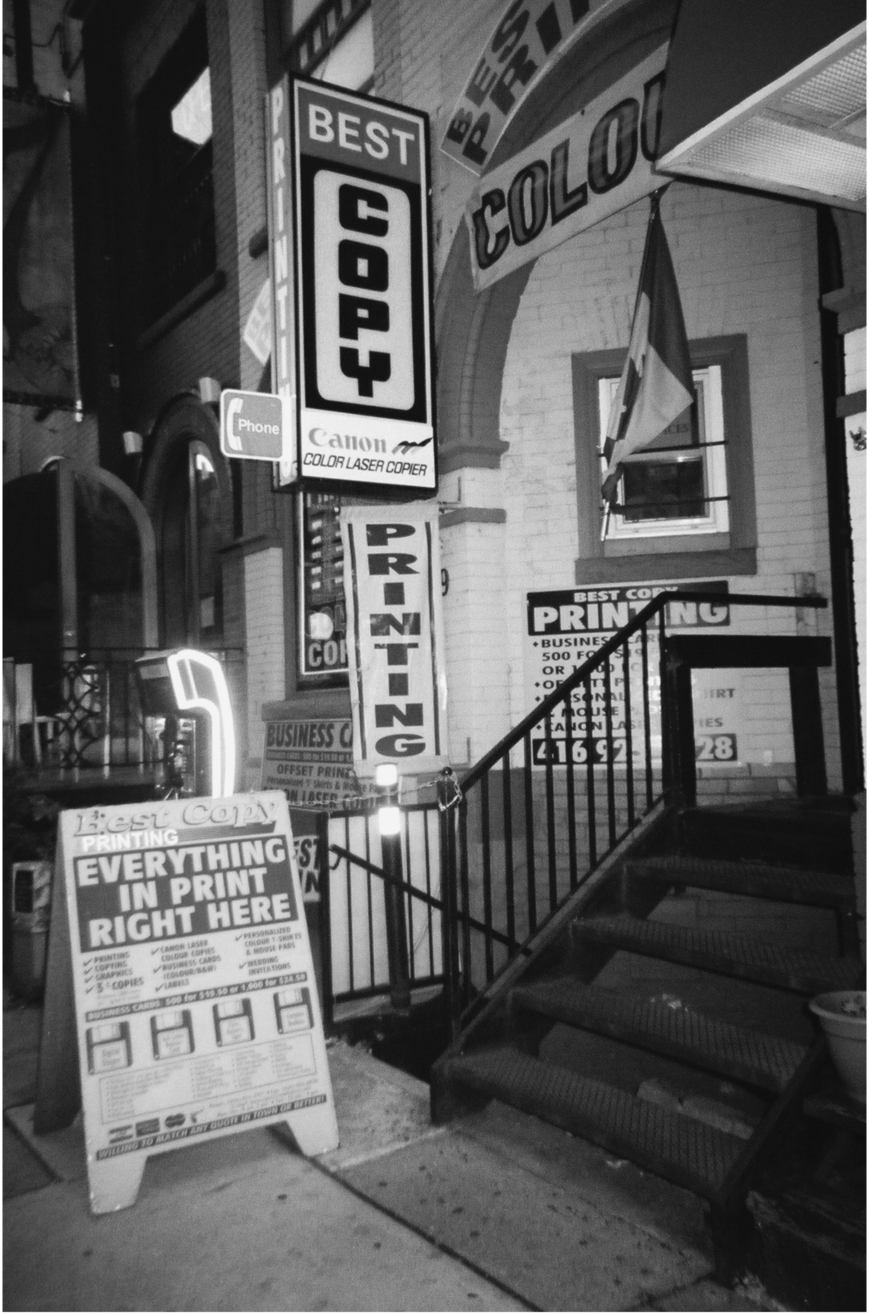
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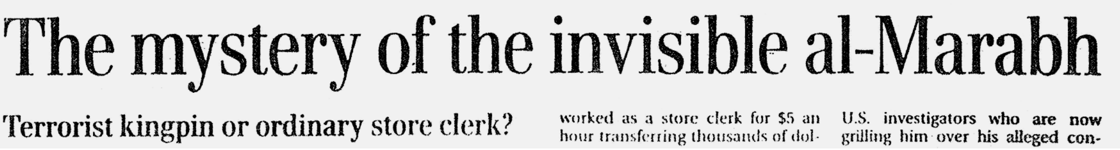
Figure 3 Best Copy on Charles Street, a side street located between the University of Toronto and Ryerson University. Photo: Kate Eichhorn


The mystery of the invisible al-Marabh

Terrorist kingpin or ordinary store clerk?

worked as a store clerk for $5 an hour transferring thousands of dol-

U.S. investigators who are now grilling him over his alleged con-

Figure 4 An article on Nabil al-Marabh that appeared in the *Globe and Mail* on October 27, 2001.

port and his relationship with al-Marabh. The *Globe and Mail* reported that Almrei was known to have "frequented the Best Copy Printing shop" (Priest 2001).

Neither Almrei nor al-Marabh, who was at one time described by U.S. intelligence as a lieutenant in Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terrorist network,[11] were charged with terrorist activities. Best Copy's owner eventually reopened his popular copy shop, where he continues to cater to the copying needs of students and researchers from the University of Toronto and Ryerson University. My former student, a part-time employee at his family's copy shop, is evidently still working hard to compensate for the loss of business suffered in the aftermath of the post-9/11 raid.

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Best Copy was not the only target of post-9/11 raids. As witnessed in the United States, other private businesses, homes, mosques, community centers, and schools were placed under surveillance across Canada. However, in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, the seizure of materials and equipment from Best Copy was undoubtedly the most widely publicized raid to take place on Canadian soil. For this reason, the raid became a pivotal event through which the domestic and international media chose to construct a Canadian link to the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. It was probably no coincidence that the most highly publicized post-9/11 raid in Canada took place at a copy shop nor that al-Marabh's status as a copy shop clerk or Almrei's status as someone who simply frequented a copy shop were so easily circulated as key pieces of incriminating evidence in their construction as potential terrorist suspects. Copy shops are known sites of illegal activity. Many people who visit copy shops, including those with no interest in bin Laden's international terrorist network, do so with the intention of breaking the law. In contrast to other known sites of illegal activity, however, copy shops are also synonymous with knowledge production and the dissemination of ideas and texts, including texts that have never been vetted by recognized publishers. Combined with the fact that copy shops are often associated with counterfeiting and forgery activities,[12] it is not entirely surprising that in the chaotic aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, a small copy shop catering to the needs of two local universities in downtown Toronto was, literally overnight, constructed as an incubator for terrorist activities. But if copy districts are synonymous with illegal activities, however benign most of these activities may be, how do we understand the university's relation to these sites of reproduction?

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[11] The claim was made in an article by *Globe and Mail* reporter Andrew Mitrovica, who reported, "According to the *New York Times*, the Kuwait-born 35-year-old Syrian was identified by U.S. intelligence agents last fall as a lieutenant in Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terrorist network in North America" (2001).

I have suggested that the copy districts that surround urban university campuses may be understood as types of abject zones. In *Imperial Leather*, McClintock maintains that under imperialism, certain groups of people were obliged to remain on the edges of modernity as repudiated but essential subjects—proximate others who could literally and symbolically serve imperialism's beneficiaries. In McClintock's study, abject zones, also described as "threshold zones" (1995: 72), take the form of the Jewish ghetto, the Irish slum, the Victorian garret, and the mental asylum. Recasting these sites as abject, McClintock foregrounds how otherness, especially the otherness of the foreigner, is reproduced through intersecting social and psychic forces. As Kristeva maintains, abjection is integral to the maintenance of the proper subject. To come face-to-face with the abject is to be quite literally beside oneself, or to be face-to-face with something that is and is not oneself. In effect, such encounters make one an exile in one's own home, where the conditions that guarantee one's being are also a source of misrecognition that threatens to annihilate one's status as a subject. Abjection entails differentiating between oneself and others, between the clean and the unclean, and between the proper and the improper. If abjection is ultimately about the policing of boundaries, however, it is a form of policing that is threatened by the elusory status of the boundaries in question. For Kristeva, "abjection is above all ambiguity" (1982: 9). It is this sense of the abject that McClintock applies to the spaces of empire. In the context of her "situated psychoanalysis," McClintock maintains that abjection is integral to the policing of subjects and spaces, making abjection a "formative aspect of modern industrial imperialism" (1995: 72).[13]

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[12] Reports about the use of photocopying technologies in counterfeiting, forgery, and even espionage activities periodically circulate in the media, usually in reaction to the release of a new or improved copying technology. See, in particular, *PC Week* (Sussman 1988); *Business Week* (Freundlich 1992); *Economist* (1993); and *Computing Canada* (Hamilton 1997).

[13] Since the publication of *Imperial Leather* in 1995, McClintock's application of abjection to the history of imperialism has been subject to considerable criticism. Challenges to McClintock have

Like Victorian imperialism, globalization is marked by a redrawing of borders and by the production of new boundaries. While some individuals and nations are free to cross and even to demarcate new borders, globalization's strength lies in its ability to push other individuals and nations into the places located in between, including disputed regions, free-trade zones, refugee camps, and detainee centers.[14] As McClintock recognizes, there were notable differences between the Jewish ghetto and the Victorian garret; these spaces marked different thresholds and sought to control different repudiated but essential elements of society. The fact that abject zones take many forms is important to bear in mind when adopting McClintock's concept as a means to understand the contemporary urban landscape. The rundown hotels on the border of Toronto's Pearson International Airport that house refugee claimants[15] are distinctly different from the copy districts described in this essay, most notably in the varying degrees of mobility experienced by their inhabitants. Yet, in both cases, we are confronted with spaces situated somewhere in between the city and the sites where gatekeeping activities (be it the granting of visitor visas or degrees) are undertaken. The hotels located on the edge of the airport are not sites of incarceration; they are, at least in theory, hotels rather than compounds, and thus they are part of the city. Their status is highly ambiguous, however, since they exist to house "residents" who have yet to gain the right to be "at home." The copy district, an admittedly less extreme example, represents a similarly ambiguous zone. In the copy shops that surround many urban university campuses, one discovers a workforce that serves but can-

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tended to focus on her use of Kristeva's theorizing, which has been dismissed in the past — most notably by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1985) — as Eurocentric. Despite the challenges to McClintock, *Imperial Leather* has influenced studies of imperialism and globalization and, at the very least, promoted further dialogue about what it might mean to engage in a "situated psychoanalysis" (McClintock 1995) that seeks to converge material history with psychoanalysis. For further discussion of this subject, see Lane 1998, and especially James Penney's chapter, "Uncanny Foreigners: Does the Subaltern Speak through Julia Kristeva?"

[14] Building on Spivak's discussion of the "worlding" of the third world that took place in the context of nineteenth-century imperialism (Spivak 1985), Kristin Koptiuch argues that modern imperialism has resulted in a "third-worlding" of first world spaces: "The modern imperial field has been fractured and deterritorialized by the upheavals of a new transnationalized division of labor and global restructuring of regimes of capital accumulation. Among the effects of these shifts has been a spatial and symbolic reterritorialization resulting in the 'third-worlding' of the West" (1997: 236).

[15] A refugee claimant is a person who has arrived (in this case, in Canada) seeking refugee status; since such claims frequently take several weeks or months to process, refugee claimants are sometimes held or housed in hotels while their claims are processed.

not be assimilated into the university; further, as emphasized in this essay, this workforce is often comprised of new immigrants and visible minorities.

To explore how copy shops and districts constitute abject zones, this article has offered three diverse accounts of family-run copy shops. In the first account, both the name of the shop and the owner's display of diplomas attempt to forge an explicit connection to the university. Were U of T Copy located in the district of copy shops on the border of the University of Toronto campus, the shop would likely have been forced to change its name. However, by virtue of its location in an industrial zone nearly five kilometers away from the university's main campus, it poses little risk of rupturing the boundary between the university and the legally questionable world of the copy shop. My account of the family of Guillaume de Sens reveals the ubiquity of copy shops and copy districts in the history of the university. The account further reveals that although universities have always been dependent upon the document reproduction carried out in copy shops and copy districts, they have also sought to police such sites in both visible and tacit ways. From medieval stationers to Renaissance printers to early-twenty-first-century copy shop owners, the people responsible for the reproduction of scholarly materials have been viewed as both a necessity and a potential threat to the university. In this respect, if copy districts can be understood as abject zones, it is because they harbor practices, ideas, and people that remain unsanctioned by the university, however necessary they are to its operation. My final account describes the status of the copy shop as a site that has become synonymous with the literal transgression of borders. Whether or not copy shops are used to produce illegal passports and other immigration documents, the fact that many Canadians appeared willing to accept the connection to Best Copy as a key piece of incriminating evidence in the construction of post-9/11 suspects suggests that copy shops are already recognized as spaces synonymous with the transgression of boundaries.

At issue in the three accounts of copy shops offered in this essay is the university's status as an arm of the official state apparatus, printing's imperative role in the construction and maintenance of nation-states, and the copy district's relation to the university and the state. As emphasized in my account of the family of Guillaume de Sens, the establishment of universities took place in conjunction with the establishment of a secular book trade in the late Middle Ages. Although copyists and printers have always worked on the edges of the law, both serving and subverting the state and its official institutions (including the university), contemporary copy districts arguably have a particularly complex relation to the state and its extensions. The university and the copy shop are engaged in analo-

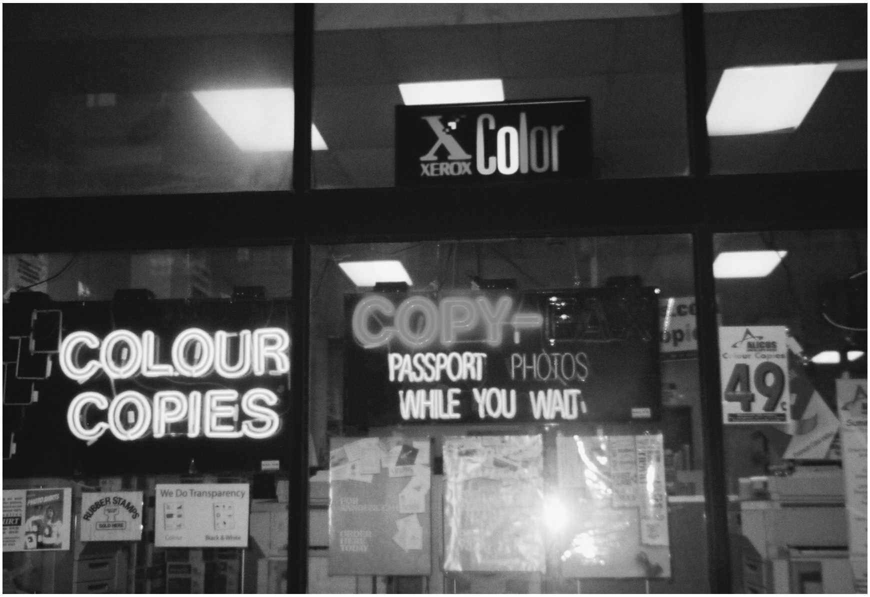

Figure 5 Advertisement for copying and passport services. Photo: Kate Eichhorn

gous activities. As an arm of the state apparatus, the university is ultimately a site of reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990); reproduction is obviously also the copy shop's primary function. However, as anyone who is familiar with the photocopying process realizes, the form of reproduction that takes place in the copy shop is distinctly different from the form of reproduction that takes place in a printing shop. On the photocopier, the depletion of images and texts is a given. Unlike the printed page, the photocopy is always marked by its status as a copy, and the more a page is copied, the more visibly marked the page's status as a copy becomes. The photocopy is good enough to stand in for — but not good enough to displace — its printed counterpart. However, while the photocopy will never replace or threaten the printed page, the photocopier has enabled individuals to mass-produce documents without the approval of the institutions that have traditionally governed the dissemination of texts, including the church, the state, the university, and the publishing industry. Thus, in addition to being populated by many educated minorities who work on the margins of the academy, both figuratively and literally, and serving as sites where scholarly materials are often illegally reproduced, copy districts are sites where people can and do produce posters, pamphlets, manifestos, and zines that challenge the labor, immigration, copyright, and education policies that make such districts necessary. Beyond the copy district's role in supporting the everyday operations of the university, it has also served as a site occasionally used to challenge the academy and the state.

In the past two decades, the proliferation of research on the history of print cultures has changed how academics across disciplines understand the relation between the production and dissemination of knowledge. Research on the history of printing technologies and the history of print cultures has demonstrated how the spread of print affected the nature and division of academic disciplines and facilitated the ability of scholars to work both in and on the margins of the academy (Eisenstein 1979; Johns 1998). Although the copy shops that border contemporary university campuses are sites where research activities are carried out, copy shops and copy districts continue to be overlooked as potential subjects of research. As the accounts presented in this article reveal, however, these sites may also offer compelling insights into the changing nature of scholarly work, the relation between the university and the state, and the status and experiences of displaced academics and professionals caught in the undertow of global movements.

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