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Coming Out with Stories: Asian and Asian North American Women's Storied Religious Identity Formation in the Public Discourse

Abstract

Asian and Asian North American women have long been estranged, marginalized, and silenced in the public discourse. And yet they have struggled to break their forced silence by telling their own stories with creative imagination. Story-telling and identity-formation, for them, are two sides of the same narrative coin; their identities are storied identities. This paper probes and describes the nature and functions of storied identity from the perspectives of philosophy, psychology, and theology based on the work of Paul Ricoeur (narrative identity), Jerome Bruner (meaning making), and Choan Seng Song (story theology) respectively. On the basis of this analysis, it draws out a relational, both/and, and multi-centered understanding of storied identity, focusing on the power of story to relate, connect, and weave the self, the world and God. Then it introduces Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng's work on the practice of narrativity in Christian education.

Asian Women's Story-telling and Their Storied Identities

At the seventh General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) held in Canberra, Australia, in 1991, a daring young Korean woman theologian, Chung Hyun Kyung, artfully presented a controversially imaginative keynote address on the Assembly theme "Come, Holy Spirit-Renew the Whole Creation." Believe it or not, the Holy Spirit did come down in her presentation to renew the creative way of doing theology if not the whole creation!

According to Kwok Pui-lan's astute observation, "Chung's presentation demonstrated the need for a paradigm shift in doing theology" by "[giving] an unequivocal signal that a new women's theology was emerging in Asia." What is new in her presentation is her theological imagination and hers is *an embodied imagination* that emerges from Asian women's womb (read: context and social location) where they struggle to know and represent themselves and to suffer and hope. And Kwok also perceptively notes that Chung's embodied imagination hinges on "the narrative nature of theology and women's storytelling." All in all, Asian women tell stories "generated by their epistemology from the broken body" that receives, records, and remembers

¹. Chung Hyun Kyung, "Welcome the Spirit; Hear Her Cries. The Holy Spirit, Creation, and the Culture of Life," *Christianity and Crisis* 51, nos. 10/11 (1991): 220-223.

². Kwok Pui-lan, *Introducing Asian Feminist Theology* (Cleveland: Pilgrim, 2000), 25.

³. Ibid., 87.

historical realities.⁴ That is to say that their lived experiences become truthfully concretized, embodied, or incarnated as they narrate their stories.

Like it or not, Asian women's stories are worth telling or, to put it in a contemporary jargon of literacy and journalism, "tellable" or "reportable." Though the tellability of their stories relies not only on their "(detached) content" but also their "contextual (embedded) relevance" for the listeners,⁵ however, estranged and marginalized Asian women's stories have been disregarded and dismissed as chitchat (small talk) in the public discourse. The rationale is: they are not big (important) enough, so they do not deserve to be heard. They have simply been silenced. Regarding some Christian observers' labeling of Chung's presentation as "paganism, apostasy, or syncretism in the pejorative sense [as] a form of silencing," Kwok claims, "We Asian women have been silenced for a long, long time."

It was on behalf of long silenced Asian women that Chung broke their forced silence and told their "root story" in her presentation. Their "root story" is a story that tells "what it means to be women in their own specific history and land." Asian women's "root story," as Chung sees it, is all about their silenced *han*-ridden suffering that has taken a heavy toll on their womanhood. Chung argues that the purpose of doing theology, for Asian women, is "*han-pu-ri*"-"the release of *han*" and that *han* is believed to be released by storytelling. Storytelling, therefore, is the most powerful tool for doing theology from the perspective of *han*-ridden Asian women. Asian women's storytelling is not so much an informative socializing act (chitchat) as a transforming theologizing practice (God-talk).

Asian women's identities are *storied identities* in the sense that they are who they are when they tell their stories and that they find their home where they tell their stories.⁹

⁴. Chung Hyun Kyung, Struggle to Be the Sun Again: Introducing Asian Women's Theology (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990), 104.

⁵. Neal R. Norrick, "Conversational Storytelling," in *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, ed. David Herman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 134.

⁶. Kwok Pui-lan, "Gospel and Culture," *Christianity and Crisis* 51, nos. 10/11 (1991): 224.

⁷. Chung, "Your Comfort vs. My Death" in *Women Resisting Violence: Spirituality for Life*, eds. Mary John Mananzan et al. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), 132. One might like to change the metaphor from "root story" to "root song." The latter is "a song that can be sung by everyone in the community, thereby creating a sense of belonging." Su Yon Pak, Unzu Lee, Jung Ha Kim, and Myung Ji Cho, eds., *Singing the Lord's Song in a New Land: Korean American Practices of Faith* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 27.

^{8.} Chung Hyun Kyung, "'Han-pu-ri': Doing Theology from Korean Women's Perspective," in *Frontiers in Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Trends*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1994), 59. This article was originally published in *We Dare to Dream: Doing Theology as Asian Women*, ed. Virginia Fabella and Sun Ai Lee Park (Hong Kong: Asian Women's Resource Center for Culture and Theology, 1989). For detailed study of *han*, see Andrew Sung Park, *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993). Here Park refers to *han* as "an Asian, particularly Korean, term used to describe the depths of human suffering" and defines it as "the abysmal experience of pain" (15).

⁹. There is a Bible study published in Korean based on the concept of storied identities and a story-weaving method: *Searching for Home in the Bible: Home is the Place Where Our*

Paul Ricoeur and Narrative Identity

Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005), a French philosopher who combined phenomenology and hermeneutics in order to understand the meaning of life, ¹⁰ claims that any religious community is a *hermeneutical* community of remembering and storytelling around its sacred text.

Among different genres in the Bible, Ricoeur is most interested in narrative texts.¹¹ He believes that a narrative can interpret what it intends to proclaim¹² and furthermore that, like all founding narratives, biblical narratives "constitute the identity of the community . . . as a narrative identity."¹³ People of faith are a *storied* people.

Ricoeur's narrative identity is based on a philosophy of mediation. He stands against the unmediated Cartesian *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am) way of understanding the self. He argues that "there is no self-understanding that is not *mediated* by signs, symbols, and texts; in the final analysis self-understanding coincides with the interpretation given to these mediating terms." According to an interpreter of Ricoeur, a uniquely Ricoeurian thesis about identity formation is that the self arrives at selfhood by way of its willing interaction with and reception from new "text-worlds" that it encounters in its journey in the world. 15

Narrating is the self's way of making sense of human finitude; narrating is self-making. The self interacts with the narrative and a narrative identity is formed out of this interaction. The world of the self (to be precise, the story-world of the self) is in the ongoing process of refiguration in contact with the world of the text and this process of refiguration turns the former into "a cloth woven of stories told." The refiguration by narrative of the self's story-world is

Stories Are Told (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1999). This book is published by the Resource and Information Center for Empowerment. According to its editors, this book "links together biblical stories, early immigrants' stories (from the early 1900s), and contemporary Korean American women's stories." Su Yon Pak et al., eds., Singing the Lord's Song in a New Land, xvi.

- ¹⁰. Relying on Ricoeur's work on narrative identity, Heinz Streib elaborates a "proposal to understand and accentuate religious education in terms of narratology, to talk of *narrative religious education*." The "narrative approach," he argues, "is one of the most adequate in our 'communities of remembering and storytelling." Heinz Streib, "The Religious Educator as Story-teller: Suggestions from Paul Ricoeur's Work," *Religious Education* 93, no. 3 (1998): 324.
- ¹¹. Paul Ricoeur, "The Bible and the Imagination," in *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative and Imagination*, ed. Mark I. Wallace (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 145.
 - ¹². Paul Ricoeur, "Interpretive Narrative," in *Figuring the Sacred*, 181.
- ¹³. Paul Ricoeur, "Toward a Narrative Theology: Its Necessity, Its Resources, Its Difficulties," in *Figuring the Sacred*, 241.
- ¹⁴. Quoted in Bernard Dauenhauer's entry "Paul Ricoeur" in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ricoeur/#3.4). These words come from Ricoeur, "On Interpretation," in *From Text to Action*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and John B. Thompson (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 15. Dauenhauer modified the words of the English translation in light of the original French.
 - ¹⁵. Mark I. Wallace, "Introduction," in Ricoeur, Figuring the Sacred, 2.
- ¹⁶. Athena Gorospe, Narrative and Identity: An Ethical Reading of Exodus 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 37.
 - ¹⁷. Paul Riceour, *Time and Narrative* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), 3: 246.

necessary, for, as Ricoeur sees it, "the self does not know itself immediately, but only indirectly, through the detour of cultural signs of all sorts." His point is that knowledge of the self is mediated and interpreted through storytelling. For Ricoeur, "there is no other way to arrive at understanding the world and at self-understanding than taking the 'detour."

The "detour" is the roundabout way or the third path. The task of religious education, in this regard, is to help students take "the detour of listening and relating to symbols and narratives" so that they might not fall prey to "the exclusivity of *rational explanation*" or "the illusion of *immediate understanding*."²⁰ And this self-making is not an individual journey but a communal one, for our stories and others' stories are caught up with one another.

Jerome Bruner and Meaning Making

Jerome Bruner (1915-), an American psychologist who is a life-long student of the mind, promotes a psychology of process thinking and pays particular attention to the constraining function of culture through its symbol systems, particularly narratives, in the process of meaning–making by the human mind.

The most important educational fact, as he sees it, is that "human beings make sense of the world by telling stories about it-by using the narrative mode for construing reality."²¹ Human beings are hardwired for story and the narratives that the self constructs in order to make sense of the world and the self are not necessarily real stories. In his interdisciplinary study of narrative, *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life*, Bruner notes that even "fictional narratives" shape things in the real world and often entitle them to be real.²² It is through the narrative construction of reality that the self makes the world real. That is to say that the self is related to and relates itself to the world by narrating.

Drawing on story's power to relate, Bruner maintains that "stories are a culture's coin and currency."²³ If we want to live meaningfully and related to others in this world, we should use this common coin. But no culture has only one currency by which it relates its members to one another. It has many stories. As it changes, so do the stories that reflect it. There are no absolute stories. All stories are particular stories told from a particular cultural perspective. Bruner's etymological study of the word "to narrate" confirms this point: "to narrate' derives from both 'telling' (*narrare*) and 'knowing in some particular way' (*gnarus*)-the two tangled beyond sorting."²⁴ What is amazing in the narrative construction of reality, however, is that some stories we tell are of particular imprints and yet have a universal reach that the mind makes possible.

¹⁸. Paul Riceour, "Narrative Identity," *Philosophy Today* 35, no. 1 (1991): 80.

¹⁹. Streib, "The Religious Educator as Story-teller," 319.

²⁰. Ibid., 326, 318 (original emphasis).

²¹. Jerome S. Bruner, *The Culture of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 130. For the detailed treatment of "the narrative mode for construing reality," see Jerome S. Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 1-21.

²². Jerome S. Bruner, *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 8.

²³. Ibid., 15.

²⁴. Ibid., 27.

Bruner's approach to narrative is a constructivist one that takes the primary function of the mind to be world-making and self-making. Both the self and the world are constructed and reconstructed by the mind. The mind does this by telling stories about the world and the self. The mind, in short, is a factory of making stories. The self, in its continuous interaction with the world that shapes it, engages in a cognitive and linguistic process that makes and tells its life narratives or autobiographical narratives in order to make sense of life.²⁵ "In the end," Bruner argues, "we *become* the autobiographical narratives by which we 'tell about' our lives."²⁶

Our identities are storied identities and our meaning-making within the relational web of culture hinges upon mutual learning based on interactivity or, better put, "intersubjectivity-how people come to know what others have in mind and how they adjust accordingly."²⁷ The narrative construction of reality is a cooperative mutual process. What really matters in our meaning making is a "shared" narrative by which our storied identities are constructed and reconstructed in the public domain.²⁸

Choan Seng Song and Story Theology

Choan Seng Song (1929-), a prominent story theologian from Taiwan, argues that story has "a magic power" that enables us to see hidden things, even God, "to cross the boundaries of our physical senses to turn to our spiritual senses." To put it in an image of Buddhism, story opens to us "a third eye" by which we see through the surface of a thing and find its meaning. Song not only refers to the capability of story to help us cross the boundaries of languages (the prominent huddle of human communication) and to connect us to the real world of blood and flesh, but also alludes to its sacramental potential. The story that relates us to the world and the world to us, he believes, also relates us to God and God to us. In the stories to which he has "listened attentively," he comes to see "human beings in search of God" and "God in the company of human beings." Song not only refers to us to see "human beings in search of God" and "God in the company of human beings." Song not only refers to us to see "human beings in search of God" and "God in the company of human beings."

It is Song's firm belief that people meet God in their particular contexts and social locations. Just as the marketplace was Jesus' "theological arena," our daily experiences are "the location of God's revelation." Song's theology is contextual theology and everything human is theologically significant for him. All Asian theologians have to do is to listen to and tell the stories of Asian contexts and social locations with the ears and tongue of the Compassionate God. To make his point, Song uses an imagery of the heartbeat: "A theology echoing God's heartbeats

²⁵. Bruner, "Life as Narrative," in In Search of Pedagogy: The Selected Works of Jerome S. Bruner, 2:129.

²⁶. Ibid., 131.

²⁷. Bruner, The Culture of Education, 161.

²⁸. Bruner, *Making Stories*, 107.

²⁹. Choan Seng Song, And Their Eyes Are Opened: Story Sermons Embracing the World (St. Louis: Chalice, 2006), x.

³⁰. Choan Seng Song, *Third-Eye Theology: Theology in Formation in Asian Settings*, rev. ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990), 26, xiii.

³¹. Choan Seng Song, *The Believing Heart: An Invitation to Story Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), xi.

³². Ibid., 12.

in the heartbeats of other Asians and in your own heartbeats-this is contextual theology."³³ Theology starts "where God is."³⁴

Song's trust in people theology is so deep that he regards people, particularly the marginalized, as "*theo*-logical beings" with whom God dwells-"signs of Immanuel in Asian history and culture."³⁵ Their stories, full of suffering in hope, are parabolic in the sense that they points to God's reign that can be experienced in real life.³⁶ This is why he regrets that people's story-parables are not valued in traditional theology.

Song's story theology is a theology of *imaging* not imagination. Theological imaging, he argues, should not be frozen with images but always in the making. For Song, there is no theological taboo in imaging theology and any image, except for the ever-evolving image of Jesus Christ, has no absolutely binding power. Song's story theology recognizes the significance of every particular perspective of imaging Jesus Christ and invites all of them to what he calls "a theological world of stories, or better, the divine-human world of stories." The world of stories is where theological biases and prejudices are emptied and particular storied identities blossom.

Analysis of the Nature and Function of Storied Identity

What we have learned from Ricoeur, Bruner, and Song is that human beings, in essence, are storied beings and stories help human beings form relational selves within the framework of a connectional living. Stories are, to quote Ricoeur, "the guardian of time, insofar as there can be no thought about time without narrated time." Human beings here and now cannot do without making stories. Bruner finds evidence for this argument in a neurological disorder called dysnarrativia whose sufferers lose "not only a sense of self but also a sense of other." This disease proves that self-identity is not only fundamentally narrative but also "profoundly relational." The concept of storied identity refers to the narrative construction of self-identity in the company of the other based on the power of story to relate, connect, and weave the self and the world. Song extends the narrative other (companion) further: stories connect not only people but also people and God. Theologically speaking, storied identity means to get "our context and God's revelation [the text] connected."

Since *storied identity is a self-identity narratively constructed in the company of the other*, it is not self-centered; it is rather other-oriented, if not other-centered, with multiple centers recognized and embraced. It is not about one metanarrative but about many small narratives. It is also not about the "I" but about the "We." It presupposes what Kwok calls "the democratizing of

³³. Choan Seng Song, *Tell Us Our Names: Story Theology from an Asian Perspective* (1984; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005), 37.

³⁴. Song states, "God is everywhere. God speaks out of everywhere. And God is at work everywhere." Choan Seng Song, *Theology from the Womb of Asia* (1986; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, n.d.), 96.

³⁵. Ibid., 25-26.

³⁶. Ibid., 45.

³⁷. Song, The Believing Heart, 69.

³⁸. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 3: 241.

³⁹. Bruner, *Making Stories*, 86.

⁴⁰. Song, Tell Us Our Names, 42.

the interpretive process,"⁴¹ in which my stories and others' stories are interwoven and become "our" stories. And it is also about home and story theology is home-based theology. And yet, theological home, at least from the perspective of border-crossing Asian North American women, should not be a ghettoized cultural enclave. It should be a diasporic journey itself in which we celebrate our cultural diversity and lift every silenced voice. For estranged, marginalized, and silenced Asian American women, storied identity is about our individual and collective *journeying home*. It is always in the making, on the verge of *becoming* in the company of the other.

There are three functions of the concept of storied identity. First, the concept of storied identity helps us interpret and integrate traditional and contemporary beliefs, values and outlooks that are fundamentally different from and often incongruous with one another. The function of integration means that stories give a structure, pattern, or framework by which a person or a group could arrange, rearrange, and integrate the "disparate element of our lives" to form a narrative identity.⁴²

Second, the concept of storied identity helps us to preserve memories, particularly "dangerous memories," from our forgetfulness and empowers people, particularly those who are silenced, to tell their stories. Story-telling, for the silenced, is a struggle to become a liberative voice. The concept of storied identity implies that we have to lift up the voices of "no-body" and help the silenced become "somebody" and also that stories from the heart have a transformative power. "Voices from the heart, once heard, can change other hearts."

Third, the concept of storied identity helps us forge new relationships with others and build a polyphonic community among people who share stories. Through stories one encounters many others and becomes oneself in the company of others. Stories build a narrative community in which self forms its new identity or, better put, identities. The plural form *identities* as "evolving constructions" highlights the significance of the "continual social interactions" for the process of identity-formation.⁴⁴

In short, storied identity is a self-identity narratively constructed in the company of the other. It functions as a *hermeneutic* principle to interpret and integrate disparate elements of life, as a *liberative* principle to reconstruct the suppressed memories and empower the silenced voices, and as a *communal* principle to build a narrative community where multiple stories and multiple identities evolve and develop.

Storied Religious Identity Formation and the Story-Weaving Process

⁴¹. Kwok, Discovering the Bible in the Non-biblical World (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995), 36.

⁴² Dan P. McAdams, Power, Intimacy, and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity (New York: Guilford Press, 1988), 18.

⁴³. Mingshui Cai and Rudine Sims Bishop, "Multicultural Literature for Children: Towards a Clarification of the Concept," in *The Need for Story*, ed. Dyson and Genishi (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1994), 68.

⁴⁴. Theodore R. Sarbin, Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct (New York: Praeger, 1986), 131.

Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng (1936-), a first-generation immigrant Chinese Canadian scholar, reads the Bible critically through "a postcolonial lens."⁴⁵ Any biblical interpretation, as she sees it, is "culturally defined and historically determined."⁴⁶ She argues that "the Bible and traditional interpretations could be part of the problem as well as part of the solution."⁴⁷ She does not separate feminism from racism and advocates an "oppositional" reading that resists the conventional reading and attends to unheard voices and unrecorded incidents. She believes that an Asian North American woman should set her identity "in historical perspective."⁴⁸

Ng's understanding of identity is contextual and culture-specific. As she articulates her own "bamboo theology," she clearly states her theological standpoint "at the outset": "I must 'come out' with *the particularities of my identity and social location*, because my theological understanding and perspective, like those of anyone else, are grounded in my particular heritage, generation, and context." As an immigrant struggling daily with her own cultural identity in diaspora, she draws her readers' attention to the "darker" aspects of the "underside" of Asian North American immigration history that belong to what Elliot Eisner calls a "null curriculum." She is eager to study various faith communities to write histories of religious education and thereby present a "properly contextualized set of texts" as "a different mirror" from the "centrist" historical accounts. Her call as an educator is to raise a postcolonial diasporic feminist consciousness among Asian North American women and teach them a postcolonial diasporic feminist imagination so that they could formulate their own perspectives, find their own voices in reading and interpreting the Bible from these perspectives, and figure out God's message to them. Each them.

It should be noted that Ng emphasizes both the culture-specificity and the intercultural transaction of stories in diasporic identity formation. Education, as she sees it, should help

⁴⁵. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "Salmon and Carp, Bannock and Rice: Solidarity between Asian Canadian Women and Aboriginal Women," in *Off the Menu: Asian and Asian North American Women's Religions and Theology*, eds. Rita Nakashima Brock et al. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 204.

⁴⁶. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "Inclusive Language in Asian North American Churches: Non-Issue or Null Curriculum?" *Journal of Asian and Asian American Theology* 2, no.1 (1997): 29.

⁴⁷. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "Reading through New Eyes: A Basic Introduction to Reading Scripture from a Feminist, Postcolonial Perspective for Anti-racism Work," *Making Waves* 4, no. 2 (2004): 29.

⁴⁸. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "Beyond Bible Stories: The Role of Culture-specific Myths/Stories in the Identity Formation of Nondominant Immigrant Children," *Religious Education* 99, no. 2 (2004): 132.

⁴⁹. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "Land of Maple and Lands of Bamboo," in *Realizing the America of Our Hearts: Theological Voices of Asian Americans*, ed. Fumitaka Matsuoka and Eleazar S. Fernandez (St. Louis: Chalice, 2003), 100.

⁵⁰. "What schools do not teach may be as important as what they do teach." Quoted in Wenh-In Ng, "Inclusive Language in Asian North American Churches," 21.

⁵¹. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "Contextualization of Religious Education in an Age of Disbelief" *Religious Education* 92, no. 2 (1997): 199.

⁵². Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "Toward Wholesome Nurture: Challenges in the Religious Education of Asian North American Female Christians," *Religious Education* 91:2 (1996), 243.

students learn to "read" their own world, to "name" themselves as subjects not as objects, to critically and constructively "recover" their sociocultural traditions, to critically and contextually "interpret" the Bible, to "lament" life-denying forces and "affirm" life-affirming forces.⁵³ As a multicultural teacher, she attempts to integrate her students' stories of struggle into her curriculum.⁵⁴ She encourages her students in diaspora to claim and reclaim their own "culture-specific stories," for she believes they need their stories "for more *holistic* identity formation."⁵⁵ For her, being culture-specific for Asians in diaspora means being culturally defined, not culturally confined. She refuses to accept cultural essentialism. In the process of globalization, diverse cultures converge and change. She notes that in our daily lives we need to "cross boundaries" and "adopt a strategy of 'hybridity'."⁵⁶ Or, to put it in the poetic words of her bamboo theology,

It is learning to choose from among Graeco-Roman-Euro-Anglo-German . . . traditions which strands to discard which strands to preserve which to *weave* into our new fabric.⁵⁷

What Ng suggests is a culture-specific and cross-cultural "story-weaving" process based on the *storied identities* of border-crossing Asian North American women in their postcolonial context and diasporic social location.

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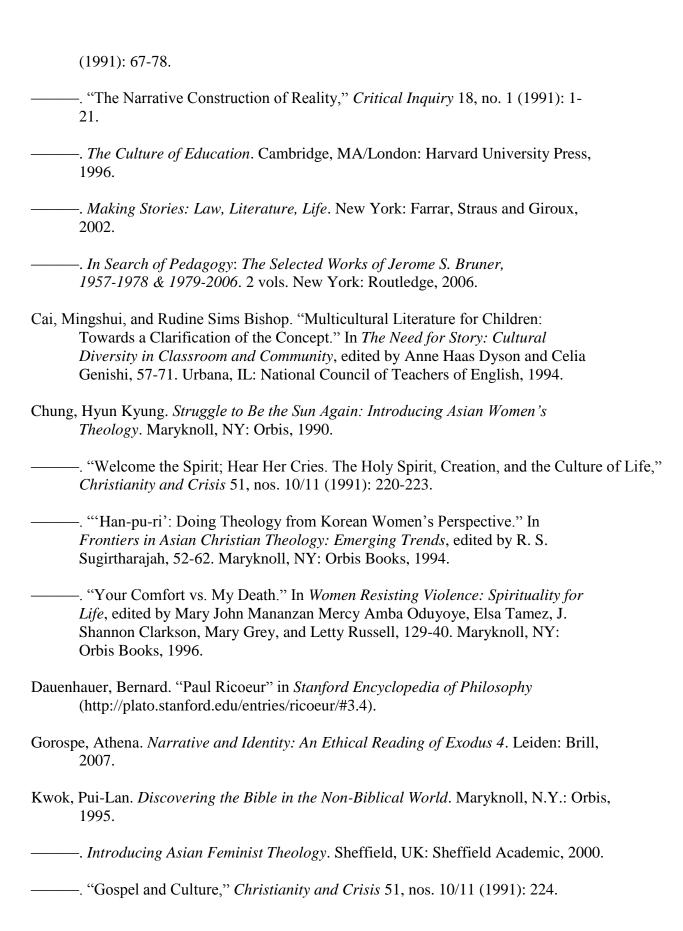
⁵³. Ibid., 250.

^{54.} Ibid., 249.

⁵⁵. Wenh-In Ng, "Beyond Bible Stories," 125. She explains, "The acquisition of one's own religiocultural stories, whether in a family, school, community, or church context or a combination of all four, can assist in this development; without such acquisition, young people run the danger of failing to arrive at the stage of their bicultural/multicultural identity." (128)

⁵⁶. Wenh-In Ng, "Land of Maple and Lands of Bamboo," 103-04.

⁵⁷. Ibid., 106 (my emphasis).



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