June 2007

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Michael Angelo Tata

NEBULA

A Journal of Multidisciplinary Scholarship

Content

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Robert Goff resides in Providence, Rhode Island, and teaches film courses at the University of Massachusetts Boston and at Providence College. Recent and anticipated works include "That's What *You* Call It:" *Vera Drake* and the 'Crime" of Abortion in *Media(ted) Deviance* forthcoming from Cambridge Scholars Press and "The Biograph Girls of Westinghouse" presented at the Film and History League Conference: "The Documentary Tradition" Dallas TX, 8-12 November, 2006.

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Samar Habib received her doctorate from the University of Sydney, Australia, in the areas of cultural, sexuality and literary studies. Her monograph *Female Homosexuality in the Middle East: Histories and Representations* was recently published by Routledge. Along with academic articles and translations published previously in the online academic periodical *EnterText* Habib has published a number of creative works and poetry including the novel *A Tree Like Rain* (2005). Dr

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Nejmeh Khalil-Habib was born in Haifa, Palestine, in 1946 and was raised in Beirut, Lebanon. She received an MA in Arabic literature from the Lebanese University in 1991 and is currently completing her Doctorate at the University of Sydney. She is currently teaching in the Arab and Islamic Studies Department at the University of Sydney. She has acted as editor for the Australian-Arabic literary magazine, *Joussour* and has published innumerable essays, translations, reviews and columns in both English and Arabic journals and newspapers worldwide. Her monograph *Al-Namouthaj Al-Insani Fi Adab Ghassan*

Kanafani was published by Bissan Inc. in Beirut in 1999. Bissan also published her first collection of short stories entitled *Wal Abna' Yaddrusson* in Beirut (2001). Her latest collection of short stories, *Rabiun Lam Yuzhir* was published in Beirut by Al-Markiz Al-Arabee Lil-Abhath Wal-Tawtheek (2003). Her latest book a study of Australian literature entitled *Min Australia: Wujooh Adabiya Mu'asirah* was published by Dar al-Arabiya lil Uloom in Beirut, 2006.

Stuart Laing

Stuart Laing is Professor and Pro Vice Chancellor at the University of Brighton, and Director of the National Subject Centre for Art, Design and Media. He was previously a Dean at the University of Sussex, having been first appointed there as a lecturer in English in 1973. He was closely involved in the launch of Media Studies at Sussex in the late 1980s. He has published over thirty major books, chapters and articles in literary and cultural studies and continues to undertake regular undergraduate teaching and research supervision.

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Pramod K. Nayar teaches at the Department of English, University of Hyderabad, India. He is the author of *Reading Culture: Theory, Praxis, Politics* (2006); *Virtual Worlds: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cybertechnology* (2004) and *Literary Theory Today* (2002) besides essays in postcolonial and cultural studies. Forthcoming work includes a study of British writing on India, a book on postcolonial literature and a book on cultural studies.

Senayon S. Olaoluwa

Senayon S. Olaoluwa holds an M.A. in English from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He is currently undertaking a Doctoral research in the School of Literature and Language Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. His primary research area has been the politics of globalization in literature. Some of his papers and reviews have been accepted by international journals, including *African Affairs* and *The AnaChronisT*, and are due for publication later this year.

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Victoria E. Price is a lecturer in early modern drama based in the Department of Theatre, Film and Television Studies at University of Glasgow. Her research interests include: prostitution and theatre in early modern England; Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre and drama; the seventeenth-century masque; women's performance and cultural production. Her publications include forthcoming articles on *Othello* and on *Oroonoko*. Vicky is also currently working on a book on Prostitution and Theatre in Early Modern England.

Philip Santa-Maria

Cuban-American Philip Santa-Maria is a published poet and a student at Florida International University College of Law. He holds Bachelor's degrees in English and Sociology/Anthropology, and considers himself a Futurist. He is currently

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Associate Professor Isam Mohamad Shihada received his doctorate in English Literature from Pune University, India, in 1999. He was head of the English department at al-Aqsa University from 2003 to 2006 where he received the honorary award of best teacher at the university for the scholastic year of 2005-2006. Shihada has taught courses on American literature, postcolonial literature and Feminist readings of the British novel. As well as his book *A Feminist Perspective: Thomas Hardy* which was published by Prestige Publishing House in 2000 his "My Children! My Africa: Athol Fugard's Vision for a Non-Racial South Africa" appeared in the *Al-Aqsa University Journal* and "Patriarchy and Sexual politics in Nawal El Saadawi's *Woman at Point Zero*" appeared in *Atlantic Critical Review*.

Anthony Stewart

Anthony Stewart received his doctorate in English Literature from Queen's University, Ontario Canada, in 1995. He is currently acting as associate professor at Dalhousie University in Canada. Associate professor Stewart has published numerous articles and presented at several conferences including the Florida State University Conference on Literature and Film and the Congress of Social Sciences and Humanities held at the University of Alberta. His monograph *George Orwell, Doubleness, and the Value of Decency* was

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Vladimir Tumanov

Vladimir Tumanov is associate professor and undergraduate chair at the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at the University of Western Ontario in Canada. He teaches German, French, Russian and Comparative Literature and is particularly interested in pursuing the connections between the Bible and modern fiction. He has written two children's books *Haritada Kaybolmak* (2006) and *Jayden's Rescue* (2002), with the latter being translated to Russian, Turkish, Czech and Korean. Associate professor Tumanov has published a number of academic articles including the latest "All Bad: The Biblical Flood Revisited in Modern Fiction" which is forthcoming from *Arcadia* in late 2007.

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John Wegner, Associate Professor of English, teaches the American novels and American poetry classes at Angelo State University. In all of his courses, he introduces students to cultural markers and their influence on the creative process. He has published articles on Juan Felipe Herrera, Cormac McCarthy, and others.

The New Monstrous: Digital Bodies, Genomic Arts and Aesthetics.[1]

By Pramod K. Nayar

Current developments in digital technology, genome sequencing, and information and communications technology (ICTs) have produced new forms of art that appropriate, utilize and (occasionally) subvert these technologies. Artists have always responded to developments in science, just as science has taken recourse to art and visual representations, from Andreas Vesalius' 1543 anatomy text, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem* to the first visuals of the famous double helix by Rosalind Franklin in 1953.
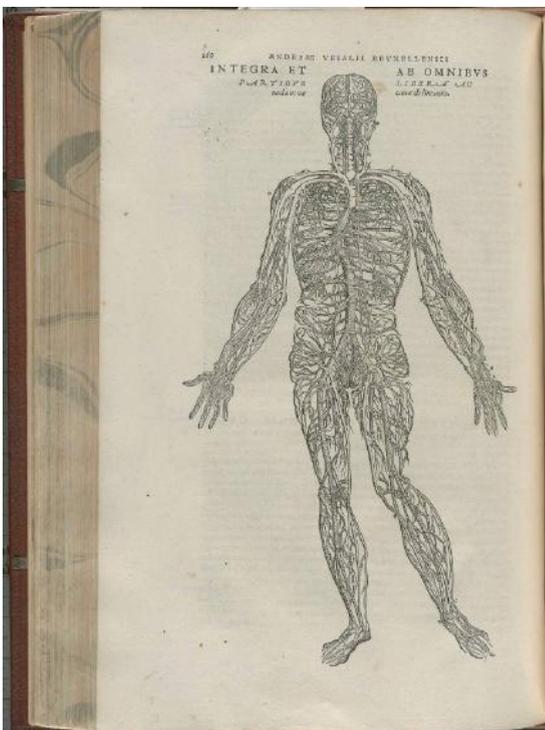
Visual 1: From Vesalius 1543 Anatomy text
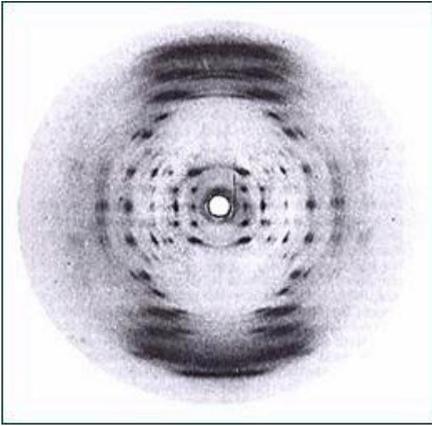
Visual 2: Rosalind Franklin's 1953 photograph of DNA

In the early 20th century European abstractionists like Piet Mondrian and Wassily Kandinsky generated visual icons of the splitting of the atom. Mark Rothko and Barnett Newman reacted to the atom bomb. Andy Warhol and Robert Rauschenberg incorporated inventions like the electric chair and X-rays in their art. And now artists use genetics, one of the most critical sciences in human history (not least for the controversies).

My proposition here is that genetics is *mediated* for popular consumption, at least in the West, by not only visualizing techniques and technologies but that genetics becomes the stuff of daily dreams and debates through artistic forms. That is, genetics is mediated through forms of visual representation in what I propose is a new iconology. Highly respected journals like *Nature* and *The Lancet* publish articles about visual art. Martin Kemp writes a column on science and art in *Nature*. The Wellcome Trust – a science funding organization, has organized a 'sci-art' program to encourage collaborative work between artists and scientists. Future-directed genomic art projects such as SymbioticA and Tissue Culture and Art (established at the University of Western Australia's School of Anatomy and Human Biology by cell biologist Miranda Grounds, neuroscientist Stuart Bunt and artist Oron Catts) are also 'monstrous' in the sense that they occupy the space between categories (subject/object, art/biology, organic/computer-generated) that might just be about the future.

'New media', for this purpose, is the technology of representation that works with genetics and genetic concepts. The study of media entails a study of its forms and means of representation – speech, print, images, code. The new iconology is about picturing science while producing art, and having art forms that are informed by scientific developments, theories and images. It is about transcoding science, the biomedical body into art, as we shall see. This transcoding calls for a new aesthetic.

Images used by artists build on certain archetypal forms (monsters, for example), themes (mainly identity) and techniques (montage and collage). Technologies that work with developments in genetics or anatomic medicine are principally visualizing techniques.

In what follows I look at two interrelated dimensions: technology that represents the body in particular ways, and artistic forms that mediate genetic concepts.

(i) The Digital Human

Once upon a time 'digital' meant things to do with toes and fingers… The Visible Human Project of the National Library of Medicine, USA, is an attempt to provide a digitized anatomical atlas of the human body. The project has sectioned the human body, photographed it, and stored it as digitized data. As the visual demonstrates, there is also a fly-through, where one can go *through* the human body, without, of course encountering any messy situations of blood and gore. This has proved to be hugely successful as an educational tool in anatomy classes. It is now available commercially, and several images circulate on the World Wide Web.

Download HERE

Visual 3: Visible Human Project: Flythrough the Human Body[2]

The Centre for Human Simulation at Colorado has also digitized the human body.

Click to VIEW

Visual 4: Simulations from the Centre for Human Simulations: Rotating Heart and Torso[3]

What the CHS does is to cause the digitally constructed, chip-driven 'heart' or lungs' to simulate physiology, and even disease, so that the processes can be studied better. The images in 3D and virtual reality models – which the CHS compares to flight simulation – are meant as educational devices. They are akin to what W. J. T. Mitchell terms 'perceptual images' – 'haunt[ing] the border between physical and psychological … where physiologists, neurologists, psychologists, art historians, and students of optics find themselves collaborating with philosophers and literary critics'.[4] Studies of the digital human are, in Bruno Latour's terms, iconophilic because, in sharp contrast to idolatory that seizes on the visual itself, it emphasizes the *movement* of the image from one form to another, to the trans-formation, and the in-formation of the image itself: the body transcoded by technology into the computer code and by art into aesthetic codes.[5] Medical visualization technology and the digital human projects are ways of perceiving and representing the body – that is, they are about *images.* Digitization overcomes the problem of viewpoint. When converted into the digital format, transmitted and reconstructed elsewhere to *produce* an anatomy – and where numbers represent tissues and cells – the steps of this transformation of the image are lost.

These are examples of 'transcoding'. Transcoding, as Lev Manovich defines it, is the process of translating something into another format. For instance, cultural categories and concepts are 'substituted … by

new ones which derive from the computer's ontology, epistemology, pragmatics'.[6] In this case the body is transcoded into the language of genetics and computers, with the result we have digital humans, bioinformatics, computational biology and, not the least, genomic art.

The Digital Human projects are basically new ways of discovering, seeing, exhibiting and analyzing the body. In order to understand the significance of the digital human, we need to look at the history of medical imaging. The X-ray was introduced as a means of medical diagnosis in the 1890s, and was treated with awe and fear. The practitioners were believed to have some supernatural power which enabled them to look into the body. The ultrasound (actually ultrasonography) imaged internal structures of the body. The difference of course is that X-rays worked with dense (hard) structures, while ultrasound worked with softer organs. Obstetrics was the scene of the greatest impact of ultrasound, because it enabled the actual sighting of the foetus. The new visualization technologies enable the body to be laid bare without the cutting open. Visualization technology transforms the body itself into a visual medium.

As Sturken and Cartwright have demonstrated, these are not simply medical or scientific images, but also cultural ones.[7] There are cultural assumptions that inform the technology, the medical image and the interpretations of the image. The Stanford Visible Female, for instance, describes the images as that of a 'normal' woman – in this case of a woman in the child-bearing age. Thus, only a woman in the reproductive age is 'normal', as feminist critics have pointed out.[8] Similarly technologies of reproduction, as Sarah Franklin has persuasively argued, embed their own cultural politics.[9] Parents begin to 'bond with' their child well before its birth through ultrasound scans. Magnetic Resource Imaging and ultrasounds are now projected as part of health care as well as to evoke the authority of scientific knowledge. What is important is that the boundaries between the medical and the personal are blurred here. The biomedical image takes on the 'aura' of a portrait, a document of the baby as a *social* being. In 1984 Bernard Nathanson made a videotape called *The Silent Scream*, wherein he showed 'real-time' ultra-sound images of a 12-week old foetus. He stated that the images converted him to anti-abortionism because they revealed to him that what he saw on screen was a 'living unborn child'. The foetus thus becomes a 'person' when viewed thus. That is, medical imaging has non-medical – or cultural – functions (see especially the work of Rosalind Petchesky and Janelle Taylor on foetal images in public culture[10]). The fact that these images can be used to sell industrial products – as in the Volvo advertisement – suggests a movement of the image from one form to another. There is a seduction by the medical image too.

These technologies, as we can see, use particular notions of the body. Eugene Thacker defines biomedia as the 'technical recontextualization of biological components and processes'[11], where the body is a medium and *where the media themselves are indistinguishable from the biological body*. The transcoded body here needs to be understood in two ways – as a biological, molecular, a species body *and* as a body that is compiled through modes of visualization, modeling, datasets (where we have interdisciplinarity - biological computing, computational biology). It is what Mark Hansen terms 'body-in-code' (not, mind you the informational, informatized body popularized by William Gibson's *Neuromancer* and other cyberpunk texts as 'data made flesh), a body submitted to and constituted by an unavoidable and empowering technical deterritorialization, a body whose embodiment is increasingly realized in conjunction with technics.[12]

The body's creative power and potential is expanded through the 'new interactional possibilities offered by the coded programs of "artificial reality" '.[13]

What is important is that the 'media' and 'technology' employed here never stops seeing the body as biological, even as it creates novel contexts for biological elements and processes.

(ii) Genomic Art

The Chimera is a fire-breathing she-monster from Greek mythology, with the body of a goat, the head of a lion and the tail of a serpent. This monster transcends species boundaries. Other examples of chimeras include: the centaur, the sphinx, the minotaur and the griffon. What is interesting is that these boundary-breaking creatures have now become reality, in the laboratory rather than in mythology.

Scientists are now able to create more efficient animals for food or medicine: transgenic pigs for low-cholesterol meat, human genes in cows for them to produce more milk, mice created to produce human blood proteins. Artists have responded to these new developments in transgenic sciences.

In 2000 the Exit Art Gallery at New York[14] focused on the artistic possibilities of biocybernetics (the combination of computer technology and biological science that makes cloning and genetic engineering possible). Alexis Rockman's *The Field* (2000) depicted a soybean field that shows recognizable plants and animals, and speculated on how they might look in future (the collection of Rockman's and others' work was exhibited under the title 'Paradise Now', emphasizing the temporal dimension). These are transgenic art forms, blurring the boundaries between human, animal and vegetable, transcoding these bodies into something else altogether (see pages 8 & 9). These show chimeras – organisms made from cells and tissues from two or more species (the term was first used to describe species crossover under laboratory conditions in 1968). It is important to note that chimeras have traditionally been regarded as monstrous because they blur species boundaries and categories. In the 17th century artists like Charles le Brun presented animal-like human portraits. HG Wells' *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896) described, famously, such chimeras, or what he called 'beast men':

The disproportion between the legs of these creatures and the length of their bodies … the forward carriage of the head and the clumsy and inhuman curvature of the spine … the deformity in their faces almost all of which were prognathous, malformed about the ears, with large and protuberant noses … each preserved the quality of its particular species: the human mark distorted but did not hide the leopard, the ox, or the sow.

These creatures, in Leslie Fiedler's terms, 'straddle the line between us and our animal brothers'.[15] That is, they disturb the 'natural' boundary between species.

In the heyday of modernism artists like Max Ernst (*Stratified Rocks, Nature's Gift of Gneiss Lava*, 1920) represented extravagant organisms that were hybrid species.
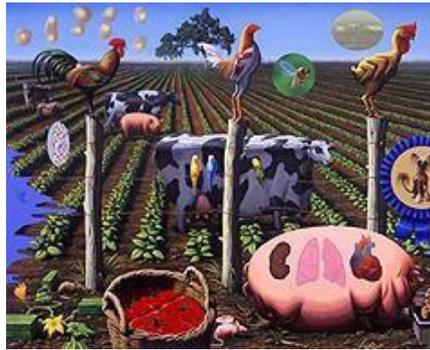
Visual 5: Max Ernst - *Stratified Rocks, Nature's Gift of Gneiss Lava*

And of course the comic book character, Spiderman, was a student who was bitten by a bioengineered spider. Thus what Rockman is doing in *The Field* has a history.
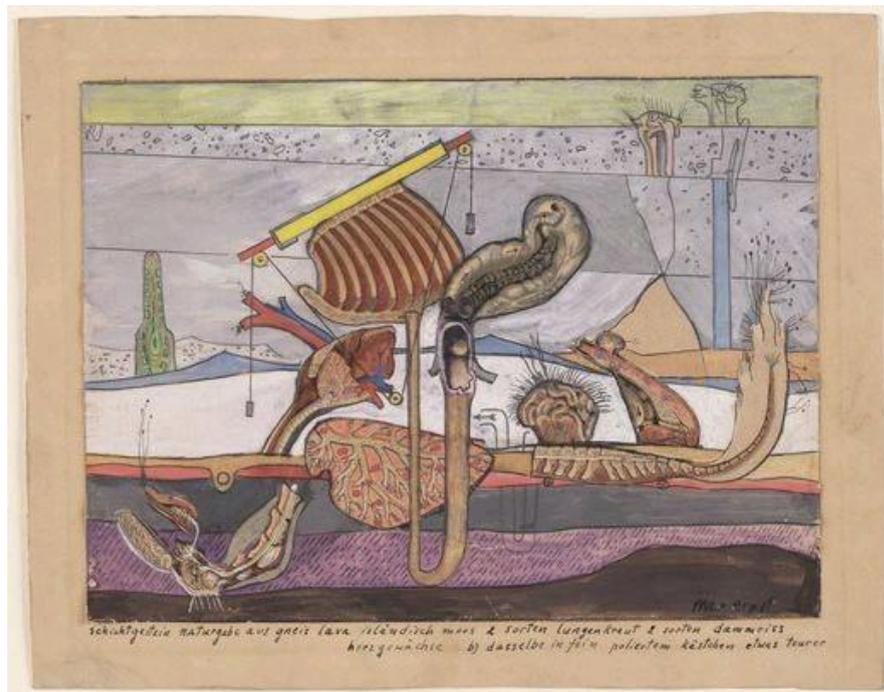
Visual 6: Rockman -The Field
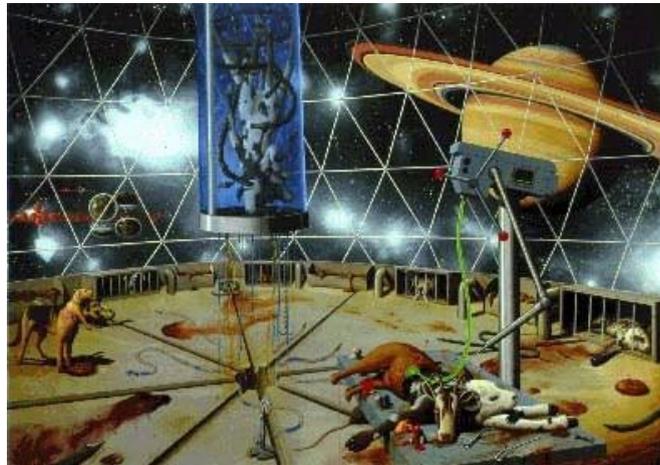
Visual 7: Alexis Rockman - Biosphere

Bryan Crockett's *Oncomouse* is about the first genetically patented transgenic lab mouse. In 1986 geneticist David Ow combined tobacco and firefly genes to produce plants that glowed in the dark. In 2000 the Oregon Regional Primate Center created a rhesus monkey that carried GFP (green fluorescent protein), and was thus a bioluminescent monkey. The best example of transgenic art is Eduardo Kac's. His installation *Genesis 1999* is described as 'transgenic art linked to the internet'. It is about gene transfer from one organism to another so that unique living beings are created. Kac's Rabbit 'Alba' is a fluorescent one. Kac has argued that purposeless play is at the heart of his aesthetic gesture.
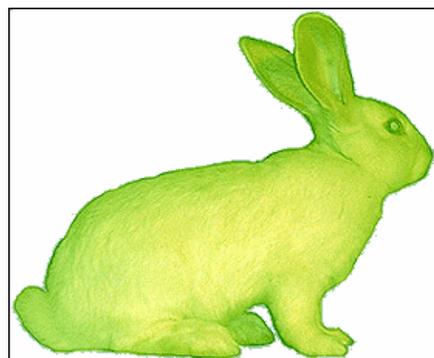
Visual 8: Eduardo Kac - GFP Bunny

Laura Stein's *Smiley Tomato* suggests that we should be able to produce fruits and vegetables with smiley faces. Ronald Jones' life-size sculpture of the genetic structure of cancer is about modeling and simulation in medicine. The organization Art to the Nth Power (at www.artn.com) describes various such art forms. Larry Miller of genomic licencing fame installed the portraits of 11 living artists in linear arrangement, alongside their DNA samples. The question Miller asks may be summarized thus: 'is artistic talent in the genes'? I think the question links science and art in a particularly interesting way. Further, as Edward Shanken has argued, genetic engineering preformed by artists like Kac 'interrogates the limits of

knowledge and consciousness to plumb the depths of the human condition'.[16] In all these cases the body is, in Andrew Ross' terms, a 'switching system, with no purely organic identity'.[17] It is this final boundary between the organic and the inorganic that is central to transgenic science and art. It transcodes the body as a computer code, even as artists transcode both, the body and the computer code, into something else altogether.

It is useful to remember that genetics and cloning are not just meant to create identical twins or siblings. They contain the possibility of producing an improved and upgraded model. This has nothing to do with the science or with the methodology: it has to do with culture. The decision to produce enhanced bodies – in terms of immunity, looks, capacities – is often governed by social values attached to these.

(iii) The Monstrous Sublime

Both medical technology and the forms of genomic art are about images, as I have demonstrated. In this section I outline the essential configurations of an aesthetic that enables us to 'comprehend' the various dimensions of this new iconology. This new aesthetic is as much to do with the objects under observation – genomic art – as with cultural anxieties about categories (human/non-human, human/machine). I propose that genomic art, with its future imperatives and its category-defying dimensions demands an aesthetic that is rooted in the blurring of categories.

I propose an aesthetic of the 'monstrous sublime'. I must hasten to add that the term 'monstrous' is not meant to suggest mere deviance. I take recourse to the term because the implications of its etymologies are useful for describing the new arts. 'Monster' is linked to 'monstrum' meaning omen, portent, or sign and 'monere', which means 'to warn'. However, it also indicates the malformed and the grotesque (the birth of deformed animals/human babies were seen as portents in early modern Europe, when the term was first used[18]). There is, therefore, a certain *revelatory* and *futuristic* imperative in the term itself. I have argued elsewhere that the new forms of technology, arts and identity can be best described by an aesthetic of boundarilessness, vastness, incomprehensible numbers that invoke awe and fear, horror and fascination: in short, the sublime.[19] Together, the monstrous and the sublime may help us unravel the aesthetic implications of new forms of biotech-art.

I suggest that both medical images and genomic art have to do with three major functions – the explicatory-explanatory, the exhibitionary, and the monstrous – *each* of which has an aesthetic component. What is important, in the age of digital imaging, is the *crossover* between the three functions: what is exhibited as art is often an example of medical imaging. And medical imaging often takes recourse to the language, form and stylization of art in order to produce its effect. Thus the discourse of science slips into the language of art, even as it posits its 'scientificity'.

The Explicatory: Medical imaging technologies function as explicatory-explanatory technologies. They

unravel the processes of life – the physiology, anatomy and pathology of the human body. The body itself is a vehicle for scientific information. As the visuals show, the image penetrates the human body in order to bring to the surface what lies beneath. Genomics is about discovering the secrets of life. When Watson and Crick discovered the genetic code, what they did was to explicate the causal factors for human development, behaviour and form.

However, it is not enough to present the body or the organ or the pathology as a mere image that explains. The image must be re-presented in the best possible way. That is, it has an aesthetic component of arrangement, brightness and tone, among other things. For instance, realism is integral to medical imaging – it must be as close to the original as possible. There should be an 'anatomic realism' (as John Madden put it in his 1958 *Atlas of Technics in Surgery*[20]) of the images. The digital human breaks up the human body into sections for greater *clarity* of viewing. The 'increasing transparency' which the CHS image of the thigh muscle in the clip, is not merely about a medical image, but about a medical image that is presented in a certain way. Surely there is something to be said that surgery is performed in an 'operating *theatre*'?

In genomic art, the artifact combines within itself the medical image with the aesthetic element. For instance, Ron Jones' life size representation of a cancer gene transforms a pathological condition into an artifact, or perhaps I should say an art-*effect*. It transforms a symbol of death into art. What it does is to bring one of the most advanced technologies of medical biology into the realm of art. Here the curious feature is that the symbolism of a mutated, altered chromosome 13 is available only to the trained scientific eye. To the common viewer, this does not carry connotations of mortality, until one reads the legend and the description beneath the display.

However, even genomic *art* produces the explicatory. Much of genomic art is based on a science that requires explication. Thus the write-up accompanying the artifact – the parergon, or outwork – often explains the genetic mechanisms behind the symbol. For instance, Crockett's installation, or any of the exhibits in Genomic Art Gallery (www.genomicart.org) are accompanied by detailed descriptions. The motif or byline to the Gallery reads: 'Visualists and Artists Interpreting the Human Genome'. Thus this form of art is also about interpretation, about framing a pathology. Medicine aestheticizes its images, and genomic art scienticizes art.

The Exhibitionary

What I am calling the 'exhibitionary' is basically the spectacularization of the very small and the very large. What contemporary medical imaging technology does is to make the move from nano- to giga-, from the invisible to the hypervisible, with the aid of visual prostheses. Surgery itself can be performed at the level of the cell. Virtual Reality Assisted Surgery Program enables the surgeon to cut without a body: the ultimate spectacle, surely? The entire apparatus of medical imaging is part of an exhibitionary complex, it involves the 'transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which

they had previously been displayed … into progressively more open and public arenas', to adapt Tony Bennett's definition.[21] With surgeries available for viewing online, we have moved the performance out of the room – the operating theatre – into a public domain.

The medical image of a body (now sliced into less than a millimeter thick, photographed, digitized) is an exhibition of the internal body. It turns the body inside out, as the newest exhibition in this line, Gunther von Hagens' 'Body Worlds', www.bodyworlds.com, actually does). When it comes to genes and chromosomes, it literally inflates the smallest component of the human into a visual treat. What this means is that medical technologies have the power to bring to the surface the invisibles that constitute us (some of us may recall Muthiah Muralitharan, wired and jacked in, with his body movements being recorded to understand *how* – anatomically, physiologically, he delivers his 'doosra'). Exhibitions of the genetic code are the ultimate spectacle, shifting from the most private and guarded collection – the body, open to the surgeon only – to the public domain. In fact the stated aim of several of such projects – the Visible Human, the Human Genome Project – is to make the secrets of life 'public domain data', though, as various critics (Fatima Jackson, Evelyn Fox Keller, among others, have pointed out the social and cultural implications of these projects are enormous[22]). My particular interest here is the way in which the digitized anatomy/ physiology spectacularizes the human form: devoid of the messy gore and physiological functions – a clean entertainment, coming soon to a screen near you. Simulated surgery and human simulation technologies are the most anti-septic spectacles of the human body. What you do get are *simulations* of the physiological processes: blood circulation, heart-beats, facial expressions and others. Spectacularization is as integral to the aesthetics of surgery today, as always (one recalls that dissections were public spectacles in early modern Europe). It is surely salutary that the commercially available dataset of the digital human from Springer-Verlag describes its as 'an anatomical atlas … in 36 interactive *scenes*'. The Visible Human replicates the human body, outside of age, sexuality or maternity, in a true copy, to be infinitely, endlessly reproduced. This renders, I suggest, the exhibition into a wholly new aesthetic.

In the case of genomic art, the modified animals and plants are basically exhibitions and renderings of the processes of evolution, growth and decay. The only comparable image-making is of space photographs published in newspapers. These photographs of planets or astronomical phenomena often have a legend beneath them: an 'artist's rendering'. Using the digital data that is transmitted, the artists provide an image. So what image is this: scientific or artistic? Genomic art is about the aesthetization of the ultimate secret processes of the human body. The deformity or perfect forms represented here are attempts to show possibilities.

The Monstrous

I have proposed that the 'monstrous' is about portents and omens. The effect and implications of these new images do not stop here. What the images tell us – especially after the doctor has explained it to us – is the course our *future* life will take (surely it is not coincidental that the Human Genome Project's newsletter

is called '*Genomes to Life*', suggesting a movement?). Dissections, one recalls, are about cutting up the dead to comprehend the living. We need to remember that genetic testing for future disorders is not very far off. Scientists claim that genetic marker kits that identify potential conditions and diseases will be available for as little as $100. In the USA the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has prohibited discrimination on the basis of genetic make-up.

Genomic art establishes anomalous, non-natural forms, even when they have natural functions (such as the third ear, which was used by the artist Stelarc). The Pig Wings project from this group calls attention to this aspect in its opening statements:

> Rhetoric surrounding the development of new biological technologies make us wonder if pigs could fly one day. If pigs could fly, what shape their wings will take? The Pig Wings project presents the first use of living pig tissue to construct and grow winged shaped semi-living objects.

(www.tca.uwa.edu.au/pig)

The deformed, modified animals in Bryan Crockett, Eduardo Kac and Alexis Rockman are monstrous in the sense that they are *potential* (virtual actually means potential, awaiting actualization: so virtual life is life awaiting corpo-*realisation*) forms. They are future-directed in that they reveal what is possible through cloning and genetic manipulation. Rockman's *The Field* is about evolution: what *form* will these animals and plants take a few decades from now? The 'monstrous', as I use it, is not necessarily a pejorative term. It may refer to the deviation from accepted standards of beauty. But then beauty is not inherent in an object, it is ascribed, as an attribute, and therefore a cultural condition. Some forms are more valuable than others. One tends to associate the very term 'aesthetics' with beauty: is there an aesthetic of ugliness? Stein's smiley tomato is an aesthetic rendering of the genetic process: why can we not have aesthetically appealing vegetables?

The 'monstrous' in medical imaging and genomic art is an icon that directs our attention toward the future: it reveals the possibilities of new forms. It reveals to the eye the inner workings that *can* lead to these forms. The work of artists such as Kac and Stein is about the *monstrous*. It is not necessarily dystopian, though it combines death and life in an ambiguous way, leading Catherine Waldby to term it a 'digital uncanny'.[23] Indeed it is uncanny because it seems to be familiar while it is not. There is a sense of the ghostly in the artifacts we see, something that we can recognize and other elements that we cannot. This means the monstrous in contemporary art is an attempt to create a new rationality that reflects the breaking of the older one, where questions of borders and identities are irrelevant. They also represent – in the true tradition of the monstrous – a cultural anxiety about what the 'human' is.

The Sublime: And what does the genetic monstrous have to do with the sublime? The sublime, theorized by Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant in the 18th century and revived in different versions by Jean-François Lyotard (1994), Vincent Mosca (2004) and others in the 20th century, is the aesthetic of awe, of

the infinite and the incomprehensible. I have already suggested that medical imaging and genomic art reveal and exhibit things that are invisible to the eye. The images point at some remote – deep inside the human body – phenomena, they designate a reality and help us see things that are invisible. Simply put, the images *move*.

These imaging technologies are also matters of scale: from the nano- to the giga-. They seek to expand, infinitely, what is beyond apprehension and comprehension. It collapses the body's inside/outside boundaries – a feature of the sublime – as the body-abject, the object of both horror and fascination.

What I am terming the monstrous sublime is the aesthetic of expansion-extension, the exhibition of something that is a warning, a portent of the shape of things to come, as the cover of *Time* magazine (1993) – with the 'new face of America' – a computer-generated picture culled from many racial types – suggests. It is the vivid imagining of a world through the ever-improved copying of life-forms, as Rockman's work suggests. Genetics – on any scale – qualifies as sublime because of various highlights:

> 1) In terms of sheer numbers, with the millions of databases and chemicals, it is beyond comprehension (a kind of mathematical sublime),

> 2) In terms of effect – inducing awe,

> 3) In projects that deal with entire racial genotypes – such as the Human Genome Project – are sublime in that they seek to explicate and capture the future of the entire humankind,

> 4) In genomic research – and representation, as I have shown – is about breaking down borders: between man and animals, plants and animals, man and chemicals/minerals, the inside and outside.

The dialectic between the analogical and digital – the script of the DNA code and the visible human it produces (elsewhere) – is also monstrous because the potential to (re)produce, re-duplicate the human in the future is theoretically endless. The number of times one can get the Visible Human dataset to run on the desktop is a monstrous sublime because it has this incomprehensible potential, for as Lyotard points out, the infinite, is not 'comprehensible' as a whole.[24] (There is also a boundary-breaking, transnational, globalizing incomprehensibility about capitalism in the 20th century, Lyotard argues, which renders global capitalism also sublime. Incidentally, Eugene Thacker also argues that biotechnology and globalization are linked because 'a "biotech industry [is] unthinkable without a globalizing context'. Thacker in fact terms the biotech revolution the 'global genome'. Hence the sublime is not simply about aesthetics and art but about the globalizing nature and context of genetic engineering itself[25]).

Biocybernetic art, as W.J.T. Mitchell argues, is 'conceptual art' because 'the object of mimesis is the invisibility of the genetic revolution, its inaccessibility to representation … with rumours of mutations and monsters'.[26] More significantly, one is 'picturing science' to 'produce art', for instance in the Kenneth

Eward visualizations of DNA. It is only in the realm of art, perhaps, that such monstrosities can be imagined. What Mitchell does *not* say is that one cannot perceive either genomic art or the medical images from sonography and X-rays without an awareness of this potential for the monstrous. Mutations, monsters, accidents are the imaginative outworks for interpreting such art. Science Fiction is the parergon to genomic art.

I describe 'genesthetics' (as Larry Miller terms the aesthetics of the gene), as the monstrous sublime because genomic research and art collapse – or have the potential to collapse – borders. Oncomouse represents such a monstrous sublime. Here the mouse is transgenic, and is built with a human genetic formula that makes it susceptible to cancer. The sublime induces pain physiologically because it makes us strain to see that which cannot be comprehended. But then one does peer closely – very closely – through the microscope, at the screen, and so on. With genetics it is possible to collapse categories. It must be remembered that classificatory regimes and categories are integral to aesthetics (the grotesque, for instance, thrives on 'species confusion' and breakdown of categories, as Geoffrey Galt Harpham has demonstrated[27]). In both cases the dissolution of bodies/borders marks 'it' differently. In genomic art – as the visual material reveals – the animal-plant-human borders become permeable: each can take on the form, function, feature of even the utterly alien *other*. The shape-changing feature of transgenic art and the computer-generated simulations of body functions are both 'monstrous'. Out of these forms of art emerges the shape (and size, and gender and race) of the future. This shape of the future (biology) is best described in Evelyn Fox Keller's words: 'a radically transformed intra- and intercellular bestiary will require accommodation in the new order of things, and it will include numerous elements defying classification in the traditional categories of animate and inanimate'.[28]

Notes

[1] This article is dedicated to Professor Sudhakar Marathe, teacher and friend.

[2] "From head to toe: an <u>animated trip through the Visible Human male cryosections</u>" *National Library of Medicine* [U.S] <u>http://www.nlm.nih.gov/research/visible/visible_gallery.html,</u> March 15, 2007.

[3] *Centre for Human Simulations: University of Colorado* <u>http://www.uchsc.edu/sm/chs/gallery/animate/animation.html,</u> March 15 2007

[4] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1986), 10.

[5] Bruno Latour, 'How to be Iconophilic in Art, Science, and Religion?', In Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (eds) *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 418-440.

[6] Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2001), 64.

[7] Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 292.

[8] Julie Doyle and Kate O' Riordan, 'Virtually Visible: Female Cyberbodies and the Medical Imagination', in Mary Flanagan and Austin Booth (eds), *Reload: Rethinking Women + Cyberculture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2002), 239-260.

[9] Sarah Franklin, *Embodied Progress: A Cultural Account of Assisted Conception*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Valerie Hartouni, 'Containing Women: Reproductive Discourse in the 1980s', In Constance Penley and Andrew Ross (eds), *Technoculture* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1991), 27-56.

[10] Rosalind Petchesky, 'Foetal Images: The Power of Visual Culture in the Politics of Reproduction', in Michelle Stanworth (ed) *Reproductive Technologies: Gender, Motherhood and Medicine* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1987); Janelle Sue Taylor, 'Of Sonograms and Baby Prams: Prenatal Diagnosis, Pregnancy, and Consumption', *Feminist Studies,* 26.2 (2000): 391- 418; 'The Public Fetus and the Family Car: From Abortion Politics to a Volvo Advertisement', *Public Culture,* 4.2 (1992): 67-80.

[11] Eugene Thacker, *Biomedia* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004), 13.

[12] Mark BN Hansen, *Bodies in Code: Interfaces with Digital Media* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 20.

[13] Hansen, 38.

[14] <www.genomicart.org>. 15 March 2007.

[15] Leslie Fiedler, *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* (New York: Anchor, 1993), 168.

[16] Qtd. in Suzanne Anker and Dorothy Nelkin, *The Molecular Gaze: Art in the Genetic Age* (New York: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory P, 2004), 95.

[17] Andrew Ross, *Strange Weather* (London: Versus, 1991), 151-53.

[18] For a history of the monstrous in European thought see M.H. Huet, *Monstrous Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993), Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750* (New York: Zone, 1998) and A.W. Bates, 'Good, Common, Regular, and Orderly: Early Modern Classifications of Monstrous Births', *Social History of Medicine*, 18.2 (2005): 141-158.

[19] Nayar, 'The Informatic Sublime: Identity in the Posthuman Age'. In Santosh Gupta, Prafulla C. Kar and Parul Dave Mukherjee (eds) *Rethinking Modernity* (New Delhi: Pencraft, 2004), 192-207.

[20] Qtd. in Peter Galison, 'Judgment against Objectivity', in Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (eds) *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (Routledge: New York and London, 1998), 327-359. Quoted from p. 346.

[21] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 61.

[22] Evelyn Fox Keller, 'Nature, Nurture, and the Human Genome Project', in Daniel J. Kevles and Lroy Hood (eds) *Scientific and Social Issues in the Human Genome Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1992), 281-299; Fatimah L. Jackson, 'African-American responses to the Human Genome Project', *Public Understanding of Science* 8.3 (1999): 181-191; and 'The Human Genome Project and the African American Community: Race, Diversity, and American Science', in Raymond A. Zilinskas and Peter J. Balint (eds) *The Human Genome Project and Minority Communities: Ethical, Social, and Political Dilemmas* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001), 35-52.

[23] Catherine Waldby, 'Revenants: The Visible Human Project and the Digital Uncanny', *Body and Society* 3.1 (1997): 1-16.

[24] Jean-François Lyotard, *Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime* (Kant's "Critique of Judgement", §§ 23-29), Tr. Elizabeth Rottenberg (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994), 112.

[25] Lyotard, *Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime*; Eugene Thacker, *The Global Genome Biotechnology, Politics, and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2005), xvii-xviii.

[26] W.J.T. Mitchell, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Biocybernetic Reproduction', *Modernism/Modernity* 10. 3 (2003): 481-500.

[27] Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1982).

[28] Evelyn Fox Keller, *The Century of the Gene* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2000), 9-10.

The Versatility of Visualization: Delivering Interactive Feature Film Content on DVD.

By Sarah Atkinson

Abstract

This article investigates how the film production process has been influenced by the DVD format of delivery. It discusses how the digital output is affecting the creative process of feature film production and the affect upon the visualization process during preproduction. It will deploy two case studies - *M y Little Eye* (2002, Dir: Marc Evans) and *Final Destination 3* (2006, Dir: James Wong) – utilizing diagrammatical visualizations of their interactive content. Both these films produced additional content during the feature film production phase to offer viewers an alternate and interactive viewing experience on DVD. The article concludes by exploring how a current technological advancement, Blu Ray DVD Production, will act as a further catalyst to develop the interactive film genre beyond the initial phases investigated within the current case studies.

Article

> The two most important aspects of visualization, the physical connections with the medium and the opportunity to review and refine work as it is created, are hard to implement because of the complexity of film production. (Katz, 1991:5)

It has been 10 years since the mass inception of the so-called Digital *Versatile* Disc (DVD). Since that time, the market for DVD hardware and content has expanded exponentially. The DVD forum reported that 'Film distributors depend more on DVD sales than box office takings.' (July 31, 2006) Home video sales now account for nearly 60% of Hollywood's revenue (LA Times 2004). The versatile format allows for a higher volume of media content to be stored and accessed in a non-linear manner. Standard DVD-Video discs can contain up to ninety-nine tracks of content. Each track can include up to nine streams of video,

eight streams of audio, thirty- two subtitles and multiple languages. There is now the expectation that at the very least, DVD feature film titles will include the ubiquitous directors' commentary, subtitles, multiple audio tracks in a minimum number of languages, the making of/behind the scenes documentary, trailers, stills photographs, storyboards, additional scenes and alternate endings. This content is accessed through progressively sophisticated graphical and animated menu systems. There is also an ever-increasing expectation for interactive content and additional interactive features within the feature film itself, although it is interesting to note that according to a Wall Street Journal, viewers are just as likely to claim that they are 'disappointed' if a disc contains no bonus materials as to admit that they watch them 'very rarely'. (Parker, 2004) All DVD players support General memory parameters (GPRMs), which can only be addressed by the DVD disc in play. Sixteen 16-bit memory locations are available to be used for basic computation or storing values. This allows for rudimentary interactivity. For example, GPRMs can be used to remember which segments of an interactive story have been viewed. (De Lancie, 2001:41) There is therefore the opportunity for filmmakers to exploit this capability in order to deliver film content interactively. However, the content of the feature film DVD discs has tended to remain locked down and formulaic, for example remote control features remain disabled until the viewer has been subjected to a copyright notice and the studio company logo. Only then is the viewer is faced with a menu system through which to navigate to the different elements of content. It can therefore be argued that rather than giving control to the user, the DVD format actually restricts viewer engagement and allows a further authorial 'stamp' to be placed on the work by the creator/director. For example, the very nature of the director's commentary tends to be one of superiority, heightening the auteur effect, in which Parker (2004) notes 'enforces a heightened attention to intricacies of intention'.

Additional DVD content is being generated as an intrinsic part of the feature film production process. Often, the documentary film crew work alongside the main production units to shoot additional footage, which forms these add-ons or 'extras'. The term 'extras' tends to characterise the nature of these additional features in that that they are somehow isolated and disparate from the feature film. It suggests, and is certainly common practice within feature film DVD presentations, that any content that has been cut from the film (deleted scenes, alternate takes) are then included in the hierarchical menu system, which is normally presented to the viewer as a front page, as a contents page would be to a reader of a textbook. This directive is in place despite the capabilities of the DVD architecture, which would allow such content to be embedded into the experience of watching the feature film, similar to hyperlinks within a web page. There are some examples in which DVD feature films have designed hidden features in order to access alternate content. Christopher Nolan's DVD release of Memento (2001), contains a hidden button (or hyperlink) within the navigational menu system, which when pressed at a specific moment, when the words 'Memento Mori' appear within an interactive menu, the feature film is played in the reverse order to which it had been cut for the theatrical release (which is actually the correct chronological order of events). In 2000, three years after the commercial introduction of DVD it was noted that;

> DVD has rapidly achieved an impressive installed base: some 8 million set-top DVD-Video players and 30 million computer-hosted DVD-ROM drives. But only a seeming handful of more than 5,000 titles in commercial release really exploit DVDs interactive potential, either

within DVD-Video specification or delivered on DVD-ROM. (De Lancie, 2000)

Over the last seven years, there are still a relatively small number of examples of feature film DVD titles containing interactive content, which has been authored as an integral facet of the viewing experience, despite the formats interactive capabilities. Whether this is related to viewer expectation - the belief that watching a film should be a passive experience - or to the fact that viewers tend to access such content 'very rarely' - or to the limitations of time and budget imposed on feature film production, it is important to draw a comparison to the arrival of television in the 1950's. Firstly because it mirrors a parallel trend to home cinema entertainment, in that it stimulated viewers to stay at home. More pertinently, television was not only the invention of the hardware itself; it was the invention of the three-camera set up, of television studio productions and of the various different genres of programming. Essentially, the invention of this new delivery environment was the invention of new screen-based genres. However, there has since tended to be an assumption that with the invention of new screen delivery environments, the same content can be shifted in the same form onto the new screen. This seems to be the case of the DVD format.

> It is extremely difficult to find any type of original programming for DVDs. The great majority of DVD content we see today has begun life in another medium – as a movie, a TV series, a documentary, or a classic video game – before being ported over to this new platform. (Handler Miller, 2004:366)

Instead of harnessing the capabilities of the medium whereby new genres of interactive storytelling could be conceived, what we are witnessing is the effect characteristic of Remediation, whereby old media is recycled, reformatted and delivered through a different channel.

> What is new about new media comes from the ways in which they refashion older media and the ways in which older media refashion themselves to answer the challenge of new media.

> (Bolter and Grusin, 1999:15)

There were some notable attempts at the creation of interactive DVDs, during the turn of the 21st century; *Tender loving care* (1999, Dir: David Wheeler), *Silent Steel* (1999, Dir: Toney Markes) *Point of View (2001, Dir: David Wheeler),* and *Stab in the dark* (2001, Dir: David Landau). *I'm your Man* (1992: Dir: Bob Bejan) was released on DVD in 1998. During its original 1992 theatrical release in custom-built cinemas in the US, the seats were fitted with pistol grip devices that allowed viewers to vote on both which characters perspectives that they would see the stories from and also choose which narrative pathways that the three protagonists of the story could take. (Figure 1) This structure known as a parallel narrative, is one of the seven formats of interactive fiction that Favre (2002) defined, the other six being; enhanced narrative, nodal narrative, multipath narrative, multimodal narrative, topographic narrative and algorithmic narrative. Within *I'm Your Man* the choice with the most votes would be the one screened in the cinema. This interactive cinema platform, which Lunenfeld branded as 'a much-hyped hybrid that never did quite make it' (2002:145), was perhaps one most suited to the DVD mode of delivery, being far more

economically viable on this portable format. The content of the *I'm Your Man* DVD is as a series of separate films, which can be accessed at nodal choice points through a standard menu system which allows the viewer to utilise their remote controls to make narrative path decisions. These come in the form of a primary address from one of the characters direct to camera asking the viewer for some form of direction. This was a somewhat crude use of the format and did not use the DVD hardware's memory capabilities. This is apparent in the fact that the branching system of *I'm Your Man* is operated in a context-free manner. Previous user choices are not stored. Marie-Laure Ryan (2001) has noted, no matter what choices the user made in the past, the same range of options remains open at any decision point. As Ryan confirms 'one of the most serious architectural problems is the shot that fails to keep its dramatic promise in all possible developments'. (2001:277)

Figure 1, I'm Your Man, DVD Stills of two different decision points within the film

Here, she refers to a can of mace, which is introduced by one of the characters in an early scene. If the viewer chooses a certain route through the films content, they never see this item put to use. The structure of the story at both the cinema and on DVD meant that the narrative had to be halted for the viewer to make a conscious decision, an example of what Crawford cites as a 'constipated story' (2005:130) This mode of delivery and deployment of interactivity could be described as a fractured viewing experience in which a viewer is forced to constantly leave the story, a situation which characterises the interactivity versus immersion debate. The interactive mode of *I'm Your Man* is one of character perspective; the story is stopped at several points, through a direct camera address from one of the three protagonists to request some form of guidance. The structure of parallel narrative, also known as perspective narrative, or the multiform story; 'a single situation or plotline in multiple versions' (Murray, 1999:30) allows the viewer to follow the story from the perspective of a selected character. The viewer cannot change the outcome of the story or influence events but can change from one character to another.

This article now probes two recent examples that use the same DVD format and the associated authoring tools that have been available. Both are from the horror genre and both produced within the last six years. *My Little Eye* and *Final Destination 3* work in contrast to one another on a number of levels. They exemplify the polarities of feature film production. The former is the product of the Hollywood Studio, characterised as such by its tendency to emphasise spectacle over narrative. (The procedure of planning

and shooting additional content for the DVD added 5 days and $750,000 to the $25,000,000 budget). The latter was produced on a far smaller budget, and was firmly within the independent film movement, which Willis would claim is 'celebrating the handmade, and a narrative focus that was about the every-day'. (2005:15) The producer of *My Little Eye* described the process of production as 'anti-filmmaking'. Within the director's commentary he states that; 'the equipment we shot it on could be bought down at Dixon's'. The choice of these examples also reflects the trend that certain genres, which attract certain kinds of users are, arguably more suited to the delivery of experimental and interactive content (i.e. sci-fi, fantasy and horror) Steven Einhorn justifies *New Line Home Entertainment's* investment into this content on *Final Destination 3* 'thriller audiences are big gamers – comfortable with this kind of programming' (LA Times, April, 9, 2006). The most crucial comparative facet for the purpose of this discussion is that the two different films offer two different types of interactivity. These different types of interactivity follow two distinctly different modes in their approach to altering the viewer's experience of the narrative;

> 1. The viewer's interactions cause a variation of perspective; either through a character or through the mechanics of the production process; by changes in the camera angle or audio stream;

> 2. The viewer's interactions cause a variation of plotline and story outcome.

The first example using the former mode of interactivity is the special DVD release of Marc Evan's *My Little Eye*. The film was conceived and influenced during the first year of the international televisual phenomenon of the Big Brother TV series, in 2000. In a set which consisted of a 3 storey custom-built house in a disused leisure centre, static locked off digital cameras were used, restricting camera movement to slow zooms, and mechanical reframing characteristic of CCTV cameras. *My Little Eye* sought to emulate and provide a cultural comment on the new voyeuristic reality television programme, whilst making a genre specific film, which adhered to the rules of horror. The premise of the story is that five twenty something's are put in a house for six months, living to a number of set rules, the winner of which receives $1,000,000. The film is naturalistic and low-tech and uses one-chip CCD cameras as the staple technology. Within the interactive DVD version of *My Little Eye*, a graphical user interface is overlaid onto the film, from which two interactive features can be accessed. The first allows the user to switch between multiple cameras. This option is restricted to four specific scenes within the film. When this option is available to the viewer, a red camera icon flashes in the bottom frame of the interface. (Figure 2) The viewer can then press the camera angle button on the remote control to switch the between 4 or 5 cameras. (Figure 3)
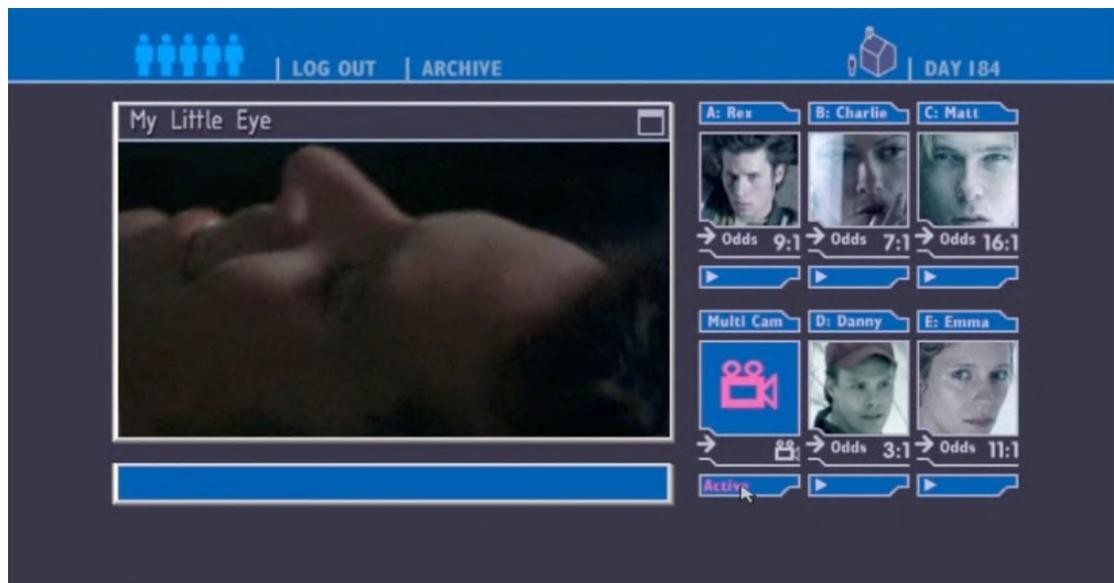
Figure 2: My Little Eye: DVD Menu, allowing the viewer to switch from ordinary viewing mode to multi-camera mode
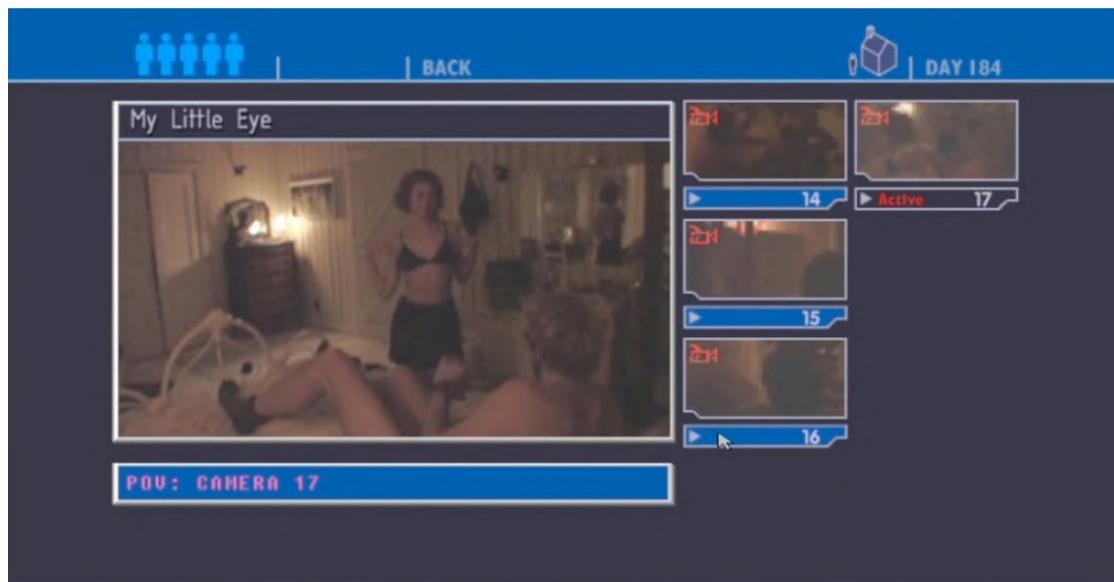
Figure 3, My Little Eye, Interactive DVD interface, allowing the viewer to switch to different camera angles of the same scene

Illusions of interactivity within each of the four camera angle selection points are prevalent, since upon closer inspection, in all four instances, the camera sources are not simultaneous multicamera action. Footage from different camera sources is chosen deliberately to look as if it is live action, but it is not. This implies that this interactive DVD feature of this disc was perhaps an after thought on the producer's

part, and did not form part of the director's pre-visualization process. The other interactive feature enables viewers to switch the audio stream by using the remote control. This is the same technology available on standard DVD presentations whereby users can switch on a Director's Commentary, and listen to an additional audio channel, or audio dubbing in an alternate language, where the existing soundtrack is replaced by another version. The viewer can then hear covert exchanges between two characters from the fictitious 'company' on walkie-talkies on audio stream 2. This reveals the actual nature of the five main protagonist's imprisonment inside of the house, and substantially alters the perspective of the viewer's experience of the film. The theatrical version works on the premise of a twist toward the climax of the film, whereby we discover the fates to befall the housemates. One of the characters (Rex) discovers the web site of which they are a part and the characters see the gambling odds against their names. This is the point at which they realise that they are the subjects and potential victims of a snuff web cast. As a viewer of the cinematic release this is the same point in the narrative at which the viewer makes the same discovery. However, within the interactive DVD version, the plot is revealed by the very nature of the interface. We are viewing the content as if through the same fictional web browser as depicted in the film (see figure 4) When the viewer first accesses the 'site' they have to input a four digit code found on the sleeve of the DVD in a 'credit card' field.
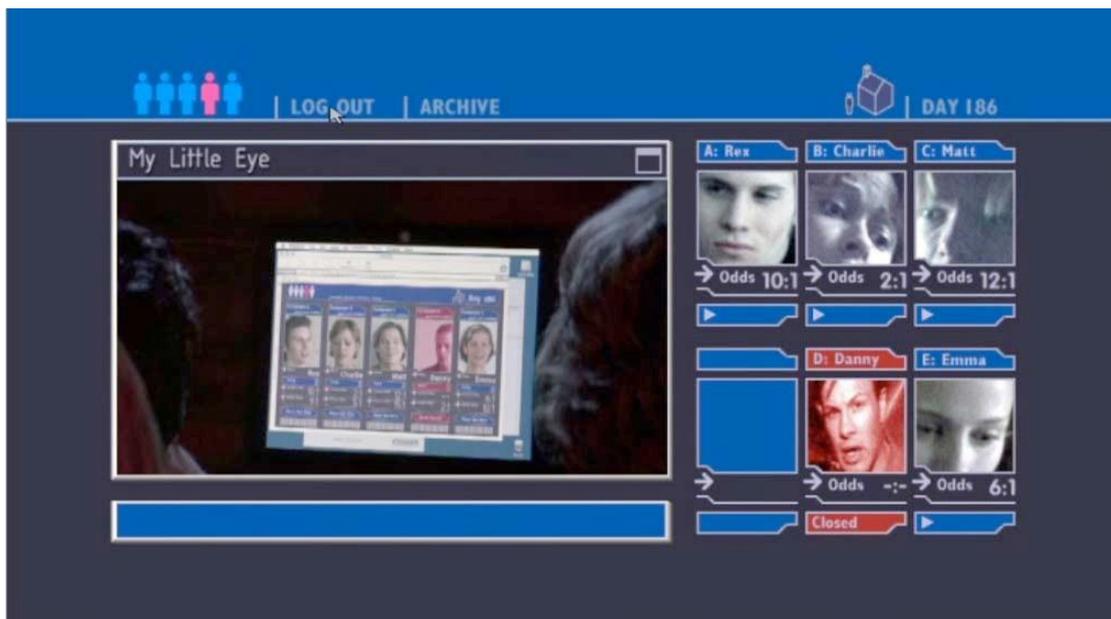
Figure 4: The moment at which the housemates discover the site and the gambling odds against their names

The viewer then sees Danny's, the first victim, odds closed when he is found dead, hanging by a rope within a stairwell. The viewer is therefore positioned as one of the fictional high stake gamblers acknowl-edged in the final scene of the film. The viewing position is subverted from one of passive onlooker to a suggested (and fictional) active participant. As the characters are killed off one by one, the viewer

witnesses the odds changing. (*Figure five*)

Figure 5, *My Little Eye* **DVD Interface**

The viewer's interactions within *My Little Eye* do not offer the opportunity to affect or change narrative pathways in anyway. Instead access to additional footage on the disc is permitted as an intrinsic part of the viewing experience. Through the design of the interface, the viewer enters into the world of the snuff web cast. This is a design technique, which has been used before within the horror genre. Within the DVD release of *Se7en* (Dir: David Fincher, 1996) the menu system has been designed as if by John Doe himself, giving the viewer a further insight into his world and imaginings. In these examples what the viewer is experiencing is an enhanced narrative (Favre, 2000). *My Little Eye* has parallel (perspective) narrative tendencies to a limited extent, and the viewer experiences a sense of user agency and immediacy as they can switch between the parallel sources instantaneously as if they are viewing live action. However, the double logic of remediation (immediacy and hypermediacy) is apparent since 'even webcams, which operate under the logic of immediacy, can be embedded in a hypermediated web site' (Bolter and Grusin, 1999:6).

In contrast, the thrill ride edition of *Final Destination 3*, allows the viewer to change the plot line, within a narrative structure, which would be defined by Favre as a multi path or nodal narrative. The premise of the feature film works on exactly the same premise, as it's two predecessors. The main protagonist has a flash- forward to a catastrophic event, in which all passengers on the aeroplane/highway/rollercoaster are killed. As a result he/she decides to leave the mode of transport with a group of friends and they then witness the accident realised. The characters are subsequently killed off one by one in a series of elaborate, special effect laden accidents in the order in which they would have died had they remained on the original aeroplane/highway/rollercoaster. The *Final Destination 3* DVD promotional posters state; 'You're in control of the movie! Change the course of the film and the characters fates'. The *LA Times* believes

that 'this is the first time that has been done on a DVD from a major motion picture studio' (Dutka, 2006) The DVD version of the film is viewed in its traditional presentation, as opposed to the graphical overlay method that *My Little Eye* employs, but is preceded with a series of instructional slides stating that at various points the viewer is faced with storyline choices. The storyline choices that appear as graphical slides are far more subtle and integrated into the viewing experience in comparison to *I'm Your Man,* although the narrative is still halted at certain nodal points (6 times – see the diagrammatical visualization in Figure 9) in exactly the same way for the viewer to make the decision.

Figure 6, Final Destination 3, Choice Point 1

There are no direct to audience addresses from the main characters as there are in *I'm Your Man*, and the choices are far more abstract and unspecific, we do not actually get to choose how six characters die as stated in the promotional literature. We choose to do 'something', which will trigger a different set of events that precede the fatality of a character. The example in figure six is the first choice point in the film, whereby a coin is tossed by one of the characters, as the coin is flipped into the air, live action transists into the slide and the viewer has a set amount of time in which to respond. By following the *Heads?* route, the path of the original feature film is followed. If *Tails?* is selected, the story is concluded, the viewer watches a series of graphical slides in which it is discovered how the four survivors of the accident go on to lead happy and fulfilling lives, followed by the feature film's title sequence. This is then halted, and the viewer is presented with a menu choice, and is given a second chance to select *Heads?* and if selected will lead to them rejoining the feature film at the point at which they exited it. The viewer is here subjected to a foldback scheme (Crawford, 2005:126), whereby the storyline is folded back to a predetermined path. In this case, to the point before the roller coaster action takes place. There are six such instances where this happens, (see Figure 9) and the viewer is able to select an alternate path through the narrative. Apart from the second death scene in which Ashley and Ashlyn are killed at a tanning salon (in the theatrical release,

both are burnt alive, in the alternate scene, Ashlyn escapes and they are both electrocuted as she tries to pull her burning friend Ashley from the sun bed), there are no alternate deaths, we are not actually able to 'change the characters fates'. The film's use of the DVD scripting technology is advanced in terms of the GPRMs being utilised. Viewer's choices can be recorded and additional content offered accordingly within the context of the previous choices that have been made. This occurs at both point 5a and 8a in figure 9. Floating graphical buttons appear for timed instances at these points, which, if selected, allow the viewer to access additional content. In the former example, we can look at Frankie Cheeks camcorder footage, which was shot as an integral part of the feature film production, as an intentional extra for the DVD. (Figure 7) In the former, we can read a newspaper article detailing the events of the previous film in which the highway crash is reported. These interactive events are only accessible to viewer's dependant on their previous choices. However, there is one particular technical slip up, akin to the *I'm Your Man* mace incident, which was previously discussed, which suggests a lack of attention to the DVD interaction pre-visualisation. In a scene following a choice point, prior to choice 5, where the character Frankie Cheeks is either killed off or saved, the character, Mary speaks the line 'three people have died'. If the viewer had elected to save Frankie, (the alternate path to the original feature) of course only two lives (Ashley and Ashlyn's) would have until that point been lost.

Figure 7: A timed floating graphical overlay, which allows access to additional footage if 'yes' is selected. This part of the disc is only available to viewers who earlier selected to save Frankie at choice point 4.

In *Final Destination 3*, the viewer is faced with a series of constipated moments, in which the narrative is halted until a selection has been made. The interactive DVDs directed by David Wheeler, *Point of View* (2001) and *Tender Loving Care* (1999) have attempted to address the immersion versus interactivity paradigm. Instead of the story stopping to present the viewer with a conscious choice, there are interludes

whereby the viewer is taken out of the film to answer a series of questions or thematic apperception tests. The narrative is then apparently tailored to the viewer's 'psychological profile'. 'The viewers psyche is the invisible director of the tale, determining both character and plot development every step of the way' (www.aftermathmedia.com) Despite these claims, actual narrative intervention is minimal. An analysis of the video media contained on the disc reveals that there is little variation in plotline, and an alternate viewing experience dependent on psychological responses is limited only to a choice of different endings. Again, within this example the content producers create an illusion of interactivity.

What is revealed through the examples - *My Little Eye* and *Final Destination 3* is comparable to the reality TV genre, which Favre would describe as a multimodal narrative system. This is a system whereby a story is formed across several media; TV, www, mobile phone and press, characteristic of most forms of reality TV output. The most successful feature film example of a multimodal narrative system would be *The Blair Witch Project* (1999, Dir: Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sanchez), in which the reliance of the different media forms on the effect and authenticity of the narrative was paramount to the films success. In *My Little Eye*, the viewer is positioned as the voyeur, able to see what the characters cannot and are made aware of their impending fates. In *Final Destination 3* we are able to affect the character's fates and then be able to watch that fate played out as we the audience are able to harm them (physically) in the case of *Final Destination 3* as we do so (mentally) when we can choose which person is evicted from their environment in the example of Big Brother.

Final Destination 3 favours spectacle over narrative and uses the DVD as a vehicle to showcase visual effects that would otherwise have not been seen by the viewer. This in some way justifies the excessive budget. The user is the spectator able to navigate the content, in a manner that is arguably not that much different from using a traditional DVD menu and sub menu system. Conversely, *My Little Eye* uses as a narrative device to posit the viewer as a participant, as a character in the story. It is important to note that the limitations of the standard DVD format means that by enabling the special interactive viewing features of both films, the other interactive features are rendered unusable, most importantly for gaining insight into the director's pre-visualization of the interactive content through the directors commentary. We are therefore given no insight into the interactive design and the intended interactive choices of the film. Within the extra features of both discs; the 'making of' documentaries and the director's commentaries, much discussion is given to the achievement of the various visual effects, and to the directorial decisions that are made in relation to the plot line. However, no interactive visualization is mentioned, implying that interactivity and the DVD mode of delivery was a retrospective decision by both directors during the preproduction and production phases. The focus of the discussions are primarily upon the theatrical release of both of the features. In the director's commentary of *Final Destination 3*, it was explicitly mentioned by one of the production team, that they were given money by home video to shoot alternative scenes. There was no discussion of this additional content being using interactively on the DVD by the director. Rather the additional funding enabled the director to shoot alternate takes to affect the narrative flow of the film. For example, the stills camera scene in *Final Destination 3* was originally used as the ending to the film, when the ending was changed, the shot was removed (and then subsequently appeared in the extras) The alternate takes were discussed as important for the theatrical release of the film; responding to the results

of test screenings, but certainly not for their impact on the DVD. Pre visualisations are discussed only in relation to special effects, particularly with reference to the roller coaster sequence. From figures 8 and 9, what is evident, aside from the structure of the interactivity (whether it be a constipated story, a parallel narrative, an enhanced narrative, a multimodal narrative) is that we have what Marsha kinder classifies a database narrative;

> Database narratives refers to narratives whose structure exposes or thematises the dual processes of selection and combination that lie at the heart of all stories and that are crucial to language: the selection of particular data (characters, images, sounds, events) from a series of databases or paradigms, which are combined to generate specific tales (2002:6).

In terms of the structure of such databases, Meadows (2003) presents three different structures of interactive narrative with varying levels of complexity; the nodal plot structure, the modulated plot structure and the open plot structure. In relation to the case studies discussed, both examples would collude to the nodal plot structure; 'nodal plots are a series of noninteractive events, interrupted by points of interactivity' (2003:64). In essence what we have in the DVD release of both films, and of interactive standard DVD production in general is limited scope for interactivity beyond the categories of parallel, enhanced and nodal interactivity.

Within standard DVD production so far there has certainly been no attempt or opportunity to create an open plot structure (Meadows, 2003), or a topographic narrative (Favre, 2002) such as a simulation or world's structure. Garrand (1997) confirms that 'in a virtual world programme, the participant explores an environment or an experience; in an interactive narrative, he or she explores a story' (1997:67) This is due to the technical restrictions of the format, which doesn't allow for this level of interactivity. The use of Blu Ray technology within DVD design and production opens out the opportunity for more sophisticated forms of viewer interaction and participation, by the enhanced ability to add complexity. It has the potential to unify the thus far awkward marriage between gaming and film which standard DVD technology has been unable to achieve. It also brings us closer to the promises of home theatre systems. Bill Whittington argued that these systems should 'encourage greater agency on the part of the spectator, (while) fostering heightened interactivity and control over programming' (1998:76)

The Blu ray architecture hosts a side element of programming language known as VDJ. It is a fully programmable application environment based on Java, which allows the design and delivery of interactive and creative content. Compared to the rudimentary capabilities of GPRMs, VDJ exponentially expands the possibilities of interactive film production and viewing, and has the potential to extend the interactive narrative landscape to topographic and algorithmic narrative possibilities. (Favre, 2002) The former example is one of environmental exploration and the latter, is user generated, created as viewers interact with one another and the material with which they are provided.

I would like to propose two modes of feature film interactivity possible using Blu Ray DVD, which allude to topographic and algorithmic structures. They also reflect the double logic of remediation; the

transparent and the hypermediated respectively. These proposed modes, which are commonplace in the world of computer gaming, could be realised through the generation of *intuitive* and *re-mixable* content within feature film production.

1. ***Intuitive*** – possible through the use of user response systems, such as bodily movement tracking or object tracking, (within the gaming world, comparable examples are demonstrated through the *wii*, and the *i-toy*)

2. ***Re-mixable*** – possible through the direct engagement of viewers and of user manipulations, (evident in games such as *Sim City*, and through the website *Second Life*)

Both of these proposals would require additional hardware to ensure functionality, (i.e. the use of motion detection; vision sensors and pressure sensitive floor mats in the former example, and computer peripherals; keyboards, mice and graphics tablets, in the latter). Both would present a notable shift in the film production landscape, both in terms of film production processes and also in viewing habits and behaviours of the viewing demographic. Intuitive response systems have already been developed within the experimental film making realm, and are prevalent within multimedia installations and audio visual art (i.e. Paul Rokeby, 1986: *Very Nervous System*, Sammy Spitzer, 1996: *Birds,* and Toni Dove, 1998: *Artificial Changelings*) and also within screen based research. Walter Murch (2001) references eye-tracking technologies, which have been used within cinematic research to record viewer's eye movements around the celluloid frame. This type of research involves analysing the viewers eye movements retrospectively, rather than them prompting real time events as the intuitive interactive DVD systems would propose. Andrea Polli produced a number of audio and video based pieces, a CD Rom – *Gape* (1996), and an installation *Inside the mask* (1998) which used eye-tracking software to prompt differentiations in the audibility of voice samples instantaneously. Such non-command-based (Jacob, 2007) technologies could be introduced into the home cinema realm in order to prompt changes in filmic narrative content, both in its ordering and pace dependant on both users conscious and unconscious physical responses. This mode which would attempt to create an environment of transparency, all conscious decision points are removed; as in an awareness of the environment in which the user interacts.

Conversely, the re-mixable film, by its nature as a conscious creative process exists within a hypermediated environment. The essence of the re-mixable film genre is encapsulated within the *mod* film or modifiable film, born from the Video/Vision Jockey (VJ) culture. Michaela Lewidge has written and directed the first film of its kind entitled *Sanctuary*, which will be released both as a theatrical feature, and in a remixable form. The remixable release will be available online through www.creativecommons.org.uk and will involve all the films assets being available to the viewing public to download, modify and remix.

Re-mixable films are films designed to permit explicit sampling of film assets. A film MOD (or modification) is like a game MOD, a modified version which you can experience as a bolt-on (or replacement) to the original experience. (modfilms.com)

Within the example of *Sanctuary*, the CG character *Customisable Dude (CD)* can be manipulated and controlled, as can environments in which exchanges between characters take place (made possible by the fact that a majority of the scenes were shot against blue screen) These affects can take place on an individual user level, and can then take place collaboratively on-line to create a collective experience, which so far has not been achieved through interactive film productions;

> Interactive narrative games favour a single user with the time and the solitude to solve puzzles and make choices. (Bolter and Grusin, 1999:94)

Just as the invention of television led to the invention of the different genres of television programming and the multi-camera studio, so too should the technology of DVD bring with it a proliferation of new techniques of interactive storytelling. The future of advanced DVD production technology is a future in which narrative interactions will be previsualized within the film production process. The generation of suitable interactive content will be factored into both the preproduction planning stages and the film production process, and will in turn affect the ways in which we engage with the content, shifting both user consumption and expectation exponentially.

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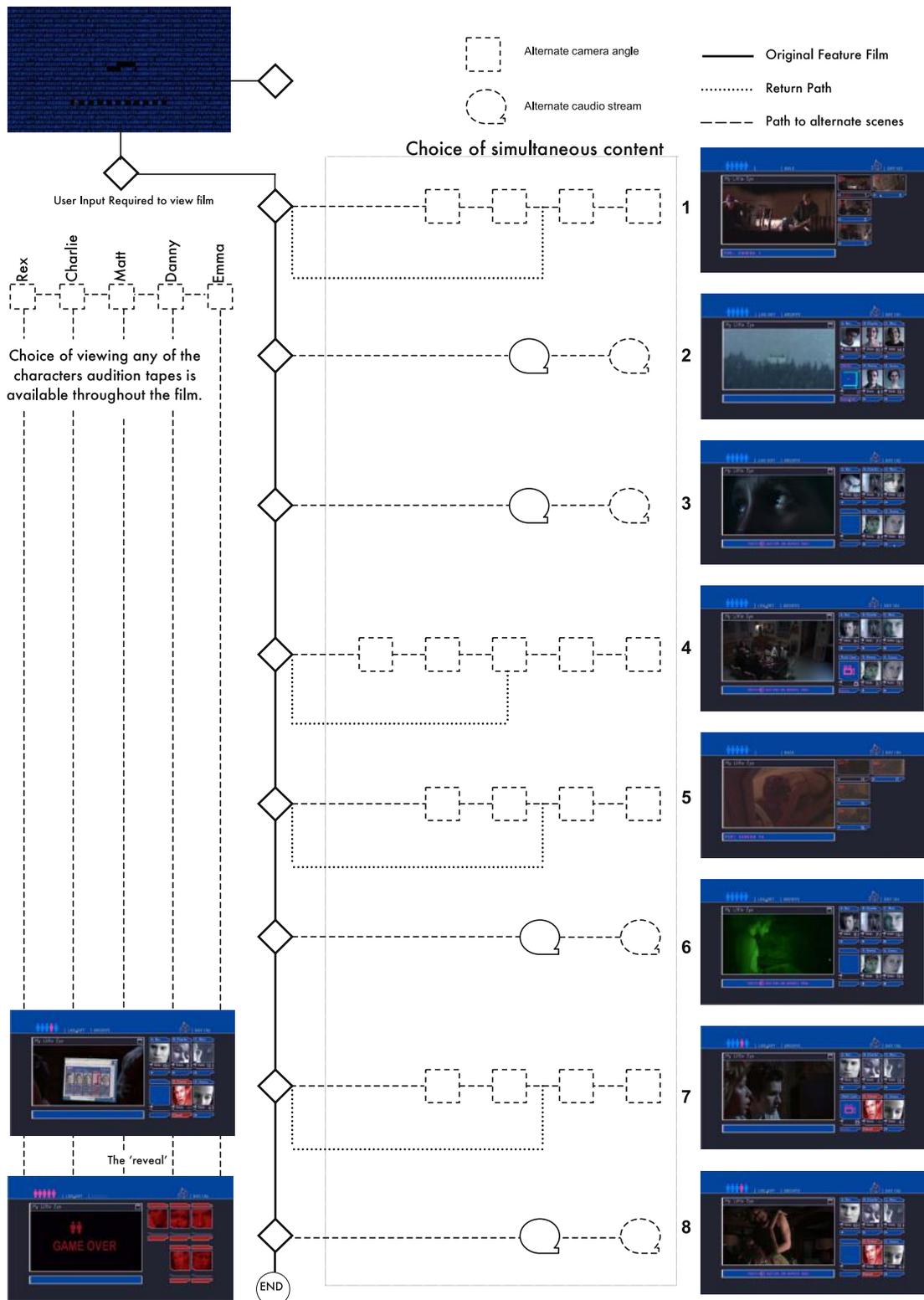
Figure 8: My Little Eye: A Visualization of DVD Interactivity
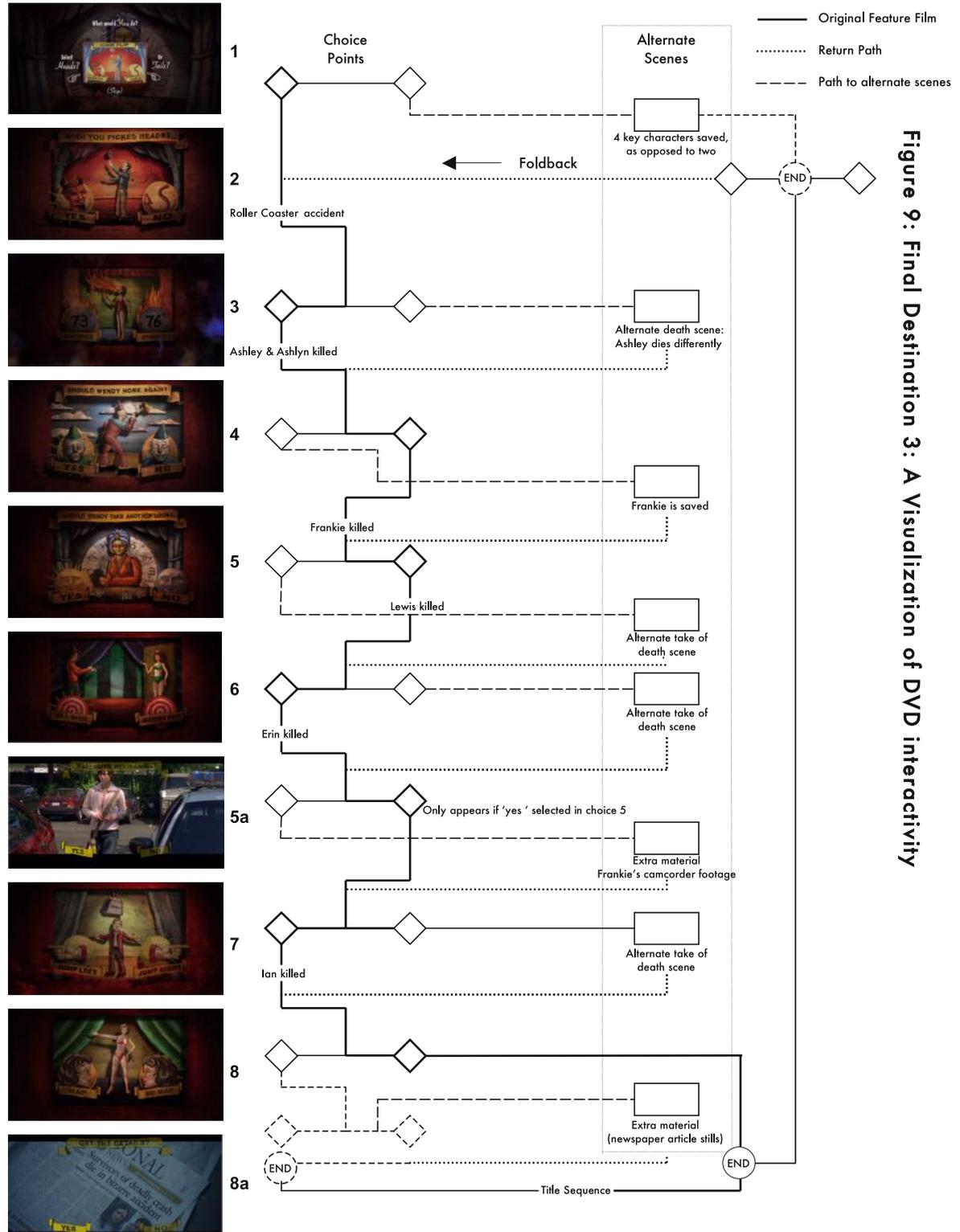
Figure 9: Final Destination 3: A Visualization of DVD interactivity

Convenient Truths: A Commentary on the 2007 Academy Awards Ceremony as a Global Event.

By Robert Goff

Introduction: Hollywood and Improving the World

> "…So many of you have causes that you are equally passionate about. That is really what is so wonderful about the movie industry -- not only do we get to make films that matter, but we also work in a culture where we are encouraged to speak out. We may not always agree, but we do always care."

> Sherry Lansing receiving the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award, 2007.

I'm not sure if it was due to the Democrats coming back to power in Congress a few months before, but "liberal Hollywood" seemed to be more confidently on display throughout the television broadcast of the 2007 Academy Award ceremony, much more so than had been the case in the last few years. The prominent presence of Al Gore during the evening seemed to confirm the suspicion of many conservative Americans that there is a close association between Hollywood and the Democratic Party. *An Inconvenient Truth*, which documents Gore's case against global warming, won the Oscar for best documentary and Melissa Etheridge's song, "I Need to Wake Up," from the same film won in the best song category. Early on in the evening, the former Vice President announced that the Academy Awards ceremony had "gone green," (although what this actually meant in practice was never really explained).

As if to counter the decline of America in world opinion since the Bush administration went to war in Iraq, the evening's host, Ellen DeGeneres, announced "this is the most international Oscar night ever." The ceremony also celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of awards given to foreign language films, and there did, indeed, seem to be a wider variety of international films and stars from several nations up for nomination. The prominent appearance in particular of non-American musicians seemed to confirm that film, as well as music, was an international language. Ennio Morricone, an Italian composer, was given a special Oscar during the evening and his acceptance speech was delivered in Italian. In another acceptance speech,

Gustavo Santaolalla, an Argentinean musician and composer, espoused a universal vision: "In our soul rests, I think, our own true identity, beyond languages, countries, races and religions."

Were the audience members in the Kodak Theatre and viewers at home stirred by these transcendent words? And did Al Gore's more pragmatic exhortation to fight global warming have an impact? (His acceptance speech concluded with these words: "We have everything we need to get started, with the possible exception of the will to act. That's a renewable resource. Let's renew it.") Was it possible that some of this globally transmitted broadcast-- watched by a billion people, according to the host--"made a difference" that night? It would be good to think that America, along with the rest of the world, had been set on a new course during the evening, with protection of the planet mandated, multiculturalism championed, gender equality taken for granted (Sherry Lansing, a woman executive who had once headed two Hollywood studios, was given a humanitarian award during the evening) and the invisibility of sexual minorities finally ended (DeGeneres and Etheridge are both openly gay women).

The American television ratings are the most important measure taken of the broadcast and 39.9 million American watched the broadcast-- up by three percent or one million more viewers than the previous year and, according to Neilsen, 75 million American watched at least six minutes of the nearly four-hour telecast. Polling viewers after the broadcast might have provided some evidence of the impact of the broadcast. Drawing upon social scientific methods, communications scholar Michael R. Real detailed the findings of a telephone survey from the early 1980s which found the majority of viewers had "low involvement" in watching the broadcast with larger numbers viewing only to find out who would win, to watch celebrities or to enjoy the fashions on display.[1] While a majority agreed that "the Academy Awards are nothing more than a public relations event for the film industry," a significant number said they were more likely to see movies that had won Academy awards and even those that were only nominated.

Calling the Academy Award telecast a hegemonic "media event," Real claims the values and practices of the American film industry shape the messages delivered by this widely watched televised event:

> The Academy Awards event surveys the film environment by presenting an array of almost exclusively Hollywood-based stars, films, songs, and attendant glitter as the approved frame of reference for film everywhere. The event correlates the parts by giving awards to those people and films that the Los Angeles-based film industry members consider the most worthy. And the event transmits social heritage by teaching celebrity-watching, filmgoing, humor, art, competition, commercialism and other values within the dominant hegemonic code of Hollywood.[2]

Real's work is from the 1980s and was updated in 1995. The Academy Awards ceremony has not substantially changed in recent years, apart from attempts—usually unsuccessful—to increase the ratings by speeding up the production and hiring popular television personalities to host the proceedings. The broadcast is still determined by the "dominant hegemonic code of Hollywood," whether hosted by Ellen DeGeneres, Jon Stewart, or Chris Rock. Nevertheless, for the observant viewer, counter-hegemonic elements can be detected throughout the broadcast and, despite an overwhelming emphasis on rewarding

stars and films within "the approved frame of reference," recognition of a more challenging film culture occasionally surfaces during the evening. Drawing upon Real's critical theory approach and upon contemporary film scholarship, this paper will provide an observational and impressionistic commentary on some of the individual elements—the role of the host, the types of presenters, the content of the film montages, the winners and losers, etc.—of the most recent broadcast of the Academy Awards ceremony to discern elements of the hegemonic code shaping this year's show—and to determine the degree to which counter-hegemonic elements provided an alternative message for viewers. In addition, this paper will attempt to assess how the Academy Awards broadcast on February 25th, 2007 reflects the art of film in a global context.

Part I: The Queen and King of TV Comedy

"I think we're carrying this foreign aid too far."

Bob Hope, host of the 1958 Academy Awards ceremony[3]

A more satirical on-going commentary than that provided by this year's host could have perhaps drawn attention to some of the contradictions of an event sponsored by the American film industry trying to reach out to a global audience in a time when world opinion about the international role of the United States has never been lower. Satire, however, is not Ellen DeGeneres' strong point as a comedian. While her coming out as gay on her sitcom in 1997 was an American television milestone, Ellen's humor is in the Jerry Seinfeld sitcom tradition and about "nothing." Many of the hosts for the ceremony in recent years have been recruited from American television, a medium weak in any kind of satirical tradition and with a long history of self-censorship.[4] Even last year's host, Jon Stewart, who actually has a reputation for satire on his cable TV show, seemed reduced to bland humor, apparently unable to overcome the restraints of network television or merely blind to the comic potential of the ethnocentric biases of Hollywood. The Awards ceremony is, of course, designed as a television show and because "liveness" is so rare in this medium the producers work hard to minimize any uncontrollable or unpredictable aspects of such a broadcast. Since Janet Jackson's "wardrobe malfunction" at the 2004 Super Bowl broadcast, oversight of the smallest detail has presumably increased. Time constraints have been the excuse for the Academy's notorious use of music to drown out the acceptance speeches of the winners, although music has also been employed to cut short the rare political statement by an Oscar recipient, such as in 2003 when Michael Moore won for best documentary and his anti-Bush tirade was cut off after forty five seconds.[5]

Michael Moore has not been invited back but last year's winner of the best documentary award, Errol Morris, was allowed to film an opening montage for the ceremony. Morris employed his Interrotron (an invention that allows interviewees to look directly at the camera) to interview a significant number of nominees. If this probing lens revealed the militaristic psychology of Robert McNamara in Morris's award-winning *The Fog of War*, its more humorous employment for the show lacked Michael Moore's

more pointed comedic interview style and the succession of sound bites from the nominees seemed more like TV commercials.[6] This specially commissioned interview montage seemed to be part of a new approach by the producers to turn the nominees into TV performers this year. If dressing well and looking happy to be on the show have usually been the only requirements of being a nominee and an audience member, the style of TV talk shows or game shows with their more vociferous participation of studio audiences seemed to be mandated throughout the evening this year. After Morris's montage, the opening shots inside the spectacular Kodak auditorium featured all the nominees standing in the audience applauding themselves and shaking hands with each other. Ellen DeGeneres, as the current host of her own daytime talk show, was the ideal person to try to encourage a new level of audience participation within this large and imposing theatrical space. For the vast audience of viewers at home, this "female Seinfeld" would bring the casual informality of daytime TV to this formal ceremony and draw humor out of gossip and trivia.

Once the ceremony started, the nominees continued to be the theme of the show as DeGeneres' opening monologue was all about them. In previous years, nominees knew, of course, they would be on camera throughout the evening and a few could expect to be the butt of a passing joke by the presiding host but there was usually more focus on the nominated movies and the viewer had some sense that the ceremony celebrated films. This year's host hardly mentioned films and instead continually riffed on the competitive nature of the evening with jokes about winning and losing, even advising the winners to make their speeches more interesting as boring ones would be cut off. Celebrity-worship was the theme of her comedy routines throughout the evening with DeGeneres adopting the persona of an awe-struck fan or pandering to a female audience by, at one point, getting the camera to focus in on Leonardo DiCaprio for the women viewers to ogle. While paying lip service to diversity on the show with the bold statement that "without Blacks, Jews and Gays there would be no Oscars," DeGeneres went on to display American ethnocentrism with remarks that were supposedly celebrating the international composition of the audience. She undiplomatically declared that there were too many British nominees and then misidentified Penelope Cruz as being from Mexico, instead of Spain. She later corrected the mistake but continued to make tasteless and ageist jokes about the British nominee, Judi Dench, who was absent from the ceremony.

I found it significant that DeGeneres, when she later took her microphone into the audience, attempted to schmooze only with major American nominees, like Martin Scorsese and Clint Eastwood, in what I am sure were well-rehearsed encounters. Eastwood and Scorsese, who have not acted in their own films for some years, were, nevertheless, both put to the test on this live show, as they pretended amusement at her TV talk show antics. As a pushy fan, she tried to get Scorsese to read a screenplay she said she had written, and cajoled Steven Spielberg into operating her digital camera to take not one but two photographs of her with Eastwood as she was dissatisfied with the first shot taken by the great director. If celebrity worshippers as home laughed at her discomfiting real celebrities as their surrogate, I'm not sure they found her vacuuming the carpet in front of the first row amusing, and one can only speculate what the occupants of the row thought about this attempt at comedy. Pretending that this was one of her tasks as host, she seemed to have taken her "one of the guys" stunts too far.

Two comedians sang a song about the failure of comedians to win Academy Awards. Will Ferrell and Jack Black, joined by John C. O'Reilly, who recently starred with Ferrell in *Talladega Nights: The Ballad of Ricky Bobby,* seemed to amuse the audience in the theater although I'm not sure the dignity of presenting an award was preserved when they went on to give an Oscar for achievement in makeup. With comedians giving awards as well as hosting the show, it was no surprise to see Jerry Seinfeld walk on stage to present—of all the awards of the evening!—the one for best documentary feature. Apparently, he was there because he was once the subject of a nominated documentary. Adhering to this logic, can we expect other recent subjects of documentaries, such as Tammy Baker or Imelda Marcos, to present that award next year? The humor in Seinfeld's presentational monologue about him defiantly littering in movie theaters was completely lost on me as I didn't find it credible that this multi- millionaire comedian would, as he claimed, ever go near a theater. I even found his irresponsible boasting about littering not only un-amusing but juvenile and mildly offensive and I'm sure theater owners must also have been insulted by this lame routine. When he superciliously introduced the nominations as five "incredibly depressing movies" I wanted to throw something at him.

It's not that I believe humor has no role during the ceremony but I found that most of the jokes and comic routines throughout the evening were over-scripted, frequently patronizing and geared to what the show's large army of writers—sixteen were listed in the credits, including DeGeneres for "supplementary material"—seem to believe prime-time American television audiences find funny. The broadcast was dominated by the values and practices of a television industry geared to the assembly line production of gags and comic spectacles for countless sitcoms and the monologues and skits for late night talk show hosts. Instead of allowing humor to arise spontaneously from the events of the evening, the producers and writers attempted to manufacture spontaneity and enthusiasm. For instance, after finishing her opening monologue, Ellen DeGeneres was tossed a tambourine and a gospel choir suddenly emerged from backstage enthusiastically singing a commissioned number in praise of the nominees. The choir made up of mainly African-American men and women ran down the aisles of the auditorium clapping and raising their arms as if trying to stir emotion—or perhaps even spiritual fervor—throughout the largely white audience. The raucous throng brought some of the very formally dressed audience members to their feet as though they were at a revival meeting in a Harlem church. If the "spontaneity" of this musical number was comically intended to favorably contrast black culture with a stodgy but sophisticated white culture, it not only seemed forced and bizarre but it also drew upon long-standing Hollywood stereotypes of black culture. The sight of these black choristers in white cassocks evoked movie images of African Americans as consumed by religiosity, musical fervor and unbridled emotion.[7] Paternalistic representations of such characterizations of black culture go back to Griffith and even earlier in American film history. Along with these characterizations, white male leaders have frequently been shown in films bringing order and rationality to control the behavior of these "primitive" peoples. Ellen DeGeneres did not look paternalistic in her red "lesbian chic" trouser suit as she led this disorderly scene, yet I couldn't help thinking that this was the message she was conveying and, if I am right, reinforcing old stereotypes of African-American culture for a vast international audience. This was cultural hegemony in its most reactionary guise.

Part II: Hollywood Royalty on Display

> "The promotionally overheated culture, permeated by advertising, marketing, public relations, and every level of promotional activity and incentive, has come to be a central characteristic of the media culture of late capitalism." Michael R. Real

The promotional role of the Academy Awards ceremony—in advertising stars, films, filmgoing and the Academy itself—is central to its hegemonic operations throughout the evening. Stars are the major vehicles for promoting films. Aside from the people winning for non-acting achievements and the obligatory appearance of the president of the Academy of Motion Pictures, movie stars made up the majority of the stage appearances throughout the evening at this year's ceremony. Reinforcing DeGeneres's emphasis on the nominees, rather the films in which they acted, a pantheon of contemporary stars paraded onto the stage of the Kodak Theatre, singly or in pairs, to present various awards, to introduce performances of the songs, or to explain the various montages of film clips about to be shown on the screen. Introduced usually by an off-stage announcer and cued in with music from the orchestra, well- groomed and impeccably dressed stars confidently strode towards their places on stage or towards a podium. The costumes of the female stars are, of course, central to creating the mystique of stardom throughout the ceremony and much of the journalistic commentary on the ceremony is devoted to assessing who are the winners and losers in the fashion stakes— and the various fashion houses now court the biggest stars to sign multi-million dollar contracts to wear their couture at what has become one of their most important showcases for high fashion.[8]

If the fashion industry was satirized in the nominated film, *The Devil Wears Prada*, interested viewers would, nevertheless, uncritically note what nominated best actress Meryl Streep wore during the evening and also take notice of the dresses of Emily Blunt and Ann Hathaway, two additional actresses from the *Prada* film, who presented, unsurprisingly, the award for best costume design. Several of those who introduced this year's awards had themselves won an award—sometimes the same award-- the previous year, such as Reese Witherspoon, George Clooney, and Philip Seymour Hoffman. Their appearance from previous years helps to keep them in the public eye and also to confirm their status within the Hollywood star system. Major stars are those who present awards alone: Tom Cruise presented the humanitarian award while Ben Affleck, Will Smith, Jodie Foster each presented montages. Jennifer Lopez presented music performances. Some pairings of the evening, however, signaled very high status. When Helen Mirren, nominee for *The Queen*, and Tom Hanks came on stage together to present an award it seemed as though their pairing symbolized they were the Queen and King of their respective national cinemas. Later in the evening the pairing of Jack Nicholson and Diane Keaton, while reminding audiences of their pairing in films, seemed symbolically to represent the titular heads of the previous generation of stars.

Perhaps representing the newest generation of potential stars were the two very young child stars chosen to present awards for "short" films—Abigail Breslin, nominated for *Little Miss Sunshine,* and Jaden Smith, who appears in *The Pursuit of Happyness* (sic) with his father, Will Smith, a nominated best actor in the same film. It was an image of racial integration and on the surface, harmless and cute, but in the context of

the history of race relations and their representation in Hollywood film it was hardly innocent. The older white girl, evoking images of Shirley Temple, seemed in charge of the situation and reminded viewers that the Depression-era child superstar was often in command of African-American actors, young and old, in her many films during the 1930s when most African-American actors were relegated to playing servant roles.[9]

There were more nominations for African-American actors this year than in many previous years.[10] Will Smith, as one of the most highly paid U.S. actors, has considerable power in Hollywood and was able to produce *The Pursuit of Happyness*, (sic) a film celebrating fatherhood and the hard work of achieving the American dream. Yet it is his charm and unthreatening demeanor that have enabled him to become a star and one cannot help speculating that it is these traits which have made him an acceptable nominee in a industry with such a long history of paternalism towards African-American talent.[11] Another very likeable African-American star won the best actor award. Who could not appreciate Forest Whitaker's performance or question that as *The Last King of Scotland* he deserved to win? The role evoked some of those played by the great Paul Robeson. However, Robeson's roles were largely written and directed by white professionals in Hollywood and some British studios, in an era when there were few parts for black actors and those that existed were tainted by the racial conceptions of his time period. The politically conscious Robeson fought against racist stereotyping but he was sometimes unaware of how films depicted him until after they were released. Whitaker's performance as the flamboyant but monstrous Idi Amin recalled Robeson in the title role of the film version of Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* and as the African tribal chief in *Sanders of the River*. Robeson brought great skill to such parts but these roles suggested a colonial conception of black leaders as "primitive"—a characteristic based on racial essentialism.[12] Whitaker gives Idi Amin psychological complexity, but the Ugandan ruler's atrocities are presented as barbaric. Idi Amin was indeed a monster but one created by colonialism, a theme that could have been brought out in a more nuanced and political film than *The Last King of Scotland.* I think it was unfortunate that Whitaker's acceptance speech somehow confirmed the image of black culture introduced by the gospel choir at the beginning of the evening. He evoked his humble beginnings and emphasized a mystical religious faith by thanking God and his ancestors, along with many white professionals, including his Scottish director.

Jennifer Hudson, a former *American Idol* contestant who won the best supporting actor award, also gave one of the most emotional speeches of the evening. One of the people she thanked was Jennifer Holliday who had played the same role in *Dreamgirls* on Broadway. Holliday was closely identified with the part and was disappointed that she was not even offered a cameo in the film. TV popularity has more box office potential than success in the theatre for obtaining film roles. The film and the stage version of *Dreamgirls* had largely black casts but the people who produced and directed them were white. It is an unfortunate fact that white professionals still dominate in both Broadway and Hollywood, and African- American actors can come across as somewhat obsequious in thanking their more privileged white colleagues. Hudson called her white director a "genius."

The obituary montage later in the evening reminded me of the recent deaths of Gordon Parks and Tamara Dobson, who were both leading figures in the cycle of "blaxploitation" films of the 1970s. Many of the

films in the so-called blaxploitation cycle may not have been Academy Award material but at least for a time they put more control of filmmaking into the hands of African-American filmmakers.[13] Spike Lee is still a rare African-American director with some power in Hollywood although he has never won an Academy Award.

Part III: Films about Children

> *Personal loss, individual horror and mourning intersect in a network of films haunted by the spectre of children at risk from abuse, abduction, accident and illness. The issue of the missing child enables films to mobilize questions about the protection and innocence of children, about parenthood and the family, about the past (as childhood is constructed in retrospect as nostalgic space of safety) and about the future (as fears for children reflect anxiety about the inheritance left to future generations).*

> Emma Wilson, *Cinema's Missing Children*[14]

Emma Wilson claims that films seriously focusing on children constituted an important trend in world cinema during the 1990s, a trend that seems to be continuing into the twenty-first century. In the 2007 acting nominations there were several actors in films about the exploitation of children and teenagers. In *Little Children*, a subplot concerns fears about a convicted child molester in an American suburban community, a role played by Jackie Earle Haley, a former child star. Cate Blanchett has an affair with one of her under-aged pupils in *Notes on a Scandal*. In *Venus*, Peter O'Toole plays a self-confessed dirty old man infatuated with a teenage girl. *Little Miss Sunshine* refers to the name of a beauty pageant for very young girls. Will Smith's young son, as mentioned earlier, appears in *The Pursuit of Happyness* (sic)*,* a drama about social mobility in America. *Half Nelson* is about a flawed teacher who wants to rescue an African-American high school student from the drug culture surrounding her.

The least serious film in this group of American films about children, *Little Miss Sunshine*, won two awards during the evening. None of the other films in the group won an award. *Little Miss Sunshine*, which won awards for best original screenplay (Michael Arndt) and best supporting actor (Alan Arkin), is an "independent" film although it has a cast, as well as a large marketing campaign, more typical of mainstream movies. The film is a quirky comedy that includes satire of child beauty pageants but its social criticism is rather superficial and the film was hardly Oscar material. The Academy tends to give awards to less challenging American films like *Little Miss Sunshine* and only cursory attention to more complex independent films that deserve more recognition. *Half Nelson* was produced by the aptly titled THINKfilm and was recognized by the Academy with a best actor nomination for Ryan Gosling who was predictably unsuccessful in winning the award. This unusual film tries to illustrate Marxist dialectics in its classroom scenes, but the whole film was dialectical in exploring the urban conditions threatening contemporary teenagers and revealing the heart- breaking difficulties of confronting these dangers. The realistic style of

the film is reminiscent of a tradition of filmmaking that the Academy once recognized by bestowing very early honorary awards on the foreign language films, *Shoeshine* and *The Bicycle Thief* in 1948 and 1950, respectively.

Scenes from these two Italian neorealist films about children appeared on screen this year when Catherine Deneuve and Ken Watanabe introduced a montage of clips to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the best foreign film award. The two films were the work of one of the greatest collaborations in film history, that of Vittorio De Sica, the director and Cesare Zavatinni, the screenwriter. De Sica and Zavatinni were early pioneers of the tradition of neo- realism in Italian cinema.[15] Several of the nominated international films of 2007 seemed to recall the serious cinematic concern of these Italian filmmakers with the suffering of children. *Water,* about child widows in India and directed by Deepa Mehta, an Indian woman now living in Canada, is a very moving historical epic. The making of the film in India was extremely difficult and Hindu extremists burned down the set as the film crew was filming there.[16] Susanne Bier's *After the Wedding* from Denmark also focuses to some extent on children in India—specifically on the poverty of orphans—but the film also intriguingly dramatizes the plight of a care worker in India who discovers he has a daughter who had been raised without his knowledge in Denmark. *Babel*, directed by Alejandro González Iñárritu, tells a series of interconnected stories, each involving young children or adolescents caught up in dramatic circumstance in different parts of the world. *Pan's Labyrinth*, directed by Guillermo del Toro, has an adolescent girl as its protagonist who lives out a fantasy existence that intersects with the harsh realities of the Spanish Civil War.

The fervor of the people who won awards for their work on *Babel* and *Pan's Labyrinth*, two of the films directed by Mexican directors, was palpable during the evening. Gustavo Santaolalla, the composer of the score for *Babel,* touched upon the ambition of this film: "I'm so proud to work in *Babel,* a film that helped us understand better who we are and why and what are we here for." *Pan's Labyrinth* deservedly won three awards: for makeup, best set design and for cinematography. The cinematographer said in his acceptance speech: "This award is a recognition for the collective effort to support the vision of the genius of Guillermo del Toro." Another very talented Mexican director, Alfonso Cuarón, received three nominations for *Children of Men*, a futuristic story of a society without children, but failed to win any awards. There might even have been more enthusiasm if a woman director had won a major award during the evening. The Academy's neglect of women directors is scandalous. Nevertheless, women directors were responsible for two of the films nominated for best foreign language film. (*The Lives of Others*, a German film on the activities of the Stasi in East Germany, won for best foreign language film.)

A UNICEF report came out in the same week as the Academy Awards ceremony and it contained some startling inconvenient truths about children in wealthy countries like the United States and Great Britain. *Child Poverty in Perspective: An Overview of Child Well- Being in Rich Countrie*s[17] found that children in Britain and the United States have the worst quality of life among twenty-one wealthy nations. The U.S. has the highest rate of teenage motherhood and Britain has the highest rate of bad family and peer relationships, as well as such at-risk behaviors as smoking, drinking and unprotected sex. In an editorial, *The Nation* suggested these statistics are the result of pursuing militaristic policies while neglecting domestic

problems.[18]

Part IV: Conclusion: the Big Winners

Combining television performance, musical numbers, film clips, and other forms of entertainment, the evening provides an opportunity for the spectacle to celebrate itself and promote its myriad forms, values, and significance. The Academy Awards are also a celebration of victory, the primal US and global capitalist passion play. Indeed, the prize-garnering films make millions more in revenue from the prestige and position of being Oscar winners, which allows the winning studios and players to make a big score in the next deal. This is, after all, what media spectacle is all about.

Douglas Kellner, *Media Spectacle*[19]

It was a foregone conclusion that *The Departed* would scoop up the major awards of the evening. As if to reinforce the idea that Hollywood is a male bastion, Francis Ford Coppola appeared with Steven Spielberg and George Lucas (by the way, did they by chance know in advance about the identity of the winner?) to give the best director award to Martin Scorsese. Termed "movie brats" in the 1970s, these four directors, along with Eastwood, who was also very visible during the evening, now constitute the contemporary Hollywood establishment. They can all command big budget productions and employ huge marketing and public relations resources to keep their work in the public eye. *The Departe*d went on to win for the best picture of 2007.

While Scorsese's renowned editor, Thelma Schoonmaker, won for best editor, *The Departed* seemed little influenced by women. The film gives free reign to having its characters, particularly Jack Nicholson, spout racist and sexist epithets in a film lacking leading roles for non-white characters and having no major female star. There were, however, plenty of roles for leading white male stars, with Nicholson in a major role. The combination of Nicholson and Scorsese seems to have overwhelmed critical responses. Comparable with, and related to, the status of *The Sopranos* in American media culture, it is impossible to find any critical voices raised against it. Nicholson, of course, is meant to be a vile and psychopathic character but there is no character to counter his diatribes or even to point out how disgusting they are. *The Departed* is also, it seems hardly necessary to point out, an extremely violent film.

Scorsese as an Italian American is very aware of Italian film traditions, and he has even made a long documentary on Italian film. However, *The Departed* owes nothing to Italian neo- realism in the tradition of Vittorio De Sica . The film is nothing more than a big budgeted and star-studded exploitation movie, based on a 2002 movie, *Infernal Affairs*, from Hong Kong. The expropriation of the creative work of other nations is a common practice in transnational Hollywood today. Many modestly successful foreign language productions are Americanized in the hope of turning them into blockbusters. *The Departed* also

won for "best adapted screenplay" and I realized that this means you can actually win an Oscar for writing a screenplay based on another screenplay. I guess it did take some creativity to pump up the obscenity level of what, I imagine, was more restrained dialogue in the Hong Kong version. William Monahan, a native of Boston where the film was shot, was the writer of *The Departed.* In sharp contrast to the eloquent speeches on artistry by Latino professionals during the evening, Monahan's acceptance speech was complacent and bland, finishing with these words: "You know, everyone who worked on *The Departed* was, you know, it's easy to say was at the top of their game before they started, and under Marty's direction it only got higher after that. Thank you very much."

Leonardo DiCaprio, who was nominated for best actor in *Blood Diamond*, appeared alongside of Al Gore to announce that the ceremony had "gone green." DiCaprio was also one of the stars of *The Departed*, and it is to be hoped that his appearance did not lead viewers to associate liberal Hollywood's tolerance of extreme violence with the mainstream liberalism of the Democratic Party. The uniting of a famous Hollywood actor with a prominent politician would have more likely reminded viewers of how political power and celebrity power are intertwined and how acting for television, particularly comic acting, is the most important requirement for today's politicians. The writers behind the ceremony had come up with a routine that had DiCaprio urging the presidential candidate from an earlier election to declare his candidacy in the next election. The punch line of the routine had Gore feign consternation in mid-sentence as music drowned out his supposed announcement. Viewers would recall the candidate's appearances on late night TV shows, and even *Saturday Night Live*, during the 2000 presidential race in an attempt to overcome his alleged "stiffness." It was evident then, and again throughout this ceremony, that Al Gore will never win an acting award. Part of the Republicans' success since the 1980s has been in fielding professional actors as candidates. Arnold Schwarzenegger's success in California is the most recent example, and he is also, ironically, proving to be a more convincing spokesperson than Gore on the environment, according to a recent survey.[20]

So what impact did the 79th Academy Awards broadcast have? As Ronald Brownstein in his study of Hollywood and national politics states: "Without major changes in personal behavior, the Hollywood environmental activists, among others, run the risk of embodying one of liberalism's most damaging stereotypes: the wealthy do-gooder who tells everyone else to tighten belts for the common good."[21] In general, many viewers would have found it difficult to imagine self-sacrifice being practiced by the bejeweled and over-dressed audience of Hollywood employees and their relatives who were on televised display during the evening. Some of the earnest environmental injunctions flashing on a screen behind Melissa Etheridge as she sang "I Need to Wake Up" probably had little impact on the metaphorically slumbering members of the audience. One just couldn't see, for instance, any of the crowd inside the Kodak Theatre queuing for a bus outside after the show. "Going green" probably meant for most of these people hiring a slightly downsized limo.

Yet if we don't completely give in to the cynicism aroused by the broadcast nor believe that the ceremony was all about stars and fashion, some of the films recognized by the Academy can actually teach us something. If Al Gore is stiff on television and an unconvincing comedian, he is a compelling presence in his

documentary film. As Pat Aufderheide points out in her review of *An Inconvenient Truth*, "His demeanor is that of a friendly professor, not afraid to be smart and well-informed, and also completely comfortable in the knowledge that you want to and can learn this too. And he manages to invest us all in the terrible urgency of the situation. At the end of the explanation, this is no longer Gore's issue but our problem."[22] The award of the Oscar for best documentary can only put more people in contact with this more convincing Gore persona.

The success of the bleak vision of *The Departed* probably reflects a culture that continues to tolerate a macho government that is mired in a senseless war, uses "extraordinary rendition" and torture against its enemies and is insensitive towards other nations. Audiences didn't need the Academy's approval to go to see *The Depart*ed (or *Miss Little Sunshine,* for that matter) but the recognition of less popular films during the broadcast might have moved some viewers who seek alternatives to the status quo. The standing ovation for Scorsese in the Kodak auditorium seemed obligatory but the films by the Mexican directors elicited genuine excitement. While the nominated women directors got little attention during the evening they have much to offer in understanding today's world. *Water* instructs about religious intolerance and sexism, and *After the Wedding* is a moving meditation on parenting and the needs of orphans in a poor country and the privileged children of a wealthy one. *Half Nelson* is far more realistic than *To Sir with Love* (1967), *Dangerous Minds* (1995) and other Hollywood stories of heroic high school teachers and actually tells us something about race relations in America today and the relationship between teacher and pupil. It is to be hoped that the seriousness of these films was not completely overlooked during a ceremony that emphasized comedy about nothing.

Notes

1 See "Empirical Analysis: The Academy Awards," pp. 80-105, Michael R. Real*, Super Media: A Cultural Studies Approach*. Newbury Park, California, Sage Publications Ltd.: 1989.

2 See "Production/Hegemony: 'And the Winner is…Hollywood!'" in Michael R. Real, *Exploring Media Culture: A Guide*. Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications, Inc.: 1996. pp.148-170.

[3] Emanuel Levy, *All About Oscar: The History and Politics of the Academy Awards*. New York, Continuum: 2003. p. 209.

[4] See Douglas Kellner, *Television and the Crisis of Democracy*. Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, Inc: 1990, for an overview of American television history up through the 1980s from a critical theory perspective.

[5] For a discussion of that year's show from a backstage perspective see Steve Pond, *The Big Show: High Times and Dirty Dealings Backstage at the Academy Awards*. New York, Faber & Faber Inc: 2005. pp.

318-355.

[6] The device was actually originally designed for TV commercials see Shawn Rosenheim, "Interrotroning History: Errol Morris and the Documentary of the Future" in Vivian Sobcheck, ed., *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event.* New York, Routledge: 1996.

[7] For a very recent discussion of early Hollywood's treatment of African-American religion see Judith Weisenfeld, *Hollywood Be Thy Name: African American Religion in American Film, 1929-1949*. Berkeley, University of California Press: 2007.

[8] See Bronwyn Cosgrave, *Made for Each Other: Fashion and the Academy Awards.* New York, Bloomsbury USA: 2007.

[9] See Karen Orr Vered, "White and Black in Black and White: Management of Race and Sexuality in the Coupling of Child-Star Shirley Temple and Bill Robinson" in *The Velvet Light Trap* (39), Spring, 1997. p.52.

[10] Edward Mapp's *African Americans and the Oscar: Seven Decades of Struggle and Achievement*. Lanham, Maryland, Scarecrow Press, Inc: 2003 had a breakdown of all African- American nominees and winners up to 2002 and some information about their nominations but the book is brief and provides only a limited overview of its subject.

[11] For a discussion of Smith's star "persona" see Geoff King, *New Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction*. New York, Columbia University Press: 2002. pp. 163-177.

[12] See Richard Dyer's essay, "Paul Robeson: Crossing Over," in his *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society.* New York, St. Martin's Press Inc: 1986.

[13] See the chapter on "Black Action Film" in Mark A. Reid's *Redefining Black Film*. Berkeley, University of California Press: 1993.

[14] Emma Wilson, *Cinema's Missing Children*. London, Wallflower Press: 2003. p.2.

[15] For important writing by and on De Sica and Zavatinni see Howard Curle & Stephen Snyder, (eds). *Vittorio De Sica: Contemporary Perspectives*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press Incorporated: 2000. For a discussion of Italian Neorealism and its influence on Italian film see Millicent Marcus*, Italian Film in the Light of Neorealism*. Princeton University Press, 1986.

[16] Jasmine Yuen-Carrucan, "The Politics of Deepa Mehta's *Water,*" in *Bright Lights Film Journal*, April 2000. http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/28/water.html

[17] http://www.unicef.org/media/files/ChildPovertyReport.pdf

[18] Editorial, "Home Truths," *The Nation*, March 12, 2007 http://www.thenation.com/doc/20070312/editors

[19] Douglas Kellner, *Media Spectacle*. New York, Routledge: 2003. p.27.

[20] http://www.slate.com/id/2165591?nav=ais

[21] Ronald Brownstein*, The Power and the Glitter: The Hollywood-Washington Connection.* New York, Pantheon Books: 1991. p. 387.

[22] Pat Aufderheid, review of *An Inconvenient Truth* in *Cineaste*, Vol. XXXII, No.1. (Winter 2006), p. 50.

Different Faces, Different Priorities: Agenda-Setting Behavior in the Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia State Legislatures.

By Kimberly S. Adams

Abstract

This work explores the agenda-setting behavior of African American state legislators, female state legislators, and African American female state legislators and examine the degree to which these lawmakers have been able to translate election to office into substantive representation. Using the records of legislation sponsored in the lower houses of the Mississippi, Maryland and Georgia state legislatures in the 2001 sessions, I categorize the legislation sponsored by each legislator according to its content. I find that female legislators and African American legislators behave cohesively and demonstrate different agenda-setting behavior than do their white male colleagues. Female legislators are as likely as male legislators to achieve passage of their legislation. African American legislators generally, and African American female legislators in particular, are less likely to achieve passage of their legislation, giving support to both the double disadvantage and social distance theories.

Introduction

Since 1970, the ethnic and gender composition of state legislatures around the nation has changed from their former composition as virtually exclusive enclaves of white male privilege. The total number of African Americans in all the lower houses of state legislatures increased from 162 (2.9 percent) in 1971, to 442 (8.1 percent) at the end of 2001. The female percentage increased even more dramatically, from 300 (5.5 percent) in 1971 to 1,277 (23.6 percent) in 2006 (Center for American Women in Politics, 2002;

2006; Cox, 1996; Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1971; 2001).

The increasing presence of African Americans and women in state legislatures has sparked considerable research into whether the presence of these groups makes a difference in the priorities and development of legislation. Prior research has concluded that the increase of African Americans and women in state legislatures has made a difference in state policymaking (Caroll, Dodson, and Mandel, 1991; Kathleen, 1994; Miller, 1990; Nelson, 1991; Saint-Germain, 1989; Thomas, 1991, 1994; Thomas and Welch, 1991; and Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Bratton, 2002).

Over the last three decades, a number of scholars (Werner, 1968; Diamond, 1977; Mezey, 1978; Shapiro and Majahan, 1986; Thomas, 1991; Thomas and Welch, 1991; Kahn et al., 1994; Williams and Colliins, 1996; Woods, 1996; Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Smooth, 200l; Barrett, 2001; Carroll, 2003) have studied the agenda-setting behavior of minority and female state legislators. Given that the presence of relevant numbers of women and minorities among the membership of legislative bodies is a relatively new phenomenon, the extant literature on the subject is far from exhaustive, and yields few concepts of general consensus.

Research Objective

Following the lead of Bratton and Haynie (1999), who used a six-state, three-year sample and found that African Americans and women share a set of distinctive policy interests above and beyond those policy interests that are motivated by constituency and party pressures, this research examines the impact of race and gender upon the legislative agendas of state legislators in the lower houses of the Mississippi, Georgia, and Maryland state legislatures. More specifically, this research investigates the agenda-setting behavior of African American legislators, female legislators, and African American female legislators and seeks to identify the differences and similarities among the legislative agenda-setting behavior patterns of these groups of legislators in terms of the type of bills they introduce and the degree to which these lawmakers have been able to translate election to office into substantive representation. It's aim is to contribute to the literature on race and gender in state legislative bodies by building upon the research of Bratton and Haynie (1999) and the recent works of Wendy Smooth (2001) and Edith Barrett (2001) by utilizing a new combination of measures for assessing the impact of race and gender upon legislative agenda-setting behavior.

Unlike previous works, this study includes an indicator, the Comparative Emphasis Ratio, which measures the amount of emphasis a legislator places upon specific categories of legislation (Adams, 2003).[1] Bratton and Haynie (1999) investigated the agenda-setting behavior of female and African American state legislators using a six-state, three year sample, but did not include a discussion on the agenda-setting behavior of African American female legislators separately. Wendy Smooth (2001) and Edith Barrett (1995; 2001) both paid close attention to the legislative agendas of African American female legislators,

but both scholars relied upon survey data using legislators as survey respondents.[2] The present study utilizes original data compiled from the 2001 legislative records of the lower houses of the Georgia, Mississippi, and Maryland state legislatures. Legislative records (i.e. bills) are used rather than survey data because bills are indicators of pro-active legislative emphasis while survey results are reactive responses to choices presented to the surveyor.

This work analyzes the agenda-setting behavior of individual legislators with particular attention to the introduction and passage of category-specific legislation by African-Americans, female, and African American female legislators. Whereas Bratton and Haynie (1999) categorized certain legislation in terms of African American interest, this study uses the broader category of minority interest. In recent years most African American legislators and other progressives have tended to draft legislation that includes benefits for all minorities.

Bachrach and Baratz (1963) maintain that agenda-setting is an important element of any political process. Bratton and Haynie (1999) assert that agenda-setting can serve to redirect or even redefine institutional priorities and perspectives. Agenda-setting as manifested in legislative bill sponsorship, is a proactive expression of policy preferences, whereas, roll call votes and survey responses are reactive expressions of policy preferences. This implies that bill sponsorship is a truer indicator of the actual priorities of a given legislator or a group of legislators than is floor action. According to Swers (2002) "representatives have complete control over the number and context of the bills they sponsor," as opposed to floor or committee actions that may be limited by restrictive rules. Legislators may sponsor legislation with any one or combination of the following public policy motivations: 1) to demonstrate their expertise on the issue; 2) to develop support for the legislation; 3) to draw attention to the issue; 4) to satisfy relevant interest groups; 5) to add the prestige of a member to the issue. Additionally, electoral considerations may enter into the legislator's decision to sponsor legislation in order to demonstrate the sponsor is working for his constituent's interest, to appeal to specific groups of voters, or to immunize the member from opposition criticism (Swers, 2002). In contrast with the multi-dimensional processes inherent in bill sponsorship, members make floor decisions in a "one-dimensional framework" constrained by institutional considerations (Talbert and Potoski, 2002).

Why Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia?

The lower houses of the Mississippi, Maryland and Georgia state legislatures were chosen for this study because in 2001, they each had relatively high percentages of African American and African American female state legislators.[3] In Mississippi, the number of African Americans in the lower house had grown from one (0.8 percent) in 1971 to thirty-five (29 percent) in 2001. Maryland increased in African American representation from fourteen (10 percent) in 1971 to twenty-nine (20.5 percent) in 2001. Georgia's lower house African American membership increased from thirteen (7.2 percent) to thirty-six (20 percent). Female representation in Mississippi and Georgia lagged behind the national average in 2001. In 1971,

there were four women (3.2 percent) in the Mississippi house, ten women (7.0 percent) in the Maryland house, and two women (1.1 percent) in the Georgia assembly (Cox, 1996). By 2001, the female legislator numbers had increased to only sixteen (13.1 percent) in Mississippi and forty-one (22.7 percent) in Georgia, while Maryland had reached forty-six (32.6 percent) (Adams, 2003; Center for Women in American Politics, 2002; Joint Center for Economic and Political Studies, 2001).

Race/Gender- Distinctive Policy Preferences

Much of the literature on women and minorities in elected offices analyzes the types and the quality of representation. Hannah Pitkin (1967) defined *descriptive representation* as the presence of legislators with similar physical traits as an ethnic or gender group. *Substantive representation* is typified by the responsiveness of a representative to his/her constituents. The participation of appreciable numbers of African Americans and women as members of state legislatures is not only a relatively new development in American politics, it is also a new dynamic affecting both descriptive and substantive representation in state legislatures.

African American legislators and female legislators form distinctive and cohesive voting groups (Harmel, Hamm and Thompson, 1983), and therefore, usually bring to the legislative table a set of under-represented opinions and experiences. For instance, women, on average, tend to support Democrats, favor social programs, and oppose militarism, more so than do men (Brady and Sniderman, 1985; Shapiro and Mahajan, 1986). Welch and Foster (1987) found that African Americans are overwhelmingly Democratic, favor affirmative action (Kinder and Sanders, 1990) and oppose the death penalty. Bratton and Haynie (1999) posited that these distinctive preferences among African American and women voters would translate into similar preferences among African American and women policymakers. No longer an exclusive bastion of white males, state legislatures, in recent decades, have come both to look and to act slightly more like the electorates they serve.

Agenda-setting By Race

Research stimulated by the post-Voting Rights Act increase in descriptive representation of African Americans has generally concluded that black representatives do make a substantive difference in state policymaking (Hamm, Harmel, Thompson, 1983; Miller, 1990; Parker, 1990; Carroll, Dodson, and Mandel, 1991; Nelson, 1991; Thomas and Welch, 1991; Kathleen, 1994; Bratton and Haynie, 1999). Hamm et. al., found that minority representatives are not disproportionately active in introducing legislation and that majority members are not substantially more successful in passing their legislation.

When analyzing the activity and success of legislation introduced by African American legislators in

the 1977 Texas and Louisiana legislative sessions and the 1977-78 South Carolina legislative sessions, Harmel, Hamm, and Thompson (1983) found that African American legislators form distinctive and cohesive voting groups. Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson (1989) concluded that members of the black electorate are more supportive than are white voters of anti- discrimination legislation, economic initiatives targeting racial and ethnic minorities, and increased spending for social welfare and public education programs.

African Americans have distinct health concerns (Kahn, 1994; Williams and Collins, 1996; Woods, 1996)[4] and are more likely to face poverty, employment discrimination, housing discrimination and crime (Hacker, 1992; Massey and Denton, 1993). There are also racial differences in political opinions and behavior: African Americans are more progressive, tend to vote Democratic, are more likely to favor social programs and affirmative action and are less in favor of the death penalty (Brady and Sniderman, 1985; Shapiro and Mahajan, 1986; Welch and Foster, 1987; Kinder and Sanders, 1990).

In 1971, Sokolow reported that over twenty-two percent of the health and welfare bills, twenty-one percent of education bills, and eighteen percent of crime bills introduced in the 1969 California state legislature were sponsored by black legislators. Since that time, however, black political attitudes have increasingly diversified and "black issues" have become less clearly defined (Kilson, 1989; Tate, 1993).

Agenda-setting By Gender

In the 1970's and the 1980's, research on women in politics dealt with the problems women faced as candidates and policymakers and the numerical under-representation of women in elected office. The assumption was that, as women's numbers increased, the impact of women's substantive representation in policy outcomes would become greater (Thomas, 1991; Carroll, 2001).

Women's advocacy groups such as the National Organization of Women, Emily's List, and WISH have long held that women have distinctive policy concerns that are more likely to be addressed when women are elected as policymakers (Carroll, 2003; Carroll, 2001). Studies of public opinion and electoral behavior have revealed a substantial "gender gap." Women in the voting public are less supportive of militarism, more likely to oppose the death penalty, more supportive of gun control, more concerned about the environment, more supportive of welfare programs, and more favorable toward laws to regulate social vices such as gambling, prostitution, drugs and pornography (CAWP, 2000c; Carroll, 2001). These policy preferences seem to carry over from voters to policymakers. Thomas and Welch (1991) observed a clear gender gap among state legislators. Using 1988 survey data from 322 members of the lower houses of twelve state legislatures, Thomas and Welch found that women give more priority to issues relating to women, children, families, while men were more likely to focus on issues of business and commerce. Early research on the behavior of women legislators discovered that female policymakers have different policymaking priorities than do their male counterparts, and that they tend to act cohesively in support of these policy priorities (Werner, 1968; Diamond, 1977; Carroll and Taylor, 1989; Mlandenka, 1989). Since

that time, the gender gap has widened and while the number of women policymakers has substantially increased, issues concerning women, children, and families continue to be of consistently higher priority to women office holders than to their male counterparts. Bratton and Haynie (1999) speculate, however, that larger numbers of women in legislatures may cause them to be less likely to act cohesively.

Despite the apparent gender gap, "women's interests" remain difficult to define absolutely. However, the *attitudes* of women policymakers and their policy priorities, taken in the aggregate, continue to differ measurably from those of their male counterparts, even as female numbers increase (Carroll, 2001).

"Double Disadvantage" or "Unique Perspective"?

Much has been written about the peculiar role of African American women as "double minorities" (Githens and Prestage, 1977; Epstein, 1973; Baxter and Lansing, 1981; Carroll and Strimling, 1983; Higginbotham, 1982). Gay and Tate (1998), bell hooks (1984, 1989) and others argue that the "double disadvantage" of being black and female in America has caused African American women to be oppressed by both racism and sexism to the point that they must produce a far greater effort to attain comparable status with white people or men. There are two schools of thought regarding the effects of the "double disadvantage" hypothesis on African American women. One school asserts that "black women must forgo their particular concerns in favor of advancing the situation of black males" (Darcy and Hadley, 1988; King,1975). Here, racism becomes their first priority. The other school asserts that "sexism is an equal or greater barrier to black women and that black women should not subordinate their struggle for equality to any other group" (Darcy and Hadley, 1988; Terrelonge, 1984).

Patricia Hill Collins (1998) claims that the "unique perspectives" afforded African American women in American culture has actively enabled them to become "outsiders within" and reject the burdensome yoke society has placed upon their shoulders in favor of new social roles that are self-defined and self-determined. African American women have obviously endured oppression both as women and as African Americans throughout U.S. history. It is this crucible of experience that has forged a distinctive and prevailing world view among African American women that sets them apart from other racial and gender subdivisions of American culture (Adams, 1999; Adams, 2003).

The recent arrival of African American women in state legislatures is unique in American history. In 1966, Matthews and Protho found that "Negro women tend to be frozen out of southern politics" (p.68). In 1976, Chrisman and Johnson wrote that "if women are scarce in government, minority women are even scarcer." By contrast, black men served in state legislative bodies beginning with Reconstruction, and by 2001 African Americans made up 7.1 percent of the membership of the lower houses of all state legislatures. White women first entered legislative service in 1895 and by the year 2001, women held 23.3 percent of seats in state lower legislative chambers throughout the nation (CAWP, 2002; Cox, 1996). Until recently, the literature regarding black legislators focused almost exclusively upon men, and the

literature on women legislators was the study of a virtually all-white group (Barrett, 1995). It was not until the effects of *Baker v. Carr*[5](1962) and its progeny and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 reached the state legislative level, only in the last two decades or so, that African American women have been elected to the legislative chambers of several states in noticeable numbers (Darcy and Hadley, 1988). In 2002, 2.4 percent of state legislative seats were occupied by African American women (CAWP, 2002).

African American women still represent only a small percentage of the total legislative seats in the country. Today only 245 of the 5,441 lower house seats in state legislatures are occupied by African American women (CAWP, 2006). In 2001, African American women occupied 133 of the 5,440 lower house seats nationwide. In most state legislative bodies, African American female numbers remain extremely small or nonexistent. In 2002, in twelve states, there were no African American female legislators serving in their legislative body (CAWP, 2002). However, in the lower houses of the Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia legislatures, African American women serve as a significant percentage of the membership. In Mississippi, eight of 122, or 6.5 percent of state representatives, are African American women. In Maryland, ten of 141 delegates or 7.1 percent are African American women. In Georgia, thirteen of 180 representatives, or 7.2 percent are African American women. (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 2000-2004; (http:// www.legis.state.ga.us); (http://mlis.state.md.us); Adams, 2003).

While still far short of parity with the African American female population of each state, these percentages constitute sufficient numbers to have an impact on the legislative agenda in each state. African American women legislators provide symbolic, descriptive representation for vast numbers of citizens who had not previously seen individuals similar to themselves in such roles. Beyond that, African American women are providing policy initiatives that substantively represent traditionally under-represented constituencies (Moncrief, Thompson, and Schuhmann, 1991; Barrett, 1995; Barrett, 2001).

Passage of Legislation as a Measure of Effectiveness

If African Americans and/or women are a significant presence in the lower houses of the Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia legislatures and if these legislators are more likely than their colleagues to sponsor social welfare/ progressive legislation, the next logical step in an analysis is to measure the effectiveness of these three categories of legislators in securing passage of the legislation they sponsor. Success in the passage of legislation is an obvious indicator of effectiveness (Francis, 1989). Bratton and Haynie (1999) used bill passage as a measure of success rates of legislators by race and by gender. For the purposes of this study, success in the passage of legislation is achieved only when the legislation actually becomes law. Voters support candidates with the expectation that they will perform effectively in office. A comparison of the success rates of African American and/or female legislator-sponsored bills to the success rates for non-minority legislator-sponsored bills is a key indicator of effectiveness of representation.

Expectations and Explanations

The underlying expectations of this study are that African American legislators, female legislators and African American female state legislators each exhibit distinctive policy preferences, and that the agenda-setting behavior of these groups manifests itself in the types of legislation introduced by members of each group. It is expected that that African American legislators and female legislators will be more likely than their white male colleagues to introduce legislation pertaining to education, health care, children's issues and welfare (Carroll, 2004; Carroll, 2001; Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Thomas, 1991, 1994; Nelson, 1991; Miller, 1990). African Americans and women are likely to seek public office in order to address perceived policy shortcomings in the white male dominated status quo. Education, health care, children's issues, and welfare have traditionally been of lower priority to white men.

Secondly, it is expected that African American legislators will be more likely than white legislators to focus upon minority interest legislation and female legislators will be more likely than male legislators to introduce women's interest legislation (Bratton, 2002; Bratton and Haynie,1999; Sapiro, 1981).[6] The basis for these expectations is rooted in the concept of group interests. Further, this research expects that African American female legislators will be more likely than African American male legislators or white legislators to introduce legislation that focuses upon education, health care, minority interests, welfare, and children's issues (Orey and Adams, 2000; Bratton and Haynie, 1999). This expectation is grounded in the knowledge that African-American women have traditionally played a forceful matriarchal role in the advocacy of family related issues.

Taken as a whole, these differences in legislative agendas are the likely result of the different social/cultural experiences and perspectives of the individual racial and gender groups. This researcher expects that a certain amount of group cohesion is present within each gender and racial grouping.

Regarding passage rates, it is expected that African American legislators will be less likely than their white colleagues to achieve passage of legislation and that African American female legislators will be the least likely to secure passage of bills they introduce (Orey and Adams, 2000; Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Williams, 1964; Bogardus, 1958). One possible explanation for this disparity is a disinclination on the part of white legislators to support legislation introduced by and favoring the interest of African Americans due to social/cultural differences. The phenomenon of "social distance" is defined as "feelings of unwillingness among members of a group to accept or approve a given degree of intimacy in interaction with a member of an outgroup" (Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Williams, 1964; Bogardus, 1958;). Guinier (1994) argues that the mere election of African Americans to office is not enough to advance the African American agenda. She maintains that citizen involvement, a substantial legislative presence, and legislative accomplishments in representation are also prerequisites to African American success in legislative settings.

The final expectation of this research is that female legislators will be as likely as male legislators to achieve passage of the bills they introduce (Bratton, 2002; Kinder and Sanders,1996; Thomas, 1991, 1994; Saint-Germain, 1989).[7] The disparity in attitudes along gender lines is far less pronounced than the gulf

between races (Hacker, 1992; Massey and Denton, 1993). Consequently, female legislators face far fewer obstacles when compared to African Americans. While a gender gap exists, there is a much greater gap between the attitudes of African American legislators and white legislators (Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Harmel, Hamm, and Thompson, 1983).

Hypotheses

One of the objectives of this work is to develop a model to measure the impact non- traditional legislators are making upon legislative bodies. Using original data compiled from the 2001 legislative records of the lower houses of the Georgia, Mississippi, and Maryland state legislatures, six hypotheses concerning the relationship between race, gender, policy preferences and likelihood of passage of sponsored legislation are tested using ANOVA difference of means test. They include:

1. **African American legislators and female legislators will be more likely than their white male colleagues to introduce legislation pertaining to education, health care, children's issues and welfare**.

2. **African American legislators will be more likely than white legislators to focus on minority interest legislation and female legislators will be more likely than male legislators to introduce women's interest legislation**.

3. **African American female legislators will be more likely than their legislative colleagues to introduce bills that focus on education, health care, minority interest legislation, welfare, and children's legislation**.

4. **African Americans legislators will be less likely than their white legislative colleagues to achieve passage of legislation that they introduce**.

5. **Female legislators will be as likely as male legislators to achieve passage of the bills they introduce.**

6. **African American female legislators will be less likely than their legislative counterparts to secure passage of legislation that they introduce**.

Analysis of Data

The data in this analysis consist of all the 4,725 bills introduced in the 2001 legislative sessions of the lower houses of the Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia state legislatures. Only substantive proposals for new laws were counted as bill introductions. Non-binding resolutions, commemorative bills and bills

proposed by the Governor and his agencies were excluded from this analysis.[8]

The number of bills introduced and passed for the 2001 legislative session was gathered from the *Mississippi House Journal Index*, the Mississippi House of Representatives web site (http://www.ls.state.ms.us), the records of the clerk of the Georgia House of Representatives and the Library and Information Services of the Maryland General Assembly. (www.ls.state.ms.us).Data were gathered from the Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 2000-2004, the Georgia House of Representatives web site (http://www.legis. state.ga.us) and the Maryland General Assembly web site (http://mlis.state.md.us) to identify the race and gender of each member.

In the Mississippi House of Representatives, there were 1,712 bills introduced in the 2001 legislative session and only 280 passed into law. In the Maryland House of Delegates Assembly, individual legislators introduced 1,170 bills in 2001, with only 320 bills achieving passage. In the Georgia House of Representatives, 1,843 bills were introduced and 795 achieved passage in the 2001-2002 legislative session. {See Appendices A and B for Bill Content Analyses}

Categories of Types of Legislation

Using Bratton and Haynie's style of categorization, this study coded each bill according to its substantive content, the category "black interest" has been broadened and is called "minority interest" to reflect contemporary changes in attitudes. Modern-day state legislation tends to address minority interests not exclusive to African Americans. Some specific examples include a bill expanding the powers of the Holocaust Commission, a bill amending the American Indian Concerns Council, a bill that recognizes the Southeastern Cherokee Council as a legitimate American Indian Tribe and a bill the prescribes courses on the history of African Americans and Hispanics in the US.[9]

This study concentrates on six issue categories: **minority interests, women's interests, education policy, health care policy, children's policy, and welfare policy**. An additional category labeled "**other**" was included for those bills whose contents were outside the realm of the six aforementioned categories. The "**other**" category is a "catch-all" category that includes legislation pertaining to appropriations, election laws, transportation, criminal procedure, public employees retirement plans, etc. Bills could have been placed into more than one category. However, legislative intent was used as the determining factor for categorization. For purposes of consistency, legislation dealing with domestic violence, rape, the disclosure of sexual assault victims, sexual harassment, and stalking are categorized under "women's interest". Child support legislation is always categorized under children's issues. Legislation pertaining to pornography and obscenity were categorized as child protection policies within the children's interest category. When a distinction was made between primary and secondary sponsor, only primary sponsors were included (though bills could have multiple sponsors).[10]

"**Education** measures generally were those involving education curriculum, institutions of higher learning, education personnel, regulation of students, school board policies and regulations, and the financing of education, from kindergarten through higher education (including vocational and adult education). **Health policy** legislation generally included measures addressing illnesses (including occupational and environmental illnesses): policies regarding the handicapped and disabled: health insurance, Medicare, regulation of medical facilities, personnel, equipment, training, and treatment. **Children's policy** included such issues as juvenile court policy, child protection policy, child care, [child safety], child support, foster care and adoption of children, or children's health. **Welfare policy** included measures that may alleviate poverty and measures regulating government aid to the poor, such as those dealing with public aid, Medicaid, AFDC, utility lifelines, SSI, food stamps, low-income housing, unemployment, minimum wage, workers compensation, and retirement plans.[11] Women's interest legislation includes those bills that may decrease gender discrimination or alleviate the effects of such discrimination, and those that are intended to improve the socioeconomic status of women (Bratton and Haynie, 1999)." Some specific examples include: a bill that encourages the accommodations of breast feeding in public places, a bill that creates a commission on the Economic Status of Women, a bill to increase the number of women's restrooms in state buildings, and a bill protecting victims of domestic violence or sexual harassment.

For purposes of this study, "minority interest" legislation includes those bills that may "decrease racial [or ethnic] discrimination or alleviate the effects of such discrimination, and those that are intended to improve the socioeconomic status of African Americans" [and other minorities] (Bratton and Haynie, 1999). Bills that were likely to have a negative effect on the social, economic, or political advancement of minorities were excluded from the analysis. Similarly, "women's interest" legislation includes those bills that may "decrease gender discrimination or alleviate the effects of such discrimination, and those that are intended to improve the socioeconomic status of women" (Bratton and Haynie, 1999).

While the general focus of this research examines the effects of race and gender in three state legislatures, this work is particularly concerned with the policy preferences/ agenda-setting behavior and passage rates of legislative groups (i.e., white women, African American women, white men, African American men). An underlying premise intrinsic in this work is that different racial, gender or racial-gender groups will focus on different types of legislation, and the success rates in terms of passage of legislation will also vary by racial, gender, and race-gender groups.

Methods

Introduction

The statistical method employed in this research is a difference of means test (one way ANOVA). Difference of means is used to determine if there are significant statistical differences between racial and gender groups and the types of legislation they introduce, and the success rates of the legislation.

When testing hypotheses one, two, and three, the actual bill type (i.e., minority interest, women's interest) serves as the dependent variable. The dependent variable is a calculated score for each bill type also known as the **Comparative Emphasis Ratio (CE** Ratio)**. The CE** ratio is expressed as a compound fraction. The numerator of the compound fraction is the total number of bills in a specific category (e.g. minority interest, women's interest) introduced by a legislator divided by the total number of bills introduced by that legislators in all categories. The denominator is the total number of bills introduced by the entire legislature in a specific category (e.g. minority interest, women's interest) divided by the total number of bills introduced during the legislative session (Adams, 2003).

Four explanatory variables are used to explain racial and gender differences in the terms of introduction and passage of legislation. These variables include RACE, GENDER, AFWOMEN, BLKANDWMN.

RACE: This variable identifies a legislator by race. In the three legislative bodies under study, members are either African American or non-African American. The variable RACE is essential in order to differentiate between agenda-setting behaviors by each racial group. It reveals whether African Americans have a distinctive set of policy preferences which are likely to set them apart from their non-African American colleagues. The variable RACE is coded 1 for African American legislators and 0 for non-African American legislators.

GENDER: This variable identifies a legislator as either male or female. Gender is included as an explanatory variable because women have distinctively different legislative priorities than do men on issues of women, children and family (Bratton and Haynie, 1999). The attitudes of women policymakers and their policy priorities, taken in the aggregate, differ measurably from those of their male legislative colleagues, even as female numbers increase (Carroll, 2001). The variable GENDER is coded 1 for female legislators and 0 for male legislators.

AFWOMEN: This variable differentiates African American female legislators from African American male legislators and white female legislators. This differentiation is necessary in order to determine whether African American women do indeed pursue a distinctively different legislative agenda than that of their legislative colleagues. This variable is included in the analyses because like the larger groups of all women or all African Americans, the group of African American female legislators is likely to reflect the uniquely distinct societal roles of African American women in their agenda-setting behavior. The variable AFWOMEN is coded 1 for African American female legislators and 0 for all other legislators.[12]

BLKANDWM: This variable differentiates African American and women legislators from white male legislators. The shared experiences of non-traditional legislators in seeking to function effectively in a white male dominated institution may create common areas of interest between African Americans and women (Heider, 1958; Bratton and Haynie, 1999). African Americans and women in the legislature may combine their influence on certain issues in order to more effectively counterbalance the contrary influences of the white male majority. White males may have different legislative priorities and passage rates than African American and women legislators. Generally, white males have placed less emphasis on agenda

items addressing women issues, minority issues and children's issues than have non-traditional legislators (Barett, 2001, Orey and Adams, 2000, Bratton and Haynie, 1999). The variable BLKANDWM is coded 1 for African American and female legislators and 0 for white male legislators.

Passage

When testing hypotheses four, five, and six, bill passage is the dependent variable. Individual passage ratios and relative passage ratios are computed to assess a member's effectiveness. The individual passage ratio for each legislator is computed by dividing the total number of bills that legislator has introduced by the number of his/her bills that achieved passage. This measure reflects the individual effectiveness of a legislator. The relative passage ratio for each legislator is computed by dividing the state passage ratio by the individual passage ratio.[13] Relative passage is a measure of how an individual legislator compared to the legislative body as a whole in regard to passage rates.

Findings

The findings in Table 1 seem to confirm some of the assumptions and to refute others set forth in hypothesis one. Hypothesis one makes the claim that African American and female legislators will be more likely than their white male colleagues to introduce legislation pertaining to education, health care, children's issues and welfare. The results in Table 1 suggest that there are no significant differences between African American and female legislators and their white male legislative counterparts when introducing measures pertaining to education and welfare.

African American and female legislators (1.32) were almost twice as likely as their white male counterparts (.766) to introduce welfare legislation, but the differences in the means failed to reach statistical significance. The fact that education does not emerge as a distinctive policy consideration of African Americans and women is consistent with claims in the literature, that education is an issue of near-universal concern across racial and genders lines (Scicchitano and Bullock, 2002). A possible explanation for the insignificant finding regarding welfare legislation is that African American female legislators in the Georgia House of Representatives did not introduce any welfare legislation.

On measures pertaining to health care and children's interest legislation, African American and female legislators were more likely than their white male colleagues to introduce such measures. The differences between the two groups on these measures did reach statistical significance. African American and female legislators were more likely than their white male colleagues to introduce legislation pertaining to health care and children's issues.

Table 2 confirms the assumptions set forth in hypothesis two, which asserts that African American legislators will be more likely than white legislators to introduce minority interest legislation, and that female

legislators will be more likely than male legislators to introduce women's interest legislation. Both the racial and gender components of hypothesis two are confirmed. Table 2 indicates that there are statistically significant racial differences in the introduction of minority interest legislation. African Americans (4.22) are far more likely than are white legislators (.476) to introduce minority interest legislation.

The findings in Table 2 also indicate that there are statistically significant gender differences in the introduction of women's interest legislation. Female legislators (2.36) were five times more likely than male legislators (.403) to introduce women's interest legislation. These results corroborate the findings of Bratton and Haynie (1999) and Orey and Adams (2000) and lend support to the theory of social distance along both gender and racial lines. White legislators do not share the same level of interest in minority interest legislation as do African American legislators, and male legislators do not share the same enthusiasm of female legislators for women's interest legislation.

Hypothesis three posits that African American female legislators will be more likely than their legislative colleagues to introduce legislation that pertains to minority interest, education, health care, children's interest and welfare. The expectation is rooted in the knowledge African American women have traditionally played a forceful matriarchal role in the advocacy of family related issues (Collins, 1998).

According to the results in Table 3, hypothesis three is true only with regards to minority interest legislation. In the combined lower houses of the Mississippi, Maryland and Georgia legislatures in 2001, African American female legislators (8.88) were far more likely than their legislative colleagues (.751) to introduce minority interest legislation. This is a significant finding in that it implies that African American women, in these three legislative bodies, are more in line with the mainstream of legislative agenda-setting than previously thought. On measures pertaining to education, health care, children's interest, and welfare, the mean scores for African American female legislators were modestly higher than those of their legislative colleagues, but the differences failed to reach statistical significance.

The claim made in hypothesis four that African American legislators will be less likely than their white legislative colleagues to achieve passage of the legislation that they introduce is borne out in the data. The findings presented in Table 4 reveal that there are statistically significant racial differences in both the individual and relative passage rates of African American legislators and white legislators. African American legislators were less likely than white legislators to attain either individual passage or relative passage of the legislation they introduced. The finding here tend to lend credence to claims that effectiveness of African American legislators within state legislatures continue to be hindered by institutional norms that disproportionately disadvantage members of minority groups who serve there (Orey and Adams, 2000).

Hypothesis five makes the claim that female legislators will be as likely as their male legislative counterparts to secure passage of the legislation that they introduce. Consistent with this hypothesis, Table 4 presents data that confirms this assumption. According to Table 4, there are no statistically significant gender differences in either the individual or relative passage rates for female and male legislators in the lower houses of the Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia legislatures combined. These findings support the

assertions made by Kathleen Bratton and Michelle Barnello (2002) who finds that women are as equally likely to achieve passage of their legislation as are their male counterparts. The disparity along gender lines is far less pronounced than the gulf between races (Bratton and Haynie, 1999).

Hypothesis six maintains that African American female legislators will be less likely than their legislative colleagues to achieve passage of the legislation that they introduce. The findings reported in Table 5 yield support for hypothesis six in regard to relative passage but not to individual passage. According to the findings in Table 5, there are statistically significant differences in the relative passage rates of African American female legislators and their legislative colleagues. As predicted, African American female legislators were less likely than their legislative colleagues to achieve relative passage of their legislation. Possible explanations for the low passage rates for African American females, relative to other members in the legislatures, is they are the latest arrivals in legislative membership, their numbers in the legislative chambers remain far below the minimum fifteen percent critical mass threshold (Kanter, 1977) and perhaps they are suffering from a double disadvantage of both racism and sexism (bell hook, 1984).

The results in Table 5 offer no support for hypothesis six in regard to individual passage. Contrary to the hypothesis, there were no statistically significant differences between the individual passage rates of African American female legislators and their legislative colleagues. The fact that the individual passage rates for African American female legislators in Georgia (32.9%) and in Maryland (22.1%) were comparatively high, could explain why there were no significant differences between the individual passage rates for African American female

legislators and their legislative colleagues.

Conclusion

State legislatures have changed markedly in their racial and gender composition over the last generation. But what impact has this demographic change made upon the agenda and outputs of state legislative bodies? While multiple factors involving institutional structures and processes, the political cultures of the individual states, and even the personalities of key legislators profoundly influence legislative bodies, the implications of this study would tend to confirm initial assumptions that both race and gender do matter in state legislatures.

African American and female legislators have distinctly different policy-making agendas as state legislators and therefore, bring diversity into the agenda-setting process. In the Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia legislatures in 2001, African American and female legislators were found to be significantly more likely than were their white male colleagues to introduce legislation pertaining to health care and children's issues. African American legislators were far more likely than were their white legislative counterparts to introduce minority interest legislation. Female legislators were five times more likely to

introduce women's interest legislation than were their male colleagues. African American female legislators were far more dedicated to minority interest legislation than were their legislative colleagues.

African Americans were less likely than their white counterparts to achieve passage of the legislation they introduced. Female legislators were as likely as were male legislators to secure passage of the legislation that they introduced. African American female legislators as a group, were less likely to achieve passage of the legislation that they introduced.

The implications of these findings would tend to support the underlying contentions of the social distance theory. The negative impact of race in society and in these legislative bodies is much greater than that of gender as evidenced by the comparable success rates of the two gender groups as opposed to the disparity of bill passage rates by race. African Americans, overall, suffer the effects of social distance in lower passage rates. African American females, the latest arrivals, suffer most acutely from their double disadvantage as is evidenced by their comparatively low passage rates.

The "double disadvantage" theory, as advanced by Gay and Tate (1992), feminist writer bell hooks (1984, 1989) and others, holds that African American women must combat discrimination both as African Americans (racism) and as women (sexism). Their double disadvantage status in a state legislative setting would tend to make it less likely for African American female legislators to achieve passage of the legislation they introduce. The "unique perspective" theory of Patricia Hill Collins (1998) contends that African American women are "outsiders within" and as such, are possessed of an outlook discernibly different from that of women as a group and of African Americans as a group.

As time progresses, it is reasonable to expect that the racial and gender composition of state legislative chambers will increasingly come to be more reflective of the population served by those legislatures. As diversity and gender balance become integral aspects of the legislature, both in culture and in functions, it is likely that diversity and parity will find expression in the overall legislative agenda. It remains to be seen whether social distance along racial lines will be reduced to a point where legislative success will not be overly influenced by the race of the legislator. In view of the "unique" circumstances of being the latest arrivals to legislative bodies, coupled with social distance and the double disadvantage phenomena, it is evident that at least for the foreseeable future, African American female legislatures are likely to continue to be the "outsiders within."

Implications for Future Research

While this research has yielded findings applicable to the three legislative bodies under study for the year of 2001, many questions remain regarding the agenda-setting behavior and effectiveness among non-traditional state legislators. The three legislative chambers selected for this study were chosen because they were, in 2001, and continue to be in 2007, the top-ranked chambers in terms of the percentage of African

American, and/or African American female legislators in their membership. As a consequence, they are the bodies where social distance, critical mass, and double disadvantage phenomena are likely to be evident. The three legislative chambers studied in this work are in no way intended to be representative of state legislative bodes generally, and the specific findings herein discussed are therefore not generalizable.

What this work has done, hopefully, is provide a detailed analysis of the agenda setting behavior and effectiveness among non-traditional legislators in the three lower chambers of Mississippi, Maryland and Georgia, during the 2001 legislative session. This work demonstrates that in the three states studied, the disparities between the legislative agendas of the still-dominant white male group and women, and African Americans, are clearly present. It presents data to support the conclusion that in these states, the success rates for legislation proposed by African American legislators, especially African American female legislators, are below the institutional norms.

Again, this study examined legislative behavior for only one year, and involved only three of the ninety-nine state legislative chambers in the United States. A truly comprehensive analysis would include legislation from sessions over a period of multiple years, and would involve all state legislative chambers, or at least a representative sample including chambers from several regions, sizes, population patterns, per capita income levels, and general political culture. An even more ambitious application of this research model to all fifty state legislatures would include other minorities, particularly Hispanic legislators, and would provide a massive data set with which to test the hypotheses further. Such an in-depth analysis, undertaken with a companion survey of attitudes among state legislators, would provide a fertile field of data for study into the changing institutional norms, folkways, and patterns of legislative agenda-setting in state legislatures today. An application of this model to national parliaments and federal-state legislative bodies around the world could yield data that would shed light on the agenda-setting behavior and effectiveness of non-traditional legislators in the broadest possible range of circumstance.

APPENDIX A

Bill Content Analysis, 2001

TABLE A.1

Mississippi Legislature Bills - Total Bills Introduced

Minority Interest Legislation	Women's Interest Legislation	Health Care Legislation	Education Legislation	Welfare Legislation	Children's Interest Legislation	Other	Total Bills Introduced
20	18	114	188	42	77	1253	1712

TABLE A.2

Maryland Legislature Bills - Total Bills Introduced

Minority Interest Legislation	Women's Interest Legislation	Health Care Legislation	Education Legislation	Welfare Legislation	Children's Interest Legislation	Other	Total Bills Introduced
10	13	146	146	32	91	732	1170

TABLE A.3

Georgia Legislature Bills - Total Bills Introduced

Minority Interest Legislation	Women's Interest Legislation	Health Care Legislation	Education Legislation	Welfare Legislation	Children's Interest Legislation	Other	Total Bills Introduced
19	18	113	271	20	83	1319	1843

APPENDIX B

Bill Content Analysis for Race/Gender Groups, 2001

TABLE B.1

Mississippi Legislature Bills – Total Bills Introduced By Race and Gender

Legislature Bills Introduced	African American Female	White Female	African American Male	White Male
Minority Interest Legislation	3	0	16	1
Women's Interest Legislation	3	3	8	5
Health Care Legislation	2	10	22	79
Education Legislation	18	4	45	121
Welfare Legislation	5	11	12	23
Children's Interest Legislation	7	6	16	48
Other	17	69	254	904
Total Bills Introduced	55	103	373	1181
Total Bills Achieving Passage	1	20	52	207

APPENDIX B

Bill Content Analysis for Race/Gender Groups, 2001

TABLE B.2

Maryland Legislature Bills – Total Bills Introduced By Race and Gender

Legislature Bills Introduced	African American Female	White Female	African American Male	White Male
Minority Interest Legislation	2	1	2	5
Women's Interest Legislation	0	10	0	3
Health Care Legislation	12	40	16	78
Education Legislation	13	40	16	77
Welfare Legislation	4	5	4	19
Children's Interest Legislation	4	20	32	35
Other	60	177	68	427
Total Bills Introduced	95	293	138	644
Total Bills Achieving Passage	21	81	37	181

APPENDIX B

Bill Content Analysis for Race/Gender Groups, 2001

TABLE B.3

Georgia Legislature Bills – Total Bills Introduced By Race and Gender

Legislature Bills Introduced	African American Female	White Female	African American Male	White Male
Minority Interest Legislation	8	2	4	6
Women's Interest Legislation	2	4	0	12
Health Care Legislation	4	28	8	73
Education Legislation	10	47	13	201
Welfare Legislation	0	4	3	13
Children's Interest Legislation	6	16	8	53
Other	34	152	69	1063
Total Bills Introduced	64	253	105	1421
Total Bills Achieving Passage	21	96	31	647

Table 1.

Mean Scores for Introduction of Legislation by Race-Gender Groups in the Lower Houses of the MS, MD, and GA Legislatures

	African Americans and Women n = 172	White Male Legislators n = 274	Sig.
Education Interest	.952	1.01	.643
Health Interest	1.15	.802	.039
Children Interest	1.23	.736	.010
Welfare Interest	1.32	.766	.125

Source: *Mississippi House Journal Index* and the Mississippi House of Representative web site (http://www.ls.state.ms.us). The Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 2000-2004. Maryland's General Assembly web site; General Assembly of Maryland Sponsor Index of Proposed Legislation, 2001 Session. Georgia's House of Representatives web site; Georgia's House of Representatives Public Information Office.

Table 2.

Mean Scores for Introduction of Legislation by Race and by Gender in MS, GA, and MD

	Black Legislators n = 100	White Legislators n = 346	Sig.		Female Legislators n = 103	Male Legislators n = 343	Sig.
	Race				**Gender**		
Minority Interest	4.22	.476	.000		2.76	.881	.013
Women's Interest	.328	1.01	.253		2.36	.403	.001

Source: *Mississippi House Journal Index*; Mississippi House of Representatives web site (http://www.ls.state.ms.us); Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 2000-2004. Maryland's General Assembly web site; General Assembly of Maryland Sponsor Index of Proposed Legislation, 2001 Session. Georgia's House of Representatives web site; Georgia's House of Representatives Public Information Office.

Table 3.

Mean Scores for Introduction of Legislation by African –American Female Legislators Compared to Other Legislators in the Lower Houses of the MS, MD, and GA Legislatures

	African American Women n = 31	Other Legislators n = 415	Sig.
Minority Interest	8.88	.751	.000
Education Interest	1.06	.984	.748
Health Interest	1.08	.925	.635
Children Interest	1.19	.905	.438
Welfare Interest	1.76	.922	.225

Source: *Mississippi House Journal Index* and the Mississippi House of Representative web site (http://www.ls.state.ms.us). The Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 2000-2004 . Maryland's General Assembly web site; General Assembly of Maryland Sponsor Index of Proposed Legislation, 2001 Session. Georgia's House of Representatives web site; Georgia's House of Representatives Public Information Office.

Table 4.

Mean Scores for Passage of Legislation by Race and by Gender in MS, GA, and MD

	Black Legislators n = 100	White Legislators n = 346	Sig.		Female Legislators n = 103	Male Legislators n = 343	Sig.
	Race				**Gender**		
Individual Passage	.224	.310	.004		.298	.289	.763
Relative Passage	.759	.981	.025		.934	.930	.965

Source: *Mississippi House Journal Index*; Mississippi House of Representatives web site (http://www.ls.state.ms.us); Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 2000-2004. Maryland's General Assembly web site; General Assembly of Maryland Sponsor Index of Proposed Legislation, 2001 Session. Georgia's House of Representatives web site; Georgia's House of Representatives Public Information Office.

Table 5.

Mean Scores for Passage of Legislation by African-American Female Legislators Compared to Other Legislators in the Lower Houses of the MS, MD and GA Legislatures

	African American Women n = 31	Other Legislators n = 415	Sig.
Individual Passage	.219	.296	.120
Relative Passage	.622	.954	.040

Source: *Mississippi House Journal Index*; Mississippi House of Representatives web site (http://www.ls.state.ms.us); Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 2000-2004. Maryland's General Assembly web site; General Assembly of Maryland Sponsor Index of Proposed Legislation, 2001 Session. Georgia's House of Representatives web site; Georgia's House of Representatives Public Information Office.

Notes

[1] The Comparative Emphasis Ratio (CE Ratio) is a ratio computed for each legislator that is expressed as a compound fraction. The numerator of the compound fraction is a total number of bills in a specific category (e.g. minority interest, women's interest) introduced by a legislator divided by the total number of bills introduced by that legislator in all categories. The denominator is the total number of bills introduced by the entire legislature in a specific category divided by the total number of bills introduced during the legislative session. This calculation is an indicator of the relative attention given by each legislator to each category of legislation.

[2] In both her 1995 and 2001 articles on African American women in state legislatures, Edith Barrett relies on survey data. Only Democrats were included in her survey, because "all members of the primary population of interest— African American female legislators---- were Democrats" (Barrett, 1995; 2001). The questionnaire consisted of thirteen policy issues and a 4-point Likert scale was employed. In Wendy Smooth's (2001) dissertation entitled "Perceptions of Influence in State Legislatures : A Focus on the Experiences of African American Women State Legislators," she relies on a national survey of African American women state legislators and case studies of GA, MD and MS in examining the impact of race and gender in determining state legislators' influence. Debra Dodson, in her work, "Acting for Women: Is What Legislators Say, What They Do?", uses data from a national survey of female state legislators and their male colleagues to explore how the interaction of gender and feminism influences policy attitudes and how these factors affect the likelihood of legislators reshaping the agenda.

[3] The three states with the most African American members in their state legislature are Mississippi (45),

followed by Georgia (43), Maryland (38) (Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2001). The numbers are (35), (36), and (29) respectively for the number of African Americans in the lower houses of these legislative bodies. Georgia (13), Maryland (10) and Mississippi (8) also account for the highest number of African American women in the lower houses of their state legislatures (Center for American Women and Politics: African American women in 2002).

[4] According to Bratton and Haynie (1999), in the information obtained from the US Department of Health and Human Services 1994, the health concerns of African Americans include a racial gap in life expectancy, a slower rate of decline in heart disease among blacks than whites, and a racial gap between infant mortality rates. They assert that women's distinct health concerns include breast, ovarian, and uterine cancer, and other reproductive health issues.

[5] The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in this case that the federal courts had the power to review legislative apportionment in the states. Prior to this decision, state legislative districts were malapportioned and not balanced according to population.

[6] Sapiro defines the term "women's issues" as usually referring to public concerns that impinge primarily on the private (especially domestic) sphere of social life and particularly associated with children and nurturance.

[7] Evidence supports the critical mass thesis that holds that women act more distinctively once their numbers reach a certain level and that they forge a greater impact once a certain minimal threshold is achieved.

[8] In Maryland, bills listed as "departmental or administration" are bills proposed by the Governor and his agencies. These bills are omitted from the study because the researcher is only interested in substantive bills introduced by legislators.

[9] These examples were taken from the Georgia Legislature. They are HB 723; HB 1337; HB 415; and HB 1173, respectively.

[10] Six members of the Mississippi House of Representatives were not primary sponsors of any legislation in 2001: representatives Larry Baker, Mary Coleman, Reecy Dickson, John Hines, David Livingston, and Chester Masterson. (Representative Hines did not take office until the 2001 legislative session had been underway for three weeks.) In the Maryland House of Delegates, four members failed to sponsor legislation in the 2001 session. They include Representatives Adrienne Jones, Ruth Kirk, Samuel Linton, and Richard Palumbo. The six members in Georgia's House of Representatives who failed to introduce legislation in the 2001-2002 session include: Representatives Ellis Black, George DeLoach, Michael Muntean, Danea Roberts, and Ron Sailor.

[11] Legislation pertaining to public employees retirement systems or public employees insurance programs were placed into the "other" category. Only those bills that addressed general retirement or insurance

issues were placed into the welfare interest category. This was done in order to keep all legislation pertaining to public employee personnel matters in the "other" category.

[12] A variable called GENRACE was created that combine GENDER and RACE variables in order to differentiate between the four racial/gender groupings. Each racial/gender group was given a number that ranged from 1 to 4.

[13] The state passage ratio is computed by dividing the total number of bills introduced within the entire legislative body by the total number of bills that achieved passage.

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Representations of Oslo Intelligentsia: A Fanonian Reading of the Intellectual Landscape in Post-Oslo Palestine.

By Haidar Eid

> Were I to use one word consistently along with criticism, (not as a modification but as an emphatic) it would be oppositional.

> -- Edward Said (1983)

In order to analyze the intellectual background that has led to, justified and flourished after the signing of the degrading Oslo accords, one needs some definitions and clarifications that will clarify some of the most spectacular--and related-- events of the twentieth century, i.e., the disintegration of colonialism, the establishment of Israel as a colonial project, the spread of neocolonialism, and the globalizing spread of American imperialism in the post-colonial world, especially in the "Middle East".

The definitions one has in mind focus on the intimate relationship between economics and politics since these are the major factors that determine the characteristics of the historical conditions shaping the age. Moreover, it is undoubtedly difficult to understand the current intellectual scene without having a kind of historical perspective through which the observer can comprehend, not to say analyze, the so-called "New Middle East". I argue in this paper that Oslo intelligentsia is not different from the so-called "post-colonial" intelligentsia in terms of ideology, demagogy, opportunism and false consciousness despite the fact that we cannot claim that we are living in a post-colonial Palestine. The conduct of those intellectuals is far from national and historical responsibility.

In their introduction to Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory, Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman define colonialism as "the conquest and direct control of other people's land [and as] a particular phase

in the history of imperialism, which is now best understood as the globalization of the capitalist mode of production, its penetration of previously non-capitalist regions of the world, and destruction of pre- or non-capitalist forms of social organization". (1993:3)

This is a representation of the capitalist desire to gain--or rather capture--new markets and control sources of raw materials regardless of the rights of the native nations, who are in many cases expelled from their lands by the use of mythological justifications, and on the basis of their nonexistence. The early postcolonial era brought a different kind of colonialism, a kind that is named neo-colonialism, and defined as "[the] continuing Western influence, located in flexible combinations of the economic, the political, the military and the ideological (but with an over - riding economic purpose)..." (Williams & Chrisman, 1993:3) The common ideological factor between colonialism and neo-colonialism, as parts of imperialism, is the presumption of the superiority of the Judeo-Christian/white/western colonial over the Oriental/ Black/native colonized, and the right of the former to oppress the latter who is created only to reaffirm the superiority of the Western race.

"Where there is power, there is resistance", Foucault's famous formulation helps us to theorize the political and, hence, the cultural resistance, represented in different forms. Within this context, it is worth quoting Frantz Fanon's definitions of the role of the "native intellectual" during the "fighting phase":

> [T]he native, after having tried to lose himself in the people and with the people, will... shake the people. Instead of according the people's lethargy an honored place in his esteem, he turns himself into an awakener of the people; hence comes a fighting literature, and a national literature. (1990:179)

However, this is not the case with the other kind of intellectuals who, according to Fanon's theorization, "give proof that [they] [have] assimilated the culture of the occupying power. [Their] writings correspond point by point with those of [their] opposite numbers in the mother country. [Their] inspiration is European [i.e. Western] ..." (1990:178-9)

One cannot deny the fact that the Palestinian anti-colonial/resistance movement is a part, not to say the product, of a collective national heritage, i.e. national culture. Again one here cannot but refer to Fanon who defines national culture as "the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify and praise the action through which the people has created itself and keeps itself in existence." (1990:188) This, of course, can be comprehended when we recall the fact that the Zionist entity in Palestine is based upon the negation of the existence of the native Palestinians and, hence, the nonexistence of their cultural identity. Furthermore, national and historical consciousnesses are always accompanied by the discovery of universalizing values concerning nationalism. That is, national consciousness is a part of, not to say a step towards, international consciousness. (Fanon, 1990:198-9)

"To be or not to be" is the stark choice to which colonized peoples are pushed; in other words, the denial of the culture of many peoples (Palestinians and Africans, for example) is undoubtedly the direct result

of the social Darwinist negation of the right to exist of the colonized people. In an extreme contempt for the Palestinian people, Golda Meir--the former Israeli prime minister-- said: "There was no such thing as Palestinians... They did not exist." (qtd in Ribhi Halloum, 1988:37), a response that parallels Salazar's affirmation that "Africa does not exist". Of course, the negation of the "Other" leads to the negation of her/his humanity: "But they are not human beings, they are not people, they are all Arabs/[Africans]."(David Hacohen, as qtd. in Ribhi Halloum, 1988:.37) Hence the denial of the culture and the historical development of the colonized Palestinians is a reflection of the negation of their existence. This can, in fact, be understood as the product of the colonizer's attempts to repress the cultural life of the Palestinians by either negating it, or alienating some intellectuals by assimilating them, or activating an inferiority complex. It is noteworthy in this particular case that the colonizer is not only the Israeli but also the American. The intellectuals' assimilation of the Western mentality makes them look down upon the Palestinian/Arabic cultural values as backward, and they lose any hope in the power of the masses. What such intellectuals intentionally tend to forget is what Amilcar Cabral insists on reminding us about culture:

> ...culture - the creation of society and the synthesis of the balances and the solutions which society engenders to resolve the conflicts which characterize each phase of its history - is a social reality, independent of the will of men, the color of their skins or the shape of their eyes. (1993:61)

Such assimilated intellectuals never try to open up new possibilities for the future because what they see is only the civilizing values of modernity which they see as imperialism's positive, reconstructive and basically human face; hence their faith in the Imperialist American mediation. They can never create new ways of seeing and experiencing reality except the Western way. That is to say, their approach does not look away, like resistance approach, towards an alternative future. The late Edward Said, whose writings were banned in the PA areas in the early 1990's, Mahmoud Darwish, Hisham Sharabi, Adel Samara, Ahmed Qatamesh, Azmi Bishara, Mustafa Barghouthi, Abdel Bari Atwan--to mention but a few-- offer the alternative.

As Said would argue, the role of this intelligentsia

> has an edge to it, and cannot be played without a sense of being someone whose place it is publicly to raise embarrassing questions, to confront orthodoxy and dogma (rather than to produce them) to be someone who cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations, and whose *raison d'etre* is to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug. (1994:11)

Conscious organic intellectuals--to use Gramsci's term (1986)--bear the Palestinian past as, what Said calls," scars of humiliating wounds, as instigation for different practices, as potentially revised versions of the past tending towards a post-colonial future, as urgently reinterpretable and redeployable experiences, in which the formerly silent native speaks and acts on territory reclaimed as part of a general movement of resistance, from the colonist." (1993:.256) The process through which, then, the revolutionary intellectual

passes is an awareness of one's self as belonging to a subject people, i.e. the discovery of the insight of nationalism. (Fanon, 1993) Nationalism, within this context, "is a mechanism for liberation, unity, development […] and not the chauvinistic nationalism of the reactionary classes." (Samara. 2003:27) Decolonizing cultural resistance insists on the right to see the Palestinian history whole, coherently, integrally. It also reflects a kind of national and historical consciousness that Palestinians are in a position to do something about their own present and future history.

The political consciousness of oppositional Palestinian intelligentsia reflects the general development of the Colonized Palestinian national consciousness. On the other hand, the lack of accurate political consciousness and the search for individual solutions--the major characteristics of the complicit intelligentsia--contradict the collective national situation of the colonized Palestinians. Political consciousness usually follows action in a dialectical spiral movement; political consciousness starts with the rejection of conditions of life in camps and Diaspora; of rejection of the objective alternatives which should change with the change of the individuals; of rejection of what is offered to a small sector of the people. Indeed, class consciousness plays a crucial role in the intellectual's understanding and involvement in the struggle in the sense that it is dialectically related to the struggle for national liberation.

When the intellectual's society reaches a historical cross roads-- "to be or not to be"--in its fight for a clear definition of its identity, the intellectual should be involved in the whole socio- political process and leave his ivory tower, a remark made by the Hungarian philosopher George Lukacs. Given the clear-cut Manichean situation witnessed by the older colonial period and the hard-won self-definition, that the older colonial period witnessed, and the hard-won self- definition of the first period of resistance, i.e., in the 60's with the emergence of the Contemporary Palestinian Revolution, the gains of the two Intifadas ought to be kept, defended and sacrificed for. Both kinds of intellectuals, conscious/organic and complicit/traditional, reflect a kind of political awareness, from different angles--the former progressive and the latter reactionary. In fact, historical, political, national and ideological records of both, separately, intertwine and illustrate each other.

The Question of Palestine: One vs. Two-State Solution

One of the major differences between the two intellectual camps is the suggested solution to the Palestinian question; that is the two-state versus a unitary state solution. Oslo intelligentsia argues that the only solution to the Israeli-Palestine conflict is the establishment of two-states; an independent Palestine on 22% of Mandatory Palestine. And yet this solution does not take facts on ground into account. They maintain that the only way to reach independence is through negotiations, though such negotiations for ten years have not moved the Israeli position at all. The impasse negotiations have reached has proven the oppositional camp correct. The establishment of a Palestinian state is not mentioned in any of the clauses of the Oslo agreement, thus leaving the matter to be determined by the balance of power in the region. This balance tilts in favor of Israel, which rejects the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state, in spite of

its recognition of the Palestinian people and its national movement (PLO). No Israeli party, neither Labour nor Likud or Kadima, is ready to accept a Palestinian state as the expression of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. The Labour Party is prepared to negotiate with the Palestinians in order to give them an advanced form of self-rule that will be called a state, and through which the Palestinians will be enabled to possess certain selected features of independence, such as a Palestinian flag, a national anthem and a police force. This was Ehud Barak's 'generous' offer in Camp David. The Kadima Party, on the other hand, is not prepared to give the Palestinians anything like self-rule. Their vision of the future, like that of the Likud, is rather that the Palestinians should be allowed to run their own affairs under strict and binding Israeli tutelage.

Inevitably, as Said pointed out, the Oslo agreement did nothing to limit Jewish settlement activity in the West Bank. On the contrary, it has continued since the signing of Accords, as do the confiscation of land and the opening of zigzag roads to service these settlements. (There are roads for settlers and roads for native Palestinians.) Israeli governments, including Labour, have never been willing to commit themselves to the evacuation of all settlers from the West Bank. Yet this is a basic pre-condition for the creation of an independent Palestinian state, especially in the light of Israel's obligation towards the settlers which drives it to control the greater part of the West Bank, in order to guarantee the security of the settlements and ensure their future development. Furthermore, in any future solution it is certain that Israel will invoke its security needs to justify continuing to tighten its control over the Jordan Valley, thus rendering the Palestinian project impossible. Add to that the return of 4.5 million refugees living in the Diaspora, and the question of Jerusalem.

So the real question is whether a sovereign, independent Palestinian state is indeed unattainable? If not, for the reasons mentioned above, is there then an alternative solution? Here comes the role of the oppositional intellectual. One answer that is increasingly to be found in the writings and pronouncements of certain Palestinian intellectuals and politicians is the idea of a binational, secular-democratic state in Mandatory Palestine in which all citizens are treated equally regardless of their religion, race or sex.

Such a program poses a very serious threat to the ethno-religious nature of Israel as "the state of the [Ashkenazi] Jews". Put differently, this solution calls for a secular definition of the state-- "the State of all of its Citizens." Recognizing the exclusivist Jewish nature of the State is the precondition for being welcomed in the Israeli parliament, Knesset. There is no Israeli nationality, while Israel continues to define its national character as Jewish and not Israeli, which effectively excludes all Palestinians and "non-Jews" living in Israel. This, as noted by numerous UN Committees and Human Rights Organizations, encourages discrimination and accords second class status to Israel's non-Jewish citizens.

A serious comprehensive solution to the Palestinian question will not, therefore, neglect the 1948 Palestinians and those who were expelled and dispossessed of their lands in 1948, namely, refugees living in miserable camps. The mechanism by which such serious issues can be resolved is not a Bantustanization *a la* apartheid South Africa, as suggested by the signatories of the Oslo Accords. Rather, a secular democratic binational state where all citizens are treated equally regardless of their religion, sex or color, is the

right solution that would bring an end to the conflict.

The anti-Oslo intellectual is what the Oslo intelligentsia is NOT, i.e. commitment combined with a political vision and a clear-cut ideological program. The latter is prepared to recognize a "Jewish state" alongside a Palestinian State regardless of what this means, namely the discriminatory practices applied by Israel against its non-Jewish, i.e. mainly Palestinian citizens and residents since 1948. Whereas, the former's program makes the necessary link between all Palestinian struggles against the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank and against Israel's ethnically-based displacement, dispossession, discrimination and rights violations of more than one million Palestinian citizens, as well as the 1948 externally displaced refugees, who are entitled to return, restitution, and compensation.[1]

Ideological Underpinnings

The two different ideological prescriptions offered to us by both intellectual camps force one to reflect on the validity of each. Studying the two prescriptions leads to a dangerous area full of ideological Western mines that are not ready to accept and even exclude the "they" that is not a part of "us". This is the product of the accumulation of a racist colonial mentality that has controlled the Western mind since 1492,i.e, the beginning of colonialism, as we have been taught by Said and Fanon. Nowadays, determining to prevent regional "Third World" consensus from emerging, after the success of many national liberation movements, the West has renewed the old form of colonialism with a new kind of imperial colonialism--the Gulf war is a good example.

The contemporary human society has been placed on the threshold of a qualitatively new era that is at present controlled by the assimilated intellectual's alternative, especially after the collapse of the pre-Stalinist model of socialism.[2]Of course, the Western/Zionist "Enlightenment" project cannot be understood without understanding the development of capitalism from the industrial to the post-industrial stage of electronics and information; a stage at which there is no place for "Third World" peoples, according to the complicit intelligentsia. However, the challenge presented by the early success of the Soviet Union and the victories of a series of national liberation movements as a whole, are factors which seem to support the revolutionary potential for a radical change. Moreover, the failure of the attempts at capitalist development in a series of "Third World" countries, including many Arab countries, leaves many questions unanswered concerning the validity of such advices.

The primacy of industrial production and the omnipresence and universality of class struggle are the ideological labels of the missions of both kinds of intellectuals. Each of them, in their own concrete approaches, focuses on the economic domination and its social product of power and resistance; in this sense, the underside of colonial and neo-colonial culture is blood, torture and death. In fact, the traditional intellectual's acceptance of the role and the dictation of the imperialist powers is contradicted by the oppositional intellectual's affirmation that there is a need to rebel against the already existing system

controlled by the rich and powerful.

The ideal model of the assimilated intellectual--i.e. the West-- representing the rich, powerful North has invented and devised all means and subterfuge to keep what it has unjustly gathered, and to exploit and abuse the work of the South/"Third World". It then legitimizes these unjust gains through such post-colonial complicit intelligentsia--"America has the solution; "Oslo is the only option left for us";" Gaza will be the Singapore of the New Middle East!;" If the labour party wins the elections, we will be able to establish an independent state"; "Likud is the reason behind the failure of Oslo"... etc.

One really doubts the efficacy of the so-called neo-liberal projects, defended by some intellectuals, in the Developing countries, including the PA areas. If we are invited to adopt the system that is claimed to be the only system that deals with (wo)man as s/he is, we are, then, led to the Western model of capitalism. However, if the Western model of capitalism is the only way of achieving prosperity, one should not forget how this victorious civilization materialized and was shaped regardless of the price paid by humanity. The establishment of the contemporary Western civilization, and its "democratic copy" in the Middle East, was crystallized on the corpses of millions of people and through inhuman exploitation of hundreds of millions of human beings in the colonies. Today Black Americans still confront racism on a daily basis; the Palestinian economy is still dependent on Israel, and the South African government was "forced" to ignore its RDP "Reconstruction and Development Programme" which mobilized the Black masses, and adopt GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution)--the neo-liberal programme accepted by the World Bank and the IMF.

As Samir Amin argues convincingly((1976; 1977), this advice has led many Developing Countries to corruption, fundamentalism, consumption, low living standard, huge class gaps, national debts and--most importantly--dictatorial regimes supported by the West. The "post- colonial" world is a world that is controlled by a huge gap between the North and the South in such a way that the masses in the South cannot find any hope in a real peaceful socio-economic change. Again, the oppositional conscious intellectual should offer the alternative that takes the social and historical objective conditions into account; an alternative which affirms that Jaber Ibn Hayyan and Averoes are as much a part of the human heritage as they are of the Arab Islamic one.

Many anti-globalization activists have been arguing that what we should do is depend on our powers in a relentless struggle against the existing order with all its injustice and hegemony. This is a motivation for the people to seek an alternative to what, for example in the Palestinian case, the Oslo Accord and the Road Map are offering, by proceeding on the basis of their own concrete reality, cultural heritage, and history without losing the straightforward historical movement.[3] Fanon again: "The colonized man who writes for his people ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis for hope. (1990:187) What Oslo intellectuals offer us has nothing to do with such a positive agenda; on the contrary, in the name of pragmatism and realism we are asked to accept our slavery and appreciate it as long as it has the USA trade mark.

Notes

[1] For a better understanding of the one-state solution see Edward Said's "Third Way" in Al- Ahram Weekly, 2001 source: http://www.mediamonitors.net/edward9.html. And his article "One State" January 10, 1999, Sunday, Magazine Desk, New York Times. Virginia Tilley's *The One- State Solution* is another thorough research on the feasibility of such solution.

[2] Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* and Francis Fukuyama's *End of Histor*y are the major components of such ideological orientation.

[3] See Adel Samara's *Epidemic of Globalization: Ventures in World Order, Arab Nationalism and Zionism* (2002*)* for a comprehensive debate on Globalization, neo-liberalism and the Israel/Palestine conflict.

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Twenty Years in the Making: The Palestinian Intifada of 1987.

By Yashar Keramati

Abstract

Why did the *Intifada* of 1987 take place? The independent variable which I analyze in this article will be the multifaceted oppression brought upon by Israel in the 20 years following its illegal occupation of Palestine after the Six Day War of 1967 which bottled-up Palestinian grievances and denied them their desires for self-determination, leading to the dependent variable at hand, the *Intifada* of 1987. After 20 years of occupation and its multidimensional detriments, the Palestinians wanted their sovereignty from the Israeli occupation which harshly affected all aspects of their lives. With a combination of long term frustration and lack of alternative avenues to pursue their ambitions, they finally rose up. It is recognized that no major conflict is mono-causal, and the *Intifada* is far from being an exception to this trend. However, the subjugation of the Palestinian people by Israel following the Six Day War was the foremost cause of the *Intifada* and thus acts as a necessary condition for the conflict in that it would have been exceptionally unlikely that the *Intifada* of 1987 would have taken place without the circumstances imposed by Israel after 1967. The oppression ensued by Israel took four key forms: economic, social, ideological, and political. Hence, Israel's authoritarian conduct towards the native Palestinian population will be examined in depth in four separate categories. Firstly I will discuss the severe economic frustration suffered by the Palestinians due to Israeli policies. Next, the continuous and day-to-day social misery the Palestinians suffered at the hands of the Israeli military government and settlers in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be explained. Following this, Israel's denial of Palestinians ideological ambitions will be taken into account. Finally, I evaluate the effects of Israel denying Palestinians political freedom and how this pushed Palestinians towards perusing their political objectives by other means. Subsequently, I take into account important sufficient causes for the making of the conflict and how they acted as catalysts for the *Intifada*. These are the abandonment of Palestine by her former Arab allies and the eventual and new belief by Palestinians in the 1980s that Israel's militarily could be damaged and thus Israel could be forced to stop its oppressive ways and grant them the freedom and autonomy which they were desperately seeking all along.

Introduction

Some have argued that the *Intifada* took the form of an "outside-agitator model" which, according to Charles Tilley, entails a leader from the top provoking and rallying otherwise indifferent and non-violent masses to rise up from the bottom.[1] Another theory which is invoked regarding the *Intifada* is one that argues it took a "volcanic model". This theory which was explained by Rod Aya simply argues that groups of people with long-term frustration and a natural inclination to revolutionary action spontaneously and collectively burst out, like a volcano, with hostility and violence.[2] While this may be a tempting stance to take regarding the *Intifada*, it has many shortcomings as a sufficient and appropriate theoretical framework for the conflict at hand. This is because this explosive volcanic model fails to scrutinize the crucial and complex interplay of social, political, economic and many other forces which amounted to the eventual "eruption" in 1987. Rather, another model formulated by Tilley referred to as the "political process model" seems most fitting. This model argues that, according to Jamal R. Nassar and Heackock, the collective violence of the *Intifada* simply constitutes one form of collective action and thus "constitutes politics by other means" in contrast to it being "abnormal behavior". They go on to argue that the uprising was deliberate, calculated and undertaken for practical reasons and not simply to vent in regards to oppression but rather due to an intricate relationship between long standing levels and types of subjugation incurred and a continuous drive for freedom. They go on to explain that the political process model recognizes that the failure to legitimize and accommodate a people's long term grievances via legal or political institutions can lead to a change in the oppressed peoples' tactics. This failure can, over time, accumulate to dangerous levels due to a lack of proper and non-violent route of achievement of just and viable resolutions.[3] The *Intifada* of 1987 is consistent with the dimensions and the logic of the political process model.

However, in order to get a clear understanding of why and how the 20 year long illegal occupation of Palestine amounted to an unbearable level of frustration and dire vigor for change, eventually resulting in the *Intifada*, it is essential to have a clear understanding of the consequences that the Six Day War of 1967 had on the Palestinians immediately after the Gaza Strip and West Bank were take over by Israel.

A Brief History of the Aftermath of the Six Day War and its Immediate Consequences for Palestinians

Following Israel's victory in the Six Day War, an immediate military occupation took place, taking control over the entirety of less than half of Palestine which remained since being carved apart in 1948 in favor of creating of Israel at the behest of Palestine.[4] Israeli soldiers, tanks, and artillery fortified by barricades and sandbags were dispersed throughout all of Palestine. However, there was more to the control of Palestine than merely a military occupation. Israel also pursued a vigorous and rapid settlement plan within the newly taken lands. One reason for the establishment of the settlements can be seen as based on military strategy: by having a military occupation of Palestine a barrier is formed with Arab neighbors,

safe guarding Israeli land at the price of using Palestine as a shield.

Another consequence of the Six Day War was Israeli civilian theft of land from Palestine. This was done by religious Zionist settlers who believed that all of what was Palestine before Israel's creation in 1948 was in fact god's gift to the Jewish people and that it belonged to them. The 1967 war was immediately interpreted as a prophecy by these religious visionaries and they quickly, with or without the help of the Israeli government depending on the case, began to move to Palestine and occupy lands which, in their eyes, were bestowed to them by god. The first movement to be formed in pursuit of these religious settlements at the cost of Palestinians' land and livelihood was The Greater Israel Movement which declared that the lands were to be taken in god's name, at all costs, and to never be returned again. David Newman, an expert on religious Zionist movements, explains the mentality of these settlers following the 1967 war:

> Their territorial irredentism was based on a religious ideology which viewed the whole of the Land of Israel, as described in the biblical texts, as having been promised to the Jewish people by God and, once conquered (or, in their terms, 'liberated') in the 'miraculous' events of the Six day war in June 1967, not to be relinquished voluntarily to any form of non-Jewish (Arab) rule even through the democratic decisions of an elected government.[5]

The space that was once the Palestinians' homes had quickly become a military zone controlled by a hostile occupier and hijacked by religious zealots who claimed that, in fact, it was never the Palestinians' land in the first place. These were the initial consequences of Israel's victory in 1967 and they manifested into very detrimental living conditions for the Palestinians -- which were present in every aspect of their lives regardless of sex or class. One aspect can be observed in how the occupation hindered the economic freedom of all Palestinians regardless of class.

Discriminative and Arbitrary Economic Regulations

The economic conditions which were created by Israel in the occupied territories over the 20 years substantially contributed to the frustrations of the Palestinians in many ways, and thus, contributed to the eventual build-up that manifested itself in the form of the *Intifada* which resulted in the Palestinians rising up so as to "shake off" (which is the English translation of the Arabic word "*Intifada*"[6]) their oppressors' burdening of them.

The economic policy geared towards the occupied people took two forms. The first economic policy introduced by Israel attempted to pacify the Palestinians. Tensions were high, a military occupation was in place, and the settlers made life very difficult for the Palestinians. With this in mind, the occupying government attempted to distract the Palestinian people by giving them economic incentives in return for their cooperation as subordinates. Markets were opened to Jordan. During this phase the occupied territories were the second biggest export market for Israel after the US[7]. However, as Ruth Beitler explains,

this tactic was only effective in the short run. While the occupied economy did grow, the Palestinians did not cease to be aware of their unjust situation. This happened for two reasons. First, the Palestinian economy, although enlarged due to the Israeli ploy, was still insufficient to support the population as a whole. Second, Beitler explains that the Palestinians noticed that they were in a state of dependency in relation to Israel and were not content with such a dynamic.[8] This is consistent with Palestinian desires for sovereignty. Moreover, dependence on Israel was against nationalist desires and thus added to Palestinian frustrations.

The other aspect of Israel's economic policy towards Palestinians which contributed to the build up of the *Intifada* existed in its grossly exploitative treatment of Palestinian migrant laborers who worked in Israel after 1967. Figures have shown that during harvest seasons as many as 250 000 Palestinian laborers were working in Israel. Others show that 39 percent[9] of the total Gaza Strip workforce and 35 of the West Bank's[10] were working in Israel as well as 35 percent by 1987. The treatment and experience of these people which was at the mercy of Israel greatly affected the views and positions working class Palestinians later took towards Israel during the *Intifada*. On average, migrant workers from Palestine who worked within Israel only received between 50 and 70 percent of what their Israeli counterparts received for doing the same job.[11] This was a serious predicament for Palestinians who were under the rule of Israel, yet were mistreated compared to their Israeli counterparts. Certainly such circumstances over a long period brew much anger and fuelled a desire for a just change. Another economic policy which victimized Palestinians was the lack of recognition by Israel of Palestinians being anything more than temporary workers. Palestinians were routinely arbitrarily fired from their jobs regardless of seniority. This was all made possible due to official Israeli policy which denied Palestinians any rights as workers within Israel.[12]

Furthermore, racial policies aimed against Palestinian migrant workers further fermented animosity. Under Israeli law, migrant workers who slept in Israel overnight were not allowed to walk freely in Jewish areas. Moreover, if migrant workers were caught outside after midnight they were subject to fines and imprisonment.[13] Further, the economic realm of Palestinians' lives was routinely hindered by Israeli policy, leading to a feeling of despair in other areas of their lives as is the case with the intertwined nature of all people's economic situations in relation to other parts of their everyday lives.

But perhaps the biggest contribution Israeli economic policy had in regards to the experience of migrant workers and the build-up towards the *Intifada* was that Palestinians had the chance to see what life was like outside of their imprisoned lives. Migrant workers saw that they could be living independent lives and making more money for the same work like their Israeli counterparts. Their exposure to Israeli policy motivated them to strive for more because the non-Palestinians working next to them, doing the same work, were much better off. Everyday the Palestinians saw what they could and should have, due to the fact that they mixed with their economically emancipated Israeli counterparts on a daily basis.[14] Furthermore, the fact that they were economically discriminated against for no justifiable reason further frustrated the already subordinated Palestinians. According to Toby Shelley, the Palestinians saw their lack of economic freedom after the Israeli occupation as a serious detriment to their lives, and being face to face with their punisher from day to day did anything but calm their fervor towards the need for change.

Israel's confiscation of Palestinian land after the Six Day War further inhibited the Palestinians economically as they lost work places as well as income-generating farms. This lead to either unemployment or necessitating Palestinians to work within Israel and both of the circumstance were highly distressful for the occupied people. As pointed out by Nassar and Heacock, in addition to the confiscated land of East Jerusalem, over 52 percent of the West bank as well as over 30 to 40 of the Gaza Strip came under Israeli military installations or settlements.[15] However, the Palestinian lands which were taken and controlled by the military and settlers did not only harm the Palestinians economically, but also socially.

Habitual Social Oppression at the Hands of Settlers and Military Occupation

Day in and day out following the illegal occupation of 1967 Palestinians were subjugated to mental, verbal, and physical abuse at the hands of those Israelis who occupied their land: the soldiers and the settlers.

Palestinians were treated as second class citizens by Israeli occupation forces in their own homeland. Ariel Merari, Tamar Prat, and David Tal concur that Palestinians felt personally humiliated because they were regarded, at gun point, as hostile and vicious people until proven otherwise.[16] Thomas M. Ricks, a modern cultural historian of Palestine describes the agonizing military presence in the occupied lands in the following way:

> The checkpoints and roadblocks throughout the occupied West Bank, estimated to be over 400, are placed between Palestinian towns and villages, between villages and highways, and, at times, multiple roadblocks are placed between refugee camps, villages, and towns. In comparison, there are only a dozen checkpoints between the Occupied Territories and Israel proper. The great disparity led most Palestinians to conclude that the purposes of the 'little hills' of dirt, movable spiked anti-tire barriers, and concrete blocks that are placed on roads used only by Palestinians are there not to protect Israelis as much as to humiliate and harass the Palestinian civilian population for no apparent security reasons.[17]

Such daily treatment by a foreign, powerful, and intimidating occupier over a 20 year span would undoubtedly not only create a desire for change, but also an ample amount of abhorrence towards the oppressor. Everyday exposure to not only the treatment but also the sight of this kind of abusive occupation understandably continually reinforces a rebellious psyche.

While volumes can be written on the abusive ways of the Israeli occupation forces, the actions of the settlers must also be taken into account. The machinegun- touting Israeli settlers who took over much of Palestine after 1967 verbally and physically abused Palestinians of all ages as well as their property and land, and often under the protection of the Israeli occupation forces. While Palestinians are not allowed to be armed, it is odd to find an unarmed settler. The settlers' racist attitudes towards the Palestinians were a further source of social injustice. This racism is vastly documented. For example, Abraham Isaac Kook,

the founder of the most prominent settler movements after the Six Day War, Gush Emunim, and the leader of the settlers has said "The difference between a Jewish soul and souls of non-Jews--all of them in all different levels--is greater and deeper than the difference between a human soul and the souls of cattle."[18] Allan Brownfeld described just a few actions of these settlers explaining that to pursue its goals, terrorism was permissible in the eyes of Gush Emunim settlers. He then documents how in 1980, the Jewish Underground, a secret society of militants, booby-trapped the cars of three mayors of Arab towns, leaving two of them severely maimed. Furthermore, in 1983, gunmen killed three students and wounded 30 at Hebron's Islamic college.[19] These are only two of many atrocities undertaken by settlers in the occupied territories. With Kook being one of the more liberal leaders compared to the likes of Meir Kahane of the Kach movement, one can understand why the abuse Palestinians took during the 20 year occupation continuously brought them closer to the brink of an uprising. While the settlers and occupation forces were detrimental to the lives of the Palestinians' social freedom and protection from social abuse, the occupiers also attempted to crush the Palestinians' nationalist sentiments, further frustrating them while motivating them towards a push for sovereignty.

Denial of Ideological and Nationalist Ambitions for a Palestinian Identity

Israel's denying the Palestinians' desires for an autonomous national identity was another major point of agitation which eventually surfaced in the form of the *Intifada*. Palestinians have had a history of being under the control of others, be it the Ottomans, British, Jordanians, or Egyptians but under Israeli rule they found themselves to be stripped of their Palestinian identity. Furthermore, while under the rule of other powers they maintained their own land. However, with the war of 1967 the Palestinian's land became occupied as well as inhabited by Israeli forces and settlers, which was particularly distressing and entirely new. This was a particularly sensitive issue for the Palestinians as they had already lost more than half of their lands to Israel in 1948. The loss of land after 1948 was still an open and painful wound for the Palestinians and land seizures following the 1967 occupation also acted as salt and lemon juice for the Palestinians' injuries. Nassar explains this aspect of the occupation in the following way:

> During the earlier phase, Palestinian political culture was characterized by its emphasis on the lost homeland and the dream of "Return." It was alienation from the homeland that gave the Palestinians their most powerful common cultural bond. Now, after the defeat of 1967, Palestinians began to combine their longing for the "Return" with emphasis on the maintenance of their identity[20]

After the Six Day War, Palestinians were routinely denied an identity which only furthered their resolve to be an autonomous people with a very strong identity. This was logically impossible if the Palestinians were under foreign occupation and rule. To make matters worse, even the United Nations which advocated the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories in the UN Security Council Resolution 242 made no mention of the Palestinian people except as refugees[21]. Israel, however, actively did the most to crush

the Palestinians' goal of achieving their own sovereign identity. Nasser documents this in the following way by referring to

> Mrs. Golda Meir's infamous speech of 1969. In it, she said: 'It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them.' The Israeli Prime Minister after 1967 proclaimed, 'They did not exist.' In addition, Israeli occupation authorities were busily strangling Palestinian expression in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Together, these activities prompted Palestinians everywhere to emphasize their own identity.[22]

Prime Minister Begin said "The term West Bank means nothing. It is Judea-Samaria. It is Israeli land belonging to the Jewish people."[23]

Such rhetoric by the heads of Israel speak volumes about the lengths Israel went to deny Palestinians an identity but practical actions were also taken to destroy a culture and to leave the Palestinians without any nationalist individuality. Cultural strangulation took many forms such as the way it was manifested in restrictions on freedom of expression within peaceful public gatherings opposing the occupation and calling for a nationalist endeavor, repression of education by censoring pro-Palestinian teachings, suppression of literature and art which often took the form nationalist poetry, and the curtailment of symbolic national expression such as wearing or displaying the colours of the Palestinian flag[24]. Moreover, universities were closed by the occupying power without notice on the grounds that they were havens for the development of national consciousness.[25] Nassar explains how the Israeli government went as far as removing the word "Palestine" from school textbooks and replacing it with "Israel". He also documents how Palestinian products and cultural symbols were being marketed by Israel internationally as Israeli.[26] According to Samira Meghdessian, an underground system of oral and popular communication developed to reinforce national identity. The fact that the movement went underground following Israeli repression illustrates a build up and resistance to Israeli rule.[27] As the build up became larger, it could no longer be encompassed underground and thus was a supporting factor in the outbreak of the *Intifada*. Art, poetry, and prose took on a symbolic character to avoid censorship according to Meghdessian. This deepened the consciousness of the Palestinians and was influential in creating the culture of the *Intifada*. The frustration of the Palestinians regarding censorship was not limited to the repression of nationalist consciousness; political and legal action against Israeli occupation was also common practice after the Six Day War.

Blockade of Political and Legal Avenues to Achieving Freedom

During the 20 year illegal occupation of Palestine following the Six Day War Israel suppressed all attempts of Palestinians to gain their autonomy via political and legal channels. This facet of Israeli oppression led to mass violent channels of the Intafada.

One tactic of political repression deployed by Israel was of deportation. During the 20 year build up leading to the *Intifada* thousands of Palestinians who went against the grain of the Israeli political policies were kicked out of their motherland. These deportations, according to Eytan Gilboa and Manuel Hassassian of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, included politicians, mayors, and activists[28]. According to Nassar the expulsion of nationalist Palestinian figures became even more intensified with the election of 1977 when the Likud's Menachem Begin's Israel brought a new approach to Israel's behavior. Nasser goes on to say that "Several mayors were ousted from office, others were expelled from the country, and yet others faced attempts on their lives or were maimed."[29] By deporting the very group of people who tried to bring about political change Israel believed that it was extinguishing the growing fire of Palestinian frustration. In reality, and as the breakout of the *Intifada* displayed, the deportations and therefore the closing of political and legal avenues for change lead to the avenue of violence in the objective of gaining freedom.

Legal institutions were useless and unjust. The most prominent example of such an institution can be seen in the military government which ruled over the occupied territories. With little discrimination and never with a sound explanation the military government would, for example, grant settlers land which belonged to Palestinians. Palestinians did not have a say in the manner. Palestinians' only avenue of any opposition to Israel's rule was solely through the Military Objections Committee. Without much surprise, this Committee consisted of the same members of military government[30]. Politically, the rulers were the judge and the jury and the Palestinians were always subject to Israel's unilateral decisions. The legal impediments the military government had on the Palestinians' political freedom extended to the very basic needs of the Palestinian people such as freedom of expression, use of water, mobility rights, construction of buildings, investment, and much more. Denial of political rights resulted in mass irritation for the Palestinians who were trying to reach their aims in a peaceful manner. Being denied such a path to the goals made them turn towards, and thus learn the use of, violent tactics[31].

Another example of political repression can be witnessed in the banning of the National Guidance Committee which sought the self-determination of Palestinians. At the same time, Palestinian political parties, demonstrations, and gatherings of more than 10 people were outlawed by the occupying power.[32] Contact with the Palestinian Liberation Organization who were nearly unanimously recognized by the Palestinians as their sole representative, was made illegal by the occupying power after 1980.[33] As of 1987 over 4700 political prisoners were held inside Israeli prisons.[34] Furthermore, Israeli abuse of the legal system resulted in the arrest of 200 000 people out of the 1.7 million Palestinians in the occupied territories during the 20 year occupation.[35] Israel's demonstration that not only were the Palestinians subject to Israeli will, but also that there was no disputing or negotiating it, caused the already bottled up frustration of the Palestinians to boil over into what became known as the *Intifada*. Additionally, certain actions by Israel as well as Palestine's Arab neighbors accelerated the emergence of the *Intifada*.

Abandonment of the Palestinian Cause by Former Arab Allies

Prior to the Israel's victory in the Six Day War, Palestine's Arab neighbors took up many relentless and largely unsuccessful campaigns against Israel. Comparative to all of her neighbors, Palestine was by far the weakest but nonetheless allied with the other Arab countries against Israel. The repeated crushing of the Arab countries by Israel eventually shifted the Arab's defiant and pugnacious behavior towards Israel to one of truce regardless of resentment. This was clear in a few different ways. For one, Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979[36]. This sent a clear signal to Palestinians that Egypt had significantly eased its stance against Israeli oppression of Palestine. A Similar hint was sent Palestine's way 6 years earlier when in 1973, the entire Arab League recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people[37]. This was very significant as it displayed that the former caretakers of the Palestinian people were disconnecting themselves from the role of Palestine's defenders. While many other similar incidents took place during the 20 year occupation, the two most significant and relevant, especially considering their timing in regards to the break out of the *Intifada*, took place in 1986-1987. First, in February of 1986 King Hussein of Jordan condemned the PLOs policies and severed ties with Arafat[38]. Furthermore, before the Intafada Jordanian ties to Palestine were constantly detonating faster and worst than any Arab neighbor Palestine had.[39] Second, and much more importantly, the issue of Palestine was left out of the Arab League summit of 1987 which was held in Amman.[40] These behaviors of Palestine's former protectors had one vital effect: it sent a significant signal to the Palestinians which demonstrated that Israel would no longer be fought on behalf of Palestine by her neighbors. Thus, Palestinians knew that they had to take matters into their own hands and that, for the first time since the creation of Israel; they could no longer depend on Arab neighbors to free them from their frustrations and deliver them autonomy nor initiate a battle against Israel. Therefore, one catalyst for the Intafada was abandonment of Palestine by her Arab neighbors. Thus, beyond an overload of frustrations, the Palestinians also came to full grips with the fact that they had to be self- reliant in the conflict against Israel and for the first time take their own action. Understandably, this facet of the Intafada also strengthened the Palestinians autonomous and nationalist sentiments[41].

Belief that Israel could be Made to Concede to Nationalistic Palestinians

Israel was largely seen as an invincible force for most of the 20 year occupation leading to the *Intifada*, however, key downfalls of the military war machine inspired Palestinians to believe that Israel could indeed be defeated. One key event which supported this view was the poor Israeli outcome following the war in Lebanon in 1982. Israel had to retreat from the invasion of Lebanon due to strong Lebanese resistance. Amos Perlmutter wrote accurately in 1982 when he said that the Lebanese war had put Israel in a state of self doubt and made it too tired to fight.[42] This Lebanese ordeal, according to Nassar and Heacock broke the myth of Israeli invincibility.[43]

Another incident which signaled a gap in the Israeli war machine took place in November of 1987 when a Palestinian hang-glider penetrated Israel's Northern border by landing in a military base and killing

6 soldiers before being killed himself[44]. Thus, the Palestinians who were greatly mistreated and frustrated and who were coming to learn that they had to be self-reliant in order to achieve their freedom saw just what they needed: an Israeli weak point. Weakness in Lebanon was interpreted by Palestinians as a signal that Israel's jugular was more exposed than ever and that it would be strategically beneficial for Palestinians to show their teeth and attack. The tragic incident on December 8th, 1987 which saw an Israeli vehicle kill 4 Palestinians[45] was the spark which set the Intafada, due to its supporting causes and catalysts, into motion after 20 years of a boiling frustration and oppression at the hands of a military and civil occupation.

Conclusion

The affects of the accumulation of the abuse, oppression and marginalization the Palestinian people suffered over two decades became blatantly obvious with the outbreak of the Intafada. Given the harsh circumstances that Palestinians were faced with, one cannot be surprised that they finally and collectively struck back. Rather, the only question one is left asking is why did the Palestinians not stand up in the face of oppression earlier? Following the occupation which came after the Six Day War, the Palestinians entered a completely new and unique phase of their modern existence which entailed adjusting and coming to terms with the new and distant role that Palestine's Arab neighbors played in regards to her cause which, prior to 1967, had without exception been taken up on her behalf by her Arab allies against Israel ever since it was created in 1948. With this independence and increased passion for self-determination as a new mode of Palestinian thought, the rarely before seen signs of Israeli military weakness also accelerated the speed at which the first largely self-sufficient, reactive, and nationalist Palestinian uprising took place.

However, these factors would be irrelevant had Israel not occupied and treated the Palestinians as it did after 1967. Israeli policy, presence, and action within the illegally occupied territories created an unbearable atmosphere for the Palestinians. Mental, verbal, and physical abuses were widespread during the two decades of occupation and came at hands of both the military occupation and the religious settlers. All institutions further marginalized the Palestinian people, be it via gross economic oppression or education reforms which sought to teach Palestinians that they were non-existent peoples, and everything in between. This was an unprecedented new low for the Palestinians. The Israeli occupation dramatically changed the lives of the native population and virtually all aspects of Palestinians' lives were obstructed. The age old desire for freedom was met with more oppression, leading the Palestinians to be even more angry and determined to bring about a just change. Frustrations continuously grew and all outlets to accommodate the Palestinians' aspirations and needs were denied. Israel's denial of Palestinian efforts to win their human rights and autonomy via peaceful avenues left Palestinians with the option of pursuing their political agenda by violent means. Given the accumulation of grievances, over-looked ambitions, and aggravation which came about due to an all encompassing and overwhelming mistreatment that the Palestinians were faced with in every aspects of their lives for the 20 years of occupation, the eventual opting for the use of a violent avenue became more and more likely and was steadily viewed by the Palestinians as not only a

desired path to travel, but also a viable one given the circumstances which were imposed on them.

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Religious Zionist Female Settlers and Participation in Warfare and Violence.

By Yashar Keramati

Introduction

While patriarchy still has a strangle-hold on all of the nations in the world, it is safe to say that Western societies have moved much closer to equality amongst the sexes in comparison to other societies. However, even in these best of circumstances, gender roles, beliefs, and stereotyping still exist. One example of this is the common perception that war is always an act of masculine culture. This essentialist thought presumes that violence is only an expression of males, and thus, by default argues that females are by nature peaceful and non- violent unlike their male counterparts. The following will attempt to refute this largely universally accepted belief by showcasing the violence utilized, taught, and believed in by religious Zionist female settlers in the hijacked territories of Palestine. While it is significantly easier to select women in Western societies to prove that war and violence are not always acts of masculine culture, this author believes that by selecting religious Zionist female settlers for the case study a profoundly stronger argument is made. This is due to the fact that these women live in a strictly patriarchal, conservative, and traditional society which is, according to those who believe that violence is always a demonstration of masculine culture, far less likely to allow women to participate in this "masculine" realm of violence. The argument will be explained in linear episodes in the following order. Initially, this essay will explain the history, roots and beliefs of religious Zionism. Next, it will account for how religious Zionism became violent and what its consequences were. Finally, the last transition will be explained: how women support and engage in the violence and how vigorously they live by their violent values in the lands acquired illegally by the religious Zionists of Israel. Furthermore, it will be also argued that women play a large role in the spread of violence due to the role they play in the domestic realm in regards to raising children which enables them to teach their young to utilize various forms of violence as well.

1. Religious Zionism: A Brief History

1.1 Rise of Zionism as a Political Movement

To get a clear understanding of religious Zionism it is essential to first clarify what Zionism itself is. Fundamentally, Zionism was the political movement[1] started by Theodor Herzl, an Austro-Hungarian journalist who at the age of 18 moved to Vienna. This political movement sought to find a home in Palestine for the international Jewry. It was sparked due to an anti-Jewish[2] row in France in the 1890s which saw a Jewish French military officer be wrongfully accused and convicted of treason. His name was Alfred Dreyfus and the incident came to be known as the "Dreyfus Affair"[3]. This event also saw a strong surfacing of anti- Jewish sentiment exemplified by rallies and marches with anti-Jewish slogans written and verbalized. This shocked Herzl and many other Jews around the world who viewed France as one of the epicenters of enlightenment and justice, and thus, a safe haven. The Dreyfus Affair motivated Herzl to start a mass movement to establish a nation and asylum within Palestine for Jews around the world. At this point it is also necessary to clarify that Herzl himself was a well known atheist. Thus, it must be understood that one can be a Jew by religion or by culture and ethnicity. While it is possible to be both, Herzl was clearly of the second grouping. Although Herzl was an atheist, he attempted to appeal to all Jews to accept and support his movement even though the core of Zionist movement consisted of secular Jews.

However, according to Yihudah Mirsky "Most rabbis of the time, though, understandably viewed Zionism as at best a distraction and at worst a dangerous heresy, an act of self-assertion sure to anger both God and the Gentiles"[4] The reason for this rejection by religious figures was that in their belief, the creation of a Jewish homeland was against the desires of god and thus completely unacceptable. Judaism believes that before the world is saved all Jews will return to the land they departed thousands of years ago due to their wrong doings. However, it is god who is supposed to bring the Jews back. Gary A. Anderson, Professor of Old Testament/Hebrew Bible at the University of Notre Dame explains this facet of Judaism well:

> "when the movement started nearly all religious Jews opposed any effort to establish a Jewish homeland. To be sure, the prayer book used on the Sabbath and festival days was chock-full of petitions for the day when God would gather His people from the four corners of the world and draw them to the land He holds so dear. But those prayers were all cast in highly theocentric terms. The end of the Diaspora was to be accomplished by the hands of the Holy One, not by mere mortals. And certainly not by mortals who had little or no interest in the life of the Torah as it was traditionally understood."[5]

Nevertheless, as it has been the case with every major religion in history, there were those who interpreted the religious writings differently and thus had the scripts justify and mold around their own convictions and objectives.

1.2 The Emergence of Religious Zionism

While most religious figures rejected Zionism as blasphemy, with some rabbis saying that Zionism was "sacrilege" and was "forcing the End"[6] which the messiah was supposed to naturally bring about, there were still the rare cases of rabbis supporting the idea of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The founder of the religious Zionist movement was a rabbi by the name of Abraham Isaac Kook who was born in Latvia in 1865 and immigrated to Palestine in 1904. While the other rabbis were saying that the establishment of a Jewish state showed disrespect and disbelief in god's salvation powers, Kook took the chance here interpret the Torah differently. Kook's argument can be summed up by the following: the Jews were being sent back by god as to initiate his return and to prepare god's home for his arrival. Basically, Kook told his followers that the messianic age when god would save the world was soon to and this depended on the Jews' return to what was then Palestine. While most rabbis were saying the migration was blasphemy Kook said that it was god's will. The camps were divided, yet both claimed they were devoutly perusing what god wanted.

The anti-Zionist rhetoric did not stop here though. There next question to Kook enquired at to why it was that Zionism's followers were mostly secular Jews if god, according to Kook, wanted his religious Jews to go back to the land and prepare for their god which these atheists did not believe in? One of Kook's early contradictions, of which there were many to follow during his life teachings, was found. His rebuttal was weak: secular Zionists were carrying out God's will--unknowingly, despite themselves--and would eventually return to faith.[7] Thus, Kook's teachings claimed that all of those who migrated, religious or non- religious, consciously or subconsciously, were in fact preparing for the messianic age and that one day when god decided he would make them realize that they were in fact doing his work under his command all along.

But Kook's teachings did not solely contrast the goals of Zionism as perused by Herzl on religious grounds. Rather, while Herzl did not necessarily want all of Palestine for the establishment of the home land, Kook's teachings claimed that the messianic age would be incomplete unless all of Palestine was controlled by Jews. This was what god wanted, of course.

1.3 Expansionism

Kook died in 1935 but his teachings were carried on fiercely by his son Tzvi Yehudah Kook until his death in 1982. Kook's teachings taught that all of Palestine was to become that of the Jews; however, in 1948 when Israel was carved out of Palestine, the lines were drawn. Although more than half of the best land of what used to be Palestine was given to a small minority of Jews, the mission of the religious Zionists was far from over and they were anything but satisfied. The religious Zionists continued to preach messianic prophecies about the near arrival of god. All that was keeping the messiah away, according to these prophetic religious Zionists, was the lack of Jewish take-over in the smaller and fractured remnants of what

remained of Palestine in the forms of the Gaza Strip, West Bank, as well as the Syrian Golan Heights. The religious Zionists therefore sought to push the boundaries of Israel to the borders of Jordan and north to the Golan Heights in Syria. With the fierce conviction that this was god's will they continued to interpret every daily occurrence or political move as being with or against their expansionist movement. Everything was a sign from god. However, the fact remained that after getting hold of Israel in 1948, the religious Zionists had not realized any expansion of the new Jewish homeland which, according to them, was absolutely crucial for them to reach their end: salvation. At the same time, they were not in a political or military position to conquer land on their own. Consequently, as the years wore on, their rhetoric and interpretation of "signs" regarding their expansion into Palestine became less and less credible.

This is perhaps why the Six Day War of 1967 was of unprecedented value to the religious Zionists. The aftermath of the war saw, amongst other things, Israel taking complete control of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan heights[8]. For the religious Zionists, this was it. God had spoken. This was the ultimate sign. According to the religious Zionists, the Jews had prevailed in capturing the lands necessary for the return of god. This is when the building of the settlements which are still illegal to this day under international law began. The first new settlement built on Palestinian land after the Six Day War took place in Hebron. The religious Zionists saw it not only as their right, but their duty, to take these lands even if it was illegal or occupied by the indigenous Palestinians who lived there for centuries[9]. Gershom Gorenberg explains that for the religious Zionists, such as the younger Kook, "The Six-Day War of 1967 turned belief into ecstasy: Israel's might and the conquest of the Temple Mount, Hebron and other land promised to the Jews in the Bible proved that history had entered its final, miraculous act."[10] For the heavily armed and protected religious Zionists the task of hijacking land was easy, especially given the fact that the Palestinians were now completely weakened. Mel Frykberg sums up the take over of the first new settlement in the following way:

> The history of the Hebron settlements goes back to the Six-Day War of 1967 when a group of Jews disguised as tourists, led by Rabbi Moshe Levinger, took over the main hotel in Hebron and refused to leave. They later moved to a nearby abandoned army camp and established the settlement of Kiryat Arba. Afterwards Levinger's wife led 30 Jewish women to take over the Daboya Hospital (Beit Hadassah) in central Hebron in 1979. Before long this received Israeli government approval and further Jewish enclaves in the city were established with army assistance.[11]

2. Religious Zionism's Post 1967 Violence, Prejudice, and Expropriation

2.1 Shift to Overdrive in Settlement Establishment

The largest religious settlement movements to come about directly after the Six Day War were known as Gush Emunim or "Bloc of Faithful" started by Kook Sr.'s son, Zvi Yehuda[12], and the Kahanist movement

which followed the teaching of yet another rabbi, Meir Kahane[13]. Even from the unorganized early days after the Six Day War, these religious Zionists aggressively pushed for expansion at any cost and their forte and prime goal was establishing as many settlements as possible. They lobbied political parties to support their movement and help them set up settlements[14]. They threatened to go forward with or without their support and they did just that as in the early days because, unlike the Knesset's full support today, government support was either hidden or sporadic. They saw the victory of the Six Day War as their window of opportunity to fulfill their visions and they were now ready to push on at any cost because for them no cost or act was too horrific if it is done in the name god, specially at a time when god had given them their most significant sign and gift of victory. In fact, in such a circumstance, it would appear far from horrific in their eyes; rather, given the circumstances, it was divine. The shift to this mentality is largely responsible for the turn to violence amongst the religious settlers. They continued to set up settlements but when Israel went into talks with Egypt and Syria regarding withdrawing from only portions of the land it had illegally occupied after the Yom Kippur War of 1973 the Gush Emunim and Kahanist followers became livid. They believed god had given them the captured lands and any withdrawal or peace agreements regarding the land were strictly blasphemous and counter-prophetic[15]. Brownfeld explains the reaction of one prominent Zionist rabbi during this period: "Rabbi Schneerson always supported Israeli wars and opposed any retreat. In 1974 he strongly opposed the Israeli withdrawal from the Suez area. He promised Israel divine favors if it persisted in occupying the land."[16] The post Yom Kippur War marked the first time since israel had to negotiate with its Arab neighbors regarding land and instead of this weakening the religious Zionists' advance, it pushed them into overdrive, motivating them to set up settlements in Palestinian lands with utter disregard for what the Israeli government proposed and especially what kind of harm was done to the Palestinians. They believed that they were ideologically under attack and this drove them to a new limit of permissible actions. Ungodly forces were working against them. Their god was being disrespected. Interestingly, the religious interpretations became twisted once again; the Palestinians became regularly interpreted as non-human, and thus unworthy of any consideration or rights, amongst the religious Zionists.

2.2 Religious Zionism's Violence and Increased Prejudice

While Kook proved himself to be a racist through numerous texts he wrote such as, for example, "The difference between a Jewish soul and souls of non-Jews--all of them in all different levels--is greater and deeper than the difference between a human soul and the souls of cattle"[17] he seems like Gandhi compared to his Gush Emunim and Kahanist counterparts of the 70s. Gershom Gorenberg, an academic with expertise on the settler movement, interviewed Kahane two years before his death and as his transcript shows Kahane and his followers were nothing short of supremacists. Gorenberg shares that

> [f]or Kahane, God's reputation in the world was purely a function of Jewish might. If Jews were killed, he said, God looked weak; if they were strong, the Name got good press. Letting Arabs remain in the "land of the Jewish people, God's land," was a desecration of the Name,

Kahane told me in 1988.[18]

Kahane also said that Arabs are ''dogs'' and ''slime.''[19]. In the same way, Israel's leaders agreed. It is easy for a bigot such as Kahane to be able to say such things when in 1982 Menahim Begin, the 6th Prime minister of Israel, stated publicly to the Israeli Knesset that Palestinians "are two-legged beasts"[20]. If that alone was not enough motivation for the religious Zionists then Dror Etkes, a member of the Israeli movement Peace Now, quotes and incriminates Rabin saying ""We shall never forbid any Jew to live wherever he wants in the land of Israel"[21]. Such messages gave the Zionist settlers a very bright green light to do as they pleased, and they have. It is a sad, twisted and scary irony that Kahane's teachings resemble the supremacy displayed by the Third Reich. Rabbi Lior who is yet another fanatical clergyman who is associated with the Gush movement has said that medical experiments may be carried out on "captured Arab terrorists"[22]. Without saying, this is a vividly sad flashback. An example of this irony can also be observed when in the book *Forty Years* which Kahane authored in 1983 he wrote "drive out the Arab ... cleanse the Temple Mount" for he said that god had told them that the Jews had forty years to take all of Palestine or else his Jewish followers would be met by a "holocaust, more horrible than anything we have yet endured" [23] at the hands of god. There is a loud echo from that message which calls for ethnic cleansing.

Perhaps then it should not come as any surprise that Dr. Baruch Goldstein, the man who entered a Mosque in Hebron during Ramadan, 1994, and shot dead 29 while injuring 150 during prayers was a devout Kahane follower[24]. It would be extremely short-sighted to believe that such acts represent only the madness of one person and are not supported within large circles of people, most significantly amongst religious settlers. Gary Cooperberg, the public relations director of Nir yeshiva, a settler group in Qiryat Arba, commented on the massacre. He said that Goldstein's rampage was a "desperate act of love for his people ... [it] will someday be recognized by all Jews as the turning point which brought redemption upon us."[25] This mentality is once again showcased when Rabbi Moshe Levenger, a community leader in the West Bank, was asked if he was sorry for the 29 murdered. He proudly declared: "I am sorry not only about dead Arabs but about dead flies."[26] The most famous example of the lengths these religious Zionists will go to can be documented with the assassination of former Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzchak Rabin, by a Kahanist named Yigal Amir. On the topic of Rabin's assassination Zeev Sternhell, political science professor at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, writes "His assassination gave a tragic dimension to a fact that hitherto many people had refused to admit: that Israel has its Brownshirts too"[27] Menachem Lorberbaum accurately sums up the type of mentality of these religious Zionists when he says

> An entire Orthodox generation has been taught that territorial compromise of the Holy Land is as grave a transgression as idolatry, incest or murder, and is subject to the injunction yehareg v'al ya avor--suffer death rather than commit these crimes. But the distance between what one is willing to die for and what one is willing to kill for, the young assassin Yigal Amir has shown us, is dreadfully short.[28]

This "dreadfully short distance" is not any longer when it comes to the beliefs and actions of religious Zionist female settlers.

3. Religious Zionist Female Settler's Violent Engagement in the Prophetic War

3.1 Verbal and Mental Abuse

Before moving forward, it is important to keep in mind that all of the movements, actions, and beliefs discussed earlier have applied to women, but at this point, all attention will be turned to religious Zionist female settlers alone. Even though religious Zionists live by very traditional and patriarchal beliefs and practices, the females in the movement have always at least played an unprecedentedly powerful supportive role in the numerous acts of mental and physical violence against the indigenous Palestinians. The following will showcase some very recent examples of these females' violent participation so as to illustrate that violence and war are not always acts of masculinity. Using recent incidents is also beneficent regarding a topic such as this, because the spread of knowledge about current atrocities is one step forward in the attempt to rally awareness around the plight of a people that desperately need international support.

In 1983, gunmen killed three students and wounded 30 at Hebron's Islamic college. Followers of Rabbi Kook openly applauded these attacks, and it should not be forgotten that this moral support for violence was far from exclusive to men. Regardless of the type of violence utilized by these settler women, their goal remains true to that of the religious Zionists: to force the Palestinians out of their homes and into exile so their biblical prophecy can be completed.

While the government of Israel may have tanks and bulldozers to tear down Palestinian homes, women use their own tactics to fight the same kind of war. One of many examples of this kind of warfare in capturing land is the following. In September of 2006, settler women went to a Palestinian family's home which did not have running water for a reported twenty days. The settler women did not go unarmed; they carried saws and hammers with them. They proceeded to cut the water pipes of the family's home. The victimized family have fixed these pipes numerous times but they are constantly destroyed by the settler women of Tel Rumeida in their on going attempt to bring the Palestinians to a point of mental breakdown in their war of attrition, hoping to force them out of their homeland so as to allow the religious Zionists to fulfill their takeover of Palestine.[29] Similarly, the settler women breach the olive fields and farms of the Palestinians and harvest their crops as if they were their own, depriving the impoverished Palestinians of their minuscule form of income which they need to survive their day-to-day lives[30]. Perhaps it is this type of women who are now a part of Women in Green movement, an all female movement which supports the same expansionism of Gush Emunim and the Kahanist movement. People often think that women are meant to be, and are, docile peoples who do not engage in aggressive behavior; they are greatly mistaken. The Women in Green are no strangers to horrific acts, however, their prey are usually smaller than those of their male counterparts. On a daily basis these women hide outside small Palestinian children's school and await their departure. For example, on November 23rd, 2005 as soon as children got out of the school they were cornered by the Women in Green and had racist slogans shouted at them. Another favorite tactic to scare these children is to photograph them. They do this mainly for the purpose of distribution as

propaganda, putting the face of then young children who they find at random as the face of the "enemy".[31] All and any of these tactics are further attempts to further degrade the quality of life of the Palestinians and force them to reconsider their location of habitation. They also express their violent and hateful beliefs via marches. Their favorite time to march is when Palestinian school children are getting out of school on the crowded Shuhada street in Hebron, which is one of the largest areas for their attacks. On one march which took place on November 15th, 2005, international volunteers in Hebron who are there to observe the circumstances in the area documented that the Women in Green shouted at the Palestinian children and their parents phrases such as "All these children are terrorists", "Kill all Arabs", "These children learn arithmetic, English and terrorism in school." "This is our land", "There is no Palestine", "They should all fuck off to Saudi Arabia", "There is a place for all Arabs and it is called Hell. There is a place for you there", and "You have the blood of the Jews on your hands"[32] Contrary to the beliefs of sexists and essentialists who believe that such a violent mentality and behavior is restricted to men, these women also encourage and condition their young children to behave in this way too which further makes these women agents for and agitators of violence. In fact, due to the patriarchal setting that these religious settler women live in, they are made responsible for the violence and lack of ethics they teach to their children as role models and educators. Thus, for the sake of this essay's topic, the utilization of violence against Palestinians by the female settlers' daughters is of special significance.

3.2 Violence Employed by Young Girls and Harbored and Used by Women

Death threats are common in all societies, but it is uniquely shocking when it comes from girls as young as 10 years old. However, on Thursday, July 20th, 2006, numerous international observers witnessed just that and it was not an isolated incident. A group of 15 young settler girls approached a 10 year old Palestinian child and repeatedly chanted to him in a menacing tone and in English "I will kill you!" [33] Two months earlier an international volunteer witnessed firsthand the violent mother-daughter relationships that often exists amongst these females settlers. This is the volunteer's account

> Girls came right up to us abusing and yelling at us. Twenty young settler boys threw stones at us. I was hit several times… settler boys were coming round behind me and throwing large rocks at my back. I called the police, saying that I had been hit with 12 stones and rocks and had been hit on the head… Some of the soldiers started grabbing the boys who resisted and kept throwing stones. The girls kept coming right up to me and abusing me. The settler adults watched and did nothing to help or control their children.[34]

This speaks volumes about the permeability and culture of violence by settler parents and their children.

The abuse of Palestinians on their own land is a daily occurrence where there are settlers; however, it is rarely ever shown in the media. The following is one of many incidents which happen to the indigenous people of the land at the hand of settler girls which is rarely, if ever, heard about. As transcribed by

B'Tselem, an Israeli human rights group, Kamal Shabaneh, a father of five, describes one time he and his family were victimized by a group of 10 girls:

> They were all about 16-18 years old, and all were dressed in civilian clothes… the girls went to the olive groves alongside the road, took two full sacks of olives and began to drag them to the road. We shouted at them and they left the sacks and ran away. While we were talking, the girls came back to the sacks of olives. Most of them had knives, and they began to rip the sacks. The other farmers and I began to push them away, to protect ourselves and our crop. The girls threw stones at us. One of the girls took a stick used for picking olives and hit my mother, Hilwah al-Haj Sur, who is sixty-five years old. The other girls had sticks and beat other women who were with us.[35]

While religious Zionist female settlers may allow, teach, and encourage such behavior from their young offspring, they too also engage in vicious acts of violence themselves, disproving universally believed gender-stereotypes.

3.3 Physical Violence Unleashed by Women

Believers of the religious Zionist cause believe that everything that they do, regardless of who it is done to or to what extent, can be justified if the victim does not sympathize with their views. In their point of view, and as documented numerous times earlier, they believe they are fighting god's enemy. Brownfeld says that "In the synagogues of religious Zionism, worshippers debated whether 'Thou shall not kill' applied to Arabs at all."[36] After all, these religious Zionists believe that anyone who is not with them is against god, and thus them, therefore being deserving of all and any punishments at religious Zionists' hands -- the chosen people of god. Ironically, one of god's enemies happened to be a woman from World Council of Churches. On Friday, the 23rd of June, 2006, the woman was attacked by a female settler in Tel Rumeida. Whilst in the area of the Cordoba school, where Christian volunteers accompany children to school so as to protect them from settlers who try to attack the Palestinians on a daily basis, Duduzile Masango, a South African ecumenical accompanier was attacked by an elderly settler woman, who pulled a towel tightly around her head leaving the accompanier with breathing difficulties. As it is a usual tactic, stones were also thrown at Masango and four other internationals who were with her.[37]

On a psychological level, Chaya Possick who attends The Academic College of Judea and Samaria in Ariel, which, as a side note, is built on illegally occupied land, decided to study fellow settler women. As a research project, she interviewed three fellow settlers and their thoughts revealed that the women felt more than comfortable being armed and using their weapon against the Arabs. One of these women described the Palestinians as such a potent enemy that if she ever saw one through her door's peep-hole she would immediately run for help. Most showed signs of utter loath toward the Palestinians and generally were not against the use of violence if the opportunity arose[38]. If an academic source written from

an illegal settlement reveals such violent and aggressive tendencies amongst the settler women then one is left wondering what a more neutral source would reveal about the female settlers' fierce inclination.

None of the cases mentioned here are isolated nor confined to only certain religious Zionist women in certain settlements. Sadly, it is the case that such beliefs, behaviors, and conduct are widespread and encouraged both within the realms of communities and families. These women are domestic laborers, spending day and night in the kitchen preparing kosher crackers for Passover and knitting the knitted yarmulkes, symbolic of, and worn by the machinegun-brandishing religious Zionist settler men.

Conclusion

As this essay has shown, mental, verbal, and physical violence has been used by religious female Zionist settlers against the Palestinians. The contribution of these women in the war against the Palestinians in their mission to capture Palestine in the name of god and for their own salvation has been fruitful to the movement, and very harmful to the Palestinians. These certain settler women employ all tactics at their disposal to drive the rightful inhabitants of the land away so as to win their religious war and undertaking. Such behavior by these women is beyond normal within their communities; in fact, it would be a rarity to find a religious Zionist settler woman who did not participate in this same mission in these violent and oppressive ways. While it may have been Kook and Kahane who started the movements, women still follow, believe, and preach to their children the same violent teachings. A point was never made to exclude women from the settler movements and women, like men, continue to work in bringing about the prophecy and visions which they so strongly believe in at any cost. They have even organized themselves into very well structured and large groups such as the Women in Green which engages in violent practices all strictly for advancing the goal of the religious Zionist movement.

Furthermore, while the religious Zionist settler men take the lion's share of conducting the typically thought of types violence and warfare against the indigenous Palestinians, it would be thoughtless to suppose that the typical types of warfare and violence are the sole types and methods of harmful hostile conduct. In fact, some may argue that the violent contributions of women to the religious Zionist settler movement are more significant than those of men. This is due to the fact that these women are, as is the case with almost all nuclear families, the most influential role-model to the children due to their predominantly domestic role as mothers. This is pivotal because the violent beliefs and demeanor of the religious Zionist settler mothers will be passed on to the next generation which will be responsible for continuing the war against the Arabs and bringing on the salvation of god with the capture of Palestine.

While these women's participation is dynamic and complicated, and while their contribution to the war has evolved and shaped the women's identities, and shifted their roles within society, one thing has remained completely static since the Zionists were gifted with Israel in 1948: Palestinians have consistently and systematically been marginalized. They have been oppressed in countless ways but without a doubt they

have suffered the most harm due to the divine war of the religious Zionists, which, amongst many other things, has shown us that war is not always an act of masculine culture.

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Notes

[1] Mirsky, Yehudah. "The inner life of religious Zionism." <u>New Leader</u> 78.9 (1995): 10

[2] The author has chosen to use the term "anti-Jewish" as opposed to the commonly used "anti-Semitic" as to avoid confusion due to the fact that Semitic people, genetically speaking, include Arabs and Syrians and others along side Jewish people

[3] Balakirsky-Katz, Maya. "Émile Zola, the Cochonnerie of Naturalist Literature, and the Judensau." <u>Jewish Social Studies</u> 13.1 (2006): 115

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[9] McGirk, Tim, Hamad, Jamil, and Aaron J. Klein. "In the Land Of the Lonely." <u>Time</u> 169.6 (2007): 43

[10] Gorenberg, 21

[11] Frykberg, Mel. "Under pressure." <u>Middle East</u> (2006): 13. The number of these illegal settlements has grown under every israeli Prime Minister. At its height the Gaza Strip which had 19 settlements was recently liberated from the hold of the settlers. The West Bank in 2000 had over 190 settlements and the number continues to grow.

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[13] Gorenberg, 22

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32 The Tel Rumeida Project, November 2006 Incidents <<u>http://www.telrumeidaproject.org/November. html</u>> accessed on April 15th, 2005

33 The Tel Rumeida Project, July 2005 Incidents <<u>http://www.telrumeidaproject.org/June.html</u>> accessed on April 15th, 2005

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Yahweh vs. the Teraphim: Jacob's Pagan Wives in Thomas Mann's *Joseph and his Brothers* and in Anita Diamant's *The Red Tent.*

By Vladimir Tumanov

Abstract

This essay deals with two retellings of Genesis: Thomas Mann's *Joseph and his Brothers* and Anita Diamant's *The Red Tent.* Both authors note the presence of implicit pagan tendencies among the women of Jacob's clan (Gen 31:19; 35:2) and develop this subtext for their respective ideological purposes. Thomas Mann creates a dichotomy between the backwardness of the pagan female realm and the progressive nature of the monotheistically-oriented patriarchs. The path toward modern humanist values comes from the likes of Jacob and Joseph rather than Rachel and Leah in Mann's novel. Anita Diamant, on the other hand, adopts the opposite attitude, namely, that the paganism of Rachel, Leah, as well as other women in Jacob's family, is a humane and natural form of spirituality in contrast to the bloodthirsty Yahwism of Jacob and his sons. The latter point is illustrated by the sacking of Shechem. In order to question the patriarchal stance of the Old Testament Diamant reverses the key values informing the theology of the Bible. Thus, in *The Red Tent* Jacob's wives venerate the Ashera in particular. The latter constitutes a challenge to the stance of the Deuteronomic History where the cult of the Ashera is viewed as a key reason behind God's decision to let the Babylonians destroy the Southern Kingdom of Judah. And since Mann's novel upholds the patriarchal spirit of the biblical text, Diamant enters into debate with the continuity of female disempowerment which reaches all the way from Genesis to *Joseph and his Brothers*.

Introduction

In Genesis Jacob's wives Rachel and Leah, along with his concubines Zilpah and Bilhah, are associated with the climax of the Patriarchal Narrative (Gen 12-50). While Abraham plants the seeds of Judaism and Isaac tends to the seedlings, Jacob harvests the spiritual crop by literally *making* a people to go with the new religion. And this can only take place through Jacob's wives who bear the twelve tribes of Israel, thereby giving monotheism its first congregation. Therefore, the women around Jacob appear as nothing short of epically significant in the national foundation of Yahwism. And yet, how Yahwistic are they? Although the question might seem odd on first glance, one should consider where the matriarchs come from. Rachel and Leah, as well as Zilpah and Bilhah, are presented in the biblical text as having been born and raised in Haran, i.e., not in Palestine but in northern Mesopotamia (Gen: 29). Although Jacob goes there and joins the young women, there is no reason to assume that his consorts' culture suddenly changes — all the more so because Yahweh does not reveal himself to Jacob's wives (the way he does to Jacob) and "educate" them about Yahwism. Why then should we expect Rachel and Leah — or Bilhah and Zilpah for that matter — to abandon their Mesopotamian pantheon, whatever the four women's biological role may be in the forging of the Yahwistic project (cf. S. Teubal: 97 and I. Sheres: 135)?

There are two pericopes in Genesis suggesting that Jacob's entourage has not given up its pagan beliefs. First, Genesis 31:19 tells us that Rachel steals Laban's household gods (teraphim) as Jacob's family prepares to flee from Laban's house. Although we are not given an explicit account of Rachel's motivation for this act of filial disloyalty, the implicit meaning can be interpreted as follows: Rachel wants the escape to succeed and steals the teraphim in order to hinder Laban's ability to pursue Jacob's clan. If that is the case, then Rachel must believe in the potency of the idols who watch over Laban. Presumably she thinks the teraphim might help Laban find the fugitives if the gods were to stay in his possession. Therefore, in Rachel's mind the idols are not dead, and, as S. Teubal argues, "Rachel's [...] carrying off of the teraphim [...] possesses a religious aspect" (52; cf. 98-9).

The second pericope deals with another escape by Jacob and his family, this time — from the neighboring Canaanites sometime after the departure from Laban's house. In order to enlist Yahweh's help in the clan's flight, the patriarch orders a religious purge: "So Jacob said to his household and to all who were with him, 'Get rid of the foreign gods you have with you, and purify yourselves and change your clothes' " (Gen 35:2). The reader might even be tempted to surmise, as does S. Teubal (52), that these "foreign gods" are the very teraphim stolen by Rachel from Laban (see below). However, whatever the idols may be, it appears that up to this point idol-worship has been tolerated in Jacob's family, and if it were not for the pressing circumstances at hand, the patriarch might not have paid any attention to these pagan practices among his wives and children. And yet, given the monotheistic ethos of Genesis, this Hebrew paganism remains just a subtext not meant to detract from the Yahwism of early Israel.

Women's Gods

The above can be used as a starting point for trying to understand something shared by two twentieth century novels that retell the events of Genesis. In Thomas Mann's *Joseph and his Brothers* and in Anita Diamant's *The Red Tent* the women of Jacob's family are pictured as pagans. In fact, the way Mann and Diamant reimagine the above-mentioned theft of Laban's teraphim illustrates this point. Here is what we read about Rachel's motivation for stealing the idols in Mann's novel: "In the secret depths of her heart she was still an idol-worshiper and decided to err on the side of caution — just in case. She took Laban's advice-givers and soothsayers so that they would not tell him where the refugees went and would instead offer Jacob's clan their protection against pursuit" (268).[1]

Diamant's Rachel thinks along similar lines: " 'We will take Nanshe with us,' [Rachel] said, naming Zilpah's beloved goddess of dreams and singers. 'We will take Gula, too,' naming the goddess of healing to whom Rachel made offerings. [...] I will take the teraphim and they will be a source of power for us' " (89-90). In Mann and Diamant a key aspect of idol-worship is placed in the foreground: the viability of the idols through a *physical* connection between the statues and human beings. As opposed to the power of the omnipresent Yahweh, the sphere of an idol's influence is limited by the idol's location in space. Thus, Laban's teraphim cannot help him if they are not close to him while they can help Jacob's clan thanks to Rachel's theft.

Both authors develop the logic implicit in the biblical text by spelling out Rachel's polytheistic beliefs and turning the brief allusion to her paganism in Genesis into something far greater than a mere subtext. However, comparing the way Rachel's attitude toward her action is presented by Mann and Diamant respectively, we find a striking difference. In *Joseph and his Brothers* Rachel's pagan spirituality is an embarrassing little secret presumably to be concealed from her more enlightened Yahwistic spouse: "In the secret depths of her heart she was still an idol-worshiper" (see above). The adverb "still" here indicates that Rachel's religion occupies a lower rung than Jacob's monotheistic beliefs in the spiritual evolution taking place on the pages of Mann's novel. This evolution away from polytheism goes back to the Joseph Tetralogy's Abraham who "in his unceasing search for God became more and more aware of the limitations of traditional gods" (C. Nolte: 69). No wonder Mann's Rachel is ashamed of putting her faith in Laban's teraphim. Given the magnitude of Abraham's legacy, Rachel appears to recognize the inadequacy of the idols, as compared to Yahweh, but she simply cannot help herself.

Diamant's Rachel, on the other hand, has no compunction about her paganism. Along with the women of Laban's household she seems barely aware of Jacob's religion and certainly has no spiritual inferiority complex. Furthermore, the teraphim are named —Gula and Nanshe — which puts them on the same level as Yahweh. By naming the idols, Diamant's Rachel breathes life into the deities because a name increases the "ontological weight" of any individual. This is why in Genesis 31:19 the idols remain a nameless group, which emphasizes their inferiority to the named Hebrew deity. Finally, not only are the idols named in Diamant's novel, but the above-cited passage mentions exclusively *female* deities. The feminization of Laban's gods stems from a cornerstone of Diamant's novel, namely, the association of paganism with the

female realm as a thoroughly positive phenomenon (see below).

These differences in attitude toward the teraphim pinpoint the two respective diametrically opposite ideological premises of *The Red Tent* and *Joseph and his Brothers.* Thomas Mann retains the patriarchal stance of Genesis by presenting Jacob's wives essentially the way the biblical text sees them: as secondary characters in intellectual and spiritual terms who appear largely unconcerned with theological issues. While Jacob in *Joseph and his Brothers* devotes his whole life to figuring out what God is about, his wives cannot lift their thoughts beyond making babies. The female-pagan connection stems quite naturally from this stance. According to J. H. Otwell, "a segment of the scholarly community has long held that women were virtually excluded from the worship of the God of Israel. It is alleged that their deities were the gods and goddesses of fertility" (152).[2]

However, whereas in Genesis the implicit association of the female realm with paganism is not important, Thomas Mann mobilizes this link for his own ideological purposes. Backward female spirituality in *Joseph and his Brothers* is a point of contrast to superior male religious development. As E. Murdaugh so aptly puts it,

> obsolete barbaric behavior and the whole realm of the destructive irrational from which Joseph and the 'chosen people' of God must free themselves, are associated with the 'female element,' while the urge toward enlightenment and spirituality is considered to be 'male'. [...] One could interpret the entire work as the story of the struggle of the male light principle to liberate itself from the chtonic female principle (1978: 395).[3]

The female element in Mann's novel is truly pagan because it exists in the realm of the eternal return crucial to the world of polytheistic spirituality. To quote C. Nolte, "the central women figures in the novel [...] are eternal and unchanging. This is in sharp contrast to the father archetype, which is marked by constant change and development" (86). Thus, it is through the moral progression from Jacob's understanding of Yahweh as the one god to Joseph's superior grasp of the Hebrew deity's essence that history and linear time come into being, breaking away from the vicious circle of pagan mythic reenactment (cf. E. Murdaugh, 1976: 27-9).

Exemplifying this notion in Mann's novel is the evolution of sacrifice as a means of communicating with the divine. The pagan gods require literal human sacrifice as a means of maintaining world order, which is exemplified by the "cutting" of Potiphar's genitals by Huj and Tuj: "[Huij and Tuij] continued to cling to the old, and the sacrifice of their son is in the spirit of the old, the *matriarchal* order. By castrating him they actually made their sacrifice to the Great Mother" (C. Nolte 97; my italics — V.T.). In contrast to this stagnant female spirituality that characterizes the polytheistic realm in Mann's novel, Yahweh's evolving male moral stance rejects literal human sacrifice, requiring substitutional or metaphoric sacrifice, i.e., the ram instead of Isaac (cf. Gen 22). In fact the latter may be viewed as the central pillar supporting the ideology of the Joseph tetralogy.

Bad is Good

The above-cited values at the foundation of *Joseph and his Brothers* are turned upside down by Anita Diamant in *The Red Tent.* What Mann's novel sees as Yahweh's humaneness or civilizedness, Diamant's feminist perspective presents as barbaric, brutish bloodthirstiness that *does* require human sacrifice. Here is how Dinah, the heroine and narrator of *The Red Tent,* reports the perception of Yahwism by Jacob's concubine Zilpah:

> [Zilpah] said that the presence of El hovered over [Jacob], which is why he was worthy of notice. Zilpah told me that El was the god of thunder, high places, and awful sacrifice. El could demand that a father cut off his son — cast him out into the desert, or slaughter him outright. This was a hard, strange god, alien and cold, but, she conceded, a consort powerful enough for the Queen of Heaven, whom she loved in every shape and name (Diamant: 13).

Yahweh (El) is "hard," "strange," "alien," "cold," — all epithets suggesting the opposite of life and joy. Clearly the god of Jacob has nothing to attract the female point of view in Diamant's novel. The reference to "awful sacrifice" ignores the notion of human-animal substitution, concentrating on what some biblical scholars view as an earlier strand underlying Genesis 22 (cf. R. E. Friedman 256-7 and S. Spiegel: 653-65, 77). According to this reading, Abraham initially does kill Isaac, which was later revised by the Bible's authors to reflect changes in the moral awareness of early Israel.[4]

Mann also admits that Yahweh's earliest manifestation is blood-thirsty and primitive — "a spiritually undistorted remnant from earlier, wilder times when God's essence was coming into being. Back then Yahu, the war and weather god possessed far more ominous and terrifying features" (235).[5] However, the Joseph tetralogy seeks to show how far the Hebrew god ends up moving along the ethical spiral of masculine spirituality.[6] Diamant, on the other hand, chooses to leave Jacob's god on the lowest rung of the moral ladder, stressing that the pagan gods of Jacob's wives are far more gentle and rational.

Thus, in Mann's novel Jacob tries but cannot imagine himself sacrificing his child: "That's when I broke down in the presence of the Lord, and my arm sank, and I dropped the knife, and I fell down to the ground, and my face hit the dust" (77).[7] In *The Red Tent,* on the other hand, Jacob turns out to be fully capable of the deed, permitting the "sacrifice" of his daughter Dinah. In Genesis 34 Dinah is raped by Shechem — the prince of the eponymous city. Consequently, Dinah's brothers massacre the whole population of Shechem in order to avenge their sister's lost honor. Jacob knows nothing of his sons' murderous designs before the massacre and therefore bears none of the blame for the genocide. In *The Red Tent,* however, Dinah is not raped by the prince but falls in love and plans to marry him (Diamant: 190, 193). So when the brothers sack the city and murder the prince, Dinah's life is destroyed. Diamant's Jacob knows about his sons' plans and yet gives them free rein, effectively *sacrificing* his daughter. Since the above-cited bloody El is Jacob's god, the deity ends up indicted by extension along with Jacob: "He blamed Simon and Levi and

turned his back on them. But I saw full understanding in his clouded eyes as he stood before me. I saw his guilt before he had time to deny it" (Diamant: 206).

In the above-cited passage from *The Red Tent* where Zilpah talks of Jacob's cruel El, the Queen of Heaven is juxtaposed with the Hebrew god. That gentle female deity, so loved by Zilpah, is Ashera (cf. J. Blenkinsopp: 99), which is very significant in Diamant's attempt to turn the tables on the masculine ideology of the Old Testament. The cult of Ashera is a prime target of attack in the Deuteronomic History. The latter — which includes the biblical books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings — is the work of one author or school (J. T. Walsh and C. T. Begg: 160). The cult of Ashera is considered by the Deuteronomic History as a key component in the explanations of the great disaster that put an end to the last Jewish state — the destruction of the Southern Kingdom (Judah) by the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E (cf. M. Smith: 81 and S. Teubal 91). The use of high places for worship is the other crucial abomination leading to Judah's demise (T. Walsh and C. T. Begg: 161). The kings of Judah are evaluated by the Deuteronomic historian(s) on the basis of the rulers' behavior in this connection. King Manasseh is the worst culprit:

> He rebuilt the high places his father Hezekiah had destroyed [...]. He took the carved Asherah pole he had made and put it in the temple [...]. Therefore, this is what the Lord, the God of Israel, says: [...] I will wipe out Jerusalem as one wipes a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down. I will forsake the remnants of my inheritance and hand them over to their enemies [the Babylonians — V.T.] (2 Kings 21:3-14).

The sacking of Jerusalem by king Nebuchadnezzar's armies is referred to from the postfactum perspective of those who completed the Deuteronomic History already in Babylonian exile (J. T. Walsh and C. T. Begg: 160). The wrath of Yahweh — the cruel and merciless deity condemned by the feminine position of *The Red Tent* — cannot be assuaged even by Manasseh's grandson, king Josiah, who casts the Asherah image out of the temple in 2 Kings 23:4 (cf. T. Walsh and C. T. Begg: 185).

All this explains why these very "abominations" appear as a key component of female paganism in *The Red Tent*. Combining the cult of Ashera and the use of high places, Diamant appears to challenge the implacable biblical point of view:

> And he brought home a beautiful *ashera* — a tall pillar as big as Bilhah — made by the finest potter he could find. The women placed her up on the bamah, *the high place,* where sacrifices were offered. The goddess's face was especially lovely, with almond eyes and an open smile (Diamant: 20-21; my italics – V.T.).

Ashera is further celebrated in a passage where Zilpah decides to name her son Asher in honor of the goddess Ashera (Diamant: 60). Diamant is again making a feminist point as she deliberately ignores the real etymology of Asher's name — which has to do with the Hebrew root for "happy" (cf. R. J. Clifford and R. E. Murphy: 31) — and smuggles the forbidden goddess into the midst of Israel's tribes. The tribe

of Asher is not only paganized but also "feminized" through the connection with the female deity, which contributes to the anti-masculine religious message of *The Red Tent.*

Similar paganization and feminization is carried out in Diamant's novel as Jacob himself demonstrates less than pure Yahwism: "On the seventh day after Reuben's birth, Jacob sat up, silently watching the sky, until sunrise. He poured libations and sang to the god of his fathers. He poured libations over the asherah, too, and opened his hands before her" (Diamant: 43). This is not Thomas Mann's Jacob who tries to explain to the pagan Jebsche that idols are lifeless objects in contrast to the living Yahweh (Mann: 54-5). Diamant's Jacob treats Yahweh and Ashera as comparable gods in this passage — both worthy of thanks for Reuben's birth. Since the fall of Jerusalem is in a way Ashera's fault (see above), Diamant creates a virtual provocation. The contact of Yahweh with the feminine deity shakes the very foundation of masculine divinity at the root of Yahwism, and this is accomplished of all people by the patriarch whose sons end up making the tribes of Israel! Perhaps nowhere else in *The Red Tent* does the author's revisionist approach serve her feminist objective more powerfully.

"Bad" Blood

Ashera is also associated in *The Red Tent* with the celebration of a biblical taboo: menstruation. When Rachel finally has her first (long awaited) period, the women in Jacob's clan go through a ritual that has nothing to do with Judaism and everything to do with something as fraught with feminist symbolism as the Earth Mother cult:

> They sang songs for the goddesses; for Innana and the Lady Asherah of the Sea. [...] [Rachel] drank as much sweet wine as she could hold. Adah rubbed Rachel's arms and legs, back and abdomen with aromatic oils until she was nearly asleep. By the time they carried her out into the field where she married the earth, Rachel was stupid with pleasure and wine (Diamant: 24).

A similar ritual — even more elaborate, but also involving the initiate's contact with the earth and pagan deities — is applied to Dinah when she has her first period. "Mother! Innana! Queen of the Night!" declares Rachel as she invokes the goddess to watch over Dinah, "accept the blood offering of your daughter, in her mother's name, in your name. In her blood may she live, in her blood may she give life" (Diamant: 172). The life-giving blood of menstruation, along with all of its pagan connections, is the opposite of the blood spilled by the violence of Jacob's sons at Shechem. In this case the comparison with Polytheism makes Yahwism look downright demonic in *The Red Tent*. In the Bible, however, the situation is exactly the opposite.

In the Book of Leviticus menstruation is viewed as a form of ritual uncleanliness which turns a woman into an object of avoidance: "When a woman has her regular flow of blood [...] anyone who touches her will be unclean till evening. Anything she lies on during her period will be unclean, and anything she sits on

will be unclean" (Lev 15:19-20). Yahweh threatens anyone who goes against this interdiction with death (Lev 15:30). From the standard biblical perspective, menstrual blood is "bad blood," but Diamant uses paganism and pagan ritual to make the blood good. A red tent, (the symbol-laden source of the novel's title) is used by Diamant's female characters to separate themselves from the masculine world during their periods (Diamant: 173). However, they do it not because they are unclean from the monotheistic point of view, but rather because the tent becomes a pagan temple of sorts where womanhood is given back its dignity.

Diamant chose to make the teraphim stolen by Rachel from Laban the patron deities of Dinah's first period. The preponderance of femaleness among the gods in the following passage further develops the polarization of masculine Yahwism vs. feminine paganism in *The Red Tent*:

> Then Rachel brought out the teraphim, and everyone fell silent. The household gods had remained hidden until that moment. Although I had been a little girl when I'd seen them last I remembered them like old friends: the pregnant mother, the goddess wearing snakes in her hair, the one that was both male and female, the stern little ram. Rachel laid them out carefully and chose the goddess wearing the shape of a grinning frog (Diamant: 172).

The link between these teraphim and menstruation goes back to Genesis 31:35. Sitting on top of Laban's gods, Rachel tells her father that she cannot get up to greet him because she is menstruating. What some interpreters of Genesis see as the desecration of the pagan gods by Rachel's menstrual blood (cf. R. J. Clifford and R. E. Murphy: 33 and the above-cited references to the menstrual taboo in Leviticus) turns out to be the very mechanism used by Diamant to associate the teraphim with the celebration of life — a young girl's initiation into womanhood. And in order to stress that Rachel in *The Red Tent* venerates, rather than desecrates the teraphim, Diamant connects the idols with the foreign gods present in Jacob's household in Genesis 35:2. Since Dinah's first period takes place long after the family leaves Laban's house, Diamant's Rachel has obviously cherished the idols for years after kidnapping the gods from her father and would never part from them of her own free will, i.e., presumably not until Jacob's command to destroy the gods after the Shechem massacre. There is no doubt in *The Red Tent* as to who ends up as the moral victor in the conflict between Jacob's El and his wives' teraphim. This is worlds away from Rachel's shame at her contact with the teraphim in Mann's *Joseph and his Brothers* (see above). Same gods — different writers.

Conclusion

A key component in Diamant's desire to right the wrongs of male domination in the Bible is the identity of the narrator in *The Red Tent.* In the spirit of making "the last first and the first last" Diamant takes Dinah — arguably the most insignificant character from Jacob's clan in Genesis — and makes the entire retelling of the Patriarchal History revolve around Jacob's only daughter. In the biblical text Dinah is far less intellectually or politically important than Jacob's wives. Dinah is not even granted the status of an ancestor

figure, playing no role in the founding of the new nation's tribes (cf. I. Sheres: 15-16). With no speaking lines in Genesis and no chance to reveal any of her mind's contents by her actions, Dinah has only one function — to be the object of contention between the city of Shechem and Jacob's sons: "The redactive silence of Dinah is the most powerful weapon used in the text to undermine the woman's political attitude" (I. Sheres: 10). After Jacob's sons sack Shechem, Dinah vanishes from Genesis as if she never existed. In short, Dinah is the embodiment of female disempowerment in Genesis.

Therefore, the establishment of Dinah as the focal point of Diamant's novel can be viewed as a political feminist act related to the following observation by Robin Parry: "Women's experiences have been excluded (a) from the official interpretations of the Bible, and often (b) from the Bible itself making the Bible a powerful tool in the oppression of women" (2). Part of this "women's experience" is the feminine paganism inferable from Genesis which ends up marginalized by the masculine Yahwistic perspective of the biblical text but reimagined and magnified by Anita Diamant. This reconstruction process is what Robin Parry calls Feminist Revisionism: "The 'submerged female voices' of women hidden behind the text and tradition can be recovered from scraps of linguistic, rhetorical and narrative evidence" (5). However, this is not to say that *The Red Tent* seeks to undermine the entire biblical edifice. One look at Anita Diamant's other books should make it clear that the author is deeply engaged with Judaism: *Choosing the Jewish Life: A Handbook for People Converting to Judaism and for their Family and Friends* (1998), *Saying Kaddish: How to Comfort the Dying, Bury the Dead and Mourn a Jew* (1999) and *The New Jewish Wedding* (2001). Instead, what Diamant accomplishes in *The Red Tent* stems from the desire to "relativise the androcentric texts [not] *in every respect* but simply in their androcentrism" (R. Parry: 26).

In his retelling of Genesis Thomas Mann chose not to relativise the androcentrism of the biblical text. This does not imply that Mann's main goal was to uphold the androcentric stance of the Old Testament.
The purpose of *Joseph and his Brothers* was to reaffirm the humanistic values of Enlightenment in the face of Nazi barbarity sweeping across Germany and Europe in the 1930s and 1940s (cf. W. E. McDonald: 254, R. Cunningham: 16 and E. Murdaugh: 18). The mobilization of Germany's pagan roots and mythology by Nazi ideology caused Mann to pit the traditional mythic mind-set of ancient near-eastern paganism against the much more sophisticated morality and spirituality of nascent Judaism. However, to this end the author of the Joseph Tetralogy chose to associate pagan thinking with the female realm: a decision with extensive implications for a twentieth-century text. Although Mann "modernized" such exemplary male characters as Joseph and Jacob, bringing their values much closer to modernity than is the case in Genesis, the German author left the female characters largely unaffected by the transition from the Bible to the pages of a modern novel.

The importance and the virtually definitive nature of Mann's monumental novel is such that anyone attempting to retell Genesis must necessarily do this with the Joseph tetralogy as the background. Therefore, Anita Diamant's reading of Genesis in *The Red Tent* engages in debate not only with the biblical source text but with the ideology permeating *Joseph and his Brothers* as well. Diamant's unwillingness to associate paganism with moral primitiveness ends up exposing the *continuity* of androcentrism that reaches from the earliest antiquity all the way to Mann's "progressive" modern humanist agenda. Although both

authors share the common goal of speaking out against the dark forces that fuel unspeakable violence and barbarity, the difference in their respective approaches creates an unbridgeable ideological abyss between *The Red Tent* and *Joseph and his Brothers*.

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[1] "Im geheimen Herzen war sie noch götzendienerisch und dachte zum mindesten: Sicher ist sicher. Für alle Fälle nahm sie dem Laban die Ratgeber und Wahrsager weg, damit sie ihm nicht Auskunft gäben über die Pfade der Flüchtigen, sondern diesen Schutz gewährten gegen Verfolgung" (here and elsewhere all translations from Mann are mine — V.T.).

[2] Arguing with such proponents of this approach as G. Beer, J. H. Otwell contends that "women had had reserved to them their own unique and crucial kind intimacy with God: the bearing of children" (178). This argument does not deal adequately with the above- mentioned idea that Jacob's wives are not engaged with God intellectually. The bearing of children is a physical activity and its spiritual dimension is indirect at best (cf. I. Sheres: 29- 30). Sheres argues in this connection: "Part of the reason for deemphasis of women's roles in the politics of Genesis is that the book is indeed patriarchal and therefore deliberately manipulated. [...] women belong in an a-political domain, and [...] the males in the Genesis narratives are heavily involved in transforming basic values" (7). This transformation of values comes in the form of theological activity and interaction with Yahweh.

[3] E. Murdaugh's argument goes on to prove that in *Joseph and his Brothers* there is one woman who transcends female darkness by acquiring spiritual monotheistic awareness. That woman is Tamar who "surpasses every other woman (i.e., Sarah, Rebecca and Rahel)" (405). However, Tamar is a minor character in both Genesis and Mann's novel — a digression of sorts. As R. J. Clifford and R. E. Murphy point out with respect to the biblical text, "there is no easy answer to why this story [Tamar and Judah] [...] is inserted here, interrupting the Joseph narrative" (38). The women who receive a significant amount of

narrative attention in *Joseph and his Brothers* are Jacob's wives, i.e., Leah and Rachel are much more representative as examples of "female backwardness" within the ethos of Mann's tetralogy — all the more so because they are Jacob's feminine counterparts and stand in contrast with his higher consciousness.

4 In the rabbinical literature of the Middle Ages this is known as the "bloody Akedah" according to which Abraham actually cuts Isaac's throat but Isaac is immediately revived by God (V. Tumanov: 287-88).

5 "[…] ein geistig unverzerrtes Überbleibsel aus früheren und wilderen Werdezuständen des Gotteswesens [...] in denen die Gesichtsbildung Jahu's, des Kriegs- und Wetterherrn [...] weit mehr arge und ungeheuere Züge […] aufgewiesen hatte."

6 "The coiled spiral [...] gives further form to both repetition and change, making it commensurate with the stages of development that Mann regularly attributes to both divine and human self-consciousness" (W. E. McDonald: 128).

7 "Da versagte ich vor dem Herrn, und es fiel mir der Arm von der Schulter, und das Messer fiel, und ich stürzte zu Boden hin auf mein Angesicht."

Coiled Tongues: A Critical Reading of *Thinking Class: Sketches from a Cultural Worker* by Joanna Kadi.

By Munira K. Al-Fadhel

Contemporary minority women's autobiographies have significantly altered, over the past few decades, our understanding of the social and political basis of identity formation. In their articulation of their own subjectivities, minority women autobiographers expressed an urgent need to conceptualize issues relating to women's place and writing and traditional forms within patriarchal systems in conjunction with issues of race, class and gender.

Current social structure in the U.S. portrays various degrees of inequality where race, class, and gender form a complicated web of power relations. As an instance of this, minority working class women often suffer from a triple marginalization based on their concurrent gender, class and racial inequality.

Noticeably, minority women writers have made that triple discrimination one of their main thematic focuses. *Thinking Class: Sketches from a Cultural Worker* by Joanna Kadi, comes with the urge to write history 'from below', from the perspective of ordinary working class women, making them central to historical interpretation and to the writing of the collective biography of subclasses. In the preface to her autobiography, Kadi remarks: "I didn't write this book alone…Without discounting the incredible amount of work I did, I am focusing here on communal aspects of working-class experience reflected in my life and writing." (Kadi*, p.5*) Kadi emphasizes the group effort that marks the pages of her book, mirroring thus, the working-class tradition of barn raisings and quilting bees. This could account for the multi-faceted and multi-layered structure of the autobiographical discourse adopted by the author.

Autobiography has long been considered the literary expression of individualism, of a belief in an integrated and coherent personality central to the narrated experience. At the outset of her narrative, Kadi projects a different view and rejects this notion of writing as an individual experience, 'Don't imagine a lone rugged individual fixedly concentrating in her study with the door firmly closed against any intruders –human, feline, or canine.' (Kadi*, p.5*) For her there are no myths about triumphant figures pursuing fame and fortune, and most importantly, 'We weren't raised to believe we could do it alone, and I'd never

trade this dependence on and interaction with community for any fictitious rugged individualism.' (Kadi, *p.5*) Personal histories that link the individual with particular communities at given historical junctures, as Caren Kaplan states, can be read as cultural autobiographies, 'The link between individual and community forged in the reading and writing…deconstructs the individualism of autobiography's Western legacy and casts the writing and reading of out-law genres as a mode of cultural survival.' (Kaplan, p.213) This notion is also emphasized by Susan Friedman who asserts that, "The emphasis on individualism as the necessary pre-condition for autobiography is thus a reflection of the privilege, one that excludes from the canons of autobiography those writers that have been denied by history the illusion of individualism." (Friedman, pp.34-62)

Kadi goes beyond the traditional (auto)biographical convention of verifiability or attempted objectivity, as she models for the reader a consciousness that is intent on questioning its own assumptions, and constantly redefining itself, as, and apart from 'the other'. That is why writing for her becomes a resistance:

> My writing results from this desire to resist; it stems from deep feelings of love and caring –
> for people in my communities, for dogged survivors who refuse to succumb to forces wearing
> them down day after day, for the ones who've generated beauty in spite of incredible hardship,
> for the wise, articulate, sweet people I grew up with who disappeared quietly into the night
> because they were too yellow and too poor. (Kadi, *p.14*)

What results is a narrative strategy that links past and current events, past experience with present under-standing, and past self with present self-construction. Listening to public radio where Edward Said is introduced as an 'Arab-American intellectual', Kadi, elated at the combination of the words, 'Arab' and 'intellectual', contemplates the American cultural scene and the power of words; contrasting her own past experience, as she recalls the stereotypical racist language used against her as an Arab, "people enjoyed hurling word combinations at me – Arab whore, greasy Arab, crazy Arab – and bowling me over, day after day," (Kadi, *p.11*) Kadi's memories bring to the forefront Edward Said's claims that "practically the only ethnic group about whom in the West racial slurs are tolerated, even encouraged, is the Arabs." (Said, p.26) Kadi herself argue in *Food for Our Grandmothers*, the first anthology of Arab-American feminist writing, that Arab Americans are "the Most Invisible of Invisibles." (Kadi, p.xix)

Notwithstanding, Kadi realizes that if words can hurt, they can also heal, and it is the healing power of words that keeps her writing, "If I can keep my understanding of the power of words front and center while I devise my own wild mixtures, maybe I can open up worlds for people like me, maybe I can offer my writing for healing and resistance." (Kadi, *p.12*)

In this way, Kadi uses her own life to lay bare the psychological and political consequences of living on the margin, in-between cultures, of being an insider- outsider, in its insidious dailiness: the cumulative and generally unquestioned creation of a seemingly coherent identity through layers of every day's events, experiences, and impressions. *Thinking Class*, communicates the difficulty of breaking down and break-ing through these layers of socialized consciousness and exposing their contradictions; and it finds its

appropriate expression in the dismantling of form.

Conventional autobiography has long established specific markers in its formation of the genre. This could be seen in the linear narration of a chronologically structured life story; a claim to truth, and the unproblematic use of the pronoun 'I' to represent a seemingly continuous past and present self . Kadi disrupts these expectations of the reader in order to demonstrate her own sense of disruption, and also to present a model for a different way of perceiving the otherwise familiar.

In her autobiography, Kadi writes about working-class culture, her Catholic school days, country music and songs, stereotypes of working class people, her Arab- American identity, her sexual identity, pop-culture and imperialism, homophobic workers and elitist queers. Along this, five poems by the author, appear intermittently forming a structural division and a discontinuity in the narrative line. The integration and instrumental juxtaposition of different forms thus become a strategy for revealing contradictions through which the reader may render transparent and go beyond predetermined positions of response.

Throughout '*Thinking Class*' Kadi focuses on telling 'life stories', the dailiness of women's and working people's lives, mostly narrating those details that would normally escape being recorded in history books, "Dozens of workers move deliberately around the building site at the University of Minnesota…Workers at the university. We've built every university that has ever existed, yet we're shunned and despised within academia's hallowed halls. Explicitly and implicitly, we've been taught our place – and it's not in a student's desk or the professors' lounge. We are needed to construct the university, maintain, clean, and repair it." (Kadi*, p.39*) She demonstrates the power of societal forces and institutions – schools, governments, media, and social behaviors, – as well as the acquiescence or resistance to them by represented and representative subjectivities. "But how do we talk about class?" Kadi appeals to the reader, "class differences mark significant splits among, for example, racial/ethnic groups...weakening and division come when differences aren't acknowledged and taken seriously, when our own thinking about art and culture doesn't consider class." (Kadi*, p.24*) While acknowledging the hard work done by people of colour, women, working class/poor people, and queers who organized and fought to open up the narrow parameters of public cultural expression, establish more community spaces, and gain access to some museum walls and some prestigious stages, Kadi believes that the definitive categories of 'traditional', 'ethnic' art and culture allow the social silence around working-class/working-poor culture to continue as they position class outside the discussion's boundaries keeping the identities of particular artists hidden. The author here breaks with traditional expectations of autobiographical forms to model for the reader an involvement with and assimilation of another's experience and perspective as she questions the narrow categories set up by cultural arbiters or elitist belief systems which insist that poor people have no culture and consequently leave artists like Joe Schmoe, a factory worker, who has spent twenty years using water-colour paintings to document work on the line with little public interest, as he is not creating 'traditional' art and can't be relegated to an 'ethnic' group because he's white. Or as the case with the author's aunt, 'Aunt Rose', whose cultural work couldn't be packaged or defined appropriately. A talented piano player, Aunt Rose, defies the stereotypical images of Arab women in their "suitably modest, traditional Arab dress with intricate embroidery, or the suitably sexy belly-dancing outfit with cleavage showing", she also defies the

characteristics of the quiet, modest, working-class woman smiling sweetly while giving piano lessons to lovely little children. Instead we see her at the piano as, "she dragged on cigarette after cigarette while she taught, and her incredibly long, brightly-painted fingernails tapped cheerily on the keys," (Kadi*, p.20*) But most importantly, and according to restrictive definitions for ethnic art, "a Lebanese woman singing 'Secondhand Rose' with a full glass of whiskey and water beside her wasn't doing anything Arab." (Kadi*, p.20*) Kadi here argues against the misconception held by many, of Arab-Americans as an amorphous, racially and culturally homogenized group. She asserts that this homogenized view contrasts somewhat with the reality that the "Arab-American experience" comprises a complex tapestry of historical experiences grounded in different diasporas. Arab-American identities as Alixa Naff puts it, are not fixed states of 'being'; they are continually being shaped in their everyday interaction with the social world and thus they are flexible and engaged in a constant, reflexive, process of 'becoming'.(Naff, 1993) Kadi proceeds to emphasize that "Within Arab-American communities there are a variety of types of artistic expression… This doesn't mean the art of a [certain] group is less Arab-American – unless we make the mistake of setting up rigid categories of what qualifies as Arab within our own communities." (Kadi*, p.25*)

Accordingly, the author forces constant intrusions, rupturing a comfortable sense of a historical continuum in favor of an alienating discontinuity, in an attempt to capture the experience of Arab-American working class, as they struggle to stay afloat, beset by chronic insecurity, poverty, and family tragedies so common in working-class existence. She models her own confusion as to how that 'old self' became the 'current writer', "Who ever heard of someone from a general motors city, destined for secretarial work (if a great deal of luck came her way), thinking, saying, she can write books? Who ever heard of a working-class Lebanese writer?." (Kadi*, p.10*) Both the individual and social histories are summoned through the childhood memories of the adult/narrator, as she struggles in shaping and reviewing their significance within an ever-broadening spectrum of current events and moral values:

> Silence is critically important…Inordinate efforts, overt and covert, went into shutting me up. Teachers rewarded quiet children. My mother told me if I didn't have anything nice to say not to say anything at all. The priests who routinely ripped my body and mind apart held knives to my throat and told me they'd kill me if I ever said a word. My father tolerated me best when he had me muzzled. All systems of oppression – from child abuse to racism to ableism – function most effectively when victims don't talk. (Kadi*, p.11*)

To Recognize and to accept the significance of childhood experiences and impressions, and to acknowledge the roles played by society in identity formation, is an attempt to understand an earlier self and the simultaneous oppression of patriarchy, class and race. These are power relations that structure all areas of life: the family, education, the household, political systems, leisure, culture, economics, sexuality and so on. It is what renders the position and experiences of ethnic and working class women and people not only marginal but also invisible. These experiences of marginalization create the need for a 'search for the self' which involves a critical examination of historical discourses of 'Otherness' and social exclusion. The task of asking critical questions about art and culture, Kadi argues, and "insisting [that] the class location of the artist matters, remains with...us – cultural workers marginalized on the basis of our race, gender,

sexuality, immigrant status, class, language...we need a strong and critical understanding of all aspects of our identities," (Kadi*, p.24*)

Evidently, a transformation of individual consciousness, and ultimately of society is not possible without focusing on the construction of subjectivity, and without seeking to reconcile false separations between the private and the public, the personal and the political. That's why questioning oppression, silence, and invisibility for Kadi, transcends her own personal experience and is made more complex by intertextuality as she uses actual writings, songs, and speeches by other people and blends these with her words and her own subjectivity. This becomes clear when her recollections of her Catholic school days center around figures like Anthony Dell, Suzanne Beaulieu, and Inez Fournier. It is through these characters that Kadi allows us access to an earlier self, which she contemplates through the act of writing with sympathy but always with a sense of guilt for being spared the others' fate, "The Dell boys are headed for jail. Suzanne Beaulieu ... will get pregnant and drop out of school ... Inez Fournier will never graduate from high school, and never have a boyfriend." (Kadi*, p.33*)

The part on 'Catholic School Days' is divided into three sketches; before each sketch there appears a poem by the author: 'Looking Back', 'Halfbreeds', and 'Coiled Tongues'. Each function as a bridge to a mass of scattered events impossible to grasp otherwise, reflecting the fear of coming too close to the abysses of memory. In 'Looking Back', Kadi states:

> They warned us:
>
> Looking back means remembering. Remembering guarantees finding stories. Finding stories translates into feeling a broken tongue, Feeling a broken tongue equals residing with bodily harm. Residing with bodily harm is the life of an Arab transplant. ……. I've always known the life of an Arab transplant. The heart is a lonely organ. (Kadi*, p.30*)

Sketch one of 'Catholic School Days' focuses mainly on Anthony Dell. At the outset, Kadi draws on the physical similarities between the Dell boy and herself in the continuous mirroring repetition of 'short and stocky', 'hands as wide as they were long' and 'tough as nails hard as rocks', pointing to the thin, almost transparent thread linking her to each of the characters she conjures in her narrative. What is the thing that Anthony Dell dared to expose in his short speech about his periodic visits to the woods watching animals, to make him a memorable figure in the author's mind? if not the ability to transcend the 'broken tongue' as he 'unbolted the padlock across his heart and offered two minutes of access' to that 'lonely organ' which Kadi thought "None of us had ever loosened that bolt, none of us except Anthony Dell." (Kadi*, p.36*) And perhaps, it is that part underneath the rugged appearances, uncombed hair and chapped hands typical of working class children: the suppressed softness, the self beneath the armour, that Kadi, albeit late, mourns for at the end "I cry now, because I can, because I don't have to be tough as nails hard as rocks, I cry for these truths we learned in catholic grade school." (Kadi*, p.37*)

Perhaps the most striking in Kadi's narration of her catholic school days is the account on her childhood

sexual abuse. The revelation becomes possible only by touching upon the wounds of the many young girls whose lives were shredded to pieces, "fathers who visited in the night, priests who pried girls open on the altar, expectant girls without boyfriends." *(Kadi, p.65)*

Kadi tries to tell stories that have not been told, ones that have remained unspoken. As a result she attempts to discover a language appropriate to her own story, rejecting the old 'tongue' of the father and all patri-archs who have sentenced her to the shrine of isolation and silence, "One of the many insidious forms of violence at our catholic school was enforced silence, and the locks circling our throats were every bit as brutal as rapes and assaults." *(Kadi, p.65)*

The 'autobiographical act,' Elizabeth Bruss asserts, is much less a private deed than a social performance: the placing of a text into a public forum, where it functions synchronically as a link among contempo-raries and diachronically as a bridge between past and future communal expressions. (Bruss, 1976) Kadi challenges the autobiographer's individual voice and private utterance as she unmasks the false separation between her own experience and the experiences of other girls in her school. In sketch two of 'Catholic School Days', the pregnancy of Suzanne Beaulieu is narrated hand in hand with Kadi's own pregnancy and consequent abortion as a young girl, pointing hence to the brutal material reality facing poor/working class girls, "How did so many of us get pregnant? I believe that most of us were raped by adult men, some girls got coerced into sex by boys our age…". *(Kadi, p.65)* In recounting her childhood sexual abuse, Kadi resorts to interpret her life publicly to bring to the foreground the underlying factors which govern such ongoing violence. She becomes overly critical of the absence of sex education in catholic schools despite the increasing number of girls who drop out, "No concern for girl after girl dropping off the face of earth…Only sealed lips." *(Kadi, p.65).* In addition, Kadi reveals the contradictory nature of her catholic upbringing at home, where her parents, in their urge to emulate the middle class moral code and ethics have worked to deal with facile appearances, "My guess is that they took me for an abortion because of my mother's burning desire and futile effort to move into the middle class. In middle- class families… drinking, raping, battering, and swearing took place behind heavy, closed doors." *(Kadi, p.65)*

It is in the sketch that follows which Kadi entitles 'Making Sense of My Happy Childhood/Creating Theory', which she divides into six categories: (sexual abuse of children, racism, classism, abelism, docile citizens, and the left) that she speaks of the aftereffects of her childhood sexual abuse and how feminism gave her the strength to leave an abusive marriage and accept therapy to help her overcome this trauma, "I had always hated and been ashamed of my female body, so easily pried open, so easily ripped to shreds…I wanted to be invisible to my perpetrators…" *(Kadi, p.72)*

Kadi clarifies to the reader that by writing about her own childhood experiences and binding them to the experiences of other young girls, she is describing the experiences of a community of women. It is her way to protest the many violations against women and children which remain undocumented and hence profoundly affect the life of survivors in physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, spiritual, and political ways, "Child sexual abuse teaches us lessons about power – who has it and who doesn't. These lessons, experienced on a bodily level, transfer into the deepest levels of our conscious and subconscious being,

and correspond with other oppressive systems." *(Kadi, p.73)*

Summoning the grinding experiences of an early self through the machinery of sexual abuse, racism and classism, and the constant interrogation of her identity and position as a working class Arab-American woman in the cultural and socio/political scene in America, Kadi's sexuality orients itself in the fluid bisexual realm of the female body. Choosing in effect the security of the feminine world and rejecting the aggressive and hostile arena of patriarchal culture which could only relate to her through violence and coercive codes of behaviour. Ultimately, she refuses to obey the prohibitions of the father's culture with its narratives of sexual difference and heterosexuality. Instead she pursues her own desires, and shatters the feminine portrait reflected in the patriarchal mirror.

Kadi has evidently found in cultural autobiography a validating means for critical and political thinking. Although she might seem at times subsumed by the people and incidents she recalls in a literary act of empathy; yet she herself remains present as a narrating consciousness with the right to speak. She models a subjective stance where the text opens itself up to the words/thoughts of others while not losing its own perspective. Ostensibly it creates ruptures in the public consciousness by writing explicitly about child-hood traumas, divorce, bisexual relationships, mental breakdowns and abortions and at the same breath, presents an alternative account of the life of working class Arab-American women.

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The Patriarchal Class System in Nawal El Saadawi's *God Dies by the Nile.*

By Isam M. Shihada

Abstract

Socialist feminists see class as central to women's lives, yet at the same time not ignoring the impact of patriarchy on their lives too. For them, women are victims of both the capitalist class and patriarchy. My argument is that women in *God Dies by the Nile* are victims of the patriarchal class system consolidated by politics, religion, and social customs. I argue further that for patriarchal class ideology to survive as an oppressive system, brutal force implements and instills such ideology in society. The impact of such ideology on women has been manifested through double moral standards, rape, sexual exploitation, psychological instability, illegitimate children and violence. This study also sheds light upon the plight of poor women employed by upper-class people at shamefully low salaries and who are frequently sexually abused by their masters and masters' sons. Furthermore, I foreground how El Saadawi strives hard to deconstruct the patriarchal class system by revealing its dark side where women are preyed upon, raped, and destroyed for being women and even men are eliminated for failing to support fully such system. Finally, God *Dies by the Nile* ends with a note of resistance against the patriarchal class system by both Fatheya and Zakeya respectively. It is a message that collective efforts, by women all over the world regardless of their class, race and religion, are urgently needed to eradicate their oppression. I come to conclude further that for El Saadawi, it is only through political organization and a patient, long-enduring struggle that women can become an effective political power which will force society to change and abolish the patriarchal class structures that keep women victims. My analysis will be drawn on views of socialist feminist theorists like Juliet Mitchell, Nancy Holmstrom, and Heidi Hartmann.

Introduction

For Socialist feminists, women are victims of both class and patriarchy. Nancy Holmstrom defines socialist

feminism as an attempt "to understand women's subordination in a coherent and systematic way that integrates class and sex, as well as other aspects of identity such as race/ethnicity or sexual orientation, with the aim of using this analysis to help liberate women."(2003:38). In other words, socialist feminists see class as central to women's lives, yet at the same time not ignoring the impact of patriarchy on women's lives.. For example, Juliet Mitchell believes that some aspects of women's lives in the family are economic while the others are social and ideological. Mitchell argues that any change in the status of women should be accompanied by the defeat of capitalism as well as patriarchy through social and ideological means respectively. "The Marxist revolutionary must link arms with the Freudian Psychoanalyst in order to effect women's full and final liberation." (1974:412). She suggests that we should use Marxist strategies to topple capitalism and psychoanalytic strategies to overthrow patriarchy. Socialist feminists like Nancy Holmstrom, Juliet Mitchell and Heidi Hartmann[i] summarize Nawal El-Saadawi's socialist feminist views centering on original causes of women's oppression; "the patriarchal class system which manifests itself internationally as world capitalism and imperialism, and nationally in the feudal and capitalist classes of the third world countries." (1997: 91).

My argument is that women in *God Dies by the Nile* are victims of the patriarchal class system[ii] consolidated by politics, religion, and social customs. El Saadawi deconstructs the patriarchal class system by showing us its dark side where women are raped and destroyed for being women and even men are eliminated for failing to support fully the patriarchal class system .If we examine the title of the novel, *God Dies by the Nile*[iii], one may say that it is a metaphor for both patriarchal class and religion. The title may also reflect El Saadawi's intention to reveal the interplay between the political power of the ruling class, the oppression of women in rural Egypt and the misuse of religion. "In any society, it is not possible to separate religion from the political system, nor to keep sex separate from politics. The trilogy composed of politics, religion and sex, is the most sensitive of all issues in any society." (El Saadawi 1980:4). Furthermore, in *God Dies by the Nile*, we find that the Mayor of Kafr El-Teen, symbolizes the patriarchal class system " People like him ,who live on top of the world, don't know the word impossible. They walk over the earth like Gods."(54)[iv] while Zakeya, on the other hand, symbolizes how women can be victims of such system. Within this context, April Gordon argues:

> Women typically face more disadvantages and exploitation than men do. They must cope not only with poverty and underdevelopment; they are also limited by patriarchal attitudes and practices, some predating capitalism, others established during the colonial period. These patriarchal attitudes and practices, which privilege men, continue to permeate African societies from the level of the family up to the state. (1996:7)

In other words, the capitalist economic system tends to promote a growing class inequality, which can leave many women subject to patriarchal class oppression. In this regard, El Saadawi attributes women's oppression and subordination to the fact that the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing and that is why women are suffering more. They suffer from the capitalist economic system. (McMillan: 1999).

2. Patriarchal Class System and its impact on women in *God Dies by the Nile*

For Karl Marx "The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." (1972:20-1). Therefore, we can see the impact of upper class is manifested on the consciousness of the toiling class whether women or men. In case of Nefissa, when her father has told her that she is expected to go to the Mayor's house, she has not been able to sleep that night. "She was only twelve years old at the time, and her small mind spent the dark hours of the night trying to imagine what the rooms of the Mayor's house could be like. Through it flitted images of a bathroom in white marble, which the children of the neighbors had told her about. They added that the Mayor bathed in milk each night."(20). Such impact is also manifested economically on Haj Ismail who tears himself away from the comparison between himself and the Mayor only to find himself "lost in the contemplation of the mayor's expensive cloak, while his hand kept fingering the coarse fabric of his own *galabeya*."(12). Class also has its tremendous psychological impact on the lives of the poor lower class people. For example, when the Mayor jokes with Haj Ismail in a friendly way, the feelings of inferiority which have recently invaded Haj Ismail are largely dispelled. "Was not the Mayor cracking jokes with him? Was this not a good enough reason to feel his confidence restored, to feel that the social gap between them was narrowing? He felt pleased." (13). It seems that not only lower class people's economic lives are defined by the Mayor and the bourgeois class he symbolizes but also their psychological balance and emotional stability. "The village barber was still busy turning over in his mind the title of 'doctor –healer' which the Mayor had bestowed upon him. It made him feel as though he had been accorded a bachelor's degree in medicine, which put him on an equal footing with any medical doctor in the area." (16). In another incident, we also find that feelings of inferiority have led Sheikh Zahran to extol the Mayor's bourgeois class "Tell me, your highness, you who knows so much. Are people in Misr the same as in Kafr El Teen?" (16) while simultaneously speaking ill of his own poor lower class people.

> All peasants steal. Theft runs in their blood like the Bilharzia worm. They put on an innocent air, pretend to be dull, kneel down before Allah as they would never think of disobeying him, but all the time, deep inside, they are nothing but accursed, cunning, unbelieving, impious sons of heretics. A man will prostrate himself in prayer behind me , but once he has left the mosque , and gone to the field , he will steal from his neighbor, or poison the man's buffalo without batting an eyelid…..He might even commit murder, or fornication. (15)

Here, one can see how far class gap between the rich and the poor can terribly affect the psychological balance and emotional stability of the poor toiling classes. And how such gap creates social evils and breeds hypocrite characters like Sheikh Zahran who are ready to do anything to please their masters.

In *God Dies by the Nile*, El-Saadawi uses sex metaphorically to expose and reveal the dehumanizing effects of the patriarchal class order. We notice that sex is used as an instrument of power, which may take a material, physical and religious form against women. For example, the Mayor's affairs with the daughters of Kafrawi, Nefissa and Zeinab reflect the material power of the ruling class serving as a source

of the sexual exploitation of women in particular and the ruled in general. The Mayor "the representative of government in Kafr El Teen"(13) symbolizes the ruling class in general whose power and resources are ultimately under his basic control. Within this context, Nabila Jaber argues "that Gender oppression is class oppression and women's subordination is seen as a form of class oppression which is maintained because it serves the interests of capital and the ruling class."(2001:101). Moreover, Sheikh Hamzawi sheds the light on the Mayor's oppressive power. "He holds their daily bread in his hands and if he wants, he can deprive them of it. If he gets angry their debts double, and the government keeps sending them one summons after the other. "Either pay or your land will be confiscated." (106). Commenting on the significance of the land for poor farmers, Frantz Fanon says that " for them the most essential value is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and , above all, dignity.(1963 :34). Here, one tends to say that such government represented by the Mayor is tyrannically based on sheer caprices of those who control it and on a crude display of brute force. "The Mayor was using his position to exploit the peasants, and to spend the money he squeezed out of them on his extravagant way of living, and his extravagant tastes in food, tobacco, wine and women."(13). In other words, we find that the Mayor uses his wealth and power to exploit poor people economically , psychologically and sexually

Concerning the Mayor's sexual exploitation of women, we find that "he's got strange tastes where women are concerned, and if he likes a woman he can't forget her. You know he's pretty obstinate himself. Once he sets his eyes on a woman he must have her, come what may."(54) . In the case of Nefissa, Sheikh Zaharan tries to persuade her to accept the Mayor's offer. "Our Mayor is a generous man… You will be paid twenty piastres a day. You're a stupid girl with no brains. How can you throw away all the good that is coming to you? Do you prefer hunger and poverty rather than doing a bit of work?"(20-1). Nefissa resists back "I work here in my father's house, Sheikh Zahran, and I work in the fields all day….. I do not want to go to the Mayor's house.'(21). Finally , she is forced to work in the Mayor's house against her will by her father, Kafrawi. "Violence against women and extracting women's labour through coercive labour relations are, therefore, part and parcel of capitalism."(Mies 1986: 170-1). Her painful tragic exit from her house to the Mayor's house is metaphorically conveyed to us through the eyes of the donkey. "The donkey suddenly lifted its head and brayed in a long, drawn –out gasping lament….She looked into the eyes of the donkey and saw tears. (21-2). Later, the Mayor rapes Nefissa. She becomes pregnant, bares a child, throws the baby away, and disappears. "The girl has disappeared, Zakeya. She is gone." (6). Ironically enough, through the scheming consciousness of the Mayor, her painful end is narrated to us.

> True, Nefissa's story had remained a secret, but who knew? May be this time things would not be concealed so easily. He tried to chase away his fears. Who could find out the things that had happened?. He was above suspicion, above the law, even above the moral rules which governed ordinary people's behavior .Nobody in Kafr El Teen would dare suspect him. They could have doubts about Allah , but about him….It was impossible.(98)

Even superstitious beliefs based on ignorance and poverty are used by the ruling class to continue oppressing the poor in general and women in particular in the name of religion. For example, the Mayor uses Haj Ismail , one of his oppressive tools, to use traditions and religion to persuade Zeinab, Nefissa's sister, to

work in the Mayor's house, something which will in turn cure her aunt Zakeya.[v]

> On the following day, before dawn, Zeinab is to take another bath with clean water from the Nile, meanwhile repeating the testimony three times. Then do her prayers at the crack of dawn. Once this over she is to open the door of your house before sunrise, stand on the threshold facing its direction and recite the first verse of the Koran ten times. In front of her she will see a big Iron Gate. She is to walk towards it, open it and walk in. She must never walk out of it again until the owner of the house orders her to do so. He is a noble and great man, born of a noble and great father, and he belongs to a good and devout family blessed by Allah, and His prophet. During this time Zakeya should lead the buffalo to the field, tie it to the water-wheel, take her hoe and work until the call to noon prayers. (91).

Here, one may notice that women are victims of patriarchy fortified by religion, traditions and politics. Within this context, Adrienne Rich argues that "Patriarchy is the power of ideological, political system in which men--by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male." (1976: 57-8). In the Mayor's house, Zeinab is sexually exploited and raped by the Mayor. " He pulled on it so hard that it split with a rending sound. She gasped, ' My *galabeya*! It's my only *galabeya*!'. He tore the remaining folds around her body, held her tight, whispering in her ear, ' I will buy you a thousand *galabeyas.*"(100). In this regard, Susan Brownmiller says that the secret of patriarchy lies in rape which is an act of forcing a woman to have sexual intercourse against her will. "Both the possibility and the actuality of rape served as the main agent of the perpetuation of male domination over women by force." (1975 :209).[vi] Here, one may contend that the meaning of rape is connected to the concept of women as property which has become man's basic weapon of force against women. Furthermore, these rape cases of both Nefissa and Zeinab shed the light on the plight of women who work as servants in upper- class houses.

It is important to note that God *Dies by the Nile* presents a horrific picture of how poor servant women are employed by upper-class people at shamefully low salaries and who are frequently sexually abused by their masters and sons. In this regard, Heidi Hartman attributes women's underpayment and oppression of women to "men's desire to control women is at least as strong as capital's desire to control workers. Capitalism and patriarchy are two different beasts, each of which must be fought with different weapons." (1981 :23). Consequently, even the Mayor's son, Tariq, uses his class status to molest and violate female servants in the Mayor's household. This is conveyed to us by Tariqs's mother who is conscious of the plight of poor servant women. "Matters have gone so far that I have now decided to employ only menservants. Pray tell me what happens to your virtue when you are so occupied pursuing the girls on the telephone, or across windows, or standing on the balconies, or don't you know that our neighbors in Maadi have complained to me several times?"(39). Concerning female domestic servants working in upper-class homes, El Saadawi clarifies that they are particularly prone to sexual assault as a result of class differences.

> The small maidservant . . . is the only remaining "sex avenue" for the hungry males that are

panting with thirst of sexual frustration, and lying in wait for any chance or hope of satisfy-
ing it . . . . The boys are less liable to feel guilty if sex is practiced with a servant girl, and in
addition they are not doing wrong to somebody of their own class, but to a creature who is
socially very much their inferior. In addition she is preferable to a prostitute since sex with her
is free of charge and does not threaten them with the chance of venereal disease.((1980: 23)

Hence, one may say that Tariq's aggressive sexual conduct can be considered as a violation of the power-
less women by the powerful upper class people where the values of greed, lust, extravagance and pleasure
are allowed to flourish on the misery of the toiling masses.

However in *God Dies by the Nile*, we find that the Mayor is not only a symbol of class but also symboli-
cally foregrounded as the ultimate god of patriarchy. He is perceived as a kind of demigod in the village.
Such perception of the almost godly power of the Mayor leads Sheikh Zahran to say "we are God's slaves
when it's time to say our prayers only. But we are the Mayor's slaves all the time" (53). This shows how the
lives of lower class people are completely controlled by the Mayor both economically and psychologically.

For patriarchy to survive as an institution, it has to be fortified by religion, politics, and social customs.
Interestingly enough, we notice that the Mayor, a symbol of patriarchy, is fortified by three interrelated
forces. Religious ideology represented by the Imam of the Mosque, Sheikh Hamzawi, local and cultural
traditions symbolized by the local healer, Haj Ismail, and the coercive power of the political establishment
personified by the Head of the Village Guard, Sheikh Zahran. Through the consciousness of the Mayor,
we are introduced to his tools of oppression and domination "there were three men in Kafr El Teen who
knew almost everything about him. The Chief of the Village Guard, the Sheikh of the mosque, and the
village barber. Without them he could not rule Kafr El Teen. They were his instruments, his aides and his
means for administering the affairs of the village."(98). Here, El Saadawi tries to deconstruct the patriar-
chal class system by exposing its dark side where women are raped and destroyed for being women and
men are killed for failing to fortify and support fully the patriarchal class domination ."You do not know
the Mayor, Fatheya. He's a dangerous man, and fears no one, not even Allah. He can do injustice to people
and put them in goal when they have done nothing to merit it. He can even murder innocent people."(106).
Therefore, the oppressive nature of the patriarchal class order can be explicitly seen through the incar-
ceration of Kafrawi and Galal, the rape and disappearance of both Nefissa and Zeinab and the murder of
Elwau, Fatheya, and their adopted child.

Moreover, God *Dies by the Nile* uncovers a social world of what it is like to grow up in a patriarchal class
society based on gender and class. Patriarchy, for El Saadawi, is an all-inclusive system that informs
social, political, and religious structures. (Malti- Douglas : 1995). It has social, religious, and political
roots that serve to fortify it. For example, the Mayor's wife , is able to see the hypocrisy of the patriarchal
ideology. When her son, Tariq, complains that sexual immorality has become rampant because women
have supposedly thrown virtue overboard "Girls have no morals these days, father."(39), she challenges
him while throwing suggestive glances at her own husband, the Mayor.

> She raised one eyebrow and said, 'Is that so. Master Tariq. Now you are putting on a Sheikh's turban and talking of virtue. Where was your virtue hiding last week when you stole a ten pound note from my handbag, and went to visit that woman with whose house I have now become familiar ?where was your virtue last year when you assaulted Saadia, the servant , and obliged me to throw her out in order to avoid a scandal ? (39)

Within this context, Nabila Jaber argues "that there are two modes of patriarchy: private patriarchy that is enacted in the authority of men over women in family and public patriarchy as manifested through the state and increasingly the religious establishment, particularly Islam." (2001:101).[vii] The patriarchal class oppression of women rooted in the sexual division of labor within the family is protected by government, which sees the family as private rather than public. (Gordon:1996). And that reflects how state plays a crucial role in fortifying the patriarchal class system through enacting laws which consolidate the authority of men.

Deconstruction of patriarchy continues through exposing these patriarchal double moral standards concerning female and male sexuality. For El Saadawi , the whole society is permeated by a dichotomy of moral standards for females and others for males. "At the root of this anomalous situation lies the fact that sexual experience in the life of a man is a source of pride and a symbol of virility, whereas sexual experience in the life of women is a source of shame and a symbol of degradation."(1980:31). since men rule over and dominate women, they, in turn, permit for themselves what they forbid for women. The Mayor, a symbol of patriarchy, justifies the double moral standards "Men have always been immoral. But now the women are throwing virtue overboard, and that will lead to a real catastrophe. The Mayor's wife replies "Why catastrophe? Why not equality, or justice?".(39). Therefore, chastity and virginity are considered essential for women while freedom and sexual licentiousness are looked upon as natural where men are concerned. John Caldwell argues that "The patriarchal belt is characterized by male domination, son preference, restrictive codes of behavior for women, and the association of family honor with female virtue. In many areas, the preoccupation with female virginity leads to honor killings in the event of real or perceived sexual misconduct by women."(1982:162) .Therefore, moral values are man made and imposed by the ruling class with the aim of serving certain economic and political interests to ensure the situation from which that class draws power is maintained[viii]. To put it differently, the historical defeat of the female sex, for Friedrich Engels, has begun in the wake of the agricultural revolution and the advent of civilization and class society. (Engels :1972). Hence, one cannot ignore the economic and political dimensions that shape and influence the moral values imposed on women. "We cannot look at the cultural gap without looking at the economic gap or at the inequality between countries, the inequality between classes in each country, and the inequalities between the sexes in the family and in the state." (El Saadawi 1997: 135)

It is noticeable for patriarchy to survive as an oppressive system; its ideology must be instilled in society. We also find when that ideology has not fully been imbibed; force has been used to implement it. Even force is used from the lower class people like Kafrawi and Masoud who are reminded that their patriarchal authority and manhood is at stake if they do not resort to the use of force to get their daughters comply with their orders. For example, when both Kafrawi and Masoud ask what they are to do when

their daughters refuse to comply, Sheikh Zahran retorts by challenging their manhood. "What can you do?! Is that a question for a man to ask?' responded Sheikh Zahran, even more heatedly. 'Beat her. Don't you know that girls and women never do what they're told unless you beat them?." (21). Hence , one may argue that in patriarchy, even the victim plays the role of the victimizer. We can see that even the most powerless man is led to believe that he has the right to beat his wife and daughters and accept the idea that his women like everything in his peasant life belong to the patriarchal ruling class. Commenting on how ideology is forcibly implemented, Antonio Gramsci argues that patriarchy is "a repressive system that can be maintained only by the sheer force of coercion." (1971: 12). For Gramsci, a complete hegemony of an oppressive system is achieved only when the victims, through a process of cultural and religious socialization, become alienated. They learn to deny their existential being and imbibe the views of their oppressors. In *God Dies by the Nile*, this is clearly represented by Om Saber, the *daya* whose various functions include female genital mutilation, abortions, defloration, and exorcism.[ix]

> At weddings she would lead the *yoo yoos* , paint the feet of girls and women with red henna, and on the wedding night she would tear the virgin's hymen with her finger , or conceal the fact that it was already torn by spraying the white towel on which the virgin's blood was supposed to pour with the blood of a rabbit or a hen. But when it was a time for mourning her suffering knew no bounds. She would slap her face with both hands repeatedly, scream out in agony, chant a hymn of sadness to the deceased, and wash the body if she was a female. She was always busy solving the problems of girls and women, carrying out abortions with a stalk of *mouloukheya,* throttling the new- born baby if necessary, or leaving it to die by not tying the umbilical cord with a silk thread so that it bled to death.(72)

The most critical role of the *daya* is to uphold and consolidate the patriarchal image of women. She is simply reinforcing the patriarchal value placed on the sanctity of the hymen in the life of a woman to preserve the sense of honor of the men in the patriarchal family. Here, El Saadawi narrates to us the importance and sanctity of the hymen in the life of Fatheya. "she did not see the clean white towel stained red, nor the wound the woman's nail had made in her flesh. But she felt her virgin colors had bled, for in her ears resounded the beat of the drums, the shrieks of joy and the high-pitched trilling of the women."(31-2). Within this context, Gordon-Chipembere argues that "maintenance of one's virginity ensured a good marriage, which created the possibility of moving the family out of economic hardship, or into another class."(2006:3).[x] El Sadaawi continues exposing the ugly head of patriarchy by shedding the light on genital mutilation, an inhuman practice which is fortified by economic, social, moral and ideological factors.
[xi] It has profound physical and psychological impact on women. In regard to such barbaric practice meted against women, Dorkenoo argues that the health risks are immense.

> The first being death. A long term result of circumcision is the development of neuroma, which renders the entire genital area unbearable to touch. Also, there is the presence of vulval abscesses, constant infections, damage to other vital organs, and the greater susceptibility to HIV because of the interchange of blood during penetration or de-infibulation with an unclean circumciser's tool. Needless to say, a circumcised woman feels severe pain during intercourse

- known as dyspareunia. (1992:.8)

Fatheya is conditioned culturally since her childhood that she has something impure about her and needs to be cut. "Then one day Om Saber came to their house, and she was told that the old woman was going to cut the bad, unclean part off. She was overcome by a feeling of overwhelming happiness. She was only six years old at the time."(32). Here, we find that El Saadawi tries to make us pay attention to this inhuman crime and the patriarchal mentality behind such practice; a practice which is meant to dominate women and consolidate the patriarchal image of women as sexual objects "To keep women monogamous, to attenuate the woman's sexuality, to control reproduction too." (1997: 65).Taking into account the economic and political factors behind such practice, Fawzia Khan emphasizes that "we must place the issue of clidoridectomy in a global context of capitalist oppression and injustice of which women are victims." (1997 :88).

However, El-Saadawi seeks to examine the multi- dimensions of patriarchy and its reliance on religion as its ideological bulwark.[xii] In regard to patriarchy and how it is fortified by the religious ideology, Sheikh Hamzawi and Fatheya's marriage stands as an example. It seems that Sheikh Hamzawi's position as a religious leader of the community " responsible for upholding the teachings of Allah, and keeping the morals and piety of the village intact"(30) enables him to force Fatheya to marry him against her will.

> What do you do?' exclaimed Haj Ismail , now looking furiously. 'Is that a question for a man to ask? Beat her, my brother; beat her once and twice and thrice. Do you not know that girls and women are only convinced if they receive a good hiding?' Masoud remained silent for a moment, then he called out, ' Fatheya, come here at once.' But there was no answer, so he climbed up on the top of the oven, pulled her out by her hair, and beat her several times until she came down. Then he handed her over to Haj Ismail and the same day she married the pious old sheikh. (31)

Sheikh Hamzawi was himself an impotent man and all of "Haj Ismail's potions and amulets had been totally ineffective restoring or even patching up his virility. (27-8). Due to his sexual impotency, the most that Sheikh Hamzawi can manage is to caress Fatheya's thighs and nothing more. Therefore, one may say that by marrying Fatheya, Sheikh Hamzawi has condemned her to a perpetual state of virginity and misery.

> She was expected to live in his house surrounded by all due care and respect, never to be seen elsewhere except twice in her life. The first time when she moved from her father's to her husband's house. And the second when she left her husband's house for the grave allotted to her in the burial grounds. Apart from that …..(30). [check your reference book about ellipses at the end of a quote]

It seems that in the Arab-Islamic family, the wife's main obligations are to maintain a home, care for her children, and obey her husband. "He is entitled to exercise his marital authority by restraining his wife's movements and preventing her from showing herself in public."(Moghadam 2004:137).Commenting on

the situation of women in general , El Sadaawi says "I remember my mother saying that my grandmother had moved through the streets on only two occasions. The first was when she left her father's house and went to her husband's house to be buried. Both times no part of her body was uncovered. (1997:87)".

God Dies by the Nile ends with two scenes symbolic of resistance against the patriarchal class system by Fatheya and Zakeya respectively. We find Fatheya reject the double moral standards of patriarchy that condemns the 'son of sin' rather than the sinner himself.[xiii]"Every time something goes wrong in the village, they will blame this [the] poor, innocent child. What has the child got to do with the cotton worm, Hamzawi? Was it he who told the worm to eat the cotton? The brain of a buffalo has more sense in it than the mind of these people here in Kafr El Teen." (112-3). In regard to the question of the illegitimate child, El Saadawi argues that "moral codes and standards in our societies very rarely apply to all people equally. This is the most damning proof of how immoral such codes and standards really are." (1980:27). It also alludes to the fact that many illegitimate children were born as a result of the sexual freedom enjoyed by men in the patriarchal class system. We see Fatheya fighting tooth and nail against those who now seek to destroy her adopted 'son of sin.' "She was a wild animal, ferociously fighting those who surrounded her in the night. She hit out at the men with legs, and her feet, with her shoulders and her hips all the while holding the child tightly in her arms." (115). During the course of her courageous resistance, Fatheya ultimately comes to her ultimate death resisting the religious, political and traditional forces that consolidate and legitimize patriarchy.

> Suddenly his eyes picked up a small shadow lying on the bank of the river, a short distance away. He went up to it, lifted it from the ground and came back carrying the torn body of her little child. Sheikh Metwalli held it out in his arms and laid it down softly on her chest. She curled her arms around it tightly and closed her eyes. And now when they lifted her they found that her body was light and easy to carry. They carried her as far as the house, and on the following morning buried her with the child held tightly in her arms. Hamzawi bought her a shroud of green silk and they wrapped her in it carefully. They dug a long ditch for her and lay her softly down in it, then covered her with the earth which lay around (116-7).

It is worthy to note that the victims, whether illegitimate children or raped women like Nefissa and Zeinab are sacrificed at the altar of the patriarchal class system, "a civilization where man is god and decide how best to satisfy his interests, his desires and his whims."(Saadawi 1980:62). The other scene ends with Zakeya whose son Jalal and her brother Kafrawi are being jailed by the Mayor and her brother's two daughters Nefissa and Zeinab were raped by him too. Zakeya finally becomes desalinated and god of patriarchy becomes demystified in her own mind. She sees counter-violence as her only sensible choice to resist the oppression meted against her own family in particular and women in general. Consequently, she walks out of the door and pauses for a moment before crossing the lane to the Iron Gate of the Mayor's house.

> The Mayor saw her come towards him. 'One of the peasant women who work on my farm,' he thought. When he came close he saw her arm rise high up in the air holding the hoe. He

did not feel the hoe land on his head and crush it at one blow. For a moment before, he had looked into her eyes, just once. And from that moment he was destined never to see, or feel, or know anything more. (137)

By killing the Mayor, a s symbol of the patriarchal class oppression, one comes to conclude that El Saadawi , through her character Zakeya , conveys a message to all women in the world that resistance is the only option left for them if they want to eradicate oppression meted against them.

Conclusion

One comes finally to conclude that patriarchy in *God Dies by the Nile* emerges as a system with political, economic, social, cultural, and psychological manifestations bound together by underlying class dynamics. Such oppressive systems, represented by the abusive and exploitative figures of male authority, is the real cause behind the suffering of Zakeya ,Nefissa, Zeinab and Fatheya. For oppressive patriarchal class ideologies to survive, brutal force implements and instills such ideology in society. The impact of such ideology on women has been manifested through double moral standards, rape, sexual exploitation, psychological instability, illegitimate children and violence. With the murder of the Mayor, Zakeya finally restores her sense of freedom and self-respect by resisting oppression meted against her family. Within this context, Frantz Fanon comments that "this violence represents the absolute line of action." (1963 :67). One also comes to find out that women pay dearly with their freedom and dignity to obey the laws of the patriarchal class system that dominates society. They also pay a heavy price in order to become free. El Saadawi, through her characters Zakeya and Fatheya, conveys a message to all women that resistance is the only option left to eradicate oppression and deconstruct the patriarchal class structures that enslave them. Furthermore, one can see the importance of collective action taken by women to resist the patriarchal class oppression meted against them. And that may reflect El Saadawi's vision which it is only through political organization and a patient, long-enduring struggle, women can become an effective political power which will force society to change and abolish the patriarchal class structures that keep women victims.[xiv]

Notes.

1- Heidi Hartmann observes "the categories of Marxist analysis give no clues about why women are subordinate to men inside and outside family and why it is not the other way around.(1981: 41). In regard to patriarchy, she defines it as "a set of social relations between men which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women."(1981:14) Please see Heidi Hartmann. " The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism : Towards a More Progressive Union," in *Women and Revolution*: *A Discussion of the Unhappy*

Marriage of Marxism and Feminism, Lydia sergeant, ed. Boston :South End Press, 1981.

2- Classes are often formed by similarly situated people who share the same wants and needs. According to Marx, these people initially have no more unity than " potatoes in a sack of potatoes", (1968:608) but through a long and complex process of struggling together about issues of local , and later national, interest to them , they gradually become a true class. See please Marx, Karl. *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. New York: international publishers, 1968. You can see for further information, Mandel, Ernest. *An Introduction to Marxist Economics Theory.* New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970. Heilroner, Robert . *Marxism : For and Against* . New York: W .W. Norton, 1980. Engels, Friedrich. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. New York: International Publishers, 1972. and Tong, Rosemarie. *Feminist Thought*. London. Unwin Hyman, 1989.

3- For Mary Murry "class and patriarchy have been organically rather than accidentally or contingently related. Because class and patriarchy have been organically connected ,we cannot draw hard-and-fast boundaries around them. The relationship between them has been a symbiotic one." (1995:123). Please see Murray, Mary. *The Law of the Father? Patriarchy in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* .Rout ledge: New York, 1995. In regard to Maria Mies , she argues that "capitalism cannot function without patriarchy. Capitalism requires never-ending capital accumulation; therefore, it requires patriarchal man-woman relations."(1986: 170-1) . She also believes that capitalism and patriarchy are not two separate systems, but intrinsically connected as capitalist patriarchy. Please see Mies, Maria. *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor.* London: Zed, 1986. "I am going to characterize as a socialist feminist anyone trying to understand women's subordination in a coherent and systematic way that integrates class and sex, as well as other aspects of identity such as race/ethnicity or sexual orientation, with the aim of using this analysis to help liberate women." (Holmstrom 2003:38). Please see for further information Holmstrom, Nancy. "The Socialist Feminist Project." *Monthly Review*. 54.10(2003): 38

4- In regard to the suffering faced by El Saadawi in her writing career, we find that the original title, *God Dies by the Nile* was censored by Arab publishers, seemingly due to religious sensitivity to the metaphoric extension of death to God. "I want to write freely about . . . religion, sex, God, authority, the state. But the publishers also censor me. Even in Beirut. I'll give you an example: my book *God Dies by the Nile*-they rejected the title totally. We settled on Mawt al-Rajul al-Wahid 'ala al-Ard." (1990:403) . Please see El Saadawi, Nawal . "Reflections of a Feminist." In *Opening the Gates: An Anthology of Arab Feminist Writing*. Eds. Badran, Margot and Miriam Cooke. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1990 . 394- 404. El Saadawi speaks about the corrupt nature of her country's government, the dangers of publishing under such authoritarian conditions and her determination to continue to write and convey the truth. Danger has been a part of my life ever since I picked up a pen and wrote. Nothing is more perilous than truth in a world that lies. Nothing is more perilous than knowledge in a world that has considered knowledge a sin since Adam and Eve... There is no power in the world that can strip my writings from me. (*Memoirs of a Woman Doctor* :1989). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal .*Memoirs of a Woman Doctor*. Trans. Catherine Cobham. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1989.

5-All references will be henceforth taken from El Saadawi, Nawal .*God Dies by the Nile* Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed, 1985.

6- In regard to the Zar, El Saadawi says that women are " treated with all sorts of magic or traditional rituals, including a form of exorcism in which the 'devils' or 'evil spirits' are driven away by a violent collective dance carried on until all the participants reach a trance –like state." (1997:89). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Nawal El Saadawi Reader*. London & New York: Zed Books, 1997.

7-In order to put an end to rape, Simone de Beauvoir proposes that women must demystify it, by naming it, describing how it operated, and above all, by fighting it. (De Beauvoir: 1989). See De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. USA: Vantage: Books Edition, 1989.

8- According to Michael Mann, the patriarchal society is one in which power is held by male heads of households. There is also clear separation between the public and private spheres of life. In the private sphere of the household, the patriarch enjoys arbitrary power over all junior males, all females, and all children. In the public sphere, power is shared between male patriarchs according to whatever other principles of stratification operate. Please see Mann, Michael. "A crisis in stratification theory." In Gender *and Stratification*. Eds. Crompton, Rosemary and Michael Mann. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986.40-56. "The Arab states embody various patriarchal structures and Arab society clings to a patriarchal system in which women's position within and duties toward the family precede their rights as individuals. "(Zuhur 2003:17). Please see Zuhur, Sherifa. "Women and Empowerment in the Arab World." *Arab Studies Quarterly*.25.4. (2003): 17. In *Sexual Politics*, Kate Millett establishes that patriarchy is a system where male domination is achieved through ideological means. She argues that it is the patriarchal system characterized by power and dominance that oppresses women. (Millett: 1970). Please see Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Doubleday, 1970.

9-For El Saadawi," the patriarchal family, therefore, came into existence mainly for economic reasons. It was necessary for society simultaneously to build up a system of moral and religious values, as well as a legal system capable of protecting and maintaining these economic interests. In the final analysis, we can safely say that female circumcision, the chastity belt and other savage practices applied to women are basically the result of economic interests that govern society."(1980:41). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books, 1980.

10-Concerning the inhuman practice of genital mutilation, El Saadawi says "Circumcision is most often performed on female children at the age of seven or eight (before the girl begins to get menstrual periods). On the scene appears the *daya* or local midwife. Two women members of the family grasp the child's thighs on either side and pull them apart to expose the external genital organs and to prevent her from struggling- like trussing a chicken before it is slain. A sharp razor in the hand of the *daya* cuts off the clitoris." (1980:33). She argues further that " numerous were the nights which I spent by the side of a young girl in a small country house or mud hut during my years in rural Egypt, treating hemorrhage that had resulted from the long dirty finger nail of a *daya* cutting through the soft tissues during the process of

defloration."(1980:29). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books, 1980.

11-In regard to ceremonies performed, Natasha Gordon-Chipembere argues that some female circumcision ceremonies were accompanied by ululating women and in rural areas drumming and other musical instruments, primarily to celebrate this rite of passage, but essentially to drown out the screams of pain from the young girls. Please see Gordon- Chipembere, Natasha. "Carving the Body: Female Circumcision in African Women's Memoirs." *Esharp*. 6:2. (2006): 1-20. Within this context , El Saadawi says that "In many villages , this ritual ceremony in honor of virginity is performed by an ugly old crone , the *daya* who earns her living by amputating the clitoris of children , and tearing open the vagina of young brides. The father of the bride then holds up a white towel stained with blood, and waves it proudly above his head for the relatives assembled at the door to bear witness to the fact that the honor of his daughter and of the family is intact."(1980: 29). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books, 1980.

12-Concerning the economic factors behind the practice of genital mutilation, El Saadawi argues that "the continued existence of such practices in our society today signifies that these economic interests are still operative. The thousands of *dayas,* nurses, para-medical staff and doctors, who make money out of female circumcision, naturally resist any change in these values and practices which are a source of gain to them. Economic factors and, concomitantly, political factors are the basis upon which such customs as female circumcision have grown up. It is important to understand the facts as they really are, and the reasons that lie behind them." (1980: 41). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books, 1980. You can also see for further information, Khan, Fawzia "Introducing a New Course: Muslim Women in Twentieth-Century Literature." *NWSA*.9:1 (1997): 88 and Lionnet, Francoise. "Feminisms and universalisms." *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A reader*. Eds. Lewis, Reina and Sara Mills. New York: Routledge, 2003. 368- 380.

13-For El Saadawi, religion "aims at truth, equality, justice, love and a healthy wholesome life for all people, whether men or women. There can be no true religion that aims at disease, mutilation of the bodies of female children, and amputation of an essential part of their reproductive organs."(1980: 41-2). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books, 1980.In her interview with Stephanie McMillan, she says that my conception of god is that god is inside us, and if god is outside us, it is the collective power of people, when they act, when they revolt against injustice. So god to me is justice. The revolution of people is divine. Please see McMillan, Stephanie. "A Conversation with Dr. Nawalel Saadawi." (1999). <home.earthlink.net/~twoeyesmagazine/issue1/nes.htm. >.

14- Concerning the question of illegitimate children, many illegitimate children were born as a result of the sexual freedom enjoyed by men in the patriarchal class system. El Saadawi argues that the "phenomenon of 'illegitimate children' stands out in history as one of the crimes committed by the patriarchal class system." (1980:52). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*.

Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books, 1980.

15- "It is necessary that women unite everywhere to strengthen and broaden their movement towards liberation. Solidarity between women can be a powerful force of change, and can influence future development in ways favorable not only to women but also to men."(1980:14). She contends further "It is necessary at all the times to see the close links between women's struggles for emancipation and the battles for national and social liberation waged by people in all parts of the 'third world' against foreign domination and the exploitation exercised by international capitalism over human and natural resources." (1980:8). Please see El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. Trans. Sherif Hetata. London: Zed Books, 1980. Chandra Mohanty says "I was committed, both politically and personally, to building noncolonizing feminist solidarity across borders."(2004:224). She contends further that "I want to speak of feminism without silences and exclusions in order to draw attention to the tension between the simultaneous plurality and narrowness of borders and the emancipatory potential of crossing through, with, and over these borders in our everyday lives. (2004:2). See Mohanty, Chandra. *Feminism without Borders*. USA: Duke University Press, 2004.

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Cooperation in the Face of Defection: The Prisoner's Dilemma in *Invisible Man.*

By Anthony Stewart

The death of Rosa Parks on October 24, 2005 reminded us that the 1950s were not just the post-war calm before the anti-war storm of the 1960s. As Morris Dickstein writes, "In the standard views of American culture after the war, and especially of the 1950s, the arts and intellectual life turned deeply conservative, reflecting the imperatives of the cold war, the migration to the suburbs, the new domesticity, and the rise of McCarthyism" (125). Of course, the *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* decision of 1954, the lynching of Emmett Till in 1955, the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957, not to mention the 381-day Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott initiated by Parks' refusal to relinquish her seat, are just a few of the events that combine to signal a socio- political turbulence that did not require the zeal of a petty junior senator from Wisconsin for their lasting historical significance. The memorializing of Parks, the first woman and only the second African American ever to lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda, signifies how much things have changed since the day of her protest, but also suggests how complicated the questions remain around the issues that inspired her to stay seated on December 1, 1955 when asked by a white man to take her ostensibly proper place at the back. Published in 1952, and awarded the National Book Award in 1953, *Invisible Man* is very much a novel of the 1950s.[1] African Americans returning from Europe with the belief that their service abroad would result in improved treatment at "home," instead encountered "all those acts, legal, emotional, economic and political, which we label Jim Crow,"[2] as Ellison writes in his 1949 essay, "The Shadow and the Act." The elaborate complex of subtle and overt rules that comprised Jim Crow put great pressure on the everyday decisions made by African American citizens.

One form this pressure took was the knowledge that the results of one's own decisions would necessarily be qualified, perhaps even nullified, by decisions made by those in positions of power, whether official power, or merely power based on the caprice of skin colour. The prisoner's dilemma, a fascinating game theory model for analyzing how one's decisions affect oneself as well as the wellbeing of someone else, emerges from the 1950s and enables an analysis of the signal event in the life of Ellison's narrator,[3] his expulsion from college.

That this model was a product of the then-emerging military-industrial complex (it was used to weigh the costs of a nuclear strike against the then-Soviet Union) adds a further political resonance to the contribution the prisoner's dilemma is able to make to the illumination of *Invisible Man*, as a model derived within an inherently conservative industrial matrix may be pressed into service in the examination of a critical text of the American literary canon. The prisoner's dilemma serves as both a rhetorical and a mechanical hermeneutic device that contributes to a thoroughgoing understanding of the relationship between the narrator of *Invisible Man* and Dr. Bledsoe. In addition, it highlights the important distinctions to be drawn between these two characters and Jim Trueblood, the sharecropper whose story of incest sets in motion the events that lead to the playing of the prisoner's dilemma. By way of conclusion, I will briefly consider how the workings of the prisoner's dilemma also help characterize Parks' political and ethical motivations, motivations that also underpin what becomes the Civil Rights Movement. The somewhat confusing lexicon of "cooperation" and "defection" constitutive of the prisoner's dilemma actually helps fashion this description of the Civil Right Movement by drawing our attention to the "principle" to which Ellison's narrator refers at the novel's end. This principle of American democracy as a common good identifies how cooperation with that common good required Parks' defection from the interests of the Jim Crow system.

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Much has been written about the prisoner's dilemma since the term was coined in 1950 by Albert W. Tucker, a consultant with the RAND Corporation (Poundstone 8). Robert Axelrod describes the basics of the prisoner's dilemma as follows:

> The original story is that two accomplices to a crime are arrested and questioned separately. Either can defect against the other by confessing and hoping for a lighter sentence. But if both confess, their confessions are not as valuable. On the other hand, if both cooperate with each other by refusing to confess, the district attorney can only convict them on a minor charge. Assuming that neither player has moral qualms about, or fear of, squealing, the payoffs can form a Prisoner's Dilemma. (125)

The dilemma, then, is that "individuals engage in pairwise interactions with two behavioral options. They must simultaneously decide whether to cooperate or to defect" (Hauert and Stenull 261). What must be understood about the prisoner's dilemma, and what is crucial to understanding how it obtains in *Invisible Man*, is that, as William Poundstone explains, "the common good is subverted by individual rationality. Each player desires the other's cooperation, yet is tempted to defect himself" (216). "Cooperation" means cooperation with the interest of the other player. In Axelrod's description, cooperating means staying silent. "Defection" refers to breaking ranks with the other player, in other words, confessing with one's own self-interest in mind.

If Player A defects (confesses) and Player B also defects (Table 1, bottom right), then each receives the "punishment for mutual defection"[4] (indicated by the 1's). If Player A cooperates (stays silent) and Player B also cooperates (top left), then each receives the "reward for mutual cooperation." The central problem,

and the reason the arrangement is called a dilemma, is that if Player A defects and Player B cooperates (top right), then Player A receives the "temptation to defect payoff" (he goes free, represented by the 5) and Player B receives the "sucker's payoff" (he alone receives the maximum sentence, represented by the 0). But Player B is also aware of these potential payoffs, and so is just as tempted to defect, possibly receiving the temptation to defect payoff for himself and leaving the sucker's payoff to Player A, if A were to cooperate (bottom left). So, even though the common good would be best served by the cooperation of both players, each fears the other will defect, and so each will tend to defect unilaterally. Poundstone sums up the problem: "In a true, one-time-only prisoner's dilemma, it is as hard to justify cooperation as it is to accept mutual defection as the logical outcome. Therein lies the paradox" (122). With its weighted outcomes based on individual decisions, the prisoner's dilemma is an especially provocative hermeneutic theory when examining a text by an African American writer. The choices of defection or cooperation have long been characterized variously for and by African Americans, along with the prospect of many different levels of reward or punishment. As in the prisoner's dilemma, these rewards or punishments are inevitably affected by the simultaneous decisions of others.

Ellison would no doubt have approved of a theory derived from mathematics being called upon in an analysis of *Invisible Man*, since he famously describes his own novel in numerical terms, revealing the significance of the 1369 light bulbs that illuminate his narrator's secret apartment, in "The Art of Fiction: An Interview,"

> The three parts represent the narrator's movement from, using Kenneth Burke's terms, purpose to passion to perception. These three major sections are built up of smaller units of three which mark the course of the action and which depend for their development upon what I hoped was a consistent and developing motivation. . . . Each section begins with a sheet of paper; each piece of paper is exchanged for another and contains a definition of his identity, or the social role he is to play as defined for him by others. (218- 19)

One last detail to include about the nature of the prisoner's dilemma before proceeding to an analysis of who participates in the prisoner's dilemma in *Invisible Man*--and as importantly, who does not--is to clarify that the prisoner's dilemma is not a zero-sum game, in which one player wins to the extent that the other loses. Presciently, the novel provides an example of the zero-sum game in its Prologue, in which a prizefighter encounters a yokel in the ring. Although the prizefighter dominates the bout most of the way, his domination does not matter at all, once the yokel, "rolling about in the gale of boxing gloves, struck one blow and knocked science, speed and footwork as cold as a well-digger's posterior. The smart money hit the canvas. The long shot got the nod" (8). That's a zero-sum game; there is no ranked payoff that the prizefighter receives for having led most of the fight. Coming second is coming last.

Another type of game that recurs in Ellison's work is the "fool's errand," in which the deck is stacked against an individual, who is forced to play along or risk being humiliated, beaten or worse. One particularly vivid instance of the fool's errand in Ellison's non-fiction is recounted in "An Extravagance of Laughter," in which a "very black-skinned young man" is tormented and eventually beaten unconscious by

two Phoenix City, Alabama policemen because his surname happens to be "Whyte." The two policemen "forced Whyte to pronounce his name again and again while insisting that they simply couldn't believe that such a gross misnaming was possible" (634). The fool's errand in *Invisible Man* is signaled by the instruction to "keep this nigger-boy running,"[5] as the narrator erroneously pursues his ambitions, not knowing that they have already been irrevocably foreclosed upon by the cynical Dr. Bledsoe.

With the framework of the prisoner's dilemma in place, we may now turn to the nature of the two principal players in the novel itself, when the narrator encounters a conflict in which his decision brings with it a weighted system of potential payoffs, a system whose ultimate result is affected by the simultaneous decision of another player. This moment is his argument with Dr. Bledsoe about Mr. Norton, the wealthy white benefactor whom the narrator ill-advisedly drives to the Quarters, a poor area near the college where Jim Trueblood lives with his wife and daughter, both pregnant with his children. Norton is the sort of man upon whom "an unshakable innocent, immature, eager to get ahead, trained in the habits of deference and humility through which blacks in America had traditionally gotten by" (Dickstein 135) would desperately want to leave a positive impression. Once the narrator has returned Norton to the college, harried but largely unharmed, he must appear in Dr. Bledsoe's office for punishment and a lesson.

Bledsoe is also an important man, of course. For the purposes of the prisoner's dilemma, though, even with the understanding that both Norton and Bledsoe are men the narrator admires, they are qualitatively different from one another. The narrator could never enter into a prisoner's dilemma with Norton because the power imbalance is simply too great. There is no conceivable decision that the narrator could make that might threaten to impinge negatively upon a man like Norton. This point is made abundantly clear at the end of the novel when the narrator fortuitously encounters Norton in a subway station and the benefactor does not remember ever having even met the narrator, let alone the chaotic adventure they once shared. The implications of the prisoner's dilemma are most clearly demonstrated by the ways in which the narrator's interests compete with Dr. Bledsoe's.

Bledsoe's role in the prisoner's dilemma also helps illustrate the role that racial stereotypes play in the novel, more particularly how certain stereotypes are played off against others. The narrator describes Bledsoe as "the example of everything I hoped to be: Influential with wealthy men all over the country; consulted in matters concerning the race; a leader of his people; the possessor of not one, but *two* Cadillacs, a good salary and a soft, good-looking and creamy-complexioned wife" (101). The narrator also acknowledges that "some of the fellows" call Bledsoe "Bucket-head" behind his back, although he never has (101). The remainder of his description is also significant: "What was more, while black and bald and everything white folks poked fun at, he had achieved power and authority; had while black and wrinkle-headed, made himself of more importance in the world than most Southern white men. They could laugh at him but they couldn't ignore him" (101). The narrator does not stop here to reflect upon the cost Bledsoe has borne in attaining this attenuated brand of authority, although he appears aware that there must be some cost, as his description makes clear in his repeated references to Bledsoe being "poked fun at" and "laughed at." Returning twice to Bledsoe's blackness hints as well at the narrator's intuitive apprehension of the president's vulnerability.

The narrator's repetition of Bledsoe's physical characteristics suggests Homi Bhabha's formulation of the stereotype:

> Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic *repetition*. Likewise the stereotype, which is its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and *something that must be anxiously repeated …* as if the essential duplicity of the Asiatic or the bestial sexual licence of the African that needs no proof, can never really, in discourse, be proved. (66, emphasis added)

Through his description of the college president, the narrator makes Bledsoe into a site for this anxious repetition. But Bhabha's focus on the state of ambivalence that he sees as "central to the stereotype … ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed" (66). The notion of ambivalence suggests the excessive nature of Bledsoe's own anxious repetition as he embarks on another fool's errand, the definitive refutation of his own stereotyping. His ownership of *two* Cadillacs is especially significant, as it literalizes Bledsoe's anxious and excessive repetition.

The question of stereotypes is central to determining the players in the novel's instance of the prisoner's dilemma because it helps delineate relative power positions, as well as uncover a surprising locus of power within the text. That locus is Jim Trueblood. While Trueblood is not a player in the prisoner's dilemma, his role in the story helps clarify the game theory model's application. How he begins recounting his tale of taboo registers Bhabha's point about the role of repetition in a way that is tellingly different from the repetition in which Bledsoe is engaged: "He cleared his throat, his eyes gleaming and his voice taking on a deep, incantatory quality, as though he had told the story many, many times" (53-4). Houston Baker, in his central essay on the role of Trueblood in *Invisible Man*, writes that "when the farmer begins to recount the story of his incestuous act with his daughter Matty Lou, he does so as a man who has thoroughly rehearsed his tale and who has clearly refined his knowledge of his audience" (326). The force of the stereotype actually secures Trueblood's livelihood in the days after his story makes its way into the conversation of the surrounding area.

In his examination of black minstrelsy in *Native Son*, Mikko Tuhkanen makes a point very similar to Baker's. Tuhkanen discusses Lacan's game theory, arguing that

> a slippage of activity and passivity is characteristic of the potentially emancipatory blackface strategies: the black performers who have put on the masks created for and by the white gaze can fool their audience by "playing (like) an idiot." Yet, as the theorists of minstrelsy without fail emphasize, such strategies can be destructive to the performers themselves in that the minstrel mask threatens to possess the subject behind it. As soon as the player, whether of

even and odd or of the minstrel stage, begins to believe in his/her own deception, the game spins out of control. (23)

Tuhkanen's account of the "potentially emancipatory" nature of the minstrel performance clearly distinguishes between Trueblood's contingent performance and both the narrator's and Bledsoe's obvious belief in the masks that they don for the satisfaction of the white gaze. Their games spin out of control in a way Trueblood's never does. If these characterizations apply to Bigger Thomas, as Tuhkanen argues, they apply possibly with even more force to Jim Trueblood. The sense of performance is all the more patent in the case of Ellison's sharecropper since he lives and prospers from his manipulation of the image he presents to the white world. Thomas, by contrast, has a fleeting moment of power but ultimately is arrested and awaits execution as his story ends.

Trueblood exhibits his control over his circumstances when he invokes white power against the blacks who run the college. When the blacks, who are ashamed of him, try to make Trueblood leave the area, he complains to Mr. Buchanan, "the boss man" (52), who gives him a note to take to the sheriff (reinvoking the mechanics of the fool's errand, but this time to Trueblood's advantage). The scene as Trueblood describes it demonstrates the anxiety of repetition for the purpose of locating the stereotype but Trueblood's own insouciant ambivalence resists any imposition of fixity. As Trueblood explains:

> [the sheriff] ask me to tell him what happen, and I tole him and he called in some more men and they made me tell it again. They wanted to hear about the gal lots of times and they gimme somethin' to eat and drink and some tobacco. Surprised me, 'cause I was *scared and spectin' somethin' different. Why, I guess there ain't a colored man in the county who ever got to take so much of the white folkses' time as I did.* (52-3, emphasis added)

Trueblood is at first worried that his fool's errand might end as others have, probably with his own lynching. However, he realizes eventually that he has something the white men desire, the opportunity to repeat what they already believe about the blacks who live among them, a belief in their sexual perversion. Baker seizes upon the capitalist nexus at play in the reiteration of the stereotype as enacted by Trueblood: "Trueblood, who assumes the minstrel mask to the utter chagrin of the Invisible Man ('How can he tell this to white men, I thought, when he knows they'll say that all Negroes do such things?'), has indeed accepted the profit motive that gave birth to that mask in the first place" (340). Whereas Bledsoe's "cynical accommodationist careerism" (189), in Trevor McNeely's felicitious phrase, makes that character appear reprehensible, Trueblood sees quite clearly the world in which he lives. To the whites in the town, and to some blacks, including the narrator, he may in fact be a stereotype of the illiterate, over-sexed "field nigger," but Trueblood intuitively realizes what Bhabha has realized about stereotypes, that they are fraught with ambivalence:

> It is recognizably true that the chain of stereotypical signification is curiously mixed and split, polymorphous and perverse, an articulation of multiple belief. The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the

embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces. In each case what is being dramatized is a separation--*between* races, cultures, histories, *within* histories--a separation between *before* and *after* that repeats obsessively the mythical moment or disjunction. (82)[6]

Much of Bhabha's characterization of the stereotype describes Trueblood, the innocent yet worldly recounter of a true, but now well-rehearsed and profitable, story. Stereotypes, then, are like God--both everything and nothing, existing because people choose to and just as crucially, *desire* to, believe in them. Trueblood, in a sense important to the outcome of the novel and explanatory of his exclusion from the prisoner's dilemma, simply chooses not to believe that he is a stereotype. *He* knows his life is more complex than the urge to stereotype will permit.

Trueblood recognizes two crucial things. First, by satisfying the repeated desire of others, he gains materially. The one-hundred-dollar bill that Norton gives him at the end of his story is only the latest compensation he has received. Second, his very existence threatens the order that attempts to objectify him in the first place. As Leonard Cassuto has written: "the objectified (and thus grotesque) human being is not both human and thing but neither; not double--like Bhabha's hybrid--but in between. Bhabha says that hybridity of the object makes the basis of the colonizer's authority 'problematic' and thus causes him to become 'tongue-tied'" (17). Cassuto's argument usefully qualifies Bhabha by exploring "the 'mutation' of the other," and "ultimately focuses on the objectifier's dilemma and his complicated struggles to write his way out of it" (17). The objectifier's dilemma is at least as complex as the prisoner's and Trueblood knows this, whereas his more educated "betters" do not. Stereotyping, then, is a lot of work and requires the sorts of strategies and tactics that are required from chessmasters or skilled athletes, as well as minstrels. It is also a game that the preternaturally calm and now relatively prosperous Trueblood seems mostly amused by. At one point, the narrator actually catches Trueblood smiling at him "behind his eyes" (61). Stereotyping cannot account for such layered interiority. Trueblood's calm stands in sharp contradistinction to the earnest strivings and schemings of both the narrator and Dr. Bledsoe.

One additional point must be made about Trueblood's role in understanding who plays and who does not play in the novel's round of the prisoner's dilemma, before turning back to the game itself. Trueblood sees the terms of the game he is playing with a clarity that neither of the other two men does. But he also sees *their* roles clearly, even if they do not understand his or, for that matter, their own. While recounting the part of his story in which the local blacks scheme to remove the sharecropper and his family from the area, he says: "Them big nigguhs didn't bother me, neither. It just goes to show yuh that no matter how biggity a nigguh gits, the white folks can always cut him down. The white folks took up for me. And the white folks took to coming out here to see us and talk with us" (53). Trueblood knows what Bledsoe seems not to know, that his power is contingent upon the favor of the dominant culture. Bledsoe, as we'll see later, instead believes that *he* is power. Trueblood knows that Bledsoe may be "cut down" by the real centre of power at any moment.

The sharecropper's insight into the narrator is even more telling since he already knows what the narrator takes the entire novel to learn. The narrator begins his story with these prophetic words: "I was naïve. I was looking for myself and asking everyone except myself questions which I, and only I, could answer. It took me a long time and much painful boomeranging of my expectations to achieve a realization everyone else appears to have been born with: That I am nobody but myself" (15). This hard-won knowledge is the same knowledge, in almost identical words, to which Trueblood arrives after the night he impregnates his daughter: " I sings me some blues that night ain't never been sang before, and while I'm singin' them blues I makes up my mind that *I ain't nobody but myself* and ain't nothin' I can do but let whatever is gonna happen, happen" (66, emphasis added). The homology between these two statements throws into sharp relief the common condition of the sharecropper and the college student. The principal difference between them is that the college student does not *get* this similarity until he has endured the many ordeals detailed in his narrative. What he learns, ultimately, is that he has actually, unwittingly, been trying to become more like Trueblood and less like Bledsoe all along, more like the figure who knows he is being stereotyped, understands the ambivalence of this process, plays along, but finally dismisses it (lets whatever is gonna happen, happen), and less like the figure who knows he is being stereotyped, does not understand its layers of ambivalence, and misguidedly believes he has conquered it.

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The foregoing analysis of Jim Trueblood's role as stereotype clarifies what is at stake for the narrator and Dr. Bledsoe in the playing of the prisoner's dilemma that decides the narrator's fate for much of the remainder of *Invisible Man*. In her essay, "Game Theory and Ellison's *King of the Bingo Game,*" Diane Long Hoeveler focuses her attention on "the image of game playing and the theories surrounding games as an expression of both the futility and the special challenges posed to Black culture in contemporary America" (39). And while these special challenges find expression every day in contemporary America, it is the model of the prisoner's dilemma that actually characterizes the challenges that Ellison's narrator encounters, but also represents, as he tries to comprehend the complex and ambivalent forces working against his discovery of his own autonomy.

Dr. Bledsoe stands in useful conflict with the narrator, as both are vulnerable in the face of some higher power--the narrator to Bledsoe and Norton, Bledsoe in turn to Norton and other men like him, or, more to the point, other men whom he wishes to be like. In Dr. Bledsoe's office, after the encounter with Jim Trueblood, the college president tells his young charge: "You've got to be disciplined, boy, . . . There's no if's and and's about it" (141). The narrator's reply signals the beginning of the prisoner's dilemma: "But you gave Mr. Norton your word" (141). Now both men must make decisions. The narrator instinctively, like Trueblood, looks to the source of real power. He knows that the "biggity" president might be cut down by the wealthy white benefactor. While he is of course terrified by the prospect of being expelled, he has no power at all if he attempts to confront Bledsoe man to man. However, if he capitalizes upon Bledsoe's vulnerability, he thinks he may stand a chance in their confrontation.

"I'll tell him," I said. "I'll go to Mr. Norton and tell him. You've lied to both of us" "What!"

he said. "You have the nerve to threaten me . . . in my own office?" "I'll tell him," I screamed. "I'll tell everybody. I'll fight you. I swear it. I'll fight!" "Well," he said, sitting back, "well, I'll be damn!" (141)

Each of these four lines reveals an important point in the conflict. First, the narrator recognizes that even the president of his college has a vulnerability that might be exploited for his own gain. Second, the president is offended by the breach of hierarchy and decorum signaled by the student's willingness to threaten him within the sanctum of his own office, one of the trappings of his ostensible power. Third, the narrator does not reflexively back down once the president's semblance of power is invoked. And finally, the president recognizes that he is going to have to approach his young adversary differently than through overt intimidation. The four statements indicate that the president is not invulnerable and so he is put on something approaching a par with the narrator.

I am not contending that Dr. Bledsoe has the same stakes in the decision matrix as the narrator, but it is important to note that for each the stakes are high, relative to his respective position. Bledsoe does not want to lose face in the eyes of Norton, since his power is dependent upon his relationship with men like Norton. Bledsoe's lengthy disquisition on the nature of power actually contradicts itself, when, in his parody of I Corinthians 13: 4-8, he proclaims: "Power doesn't have to show off. Power is confident, self-assuring, self-starting, and self-stopping, self-warming and self-justifying" (142). Leaving aside that he has replaced "love" from the original with "power," his emphasis on the self points up the fallacy in his proclamation and reveals his true vulnerability. Here again, we encounter the anxious repetition Bhabha identifies as constitutive of the stereotype. Bledsoe is right. Power doesn't have to show off. The image of the paternalistic but completely self-assured Norton provides the example of power that Bledsoe would like to invoke, although invoking it aloud necessarily undermines it. Even in the face of the impressive display of power he makes in this scene, the sort of display that cannot help but impress a college junior, it should not impress us. The simple irony is that if his power were as unassailable as he says it is, he would not feel called upon to make the demonstration about his power that he does, least of all to an underling. Bledsoe even acknowledges this fact, when he describes his situation as "a nasty deal and I don't always like it myself. But you listen to me: I didn't make it, and I know that I can't change it. But I've made my place in it and I'll have every Negro in the country hanging on tree limbs by morning if it means staying where I am" (143). No common good for him. Bledsoe's demonstration of his ostensible power is hollow at best, chilling at worst, as he calls up the constant threat to African Americans during the time at which the novel is written—the lynching--and reveals his awareness of the profound vulnerability that comes with citizenship in what Ellison would later term "segregated democracy" (821).

When the narrator threatens to expose Bledsoe as a man who does not keep his word, he declares that he is willing to defect, not just reflexively cooperate, as might be expected of a subordinate. When Bledsoe says, "well, I'll be damn" and then tells the narrator, "Wait, wait" (141), as the young man prepares to leave the president's office, presumably to find Norton, Bledsoe feigns a willingness at least to consider cooperation. With each character willing to engage in the prisoner's dilemma, we may now examine their relative payoffs. Four possibilities exist: both may defect (neither accepts any blame for the trip to the

Quarters), both may cooperate (each accepts some blame), one may defect and the other cooperate, and vice versa. What happens in the narrative is represented by the lower left-hand square in Table 2: Bledsoe defects (accepts no blame), the narrator cooperates (accepts some blame). Of course, part of this acceptance of blame is not saying anything to Norton about this conversation.

Let's come back to what actually happens later. For now, it is worth considering the hypothetical possibilities. If both cooperate (top left), the most equitable outcome and the one in which the common good is best served, then Bledsoe accepts some blame for what happens to Norton and appears magnanimous, a good leader, and a loyal man who is willing to support his underlings even when one of them makes an error in judgment. The narrator accepts some blame and appears mature, willing to accept the consequences of his actions, and an example to be followed by other young citizens. These prospects justify the reward for mutual cooperation of 3. If both defect (bottom right), both may be viewed quite negatively. Bledsoe appears disloyal, heavy-handed, and unwilling to accept the responsibility that accompanies the authority of his office. (This is how he ends up looking, of course, since he does defect. However, since the narrator cooperates and does not tell Norton about Bledsoe's breach of his promise not to punish the narrator, Bledsoe does not look this way to Norton, only to us.) The narrator also appears disloyal, but in addition, he looks insubordinate, and possibly dangerous to the status quo. A man like Norton might easily be led to think, "If this educated young black man cannot be trusted to submit to the authority of his own kind, at what point might he turn on us?" Because of these negative implications, the payoffs are quite low for both, represented by the punishment for mutual defection of 1.

Perhaps most intriguing is the prospect in which the narrator defects and Bledsoe cooperates (top right). In this scenario, Bledsoe appears to have been out-maneuvered by a college junior. He appears hardly a man of judgment or magnanimity, but merely naïve and possibly not even someone who deserves the exalted office he holds. The narrator appears canny and savvy, a young man who knows how to get what he wants and how to play the game. To someone like Norton, a defecting narrator and a cooperating Bledsoe shows the narrator as one who might be quite easily controlled because of his own ambition, in other words, a younger version of Bledsoe himself.

But, of course, none of this happens. Bledsoe's display of power convinces the narrator of his invulnerability, leaving the young man with the illusion that his own defection would be futile. As a result, he accepts the blame and says nothing, cooperating. Bledsoe, anticipating the narrator's cooperation, defects, expelling the narrator from the college, and leaving us in the bottom left-hand square. Noteworthy here is how the significance of Bledsoe's decision is hinted at by the narrative, even as he succeeds in duping the narrator, as he says, "I like your spirit, son. You're a fighter, and I like that; you just lack judgment, though lack of judgment can ruin you" (144). These words are truer than the narrator knows, since the irony buried within them is that the narrator's own lack of judgment in playing the prisoner's dilemma with someone like Bledsoe will, in fact, ruin him. When the president grandly condescends to provide the narrator with "letters to some of the school's friends" (145) in order to help the narrator find work after his expulsion, he has won the game, consolidating his temptation to defect payoff of 5, and leaving to the narrator the sucker's payoff of 0.

For the *coup de grâce*, Bledsoe sends the narrator on a fool's errand, which manifests itself in the novel in the historically fraught expression, "keep-this-nigger-boy running." The magnitude of Bledsoe's defection is doubled by the nature of the letters that he sends the narrator away with, letters which, in accordance with the customs of the fool's errand, he insists the narrator not open. The letters say, in part, that "it is to the best interests of the college that this young man have no knowledge of the finality of his expulsion" (190), meaning that Bledsoe has not only defected in terms of the prisoner's dilemma, but has defected a second time as well, in concealing from the other player the full extent of his defection. Bledsoe's reference to the narrator's mistake as a "most serious defection from our strictest rules of deportment" (190) creates a sense of the almost innate relationship between the novel and this game theoretical model, and provides a further irony still, as Bledsoe actually misapplies the label of "defector" to the player who actually cooperates.

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We know where all of this leaves the narrator as he begins the journey that culminates with his realization that he is "nobody but [him]self" (15). The final question to be addressed here is: where does the playing of the prisoner's dilemma leave us as the novel ends with the narrator's closing declarations on the principles of American democracy? Nicole A. Waligora-Davis refers to Ellison's "own nationalist project, his own rebirth of America: a dawning racial consciousness on the part of black Americans who not only must concede their invisibility in American society, but also must accept their history, a history that renders them responsible for realizing America's democratic promise" (397). Waligora-Davis's summary of the acceptance of both responsibility and invisibility as concomitant conditions for African Americans reiterates my initial introduction of the prisoner's dilemma into the analysis of *Invisible Man*. One must still make decisions, even if those decisions are nullified by the decisions of others. The narrator's decision to cooperate, by preparing to emerge from his hole as the novel ends, signals the beginning of the realization of the American democratic promise to which Waligora-Davis refers.[7]

If we know, as game theory tells us, that in a single iteration of the prisoner's dilemma one is always better off defecting, irrespective of what the other player does--in order to avoid receiving the sucker's payoff--then we also know that in an iterated prisoner's dilemma (multiple repetitions of the game), "you benefit from the other player's cooperation. The trick is to encourage that cooperation. A good way to do it is to make it clear that you will reciprocate. Words can help here, but as everyone knows, actions speak louder than words" (Axelrod 125). The model of American democracy that Ellison champions throughout his writing career encourages cooperation instead of defection. The narrator explains his revelation at the end of the book, when he says, "in spite of myself I've learned some things" (579). What he has learned is that each of his antagonists may interact with him in a one-time fashion and may, as a result, defect. But his realization is: "It's 'winner take nothing' that is the great truth of our country or of any country. Life is to be lived, not controlled; and humanity is won by continuing to play in face of certain defeat" (577).[8] This resolution explains the following assertion near the novel's conclusion: "There is, by the way, an area in which a man's feelings are more rational than his mind, and it is precisely in that area that his will is pulled in several directions at the same time" (573). Here, he is talking about the common good,

an ideal that arises from the classic description of the prisoner's dilemma as well as from the nature of American democracy. Trueblood has rejected others' attempts to make him one thing or the other and is now comfortably grotesque, as Cassuto would have it. That is, Trueblood is living in between categories spawned by the ambivalence of the stereotype. Bledsoe uses the prisoner's dilemma as an opportunity to consolidate his attempts to be one thing, namely, a powerful man who is willing to contemplate even the most monstrous atrocity to maintain his position. But neither man is motivated by a sense of the common good like the narrator is. The narrator has learned that repetition, here repeated iterations of the prisoner's dilemma, *may* lead to what Ellison would later describe as the perfection of the American democracy, "the inclusion, *not* the assimilation, of the black man" (582). But again, the model is one of tension, not guarantee. The model of the prisoner's dilemma is particularly apt in relation to *Invisible Man* because it demonstrates that one might make a reasonable decision and the result may still be expulsion. In other words, the game is to encourage cooperation, which requires repeated interactions, even at the risk of being occasionally "Bledsoed."

The somewhat counterintuitive terminology of the prisoner's dilemma may be employed more intuitively in analyzing the political strategies that motivate what comes to be known--after Rosa Parks' decision--as the Civil Rights Movement. It is worth redeploying this terminology by way of conclusion. The problems posed by lexicon of the prisoner's dilemma begins with the connotations of "cooperation" and "defection." These two words suggest simultaneously cooperation with or defection from both the authorities and one's accomplice. It is the district attorney, after all, who will decide what penalties the two prisoners receive, in the classic description of the dilemma, but this penalty is influenced by the choice each prisoner makes simultaneously. Neither wishes to receive the harshest available penalty, which is why each is tempted to defect from what is obviously the common good (mitigated punishments for both) irrespective of the other's decision.

But the terminology actually helps throw into sharp relief the actions of one previously unknown woman on one December day in 1955. It also explains the revelation that occurs to an unnamed narrator contemporaneous with Parks' decision at the end of his lengthy consideration of his place in twentieth-century America. Parks' decision to remain seated is clearly a defection, when considered in relation to the interests of the other player in this momentous iteration of the game theoretical model, the other player being J.F. Blake, the bus driver who demanded that Parks yield her seat to a white passenger. Blake similarly defects from Parks' interests, as evidenced by his requirement that she accede to the will of a system of rules intended to inscribe her own inferiority upon her. The prisoner's dilemma requires that there be some outside agent that determines the relative payoffs. In *Invisible Man*, that agent, implicitly, is Mr. Norton. Between Parks and Blake, the outside agent is the apparatus of Jim Crow segregation. Blake is not as vulnerable as Parks in this instance of the prisoner's dilemma because the infrastructure of Jim Crow has an interest that is inseparable from Blake's; whereas the hypothetical district attorney in Axelrod's model does not care who defects, the agent of the law in 1955 Birmingham certainly does. As Bhabha has made clear, repetition of the inferiority of the stereotyped object betrays an anxiety about the truth of the claims of inferiority in the first place. Therefore, it is paramount for Blake and the proponents for Jim Crow that Blake defect from Parks' interests, thus repeating the stereotyping claims. This anxiety is all the more

apparent if we imagine Blake's vulnerability if he were to have sided with (cooperated with) Parks and allowed her to remain in her seat. If he cooperates with her, then he can expect the infrastructure of Jim Crow segregation to turn against him, with all of the severity that might befall a white man taking the side of a black woman.

But more important than her defection from the interests of J.F. Blake and the individual agents of Jim Crow is her *cooperation* with the "principle" that Ellison's narrator extols at the end of *Invisible Man*. It is this principle that Irving Howe does not understand in "Black Boys and Native Sons," as he famously criticizes what he calls the "sudden, unprepared and implausible assertion of unconditioned freedom with which the novel ends" (113), and similarly which is often misunderstood or underestimated by those who criticize Ellison's politics.[9]

Ellison's narrator actually articulates the cause with which Parks cooperates, in contradistinction to the cause from which she defects, as he finally stumbles upon the meaning of his grandfather's enigmatic dying words: "Could he have meant--hell, he *must* have meant the principle, that we were to affirm the principle on which the country was built and not the men, or at least not the men who did the violence" (574). As he gains the rhetorical momentum that culminates his narrative, the narrator considers a number of options that all point to the recognition of the overarching principle with which all Americans are ultimately instructed to cooperate:

> Or did he mean that we had to take the responsibility for all of it, for the men as well as the principle, because we were the heirs who must use the principle because no other fitted our needs? Not for the power or for vindication, but because we, with the given circumstance of our origin, could only thus find transcendence? Was it that we of all, we, most of all, had to affirm the principle, the plan in whose name we had been brutalized and sacrificed--not because we would always be weak nor because we were afraid or opportunistic, but because we were older than they, in the sense of what it took *to live in the world with others* and because they had exhausted in us, some--not much, but some--of the human greed and small-ness, yes, and the fear and superstition that had kept them running. (Oh, yes, they're running too, running all over themselves.) (574, emphasis added)

As the narrator continues to figure out the mutual requirements within the American democracy, he artic-ulates the necessity for cooperation to which Ellison returns repeatedly in his writing. As Lucas E. Morel notes: *"*In 1965, when Ellison gave [the interview published as 'A Very Stern Discipline'], integration was a highly charged political concept. Ellison deliberately used the word 'integration' to illustrate how profoundly he saw the connection between what he was doing in his stories and what others were doing in the streets for the Civil Rights Movement" (2*)*. Put simply, integration is cooperation. The activism of cooperation with the principle is the model for the political strategies of the Civil Rights Movement.

The choice to act against type, to defect from the demands of the stereotype, carry with them the sort of destabilizing power that Cassuto sees in the grotesque, a power registered in David J. Garrow's description

of the moment on the bus when Parks makes her statement. Once Blake says he will have her arrested, "Mrs. Parks told him to go right ahead, that she was not going to move. Blake said nothing more, but got off the bus and went to a phone. No one spoke to Mrs. Parks, and some passengers began leaving the bus, not wanting to be inconvenienced by the incident" (12). While Garrow focuses on the inconvenience of the other passengers, one can safely presume a high degree of anxiety at such a moment. When the stereotyped object refuses that stereotyping--defects--the destabilizing effect is palpable. The further point that all of this anxiety is caused by the decision of just one woman emphasizes once more the requirement to repeat the status of the stereotype as stereotype. Even a single defection from Jim Crow cannot be ignored.

By the end of *Invisible Man*, the narrator has been given every encouragement to defect from the principle, to act solely based on his own interests, as Bledsoe and Trueblood, in their different ways, do. James Seaton has written, in his article, "Affirming the Principle": "The narrator's willingness to allow readers to note the strengths as well as the failings of Bledsoe and Ras implies that he has incorporated the lessons he has learned in the course of the novel; his ultimate willingness to 'affirm the principle' is not a sentimental expression of naïve idealism, but a result of hard-won experience" (27). What he learns, and what Ellison wants his reader to realize, especially at a critical juncture in American history, is that the longer view of the American democracy requires cooperation and, more important, the encouragement of cooperation in others. This encouragement can obviously take many forms, and emerges from a specific moment in American history. In the end, the question is what interests citizens decide to cooperate with and defect from, recognizing that there are different payoffs that accompany each decision. *Invisible Man* signals the imperative of claiming one's rightful space within the workings of democracy. What is certain is that this claiming of space, this encouragement of cooperation, cannot be achieved through isolation, hibernation, or the refusal to play.

Notes

[1] The exchange between Barbara Foley and Brian Roberts, in *Journal of Narrative Theory*, situates Ellison's novel within the politics between the "late 1930s and the early 1950s" (Foley 229), while the present argument focuses on the prospective political implications of *Invisible Man*, looking forward from the publication of the novel in 1952, through to the events of the 1950s already mentioned, and then to the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950s and 1960s.

[2] Ellison, Ralph. "The Shadow and the Act." [1949]. *The Collected Essays of Ralph Ellison*. Ed. John F. Callahan. Modern Library Edition. New York: Random House, 1995. 305. All references to Ellison's non-fiction are taken from this edition and noted parenthetically in the text.

[3] I will insist, perhaps pedantically, upon calling the narrator "the narrator," and not "Invisible Man" as is often done, because to call him "Invisible Man" is still to name him and one of the crucial stylistic decisions Ellison makes in the novel is to leave this character unnamed.

[4] The terms "temptation to defect," "reward for mutual cooperation," "punishment for mutual defection," and "sucker's payoff" emerge from Robert Axelrod's *The Evolution of Cooperation* (8). I rely heavily on both Axelrod's discussion and William Poundstone's *The Prisoner's Dilemma* for my understanding of the dilemma.

[5] Leon Forrest, in "Luminosity from the Lower Frequencies," provides an extended explanation of this fool's errand:

> For in the old South, a form of black baiting which had its genesis in slavery would proceed as follows: A Negro newcomer would arrive upon the scene, looking for gainful employment; he would go to a prospective white employer. This ordinary small-town white businessman would immediately spot the fact that this was not one of the local blacks and would tell the black outsider that he did not have work at this time but that he did know of someone who might have jobs available down the road, perhaps.
>
> The white businessman would then give the horizon-seeking black a sealed letter to take to the next prospective employer. Upon reaching the next white man, the letter would be presented, opened by the white man, read and mused over, and then the Negro would hear the same old story--"no jobs" here but perhaps "up the road," and then the white merchant would scribble something on the note, reseal the communiqué (like the Negro's fate), and hand the letter back to the outreaching dark hand. This would happen again and again, until the black finally opened the letter and read the message, or got the message, and read out his symbolic fate (or some variation upon the theme): "To Whom It May Concern: Keep This Nigger- Boy Running." (278-79)

The extent of Bledsoe's duplicity is measured, then, by the fact that an anti-black game dating from the time of slavery is the particular fool's errand on which he sends the narrator.

[6] Engaging with Bhabha's notion of mimicry in the colonial context, Hsu Hsuan characterizes the ambivalence of the stereotype in terms of double-binds:

> Thus racism confronts its victims with a series of double-binds. The narcissistic relation alternately effaces racial specificities and imposes a crushing or hyper-aggressive consciousness of them. Similarly, the racial gaze renders black subjects both invisible and *too* visible within a given picture. On the one hand, blacks are seen as embodiments of stereotypically constructed differences (Pullman porters, tom-toms, tobacco plantations, etc.); on the other hand, they are overlooked as subjects with the capacity to actively define their relation to their own historicity. (115)

Like Bhabha's catalogue of ambivalences, Hsuan also points up the inherent instability at the heart of these racial constructs.

7 In "Notes on the Invisible Women in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*," Claudia Tate predicts "that the Invisible Man's efforts to leave the underground, though valiant, will be aborted time and time again, since he has no mother to give him birth. The womb that encases him cannot deliver him to the aboveground region" (265). Tate's provocative reading overlooks the fact that the narrator knows his reemergence may not work out positively, but he must reemerge, cooperate with the principle, anyway.

8 This resolution echoes that of another early twentieth-century intellectual whose legacy is marked by his willingness to work against the grain of his time, George Orwell, who writes in one of his "As I Please" columns, from November 29, 1946: "I think one must continue the political struggle, just as a doctor must try to save the life of a patient who is probably going to die" (IV, 248-49).

9 In his prologue to *Ralph Ellison and the Raft of Hope*, Morel provides examples of some of the main positions with respect to Ellison's politics. Regarding Ellison's politics in general, I am inclined to agree with Morel's statement: "*Invisible Man* represents 'political hope' in at least two ways: first, by what the narrator is able to learn and teach through his own journey *up* the river to freedom and enlightenment: second, by what the novel as a novel conveys about Ellison's demonstration of the freedom and possibilities available to black Americans, white Americans, and human beings, simply, when faced with barriers to their development as individuals." (8)

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Prisoner's Dilemma in *Invisible Man*
Table 1

	Prisoner A cooperates	Prisoner A defects
Prisoner B cooperates	3, 3 Reward for mutual cooperation	5, 0 Temptation to defect, Sucker's payoff
Prisoner B defects	0, 5 Sucker's payoff, Temptation to defect	1, 1 Punishment for mutual defection

Prisoner's Dilemma in *Invisible Man*
Table 2

	IM cooperates	IM defects
Bledsoe cooperates	IM accepts blame-3 B accepts blame-3	IM accepts no blame-5 B accepts blame-0
Bledsoe defects	**IM accepts blame-0** **B accepts no blame-5**	IM accepts no blame-1 B accepts no blame-1

Troping Prostitution: Jonson and "The Court Pucell"

By Victoria E. Price

Sometime in 1609, Ben Jonson penned "An Epigram on the Court Pucell," a satirical poem in which he rails against Cecilia Bulstrode (*c*.1584-1609), Gentlewoman of the Queen's Bedchamber and kinswoman and friend of Lucy Harington Russell, the Countess of Bedford. Apparently responding to some critique of his person ("Do's the Court-Pucell then so censure me" [1]), Jonson proceeds to label Bulstrode a "Pucell."[1] Not surprisingly, many critics have interpreted the poem as a denunciation of Cecilia as a whore, the word 'pucell' constituting an early modern term for a prostitute. Indeed, A. C. Swinburne in 1889 commented upon the "virulent ferocity" of what he identified as the epigram's "personal attack on a woman."[2] He went on to assert: "no man has said coarser (I had well-nigh written, viler) things against the sex to which these exceptionally honoured patronesses belonged."[3]

This interpretation of Jonson's epigram as a slur on Cecilia Bulstrode's sexual morality seems to have held sway for more than half a century, with C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, the Oxford editors of Jonson, echoing the sentiments given voice to by Swinburne: "Certainly few men in his day, or in any day, have assailed a woman with the foul-mouthed ferocity of his lines to 'The Court Purcell'… Jonson impatiently flings aside the dignity of just rebuke…in order to outdo her in ribald abuse."[4] In an essay which considered the place of "Epigram on the Court Pucell" among the other poems contained in Jonson's *The Underwood* (a collection of his verse published posthumously in 1640), Jongsook Lee in 1989 interrogated the "personal" nature of the poet's attack on Bulstrode as identified by the Oxford editors and Swinburne before them. Lee concluded that: "The charges levelled against Cecilia Bulstrode are too stylized to be taken as personal. In this epigram, she becomes a generic court pucelle, and by that means, an image of the false world."[5] Though, she does go on to concede that Bulstrode nevertheless functions in Jonson's epigram as an "exemplary picture of vice."[6]

Most recently, Robert W. Halli, Jr has decried how "certain incorrect or incomplete readings of Jonson's 'Epigram on the Court Pucell' seem to have become [Bulstrode's] 'dram of evil,' and to have created the appearance of a poisoned character."[7] Rather than establishing her sexual immorality, Halli believes that the poem suggests Bulstrode's "reputation is better than that of the court."[8]

What appears to have characterised commentators' analyses of "Epigram on the Court Pucell" to date, then, is an effort to either prove or disprove the existence of a seventeenth-century cultural belief in

Bulstrode's sexual promiscuity. Yet, far from serving as an indicator as to Jonson's understanding of Cecilia Bulstrode's un/chastity, the epigram signals in fact the poet's frustration with the male dependence upon a female courtier that his success at court is in large measure determined by. The poem registers, in other words, Jonson's unease with a patronage- client system that accommodates an apparent inversion of traditional gender codes.

Whilst the aforementioned critics are at pains either to enchain Bulstrode within or to free her from a construction of whore, I am more concerned here to explore the trope of prostitution that can undoubtedly be seen to pervade "Epigram on the Court Pucell" and to establish its cultural function. For, the poem arguably conveys the sense of Bulstrode as a figurative courtesan as a result of the appropriation by Jonson of a cultural vocabulary that is often applied to the commercial prostitute. To this end, Halli is right to argue in his discussion of the epigram that Jonson is not declaring Cecilia to be a literal whore. But nor is the poet praising her. Rather, he is figuratively projecting whoredom onto the person of Bulstrode through engagement with a trope of prostitution. Significantly, this trope is frequently employed by men of the period in order to reassert their male positions of privilege in moments when they perceive a threatening female independence – a female independence that Jonson clearly believes to be exhibited by the women who perform an influential role in the patronage system of the Jacobean court.

The key to understanding Jonson's troping of prostitution in "Epigram on the Court Pucell" lies, I believe, in the opening six lines of the poem:

> Do's the Court-Pucell then so censure me,
>   And thinkes I dare not her? let the world see.
> What though her Chamber be the very pit
>   Where fight the prime Cocks of the Game, for wit?
> And that as any are strooke, her breath creates
>   New in their stead, out of the Candidates?
>
> (1-6)

The word "censure" appears to indicate that Jonson considers himself to be the recipient of a personal slight from Bulstrode. The phrase "thinkes I dare not her" is particularly suggestive in that the idea of the poet being "daring" enough to respond to the censure reveals two things to the reader: firstly, it demonstrates an acute awareness on the poet's behalf of the gap between Jonson's and Bulstrode's social standing. And secondly, it exposes revenge, or at the very least retaliation, to be the animating force of the poem. Jonson's indignation at having been critiqued by the female courtier is readily apparent in the scornful and combative tone of the first couplet. He clearly considers his epigram to constitute a poetic act of retribution that has the power to eclipse the personal injury inflicted upon him by Bulstrode's censure. Inviting the "world" to "see," the poem becomes a means for Jonson of publicly staging his disapproba-tion of the woman who has slighted him; attempting to outdo Cecilia Bulstrode in the art of censure, he transforms his poetry into a theatre of verbal combat.

The precise nature of Bulstrode's censure of Jonson is not known. However, to judge from lines 4-6 of the epigram, the perceived slight was linked to Cecilia's involvement in a literary circle which met at her chambers to play games of "news." The news game entailed sharing and exchanging writings ("news"). There seems to have been a particular structure that the "news" had to adhere to in order to fulfil the rules of the game: "With a few exceptions, the news pieces follow a precise formula, which includes a declarative beginning, a series of nouns clauses, conceited similes and metaphors, and an effective concluding praise."[9] One of the most prominent players of the game was John Cocke or Cooke, author of "Newes from the lower end of the Table" and whose name Jonson alludes to in line 4 of "Epigram on the Court Pucell" ("Cocks"). Bulstrode herself was the author of a news piece entitled "Newes of my morning Worke." However, as Halli has pointed out, there is only one line within this composition that could be interpreted as a critique of a creative writer: "That a man with a female wit is the woorst *Hermaphrodite*."[10] And how this might be relevant to Jonson is not apparent.

Rather than "Newes of my morning Worke" providing the principal cause of Jonson's upset, I consider to be the more likely source his evident exclusion from the intimate gatherings at Bulstrode's chamber. While participants in the news game included the male wits Sir Thomas Overbury, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, John Cocke and John Donne (all of whom were friends of Jonson's), the second couplet of "Epigram on the Court Pucell" appears to imply that Jonson himself was not invited by Bulstrode to take part. The epigram's focus on the female courtier's involvement in the news game belies a concern with the power and influence to be gained by Bulstrode from belonging to such a literary circle. Certainly the poet is voicing his resentment at the way Bulstrode in her position as hostess determines who is to be included as "Candidates" or new participants in these literary assemblages.

As the daughter of Edward Bulstrode and Cecilia Croke Bulstrode of Hedgerley Bulstrode, Buckinghamshire, Cecilia Bulstrode was a highborn woman – the families Bulstrode and Croke were of notable rank and importance in the county, as well as of considerable financial substance.[11] But it appears to have been Bulstrode's association with the Countess of Bedford that in particular secured for her the role of a public person at the center of literary gatherings, wielding cultural influence. The Countess occupied a position of unique privilege and power as the recognised favourite of Queen Anna of Denmark. As Barbara Kiefer Lewalski has astutely commented:

> as favourite lady-in-waiting to the Queen from her accession in 1603 to her death in 1619, [the Countess of Bedford] influenced the Queen's patronage directly and had the ear of the King's minister and favourites…in doing so, she claimed a place in the courtiers' power games, and became a force to be reckoned with in the disposition of offices, the arrangement of marriages, and the shaping of Jacobean culture.[12]

In addition to being courted for her "favors" by those seeking advancement at court, Bedford also exercised a considerable amount of authority through her role as literary patron to the major poets of the day (Daniel, Donne, Drayton and Jonson). Exerting a shaping influence on the literature and culture of the Jacobean court, the Countess effectively circumnavigated the restrictions of the traditional gender role

proscribed for women - as can be adduced from Samuel Daniel's representation of her in the verse letter accompanying his *A Panegyrike Congratulatory* (1603) as one who managed "T'unlocke that prison of your Sex."[13]

As an intimate friend of the Countess and a member of the Bedford circle, Cecilia Bulstrode had powerful allies at court and was perceived to be a person of consequence. Acting as hostess of the "news" gatherings, moreover, appears to have enhanced further her prestige as a notable cultural presence. Jonson most definitely responds to Bulstrode's censure in a way that signals his concern with the puissance she has gained through coterie association with the wits of the Twickenham circle (so- called due to the Countess' residence at the Twickenham estate when she was not at court). Written, I believe, in response to having been excluded by Bulstrode from the literary games held in her parlour, "Epigram on the Court Pucell" articulates Jonson's exasperation with his identity as a literary client in the patronage system of the Stuart court - an identity founded on the production of a courtly public writing that generally served the purpose of asserting the stability and values of a class on whose margins he lived but from which he was ultimately excluded. Those margins, moreover, were in many ways for Jonson patrolled by a sentry of powerful court women who by exercising their will and influence could effectively permit or deny him access to a successful career as a court writer.

Reeling from the slight of having been excluded from the coterie circle that meets in Bulstrode's chamber, Jonson resorts to locating the female courtier within a frame of reference that has the effect of asserting his male supremacy over her. That is, in labelling Bulstrode a pucell, Jonson engages in some verbal wordplay that has the effect of aligning her with prostitution. The original meaning of "pucell" was a "girl, a maid," but by the early seventeenth century the word had also come to signify a commercial prostitute, as is reflected in the definition provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* of "A drab, a slut, a courtesan."[14] Given that the latter usage of the word was the more prevalent at the time Jonson was writing, the epigram's title readily promotes an identification of Bulstrode with whoredom. Such a reading is supported by the way in which the poem begins by referring to Bulstrode in the third person. (It is not until line 35 that Jonson's subject is addressed directly). This has the effect of dehumanising Bulstrode and reducing her to the status of an object.

The labelling, then, of Bulstrode as pucell, coupled with the way in which she is talked about in the third person, means that Jonson employs a means of address that is in keeping with the form of language frequently used by men of the period to refer to the common street whore. In appropriating such language and applying it to Bulstrode, Jonson is seen to trope prostitution in an effort to render the female courtier subservient. Troping prostitution is a powerful means of achieving this goal, since it reifies the woman to whom he applies the trope and relegates her to the standing of a courtesan or prostitute, thereby propelling her (at least within the lines of his poetry) on a dramatically downward social trajectory.

Lee connects with this idea when she asserts that Jonson's "rechristening" of Cecilia Bulstrode as "Court Pucell" means that she "ceases to be an individual woman, but is transformed into an archetypal court pucelle."[15] Lee, however, also contends that:

> If it were not for [William] Drummond's report that Jonson once read him the "Verses on the Pucelle of the Court Mistriss Boulstred, whose Epitaph Done made," we would have no way of identifying the "Court Pucell" as Cecilia Bulstrode, and indeed we have none in the epigram, where "she" has no other name than "Court Pucell."[16]

This is not the case: although Jonson does transform the "She" of the poem into "an archetypal court pucelle," he does not entirely strip her of identifying marks. Rather, the poet supplies in the word "Pucell" clues for the reader as to her true identity.

From an epitaph that Jonson wrote on the event of Bulstrode's death later the same year, it is known that the female courtier was sometimes refereed to as "'Sell Boulstred."[17] If one takes a closer look at the word "Pucell," it is possible to divide it into two separate words: "puss" and "Sell". Just as "pucell" possessed two different meanings in seventeenth-century England, so "puss" could be "Applied to a girl or woman" in a favourable way, or – as was more typical - as "a term of contempt or reproach" with connotations of sexual deviance.[18] In the light of this, the title of Jonson's epigram describes "the Court puss, 'Sel;" the wordplay of the epigram thus providing a pronounced identity for the woman that the poet is shaming.[19]

Further evidence for the wordplay of "Pucell" as directing the reader's attention to Bulstrode's identity can be found in Jonson's play *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman*, thought to have been written around the same time as the epigram and first performed in the winter of 1609-10 at the Whitefriars by the Children of the Queen's Revels. In this dramatic text, the "collegiate lady" Centaur can be seen to represent Cecilia Bulstrode: "her *nom de Drame* is an anagram: *CE*, the first two letters of Cecilia, combined with *taur*, the beginning of *taurus* or bull for Bulstrode."[20] What is more, Jonson highlights to his audience the importance of the play's anagram when in a discussion about "the approach of age" with two of her fellow "collegiates," Centaur poses the question of who will "Make *annagrammes* of our names?"[21] Perhaps the most salient indicator as to the identity of Bulstrode, though, occurs in *Epicoene* when Captain Tom Otter (alluding to his "chiefe carousing cups," named after animals) declares to his wife: "JUPITER did turne himselfe into a – *Taurus*, or Bull."[22]

Given that "Epigram on the Court Pucell" was presumably being circulated by Jonson amongst his friends at roughly the same time as *Epicoene* was being performed on stage, it would appear to me that as opposed to effacing her true identity, Jonson is conversely at pains to ensure that the "she" of his epigram is in fact readily identifiable as Cecilia Bulstrode. Indeed, it is the act of transforming a lady into a generic courtesan that demonstrates his superiority in the art of censure. For, in adopting a language of whoredom ("pucell," "puss") to refer to Bulstrode, Jonson posits her within the frame of prostitution and thereby converts her from Gentlewoman of the Stuart court to spectacle of sexual excess.

Contributing to the framing of Cecilia Bulstrode within the practice of prostitution is the epigram's insistence in lines 5-6 on her open female mouth. Here Jonson not only bemoans how it is Bulstrode's voice ("breath") that "creates" new contenders ("Candidates") for the news game, he simultaneously portrays her as a woman whose mouth opens to every (especially male) interlocutors' ear. This image of her mouth

opening to a series of male wits creates the impression of Bulstrode as a woman who loans the use of her body to a miscellany of men, as one whose body is available to the public for sexual use.

The open female mouth was frequently equated with sexual deviance in the popular literature of the time - one need only think of the gossip, Mistress Allwitt in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613), who in the course of Thomas Middleton's play is delivered of her seventh bastard child – and significantly it is a recurring motif in Jonson's epigram. Consider, for example, the following lines:

> What though she talke, and cannot once with them,
>   Make State, Religion, Bawdrie, all a theame?
> And as lip-thirstie, in each words expence,
>   Doth labour with the Phrase more then the sense?
> <div align="center">(11-14)</div>

Commenting on her linguistic ability to "Make State, Religion, Bawdrie, all a theame," Jonson forges a connection between Bulstrode's verbal dexterity and sexual wantonness. The "expence" of her words causing Cecilia to become "lip-thirstie," Jonson conjures a vision of the Queen's Gentlewoman of the Bedchamber as a prostitute whose penetrable orifices are thirsty for sexual "labour" (12-14). The picture painted is of a woman who has transgressed on multiple levels: not only does she refuse to adhere to contemporary prohibitions of female speech but she also discourses publicly on matters of "State," so trespassing into the male preserve of politics.

A further charge levelled against Bulstrode in the above extract is that she attends to the "Phrase more then the sense," pointing to a discrepancy between word and matter that arises from her pretensions as a wit. Jonson is charging the female courtier with the abuse of language, as in particular is signalled by the contrariness of "Religion" and "Bawdrie" in line 12. Indeed, the bawdry of her language is an accusation that the poet feels the need to return to and reissue later in the epigram: "For bawdry, 'tis her language, and not mine" (26).

The repeated emphasis on Bulstrode's misuse of language is linked strongly to the literary creations she pens for coterie circulation, as the following lines make clear:

> What though with Tribade lust she force a Muse,
>   And in an Epicœne fury can write newes
> Equall with that, which for the best newes goes,
>   As aërie light, and as like wit as those?
> <div align="center">(7-10)</div>

Here the focus is on Bulstrode's public voice in the form of her written word, the epigram once again drawing on the contemporary linkage of female speech with sexual unchastity in order to depict her as an unrestrained whore. Jonson additionally seems to suggest that in pursuing a muse she cheapens and

corrupts the art of poetic creativity – especially since the product of her "Tribade lust" is the "newes" of a parlour game. Her "epicœn[ity]" as a writer is conceived of as particularly troubling since it effects a number of cultural inversions. In that writing in the early modern period is an essentially masculine activity, Bulstrode by assuming a place amongst the "Twickenham" wits is seen to usurp a male position of privilege. And, in actively pursuing the muse she contravenes the traditional notion of a poet as seized upon by divine inspiration. The "force" and "fury" of Bulstrode's pursuit results, in fact, in the construction of her as a sexual predator who seeks out the male wits in order to satisfy her desires. This delineation of her rampant sexual energies is reinforced to the reader through the allusion in line 7 to tribadism, thus further helping to sediment Bulstrode within the realms of sexual aberration.

"Epigram on The Court Pucell" continues by asserting that Bulstrode rides to "Church, as others doe to Feasts and Playes,/To shew their Tires" (16-17). Jonson accuses her of misusing "Holy-dayes" as an opportunity "to view, and to be view'd," as is to be anticipated from the earlier contrasting of "Religion" with "Bawdrie" (15, 17, 12). Under the appearance of religious fervour, Bulstrode attends church dressed in "Velvet gownes" and "spangled Petticotes brought forth to eye /As new rewards of her old secrecie" (18-20). The poet is evidently pointing to the way in which Bulstrode theatrically displays her body before multiple sets of eyes in much the same way as the figure of the prostitute does. Consequently, her trips to church become moments of spectacle and excess in which the foppery of her dress constitutes an outward symbol of her inner moral depravity. Drawn as a woman who celebrates fine clothing, Bulstrode is revealed by Jonson to be prostituting herself to vanity.

The poet's reduction of Bulstrode to a spectacle of vanity becomes heightened when he extends further the epigram's focus on her ostentatious dress:

> Farthest I am from the Idolatrie
>   To stuffes and Laces, those my Man can buy.
> And trust her I would least, that hath forswore
>   In Contract twice, what can shee perjure more?
> Indeed, her Dressing some man might delight,
>   Her face there's none can like by Candle light.
>   (27-32)

Jonson portrays Cecilia Bulstrode's idolatry of appearance as being of such proportions that she has ultimately become the very "stuffes and Laces" that she worships. In becoming what she wears, her body in turn has come to occupy the status of a commodity to be purchased ("those my Man can buy"). In short, her body is figured as a sexual signifier that conditions her identity as whore, the epigram therefore firmly classifying Bulstrode as a woman engaged in sex commerce.

Jonson's troping of prostitution is continued in his assertion that despite applying cosmetics to "Her face," Bulstrode remains unattractive ("there's none can like by Candle light"). The suggestion is that she is a dissembling and painted whore who employs make-up as a means of trickery and seduction. The reader is

informed that it is this dissemblance of appearance that has enabled her "twice" to entrap men in marriage "Contract[s]" which she has later "forswor[n]." What is particularly striking about Jonson's charge here is the specificity of the word "twice": Bulstrode, he claims, has committed perjury on two separate occasions.

Commentators have generally interpreted lines 29-30 as a reference to Bulstrode's alleged love affairs, firstly with Sir John Roe (author of several epigrams in which he declares his devotion to Cecilia) and later with his cousin, Sir Thomas Roe (a member, as noted earlier, of the Bulstrode "newes" circle).[23] Halli, however, posits that Bulstrode did not actually enjoy a sexually consummated relationship with John Roe, citing extracts from his "An Elegie to Mistress Boulstred: 1602" as evidence.[24] He goes on to suggest that the same is true of her relationship with Thomas Roe, this time citing lines 33-34 of "Epigram on the Court Pucell" - "Not he, that should the body have, for Case / To his poore Instrument, now out of grace" – to argue that Jonson is not only attacking "Bulstrode's breaking a commitment to Roe, but he attacks her virginity."[25] No matter whether she enjoyed a sexual relationship with either of the Roe cousins, what cannot be disputed is that in proclaiming Bulstrode to be a perjurer, Jonson represents her in his epigram as habitually false, fickle and deceptive. Notably this construction of Bulstrode as the embodiment of artifice and dissemblance is one that conforms to contemporary images of the prostitute as a figure of treachery and deception and as learned in the art of performance.

Interestingly, the notion of Bulstrode as role-playing or performing is particularly manifest in the closing lines of the epigram, where Jonson ceases talking about her in the third person and adopts the approach of direct address:

> The wits will leave you, if they once perceive
>   You cling to Lords, and Lords, if them you leave
> For sermoneeres: of which now one, now other,
>   They say you weekly invite with fits o'th' Mother,
> And practise for a Miracle; take heed
>   This Age would lend no faith to *Dorrels* Deed;
> Or if it would, the Court is the worst place,
>   Both for the Mothers, and the Babes of grace,
> For there the wicked in the Chaire of scorne,
>   Will cal't a Bastard, when a Prophet's borne.
> <div align="right">(37-46)</div>

Jonson seems to allude here to an illness (the "Mother," or hysteria) from which Cecilia Bulstrode later died on 4th August 1609, at the age twenty-five. Certainly it is the case that in a letter he wrote to Henry Goodyear, John Donne lists the "Mother" as being one of the symptoms of Bulstrode's last illness:

> But (by my troth) I fear earnestly that Mistress Bolstrod will not escape that sicknesse in which she labours at this time. I sent this morning to ask of her passage of this night; and the return is, that she is as I left her yesternight…all accompanied with a Fever, the mother, and

an extream ill spleen.[26]

Despite "the medical establishment insist[ing] on its natural origins," the Mother was commonly thought to be the result of demonic possession.[27] Significantly, in his epigram Jonson refers to John Dorrel, or Darrel ("*Dorrels* Deed"), a Puritan preacher who claimed to be able to cure the sick by practising exorcism. However, in 1599 Darrel had been publicly exposed as a fraud. [28] To this end, Jonson's allusions to the Mother and to Darrel do more than simply connote Bulstrode's last illness; they work together to vilify Bulstrode by impressing upon the reader the supposition that she is performing the part of a sick woman.

Jonson conjectures, then, that just as Darrel's patients were never actually unwell (hence his ability to "cure" them), so Bulstrode is not in fact suffering from a sickness. The inference is that Bulstrode "invit[es]" frequent ("weekly") fits of hysteria – that is, feigns sickness – in order to provide an excuse for summoning preachers and lords to her chamber. That she is luring a restless replacement of men ("now one, now other") to her room in order to engage in sexual intercourse is made clear to the reader through the inclusion of phrases such as "practise for a Miracle" and "Mothers, and the Babes of grace." From this the reader is encouraged to surmise that Bulstrode is calling upon the "sermoneeres" to bring about the miracle of a "virgin" birth ("when a Prophet's borne"). Such a reading gains credence when it is compared to a story Jonson records in his *Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* (1618/19) of a lady who convinces her husband to let her have sexual relations with a preacher to enable "the procreation of an angel or saint" but "which having obtained, it was but an ordinary birth."[29] Depicting Bulstrode as one who abuses religion for sexual satisfaction and lures the devout away from God, Jonson once again likens her to the figure of the prostitute as conceived of in the popular imaginary of the day. He portrays her as a dissembling harlot, a woman of sexual misrule set on the path to damnation.

The assiduity with which Jonson employs the trope of prostitution in "Epigram on the Court Pucell" is arresting. The trope runs through the lines of the poem like a red thread, which has the effect of fully divorcing Bulstrode from her position as a court lady and transmuting her into an oversexed whore and a spectacle of moral depravity. Little wonder, then, that Jonson tells Bulstrode to "take heed." Perhaps most paralysing, though, is his comment: "Shall I advise thee, *Pucell*? steale away / From Court, while yet thy fame hath some small day" (35-36). At first glance, this appears to constitute a warning to Bulstrode that "if she stays [at court], she is doomed to be alone, disgraced, and if she becomes pregnant, she and her child will suffer,"[30] so building on the poem's evident anticipation of Bulstrode bearing children out of wedlock. Yet, the idea of it being necessary for her to flee the court lest she be publicly misconstrued also strikes me as amounting to a magisterial threat concerning Jonson's ability to further denigrate Bulstrode through his poetry. In other words, he points to his capacity to publicly damage her reputation in so far as his poetic verses constitute a public and more enduring form of censure.

This emphasis on how poetry can assist him against his adversaries is a concept that Jonson explicitly gives voice to in the Epistle Dedicatory to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which he prefixed to the quarto edition of *Volpone* in 1607. Here he says of Poetry:

shee shall out of just rage incite her servants…to spout inke in their faces, that shall eate, farder then their marrow, into their fames; and not *Cinnamus* the barber, with his arte, shall be able to take out the brands, but they shall live and bee read, till the wretches dye, as things worst deserving of themselves in chiefe, and then all of mankind.[31]

Railing about what he perceives to be the contemporary abuses of manners, Jonson figures poetry as a potent force through which he can "brand" his enemies; writing satiric poetry is for Jonson tantamount to "spout[ing] inke" in the faces of his adversaries in order to destroy their "fames." In the case of "Epigram on the Court Pucell" Jonson's satiric object is branded through the evocation of a sense of whoredom. Adopting a language of prostitution and ascribing to her modes of behaviour that smack of harlotry, Jonson locates Bulstrode within the ambit of prostitution and so presents her to the reader in terms of the degraded social status of a prostitute. Casting Bulstrode in the role of sexually licentious harlot and assuming for himself the position of moral spokesperson in turn enables Jonson to self-magnify his own authority.

Ironically, the epigram seems to have done Jonson himself more harm than Bulstrode. For, he later claimed that the epigram was "stollen out of his pocket by a gentleman who drank him drousie & given Mistress Bulstraid, which brought him great displeasur."[32] As Halli notes, although this could be interpreted as meaning that the incident displeased Jonson himself, it is much more likely to indicate that it procured him the "displeasur" of others – Bulstrode for one, and most probably the members of her circle, including the Countess of Bedford.[33]

Perhaps it is no coincidence, then, that in an epitaph that he composed following her death and burial at the Twickenham estate, Jonson declares Bulstrode to have been "first, a Virgin; and then, one / That durst be that in Court: a vertu' alone."[34] Praising Cecilia Bulstrode for the "vertu" of keeping her virginity even at court, Jonson transforms the "Pucell" of his epigram into a "Virgin" in an apparent effort to redeem himself for his earlier satirical attack. Especially telling, though, is the letter to George Garrard that accompanies the "Epitaph," in which Jonson asserts: "Would God, I had seene her before that some yt live might have corrected some preiudices they have had iniuriously of mee."[35] Jonson is clearly expressing his regret at not having had a chance to "correct" before her death the "preiudices" that Bulstrode received from him. But of particular interest here is his concern with "some yt live," which appears to support a reading of Jonson as rousing the discontent of the Bedford circle as a result of his attack on the Countess' friend in "Epigram on the Court Pucell."

The discord with Cecilia Bulstrode seems to have caused Jonson quite some embarrassment and to have put at risk his relationship with Lady Bedford, his chief patroness. The episode can also be seen to reveal in Jonson a resentment of his dependence upon elite ladies of the court. Indeed, the passion and intensity with which he shackles Bulstrode to the classification of whore in "Epigram on the Court Pucell" betrays in fact his own insecurities so that Jonson the literary servant becomes, as Ian Donaldson argues, "passionately, indignantly visible" in the center of his poetry.[36] The epigram clearly represents an exercise of male power over a strong independent woman by whom the author feels threatened. As Sir John Harington, writing in the early seventeenth century, declared of court ladies: "All penns, all praysers ar on them dependent."[37]

Writing Bulstrode as whore does more than grant Jonson the judicial satisfaction of repaying her censure; it provides a means for him of venting his frustrations with the difficulties of patron-client relationships and in particular the strains of subservience to powerful court women - women who, in the words of *Epicoene*'s Morose, "may censure *poets*, and authors, and stiles, and compare 'hem, Daniel with Spenser, Jonson with the tother youth…"[38] Situating Bulstrode's identity on the axis of the sexual constitutes a compensatory act for his vulnerability to her; in an effort to preserve his male sense of self, Jonson pushes Bulstrode into a subaltern position by projecting onto her the degradation concomitant with whore-dom. Engagement with the trope of prostitution enables, therefore, the poet to displace onto the body of Bulstrode his anger with the undesirable implications of official patronage: the pandering of creative writers to female courtiers. To this end, Jonson's troping of prostitution comes to signal the dispelling of phallocentric anxieties as ignited by the flaws of a patronage system in which the position of patron is a troublingly gender-neutral one.

Notes

[1] All parenthesised references provide line numbers to this edition: Ben Jonson, "An Epigram on the Court Pucell" (*The Underwood*, XLIX) in *Ben Jonson: The Poems and the Prose Works*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), Vol. 8, pp. 222-23. Hereafter this 11-volume edition will be cited as *H&S*.

[2] Algernon C. Swinburne, *A Study of Ben Jonson* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1889), p. 107.

[3] Swinburne, p. 107.

[4] *H&S*, Vol. 1, pp. 58-59.

[5] Jongsook Lee, *Ben Jonson's Poesis: A Literary Dialectic of Ideal and History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), p. 14.

[6] Lee, p. 16.

[7] Robert W. Halli, Jr, "Cecilia Bulstrode, 'The Court Pucell'" in *Subjects on the World's Stage: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David G. Allen and Robert A. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 295-312, pp. 304-05.

[8] Halli, p. 304.

[9] Halli, p. 297.

[10] Halli, p. 299; James E. Savage, ed., *The "Conceited Newes" of Sir Thomas Overbury and His Friends* (1616; facsimile reproduction, Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968), p. 251.

[11] Halli, p. 295. For further biographical information on Bulstrode, see: J. A. Harper, "Ben Jonson and Mrs. Bulstrode," *Notes and Queries* 28 (1863), p. 150; and, Percy Simpson, "Ben Jonson and Cecilia Bulstrode," *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 March 1930, p. 187.

[12] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 95.

[13] Samuel Daniel, "To the Lady Lucie, Countesse of Bedford" in *A Panegyrike Congratulatory Delivered to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty…Also Certaine Epistles. With a Defence of Ryme* (London, 1603) E3v-E4v, sig. E4r.

[14] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), Vol. 12, p. 786.

[15] Lee, p. 11.

[16] Lee, pp. 14-15.

[17] *H&S*, Vol. 8, pp. 371-72.

[18] *OED*, Vol. 12, p. 899.

[19] I am hugely indebted to Robert W. Halli, Jr for this reading of the epigram's title. See Halli, p. 298.

[20] Halli, p. 298.

[21] Ben Jonson, *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman* in *"Volpone" and Other Plays*, ed. with an introduction by Lorna Hutson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), 335-429, IV.iii.36, 42. All references for Jonson's plays are to this edition.

[22] *Epicoene* II.vi.58, III.i.22-23. For further references in the play that correspond to lines from "Epigram on the Court Pucell," see: *Epicoene* IV.i.53-56 and V.ii.33-34.

[23] See, for example: R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 178; Halli, p. 301; and, John Donne, *The Epithalamions, Anniversaries, and Epicedes*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 182-83n.

[24] Halli, p. 296.

25 Halli, p. 301.

26 John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, introduction by M. Thomas Hester (1651; reproduction facsimile, Delmar, N.Y. : Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1977), pp. 215-16.

27 Halli, p. 302.

28 Barbara Smith, *The Women of Ben Jonson's Poetry: Female Representations in the Non-Dramatic Verse* (Hants: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 107.

29 Ian Donaldson, ed., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 609.

30 Smith, p. 107.

31 *Volpone, or the Foxe* in Hutson, 213-334, pp. 218-19.

32 *H&S*, Vol. 1, p. 150.

33 Halli, p. 311 n44.

34 *H&S*, Vol. 8, p. 371-72.

35 *H&S*, Vol. 8, p. 372.

36 Ian Donaldson, "Jonson and Anger" in *English Satire and the Satiric Tradition*, ed. Claude Rawson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 56-71, p. 68.

37 Sir John Harington, Epigram 355 in *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 291-92.

38 *Epicoene* 2.2.116-19.

From the Local to the Global: A Critical Survey of Exile Experience in Recent African Poetry.

By Senayon S. Olaoluwa

Abstract

The question of exile in contemporary African literature remains central to the understanding of its people. Of particular interest is the place of poets of the second generation in the depiction of this phenomenon. Although the paradigm of generational configuration is admittedly flexible, this paper seeks, nonetheless, to explore the perception of a few selected poets of the second generation from Anglophone Africa in order to illustrate the multidimensional approach to the engagement of the theme. By so doing, the paper is also concerned with the construction of home through its images, on the one hand, and on the other, the dissection that lies between home and exile in countries of destination in the West. The paper also hopes to explore the frustration that goes with the experience and the dilemmatic situation in which its victims are caught. It will show at the same time how from an initial standpoint of essentially internal socio- political and economic factors in regions and countries, things have gradually moved in the past three decades or thereabouts into an exponentially actuated and leveling stage in which globalization— as seen in its present fashion— has accelerated the spate of African citizens' vulnerability to exile, especially to the West.

Exile and African Poetry in Perspective

Considered in the orthodox sense for the purpose of convenient discursive departure, exile, that result of dislocation from one's native land, occupies a conspicuous place in poetic exploration in particular and literary expression in general. This is perhaps so because human history all the world over is characterized by elements and moments of dislocation at one point or the other. The veracity of this assertion is underscored by such assertion as George Lamming's (1960: 24) when he pronounces "The exile… a universal figure… and to be in exile is to be alive." But perhaps there must be an admission of an extremely allegorical twist to Lamming's apprehension of the concept as the context from which the assertion draws inspiration

revolves around the capacity of overwhelming political spheres of influence to engender estrangement. More literally, therefore, exile must be viewed as a human condition which is defined by dispersal or drift usually against the wish of an individual or community.

The fact of humanity's vulnerability to exile is evident in the various circumstances and incidents by which it is necessitated. The circumstances and incidents range from war to famine to political crisis and in some cases, a dissident stance. It thus becomes understandable why the literary contents of peoples' cultural traditions, whether oral or written, are replete with engagements of dislocation. But it is to Jewish mythology and literature both in the distant and contemporary context one may turn in the assessment of the panoptic import of exile which usually verges into the derivative and problematized experience of diaspora. The triumphs and tribulations of exile are indeed expressed and evident in the representation of Jewish people in the biblical time as nomadic. The simplicity of this view is however blurred in the Pauline hermeneutics which inverts the literal understanding of Jewish identity by introducing an allegorical twist by which as many as are converted to the Christian faith— a theology that is complicitous with the civilizing alibi of western colonialism— automatically become Jews (Daniel Boyarin and Jonathan Boyarin 1995: 332). Nevertheless, the all-embracing, spiritualizing liberalism of this Pauline philosophy is thoroughly compromised by the historical persecutions to which genealogical Jews have often been subjected especially in the western world, so much so that, the word Jew is a metaphor for the dreaded, rootless and rejected "Other" against whom all measures of exclusion must be executed (Gorge Mosse 1995: 196). But the condition of exile also appropriates a far larger horizon than the above as in the modern world, there is also a way it defines intellectuals (Edward Said 1994). Besides, Woodhull (in Walter Mignolo 2000: 72) explains further on the global nature of this trend of intellectual exile as including the ever increasing number of those who have fallen victims of oppression in their native lands and have to escape, to those whose political dissident stance has mandated their consideration of alternative places of living. There is also a peculiar recognition of the pattern of intellectual exile which emanates from the Third World, especially former colonies, towards the West. But whether considered in the general or particular sense, the initial excitement of finding alternative places of living is often undermined by the tribulations of exile. This is because of the various forms of challenges that are identified with the condition of exile. It is what produces in the end the invention of nationalism as a way of fending off the sorrows of exile (Said 2001:176). It is also this condition that results in the invention of diaspora, especially in the long history of Black displacement in the West, as a strategy for transforming the curse of homelessness to that of repossession. Usually, this eventuates in a reconstruction from a privileged perspective which provides incisive and critical insights into "perceptions about the modern world" (Paul Gilroy 1993:111). But despite the privileges that exile appears to offer through, say, diasporic identity formation and assertion, its challenges and low moments far outweigh what succour such perceived privileges offer. Not surprisingly, therefore, exile, as soberly reviewed by Said (2001:173) with insightful acuity, invariably becomes that strangely compelling condition whose "achievements… are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind."

Conscious of the location of exilic realities within its purview, modern African poetry from inception has found a space of engagement for this intriguing phenomenon that in every circumstance assumes a grand proportion. Poets of the first generation in their own way and style were not indifferent to the issue as they

articulated it in unmistakable ways in their creativity. Perhaps it was the more compelling for them to do so since there was a peculiar sense in which exile defined the last two centuries, especially for writers and artists. This is why it is common to talk about the obsession of western writers and artists with physical involvement in the experience of exile— from Picasso to Rimbaud to Rilke to James Baldwin and to Du Bois (Chinua Achebe 2000: 92). For English literature particularly, there was a sense in which the literary pulse and tradition were dictated and shaped at some point in time by the cast of exiles in the main, and thus making their innovations and virtuosity point "to some impoverishment in conventional English culture itself" (Terry Eagleton 1970: 9). But Achebe is quick to remind one that against the backdrop of the peripheral placement of Africa in relation to the West, the African exile's situation is contrastively different and the claim about the possibility of dual, and one may add, multiple citizenship, which is part of the contemporary attraction of the notion of exile, may be a ruse after all.

To a large extent, the evolution of modern African poetry was informed by the need to respond to an overwhelming aura of exile and displacement created around the idea of the African personality. It manifested primarily in a cultural and ontological sense as that separation forced between Africans and their own world in the era of western colonialism. Directly, this was a result of the highly systematic agenda of western colonialism through which the African ontological space— as was the case in the other parts of the world where Euro-American colonialism had taken root— was thoroughly hemmed in. Explaining this situation, Said (1990: 71-72) intimates further that it was "a cultural process" which, benefiting from its "massively organized rule", turned out to be a veritable "and invigorating counterpoint to the economic and political machinery that we all concur stands at the center of imperialism." At inception, therefore, African poetry felt the need to express the cumulative suppression of the African cultural milieu and logic. By so doing it also became an attempt to articulate in textual terms the deracination forced between the people and their cultural space as against the imposition of an alien imperial culture, the indices of which were western education, religion, dressing and other indices of cultural imposition.

The earliest form of this reaction is found in Negritude poetry which in many respects captures the feelings of pain and the cultural drift suffered when colonial culture was embraced. It is also characterized by the need for the poets, as African intellectuals, to resile— with contrite atonement— their role in advancing the form of exile resulting from indiscriminate advocacy of western culture. For much as they embraced western culture, they still came to the realization of the feeling of marginality to which they were subjected in the end. So, more and more these Africans who had been given the impression that with the assimilationist policy of French colonization they were already French citizens, found out it was not so. Basically, it was a problem which resonated through the knowledge of the polarization existing between the white and non-white races. It produced in them at home, as it did in Paris and other French cities, a sense of Otherness. Therefore, in mustering courage to confront the problem of otherness mediated through the imperial politics of exclusion and marginalization, a cultural nationalism was established. And drawing inspiration from other Africans of diasporic stature like Martin Delany and Edward Blyden, Africans, prominent among who was Leopold Sedar Senghor, began an ontological return from exile. This was advocated in several ways— from the celebration of blackness to the valorization of the civilization that began with Africa through Egypt and Ethiopia. It was indeed a metaphorical or ontological form of return

and at the same time therapeutic exercise in response to the bruises of exile (Stephen Howe 1999:23-47). But this is not precluding other considerations that were in tandem with physical return. It is also important to note that what started essentially as a cultural phenomenon was also to translate into an overwhelming sense of nationalism, assuming in the end a political dimension around which narratives of independence struggle were subsequently woven on the continent (Said 1990:73; 2001: 176).

Talking more specifically about Negritude, for an illustration of the import of exile, the poetry of Senghor readily comes to mind. In "Prayer to Masks" for instance, there is a passionate invocation of the African pantheon of gods and ancestors for an intervention and protection in the affairs of living mortals. It is indeed an expression of a loss of hope in the protective and just attributes of the monotheistic world of the West where various forms of marginality and exclusion had been erected against the black folk. So the poem becomes in an appropriate sense a versification of home-coming and reconciliation to a world once ignorantly spurned and neglected.

Beyond the simplicity of interpretation to which the above poems appears to lend itself, Max Dorsinville (1976:67) instructs, and quite appropriately, that the cultural dimension of exile in the poetry of Senghor as is the case with the poetry of others in this tradition can be said to be multi-layered. It ranges from the exile immiscible in the condition of acquiring colonial education in a colonial system to the psychological import of the colonized African wherever he went, to others such as the fact of being black and the placement of oneself in a culture of modernity that was more determined by the dictates of western racial bias than any other thing. Needless to say, all was designed to serve as a pretext for exploitation. But to consign these features in this qualified manner to Negritude poetry only is to miss the mark. These imports of exile in African poetry of the first generation, whether in English or French or Portuguese, got across in similar ways because the colonial system was guided by the same operative philosophy of the Enlightenment.

Similarly, in the poetry of Portuguese-speaking writers, the preoccupation with the condition of exile among writers of this generation is remarkable; Antonio Jacinto's "Poem of Alienation" comes to mind here. The alienation of "I" foregrounds the extent of this exile which is life-long: the overwhelming superimposition of white values upon the African personality during the era of colonialism. Besides, it brings to mind the long and tortuous nationalist struggle of Angolans and the various forms of alienation to which these fighters were subjected in the hands of the Portuguese colonial government, the peak of which usually was the exclusionary measures of imprisonment and restriction to concentration camps.

From Anglophone West Africa for instance, Christopher Okigbo dwells on the same theme in *Heavensgate* where his atonement becomes vicarious as there is a sense in which it speaks for the pains of the severance of the modern African from the otherwise authentic African culture as a result of the purchase of colonialism on him in all its ramifications. With Okot p'Bitek, in East Africa, the issue assumes a grand dimension of extended metaphors as one finds in *Song of Lawino and Song of Ocol*; that is, there is a contextualization of the socio-cultural tensions of exile. Wole Soyinka's popular poem, "Telephone Conversation" also touches on the theme of exile, this time in the physical sense. It presents us with a dramatic monologue in which a white landlady's only condition of renting a house to her prospective black tenant is tied to

questions such as "ARE YOU LIGHT OR VERY DARK," "HOW DARK" (K.E. Senanu and T.Vincent 2003: 181). The satiric qualities of the monologue are far from obscured. Besides, the device of capitalization goes to show the emphatic place the question of race occupies in the determination of who gets what in the British commonwealth. There is however a parallel twist to the notion of exile among poets of the first generation in South Africa as it was in the main an experience engendered by the aberrations of the policy of apartheid.[1] It is in fact for this reason that Udenta Udenta (1996: 123) asserts that during this period, it was impossible to talk about South African poetry without discussing exile. This trope is most represented by the poetry of Brutus. Overwhelmed by the "horrificient" policy of apartheid, which, in its full blown form ran between 1960 and 1994 (Mark Sanders 2002:2), it became impossible to discuss South African literature in isolation from exile. Not only were the blacks subjected to all forms of humiliation through arrest, banning and imprisonment, they were also to face other stringent and systematic alienation and disqualification from those rights considered universally fundamental to basic humanity. Considered within such socio-political milieu, exile was both internal and external. In some cases, those displaced to other countries were no more exiled than those living within. Naturally, poets were veteran prey in the mesh of apartheid; and this is what one finds glaringly in the poetry of Dennis Brutus. The situation in the country especially for those who stood up to the segregationist regime, even at their most venerable and patriotic, were still vagabonds as Brutus' "A Troubadour, I Traverse all my Land" shows. But even at that, the situation did not preclude the psyche from other forms of exile apart from the physical. Again, Brutus' 'After Exile" shows this psychological dimension to the question of exile.

But while exile means all these and more, it has to be admitted that internal exile is also an issue that cannot be overlooked because of the millions of people who are often displaced internally within their countries and continents. In most cases, the experience can be no less traumatic and Africa is no exception.

Although this study is not about the politics of periodization in African poetry, it is needful all the same to remark that the cast of Anglophone African poets under study display certain signal features that mark them apart from the generation before. For the purpose of convenience, they have been recognized in this study as in most other studies as belonging to the second generation of African poets. This is not however to throw out the controversies in which such paradigm of periodization is subtended. As a matter of fact, the question of periodization in Anglophone African poetry remains a problematic for which a separate study will be more appropriate. But it will suffice within the context of this study to acknowledge the fact that the generation before differs in many respects from the generation that comes immediately after and from which this study has made its selection. The socio-political background which produced poets of the first generation was thoroughly colonial and this reflected in their works both at the level of meaning and formalism. The situation produced to a large extent a contrapuntal legacy which while it reacted to the colonial condition with a nationalist fervour, was nevertheless characterized— except in few cases— by an ironically heavy reliance on western artistic style for its form (Ken Goodwin 1982). The succeeding generation, however, especially from the late 1960s to the 80s, had a more immediate reality to grapple with— except in the case of South Africa where it was a long history and theme of apartheid until recently (Lewis Nkosi1988: 50). Otherwise, on a more general plane, the reality on the continent at this time was that of a postcolonial challenge, which, for the most part, called first for introspective reactions (Niyi

Osundare 1996: 27). This perhaps also explains why their poetry is radically inclined to the exploration of African oral aesthetics for the purpose of alerting all to the postcolonial situation on the continent. Across the continent some of the notable ones among them are: Niyi Osundare, Odia Ofeimun, Tanure Ojaide (Nigeria); Kofi Anyidoho (Ghana); Syl Cheney-Coker (Sierra Leone); Angira Jared (Kenya); Frank Chipasula, Jack Mapanje, Steve Chimombo (Malawi); Oswald Mtshali and Mongane Wally Serote (South Africa), to mention just a few.

With the drift and dimension of things in the period of their emergence, exile in their art has come to bear more of its literal import than figurative. That is, while it is possible to locate part of their thrust within the project of cultural reclamation, their poetry within the context of exile bears more "of the material forces of politics [and] economics" as they confront in the immediate sense, mementos of the dead-end of post-independence euphoria. Here is an attitude informed by the alienation constituted in the manner of the socio-political temperament of the ruling class which leaves most of the countries in an array of crisis. Invariably, the recognition of their poetry in relation to exile becomes the more challenging as it necessarily takes into account the trend of human migration from the later part of the 20th century especially as a global phenomenon. May Joseph (1999:154) puts it succinctly:

> Migration has become a way of life in the latter part of the twentieth century. The large scale displacement of people from the rural to the urban or across nations has heightened the precariousness of arbitrary boundaries while fuelling contemporary identifications with ossified national identities. The 1970s in particular witnessed a global reconfiguration of national citizenship. As new nations contended with older ones, new geopolitical arrangements─ neo-colonialism, globalization, structural adjustment─ shifted relations of power in less unilateral directions, creating multiple nodes of transnational interrelatedness. In the process, peoples around the world have aspired to conception of world citizenship while also asserting their particular social identities.

Locating the thrust of the second generation of African poets within this trajectory becomes necessary as a combination of factors has resulted in the articulation of their African version to what has come to be identified as the continual "restless movement of peoples and cultures" (Couze Venn 2006: 18). Yet it is also for this reason that Venn, like many theorists of postcolonialism, insists that the contemporary disposition of the world order demands a development of "a [new] critical **postcolonial** [emphasis in the original] standpoint that extends the focus and terrain of postcolonial theory (p.1). By so doing, an understanding of the works of these poets will primarily stem from the contemporary dynamics of the representation of space and movement across spaces, a tendency within postcolonial discourse which is otherwise construed as "nomadism" (Lisa Lowe1993). But before yielding to the ideal of the global expressed in the contention that "the spatial framing of historical arguments and the 'visualization' of events is not simply a neutral process independent of the events… 'out there'" (Angus Cameron and Ronen Palan 2004:59), one must first and foremost rivet on these "historical arguments" as internally- generated. Thereafter, considering what possible configuration they extract from the "events out there" will be logical. Just as the nations and regions on the continent are different, so are there different and various challenges which have in the

past two or three decades induced exile, especially in the sense of the search for better fortunes thought as attainable in the First World, and identified as a tendency on the part of the "formerly colonized people to turn to migration as an option to living difficult lives" (Martha Dorkor 2005: 27). What then are the circumstances that produce in these nations the psyche of hostility? And what in particular are the realities of exile as an intimate experience of Africans? For this reason, whatever one encounters in the works of these writers should not be seen as emanating exclusively from the authors' experiences, but should rather appropriately be gleaned as representative of the much larger community of African exiles for which they have become speakers in portraying "representations of colonialism, nationhood, postcoloniality, the typology of rulers, their powers, [and]corruptions…" (Aijaz Ahmad 1992:124), that is on the one hand. On the other, the purchase of western neo-liberalism and the structures of exclusion against Third World immigrants of various social backgrounds as they go in search of better living in the west become another fact with which to contend.

The study is not however unaware of other interpretations of exile, especially as a condition identified with some classes of people as intellectuals, writers, artists, political dissidents and the ethnically persecuted and the internally dispersed especially throughout the African continent, among others. Nevertheless, the paradigm of exile favoured in this work is that of what Martha Gimenez (2003) calls "democratization". That is, I intend to look beyond the political underpinnings of exile in order to adequately assess its impact in all its ramifications as interplay of both political and economic forces in its inducement. This ultimately liberates exile from the exclusive reach of the privileged few who luxuriate in the optional attribution of exile to themselves as writers, artists, intellectuals, political dissidents, the powerful and the affluent. Put differently, while exile must include all this in the study, it also crucially takes into cognizance its import "as an experience common to millions of displaced people" (p.5), which is the only way by which the whole arguments of the various dimensions of exile featuring in the texts under reading here can be grasped. Also taken into cognizance in the following review is the historical trend of exile since the 1980s as first, internally engendered, and subsequently, exponentially induced by the growing impact of globalization.

Exile and Military Dictatorship in West Africa: Olu Oguibe's A Gathering Fear and Kofi Anyidoho's *Earthchild*.

Although to date Oguibe's poetry is acknowledged mainly through his only collection, *A Gathering Fear* (1988), his concern for exile remains so obvious that it cannot be glossed over. The telling trope of creativity in this collection is the delicate, yet enthralling balance he keeps between images of home and those of exile. The approach is what informs Stewart Brown's (1995:59) comment that this trope goes to establish "Oguibe's sense of his own commitment to Nigeria and the pain of exile". Indeed, *A Gathering Fear* does not just emerge with the painful cadence of exile, but it rather shows first the suffocating atmosphere in which home is caught, making even the most patriotic vulnerable to the apparently attractive option of deracination. The option of exile is thus justified as the hitherto debonair atmosphere of home, which

should ordinarily be taken for granted, and which has buckled helplessly from the terrors of military dictatorship. Yet the reality of exile is no less frustrating with its overwhelming forces of exclusion. In specific terms, the discourse of exile in *A Gathering Fear* must necessarily be gleaned against the background of military dictatorship in Nigeria in the period of the publication.

The commitment to home gets across clearly in "I am Bound to this Land by Blood". His attachment to home and sense of locale is what transcends the phantoms of mere romanticism for the twin substances of "land and blood". So, as his land of birth and belonging by descent, the pains and sorrows, aspirations and yearnings of the people ultimately become his bother. It explains why after hearing "the wailing of a million" and standing "in the crowd where men/ mixed their sweat and wiped blood", he afterwards, "bear[s] the mark of the masses on my brow" (11). By not subscribing to the derogation of the crowd as "faceless", Oguibe rehabilitates the image of the masses by reclaiming it from the fabrication and denigration of the state that casts it in despicable moulds to justify the suffering of the masses. It then becomes apposite to contextualize the psyche of leadership, and for this, turning to "The Triumphal Entry" will be worthwhile. This poem paints the picture of the military class that has taken over power, mustering massive moral capital of confidence from the citizenry as reliable political and administrative copartners. However, the class leaves the people thoroughly disappointed in the end with all manner of promises that are never fulfilled. Instead, there is an aggravation of the peoples' woes.

In order to strike the right chord, Oguibe engages in what Isidore Okpewho (1982: 203) refers to as "tradition revised" as he picks on the Christian myth of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem as a pattern for the apprehension of the aura of military dictatorship among the Nigerian citizenry in the 1980s. The last stanza of the first part is particularly striking:

> The King has come on the back of a mule
> His path paved with branches and leaves
> The King has come in the dazzle of butts
> Garlands of toilet paper deck his neck
> The King has come with a split-tooth grin,
> The King comes riding on the bones of men. (24)

There is a sobering and shocking effect of the contrast that the entry of the "King" here provides against that of Christ. Void of biblical humility and benediction, the King's entry here signals the pathological psyche of the military during this time to plot death ceaselessly both within their own rank and that of the civilians. Therefore, whatever the decision the citizens reach especially in relation to exile in view of the circumstances at home, strikes one as logically justifiable since home no longer provides the needed succour. For this Soyinka (2004: 22) declares, "Ultimately, therefore, we revert squarely to the issue of leadership that [in Africa], let us face it, has been the greatest obstacle to the renaissance dream".

Succumbing to the allure of exile, the sense of alienation which the misrule of home produces, one discovers, is exceeded once the space of dislocation is inhabited. This is what one finds in "A Song of Exile"

of which Oyeniyi Okunoye (2001:162) remarks is eloquent in the articulation of the dilemma in which exiles are often caught.

> I stand at the gates
> Stranger and outsider
> I have journeyed away
> From the sea into the desert
> The charm has crossed rivers
> The tongue is blunt
> The songster has journeyed
> Without his voice. (59)

At the other end of his journey is the grim reality of his status as "stranger and outsider". He becomes the lonely "Other" against whom the gate of social exclusion must be shut. And this experience of social exclusion can be thoroughly daunting.

Also set against the background of military dictatorship, but this time in Ghana, Anyidoho's *Earthchild* (1981) presents one with the shocking images of home and their capacity to instigate flight from annihilation, a thought that often undermines at the initial stage the harrowing tribulations of exile since what matters for the moment is to escape the immediate inconveniences of home. Schooled in the oral tradition of his Ewe people, Anyidoho taps the rich resources of this tradition for the adornment of his art. For the most part in this collection, there is an adoption of the dirge tradition of his people as an artistic means of explicating the drift-prone condition of a nation hemmed in by the tyrannical hand of military politicians.

While he adopts what Ezenwa-Ohaeto (1999:130) calls the use of personal voice, the experience however reaches far beyond the personal as it brings to focus the collective travail of a people in a society where the "Star-General is urinating peace on Capitol Hill" (20). The difficulty of the military to cope with the self-imposed responsibility of salvaging the nation from the shackles of international debt, austerity measures and general economic mishaps (Henry Beienin 1987: 54) is worsened by the tendency of the class to treat matters of serious national magnitude with levity and disdain. This is what is metaphorically designated as the "urinating of peace". Whoever is acquainted with the corrosive acidity of urine surely knows that such act stokes no good for the nation. As expected, all this provides an alibi for people to leave in search of a greener pasture. It explains why the parting of soul-mates is what is lamented in "Song of a Twin Brother" as the persona recollects that "many, many moons ago" his "twin brother" with whom he "shared the same mat/…parted in our dreams". If in the above poem one is left to imagine the lot and fortune of the exiled brother, such elliptical frugality which tasks the imagination is forestalled in "To Ralph Crowder" which ends in the following lines:

> We suffer here so much
> But they say your case is worse
> And you've fought with all your blood

Always fighting on the bleeding side
And you cannot go on like this …
Come Crowder Come
But I tell you all is not well at *Home.* (112)

Again, the question of the dilemma to which the exile is tragically consigned resonates in the stanza above. The reality of exile has turned out to be far from providing succour. Ordinarily, return should be the next line of action, but the same kinsman who calls for Crowder's return cannot but alert him to the fact that "all is not well at home." The predicament of the lost twin brother and Crowder goes to demonstrate the strength of Paul Tiyambe Zeleza's (2005:12) argument that "dislocation, expatriation from home is a prosaic condition experienced by millions of people rather than an exceptional reality only for those blessed with artistic souls". The poet thus becomes a medium through which the expatriatory travails of his people are expressed.

Exile and the Malawian Stint: The Poetry of Jack Mapanje.

Basically, Mapanje's preoccupation with exile stems from two factors: the condition as imposed by the 'enlightenment' project mediated by the pursuit of higher learning in the West; and a subsequent confrontation with a civilian tyranny which makes home unbearable. His earliest musing on exile is to be found in his debut, *Of and Chameleons Gods* (1981). Although preoccupied by a series of other concerns which have since received detailed critical attention especially for their immediacy that points directly to Malawian socio-political life, the segment "Sketches from London" confirms the sense of satirical humour in the tradition of an oral poet. If writing on those issues that directly affect Malawi is an attempt at "preserving some sanity" (Leroy Vail and Landeg White 1991:284), there is a sense in which it can be argued that the prevalent circumstance in London, where he wrote the said poems while undertaking his doctoral research, was no less disorienting. And it is from this consciousness that the poems have emerged. First, Mapanje is saddled with the task of interrogating the imposed view of colonialism with respect to the hyped superiority and civilization of empire and the white race as against the inferiority and wildness of the African whose native frontier and ontological perception must be tamed (Douglas Killam 2004: 109).

Such responsibility is necessary perhaps as a response to the kind of nationalism with which the imperial capital of London is painted in some notable colonial texts of English literature. London indeed was the peak of sophisticated civility and the entire British people the fortunate race charged with the noble role of civilizing the uncivilized colonies. It explains why shortly before he leaves for London alongside other Malawian scholars, the journey in "Handshakes and Best Wishes" is perceived as a quest to "go drink from the source". That their expectation is high as they are bound for "the source" is not in doubt. However, many incidents at the source show that rather than confirming the fullness, "the source" merely exhibits the scandalous moral and humanitarian dryness that is prevalent in British society. From a colonial perspective, River Thames is no doubt a symbol of progress and refinement: the epic proportion which

it assumes in Conrad's writing underscores this assumption, which makes River Congo come to mind naturally as depicted by Conrad as lacking in navigatory treasures, and making it to stand in poor relation to the Thames. Nevertheless, the poet asks in the sub-eponymous poem, "whoever said there was a fountain here?" What follows is a scenario which brings to the fore the grandeur of cannibalism, poverty and insensitive neglect at the bank of River Thames: "Thames/ Banks: they picked up a dead woman the other day/Her lungs were found wrapped up in a World War soot /She must have been living here thirty years, they said". A revelation of this kind becomes a regular pattern that runs through the remaining part of the section as each received colonial narrative about empire is punctured and adequately dispelled. If with a singular narrative tone, the section nevertheless qualifies as truly a postcolonial critique which challenges the narratives of colonial homogenization and provides at the same time an emancipatory view introspective in its alternative stance (Venn 2006: 4).

This task of challenging grand narratives has for Mapanje become a sustained motif as can be seen in his most recent collection, *The Last of the Sweet Bananas* (2005). However, the comic tone has disappeared as the grim realities of exile stare the poet in the face owing to African exiles' strive against British exclusionary measures. This is what is illustrated in "After Celebrating our Asylum Stories at West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds." The confrontation and anger of the poet at the insincerity of the various exclusionary measures of Britain against immigrants of colour point to the impossibility of ruling out racism in the west. Nevertheless he is loud in his intervention:

> So, define her separately,
> She is not just another
> Castaway washed up your
> Rough seas like driftwood

The reason for the poor lady's right to fair play is explicated thus:

> It's the endless cyclones,
> Earthquakes, volcanoes,
> Floods mud and dust that
> Drafted him here… (203)

This opens up another possibility in the understanding of African exile; and that is the negative impact of the activities of the First World nations on the socio-political and economic life of Africans. Through the various meddling in the sovereign countries in Africa, the West through the agency of neo-colonialism has had a hand in the deluge of African exile. These Africans go to the west as "economic émigré[s]", as indicated in the poem, in hope that the so-called programmes put in place by the migration nations of the First World will be in their favour; but they end up queuing "day after/ Day" for the jobs that are not available. The First World's capitalist-industrial and post-industrial dominance has left many African nations prostrate. It is for this that Soyinka (2004: 22) maintains that while we must blame African leadership, it does not preclude the indictment of western selfish interventions that have been on the increase exponentially

as a post-independence malaise with which African nations are plagued.

Apartheid and Beyond: Exile in the Poetry of Mongane Wally Serote

Serote's writing, indeed his poetry, features in the liberation struggle writing in South Africa. And going by the necessity of locating him in the tradition of poets of the Black Consciousness era, one begins to imagine the extent of his commitment to the struggle. An understanding of the commitment is clarified in Peter Horn's (1994: 94) painstaking illustration of the temperament of his poetry and personality which meld into the experiential condition of the people with a telling symmetry:

> There is indeed dialectical relationship between the emotional experience of the poet and that of his audience; and the poet orders his material in such a way that both his own experience and that of his people become focused on the poem, allowing something we may call poetic insight, a grasp of the situation which helps us live and act. The relationship spans the entire range between an empty formalism constructing verbal hollowness and an explosive anarchism unable to contain its experience in many kinds of form.

Besides the above, his poetry as a necessary creative intervention, serves to show the naiveté and ignorance of white liberal's solidarity which at its best during the struggle was limited by the sentiments in which the pigmentation of their colour is subtended (Njabulo Ndebele 1992: 25; David Bunn and Jane Taylor 1987:17). As a defining trope of the apartheid era, exile, both physical and otherwise, but especially the physical, showed the capacity of the state to make the nation uninhabitable for many black people. This experience constitutes the thematic signage of *Freedom Lament and Song* (1997) in which the expatriatory tribulations of Tebello is representative of many who in a bid to escape the extremely inhuman condition at home fled, especially to the west only to be consumed by other forms of challenge in the exclusionary structures of western social imaginary. Tobello has gone as far as London after his stint with the freedom fighting group. Obviously the hostility of home explains his eventual domiciliary in London. It has however turned into a misadventure. For the same sense of alienation of home has caught up with him in London. And Tebello is found "dying/ his Kentucky box was there next to his bed". As a metaphor for the lot of many others forced into exile in the imperial city, one finds the grim impact of loneliness telling on them to a fatal degree:

> i have been here
> looking and hearing understanding
> and speaking of the loneliness of some of my friends
> of my brothers
> of my sisters
> their loneliness in death
> when they died (23)

What follows is a list of several other victims of death whose corpses would not be accorded any befitting burial in the African sense of the word. The only consolation from this experience is the redemptive values of all the deaths which have joined other forms of sacrifice to bring about the liberation for South Africa.

It is nevertheless more interesting to look beyond apartheid for an understanding of the intriguing dynamics of exile. In other words, apartheid may have ended, but dispersal is still an abiding experience in South Africa. The assertion is against the backdrop of the contemporary place of South Africa in the global imaginary as a foremost link between Africa and the West, a relationship that implies an acceleration of the movement of people in the post-apartheid era to the West. In the reflection of Leon de Kock (2004:13), this position of the nation attests to the "paradox… of the seam" with which South Africa is characterized as a historical phenomenon. This is the concern of *History is the Home Address* (2004), a collection that is attuned to the times in that it has a way of responding to the contemporary "planetary" innovations of the world system which is expressed in globalization. Besides, it is an attempt on the part of Serote to redefine South Africa after what is acknowledged as "one of the most inspiring─ and lengthy─ struggles for revolutionary change in the twentieth century (John Foran 2005: 223). This mnemonic approach is multipartite in the sense that it stretches in this collection through an internal process of reconciliation to that of a re-union with a kind of renascent pan-Africanism to the reinvention of South Africa and indeed, the entire Africa in a mould that will enable a connection to the global trajectory on its own terms. Therefore, one can argue that while the exile experience of *Freedom Lament and Song* dwells on the symbolic and literal pattern of drift, in *History is the Home Address* a balance is achieved through the mnemonic strategies of return. While for instance there is a concession to the overarching influence of drift in the contemporary age, the necessity of identifying with African history and indeed personality, no matter how vague the latter is, is not glossed over. By choosing to make a dramatic monologue of the entire collection, Serote confirms what Michael Chapman observes about the poetry of his generation, that is, the "the projective oral verse." He takes one through, in a quick but sober succession, important moments in African history: "there was pre-colonial time/there was slave trade /there was colonialism /there was apartheid/ and because these were there/ there was racism" (10). Similarly, he reminds one of "the lightening of bomb and its thin smoke/ which took Lumumba, Nkrumah/Mondlana, Toure, Cabral" (11), all figures of African struggle and statesmanship whose anti-imperial stances one way or the other made them run into collision course with the west. So, in the contemporary stage of what Fredrick Jameson dubs "late capitalism", it has become necessary for Africa to hold its own in relation to the west and insist on a measure of fair play and dignity that it deserves: "What must we learn from home?" The reply of the implied character is instructive:

> don't forget your address
> if you go away
> when they ask you
> where you come from
> search for the address and give it to them
> ah!
> when you return

> You must know where to go …
> History is the home address (12)

The lapidary repetition of this idea of history in the definition of contemporary Africanity runs through the collection certainly as an answer to the conundrum of contemporary vulnerability to all forms of dislocation and amnesia; this is in order that Africa can adequately take on the challenge of the present capitalist society, using from our past what Jeyifo refers to as "tropes of disalienation" (Sikhumbuzo Mngadi 1996:198).

Exploding the Ballon of Postnationallity in the Poetry of Tanure Ojaide

The globalization twist to the discourse of exile commenced in Serote's *History is the Home Address* finds continuation in Ojaide's *When it no Longer Matters where you Live* (1998). Meanwhile, it is necessary to point out that in this collection the import of the argument is best considered from the angle of the fact that "most modern nations consist of disparate cultures which were unified by a lengthy process of violent conquest… [and] nations are always composed of different… ethnic groups" (Stuart Hall 1993: 267-8). Therefore, the inversion of the myth of the nation as an "imagined community" owing to its failure to nurture and concretize the various dreams of the disparate ethnic and regional units becomes the basis for the preoccupation with exile in this collection. Ojaide's narration of the nation is essentially from the viewpoint of the Niger Delta crisis and by so doing, he interrogates the basis for the invention and sustenance of the nation. This takes us back to how exile connects globalization in this discussion. The feverish race towards planetization otherwise known as globalization has generated and will continue to generate all manner of debates. In the observation of Angus Cameron and Ronen Palan (2004: 51), these debates and arguments are bound to elicit responses across institutional strata. Tanure Ojaide's *When it no Longer Matters where you Live* is one of such responses. The planetary innuendoes of the title coupled with the spatio-temporal suggestiveness of the para-textual illustration of the cover page─ a juxtaposition, yet contiguous placement of both ruralscape, represented by a diminutive hut, and urbanscape, represented by an imposing skyscraper with satellite dish installation─ all foreshadow the cynicism which is obvious in the collection.

It is first and foremost a response to Marshal McLuhan's (1964) enthusiastic prognosis about the capacity of information technology to transform and possibly homogenize the world. The indispensability of this technology is at the core of most of the various definitions of globalization. David Held (1998: 13) for instance views globalization as the:

> Stretching and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time such that, on the one hand-day-to-day activities are increasingly influenced by events happening on the other side of the globe and, on the other, the practices and decisions of local groups and communities can have significant global reverberations.

As innocuous and progressive as this appears to be, the duo of Cameron and Palan (2004: 75-76) further remind one that "metaphors and other linguistic devices used to describe social and spatial forms are never so innocent." This compels a critical look at globalization from the angle of the binarism between the First World and the Third World nations. By taking as crucially instructive the position of the former and its bias in the pontification on the morality and operation of globalization, there is no doubt that, even at its best, the justification for the practice of the conceptual agenda, despite its apparent prospects, remains suspect. Its compression of all forms of social structures into a single mould (Julian Murphet 2005:128), reveals that it is nothing but the consequence of the global epoch of imperialism which is a reconstruction of Empire political maps. The substance of this fallout especially in the Third World is evident in the fact that "in place of firm notions of identity has come an era of mass migrations, exile and transition' (Nicholas Mirzoeff 2001:1). This is what Olu Oguibe (2002: 175) refers to as the dialectic of "connectivity and the fate of the unconnected".

It is this fag-end status of the Third World and the frenetic efforts of its citizens to escape "unconnectivity" that has become the greatest catalyst to the experience of dislocation in the postmodern time, which is what is the preoccupation of *When it no Longer*… Beyond its perception as a commentary on the national image of Nigeria as home, the collection, like most other collections of Ojaide, lays out in a manner that deconstructs national culture as it articulates more resonantly the ethnic aspirations of the Niger-Delta region of the country whose unconnectivity despite its oil wealth has become world knowledge. But first the capitalist and exploitative presence of the multinationals like Shell in this part of the country must be understood in terms of the their capacity to undermine national sovereignty, making it subservient to them (Aijaz Ahmad 1992:130; Murphet 2005:129), in order that the dispossession of an ethnic or regional entity can be easily accomplished. So the nation, not infrequently embroidered in political crisis with exponential causes traceable to the western originating countries of the multinationals, cannot live up to her citizens' expectations. This is the implication of the argument that runs in "Home Song II."

While this goes on at the national level primarily because of the oil-wealth of the Niger-Delta, the same region is engulfed in abject poverty explicable only in terms of the postulation of "resource curse".[2] This is the import of "In Search of a Fresh Song" in which the poet finds that "fecal trash" with "toxic blast" has created the "afflicted neighborhood" of Igbudu Market. The natural consequence is disillusionment which induces deracination:

> The eyes blurred from exhaustion
> see no further than the next half-meal
> next week fresh exiles will take flight
> to distances without roots (51)

The vulnerability to dispersion toward the west, which verges on the susceptibility to Foucault's terminology of "hyperreality" of the western world, is not discovered until victims of capitalist dispossession end up in the world capital only to be faced with the harrowing realities of exclusion in "distances without roots". In "Immigrant Voice", one of the migrants testifies in Pidgin:

Wetin my eye don see for here pass pepper persecution	I have been witness to peppery
	A h o m e w a r d r e t u r n i s m y s a l v a t i o n
Make me de prepare to go sweet home *If God de, make e punish them*	If God exists, let Him deal with them Who sanctioned my dislocation from Africa
Wen drive me from Africa come hell into hell. (106)	

The grandeur that is expressed in the lines above mocks the superciliousness of "elitist" critics like Harry Garuba (1988: xxv) who assign only facetious values to the use of Pidgin in literary practice. In fact, it is for this that Ezenwa-Ohaeto (1994:45), echoing Achebe in a positional criticism, warns that such critics of western critical bias against Pidgin must "cultivate the habit of humility appropriate to their limited knowledge of pidgin". The appropriateness of the choice of pidgin in this context comes to the fore on account of the fact that "merging vernacular languages, folk arts, European avant-garde forms, and secular concerns" has become a defining feature of postcolonial literature (May Joseph 1999: 142); besides, it must be understood as the necessity of taking serious the Lyotardian injunction to "wage war on totality".

Exile, Globalization and the Battle of Cities in Odia Ofeimun's *London Letter and Other Poems*

With Ofeimun's collection, *London Letter and Other Poems* (2000), another dimension to exile is inaugurated as its consideration is from the angle of the relationship between world cities in the age of globalization. For even on a most subtle plane, globalization— as a process and not yet a state, in all its social, economic and cultural aspirations, coupled with its trappings of contradictions— is unequivocal about the centrality of the image of the cities to the accomplishment of its mission. Whether from London to New York, cities of the Asian Tigers to Lagos and Johannesburg, the image of the cities looms large in such a way that suggests how the conceptual agenda harks back to history, reminding us of the roles of various cities as veritable sites of operation for the previous Euro-American imperialist activities, be they in the form of colonialism or neocolonialism in the Third World. However, the current postmodern agenda does not only implicate the cities, but also critically operates in such a manner that creates a split between them; that is, the deviation between the global and non-global cities. It is from this angle Ofeimun's *London Letter and Other Poems* must be viewed as a direct response to globalization. His concern is essentially how the dynamics of the dissection between global and non-global cities are configured. Specifically, he has engaged in a juxtaposition of Lagos and London in order to explore how the internal state of impoverishment in non-global cities results in dispersal toward the global cities in the west especially. This dialectic representation is the more intriguing because of the notion of the unstated rivalry between the global and non-global cities. This is what is clearly demonstrated in the opening poem, "Lagoon":

I let the lagoon speak for my memory

though offended by water hyacinth
waste and night soil…
I still let the lagoon reclaim
the seduction of a land moving
with the desire of a sailing ship
pursuing a known star. (3)

The image of the lagoon as a representative symbol of Lagos is understandable because of the crucial place it occupies in the emergence of the African modern city. The dichotomy between the two types of cities in postmodern time is implied in the desire of a land sailing in pursuit of "a known star". It is the more interesting that the known star is London. But besides the various internal socio-political problems of suffocating proportion that one encounters in the poem, it is important to remark that the non-sustainability of most African countries today, is not unconnected with:

> the effects of global economic restructuring [which] are evident in labour markets. The changes have affected employment, migration, house hold formation and housing. The results have a polarization both within cities and between. (Dilys Hill 1994:246).

The substance of this polarization is crucial in the sense that it engenders poverty in the non-global cities and creates a total sense of disillusionment, which again becomes catalytic to their thought of dispersion to global cities for good living. This is the import of the alarm raised in the poem by the critical experience of "drowning" to which "my city by the lagoon" has been subjected, despite her frantic efforts to "outshine the moon". The ultimate outcome of this is found at the end of the first segment of the poem that has concentrated in the main on Lagos: the fever of disillusionment has found a ready collusion in the desire of the borders "for exile".

In the succeeding segment, "London Letter," one encounters an initial orgy of excitement as "the exiles" arrive in London. This excitement is borne in the pidgin lines, "Na London we dey" and "Na so so enjoyment" (We are in London, and it is so much of enjoyment). It is also important to remark that their movement from their homeland was occasioned by a sense of alienation engendered by bad governance and an infrastructural system that fails to deliver on comfort; coupled with this is the need to be reconciled with the native wealth already swept to the city of London. However they have ended up in London only to discover that they are still as alienated from social comfort and financial fulfillment. As well as unfavourable temperate weather, the racial question mediated through capitalist operations has left them more confused and traumatically alienated, having no place they can actually call theirs:

> Like *them* who sang '*Lagos, na so so enjoyment*'
> *We dey for London like we no de at all*
> Dreading the winter like the old woman in nights
> Without firewood to hold harmattans at bay
> *We dey for London like we know dey at all*

Chewing cud in the birth of freedom as tragedy
A used up hope mocking the human condition
On both sides of the Atlantic: *Na so so enjoyment* (20)

The repetition of "*we dey for London like we no dey at all*" (we are in London as though we were not at all) explodes with a tone of finality the rarefied proposition of globalization. It is, after all, in the context of this work, an abuse of the concept of "freedom" of movement and migration, which is why it is perceived as a "mocking of the human condition/ on both sides of the Atlantic" and in which the migrant citizens of the Third World have been most hit.

Conclusion

As stated at the commencement of this paper, we have seen the various socio-political factors over the past two or three decades that have occasioned African dispersal to the West. The poets especially in the period before the 1990s are careful enough to demonstrate the historical peculiarity of each country and sub-region; they also show the extent to which such historical configuration is catalytic to an exilic choice. However, there is a contemporary ramifying experience, and this is what one finds in the neo-liberal ideal of globalization which, unfortunately, does more to exert influence of dislocation on Africans than it does to strike a balance─ economic, social, and political and cultural─ between Africa and the West. But most importantly, the paper has served to demystify the aristocratic hue constructed around the concept of exile as space only writers and a few other privileged ones─ personages who even at their most populous are still a negligible percentage of the society─ of the society can inhabit. This is why it is significant to note that the various exile experiences related in these works are all united by one fact, and that is the liberal notion of exile which shows how it can affect all. It is especially so given the spate of the urge to escape various forms of hardships in their natal homes. However, such decision, which often leads them to con-template relocation to the West hardly, proves worthwhile because of the various exclusionary measures that push them to the margins of such nations; and this ultimately points to nothing but the contemporary dilemmatic conditions of their lives.

On a general note, it is important to remark that in these works the thought of return assumes a complex and varied dimension, resulting meantime in all forms of diasporic existence. In Oguibe for instance, the fact of the guilt that attends the remembrance of escaping the horrors of home and leaving the rest of the underprivileged masses behind creates a sulking psyche aggravated by the challenge of coping with the politics of exclusion in the country of destination. For Anyidoho, and Ofeimun, return is a dilemmatic reality as it is extremely difficult to establish a difference between the realities of home and those of exile. Perhaps because the thoughts of return offer a remote possibility, there is a tenacity which verges into anger and activism in Mapanje. But with Ojaide, return, in that literal sense of the word, remains yet the only hope where the persecutions of exile become unbearable, implying some possibility of improvement in the condition at home. Lastly, in Serote return assumes an ambiguous dimension as history becomes

"the home address." Providing it whenever it is demanded or required implies an assumption of taking on the challenge of diaspora where a distinct identity is affirmed as a symbol of return. But this does not also rule out the possibility of physical return, which is why both become desirable.

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Notes

[1] It has to be admitted, nevertheless, that, like in West Africa, especially Ghana, pioneer African poetry in English in South Africa dates back to the late 19th century.

[2] According to Scott Pegg, "The tendency of countries that are heavily dependent on natural resource exports to perform poorly on a variety of economic, political , and social measures is frequently attributed to the 'resource curse.' " Scott Pegg, "Can Policy Intervention Beat the Resource Curse? Evidence from the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline Project", (*African Affairs,* vol. 105, 418, 2006), 1-25 pp. 1-2.

Creative Doctorates, Creative Education? Aligning Universities with the Creative Economy.

By Stuart Laing and Tara Brabazon

During the 1980s and 1990s, the university was posed as an underutilized weapon in the battle for industrial competitive and regional economic growth … At university after university, new research centers were designed to attract corporate funding, and technology transfer offices were started to commercialize academic breakthroughs. But we may well have gone too far. Academics and university officials are becoming increasingly concerned that greater involvement in university research is causing a shift from fundamental science to more applied work … Universities have been naively viewed as engines of innovation that pump out new ideas that can be easily translated into commercial innovations and regional growth. This has led to overly mechanistic national and regional policies that seek to commercialize those ideas and transfer them to the private sector.[1]

Richard Florida

In a recent book, Richard Florida marked twenty years of transformation in the university's purpose. Following on from his analysis, the 2000s can best be represented through convoluted debates detailing how universities are implicated in diverse modes of economic and social engagement. The palette of achievement, assessment and validation has been brushed with words and phrases like innovation, creativity, lifelong learning and the knowledge economy. These imperatives probe the traditional structures and ideologies of higher education. Richard Florida found 'naivety' in tethering university research to commercialization. However, while tracking a movement from fundamental to applied science, the changes to the humanities generally and media, communication and cultural studies specifically were unmentioned in his comments. The role of the humanities and social sciences as content providers that feed screen and sonic media is increasingly significant via the transformation of delivery platforms through digital convergence.[2] In fact, when assessing Florida's full published research portfolio, the commodification of

scholarly research in the humanities has been a minor part of his commentary on the creative industries, often slotted into discussions of his 'three T's' – technology, talent and tolerance. Florida's *Cities and the creative class* included only one chapter – 'The University, Talent, and Quality of Place' – that offered a presentation of the enmeshed relationship between the new economy and higher education. Perhaps recognizing this absence, he addressed this link a year later when, with Gary Gates, Brian Knudsen and Kevin Stolarick, he published a research project funded by the Heinz Endowments, titled *The University and the Creative Economy*.

In response to this document, which was released in December 2006, our article for *Nebula* has a single objective. Our goal is to evaluate how the rise of the professional doctorate in universities aligns with – or disconnects from – 'the creative economy.' Over the last decade, the institutional diversification of doctoral candidatures has operated in parallel with the burgeoning – in policy documents at least – creative industries. Our work takes the release of Florida's *The University and the Creative Economy* as an opportunity to re-evaluate and re-contextualize the two words 'professional' and 'doctorate.'[3] Florida wanted the purpose of a University to be more than 'pumping out new ideas.' While he is now considering the multiple roles of higher education in his more recent publications, the place of postgraduate education in facilitating technology, talent and tolerance is still unmentioned in the most recent report. Instead, he remains interested in the concentration of students and the number of academics in particular cities.[4] Subject or discipline specialties, the number of postgraduates or the type or mode of masters or doctorate were not deemed relevant to his research. While revealing the number of students, academics, universities, patent applications, license income and invention disclosures[5] that build into the Bohemian Index and the three Ts, greater precision is needed when aligning the postgraduate experience and the creative industries. There is indeed much to discuss. Universities such as Deakin are offering a Doctor of Technology and managing what Tom Maxwell describes as "a negotiated compromise between the demands of the workplace and the requirements for academic rigour, especially in the need to relate the work to the literature and in the quality of the exegesis."[6] Reflecting upon such a statement, it seems that the imperatives of work-based case studies and problem solving can be awkwardly tethered to scholarship. Therefore, our paper teases out the costs, gains and consequences of 'work' framing postgraduate 'scholarship,' 'the creative' inflecting 'the industrial,' and 'the professional' connectivity to 'the doctorate.' We explore the creative approaches to research, and the consequences of housing them in the directives of a professional doctorate.

The Doctor of Philosophy programme, at its most basic, enrolls scholars who have been successful in an undergraduate degree and grants them the opportunity to develop research expertise within a specialist subject. Bob Hodge has referred to these as "disciplinary doctorates" in "hierarchically organized knowledges."[7] The objective is to make an 'original' contribution to knowledge. In the United Kingdom from the late 1980s – and through the direct influence of the Research Councils – the PhD began to incorporate notions of 'research training,' changing the character of the enterprise. While many of these candidatures, particularly in the sciences, are funded by industry partnerships, the social sciences and humanities reveal a greater diversity of funding sources and enrolment patterns. A concrete and rapid commodification of intellectual property in the humanities and social sciences is rare, as is the production of scholarly monographs

from theses. The transformation of the publishing industry has resulted in textbooks, with their revisions and editions, swamping more specialized academic publications. Notable exceptions include publishers such as Ashgate, Pluto and university presses. Yet because of this shrinking space for academic monographs, theses are often read by examiners, lodged in libraries or released as digital documents, but rarely accessed or cited. A few refereed articles may emerge, but the outcomes of this scholarly effort are often difficult to track, measure or assess individually or institutionally. As a resource for research development and commodification, doctorates in the humanities and social sciences are an underutilized resource.

In this underused and yet historically and academically verified scholarly space, professional doctorates jut into relevance, opening new spaces for learning, writing and thinking. But the justification of education through the ideologies of vocationalism, generic competencies, skill development and work- related training also shrinks the domination of disciplinary doctoral candidatures in postgraduate education. In the last decade, there has been a proliferation of different modes of doctorates, with Stephen Hoddell, Deborah Street and Helena Wildblood locating five distinct categories or modes.

> traditional, research-based PhD
> practice-based doctorates
> professional doctorates
> new route doctorates
> PhD by publication[8]

The problem emerging through such a diversity of offerings is how to ensure equivalence, as they all lead to a doctoral qualification. In the United Kingdom, the QAA in 2001 inferred that the learning outcomes for these diverse modes of doctorates should be the same.[9] This is a difficult and – frankly – impossible task. For example, Bill Green and Adrian Kiernander asked a series of question about how a Doctor of Creative Arts – as a practice-based doctorate - transforms the status, process and agenda of postgraduate scholarship.

> What counts as and constitutes research? What counts as and constitutes a doctorate? What is the relationship between 'research' and the 'doctorate,' as a specific academic-educational credential? What relationship is there, or perhaps should there be, between 'research' and doctoral education? And finally: what are the specific circumstances and challenges for the Creative Arts in this context?[10]

These questions resonate awkwardly when assessing the emerging – and often productive – gaps between a conventional PhD in the Creative Arts, a Doctor of Creative Arts and the possibilities of professional doctorates in the Creative Industries or Creative Arts. Through their study, Green and Kiernander confirm that creative arts "might well go either way."[11] Like all liminal formations, a space for professional doctorates in creative arts – rather than practice-based work - raises a serious epistemological issue: what 'profession' is actually being discussed, labeled and described in and through this qualification? While the 'outcomes' or 'results' are often challenging to existing concepts of artistic creativity and cultural

production, they do not often have any immediate practical application in the way required by professional doctoral theses. Unlike nursing, medicine, engineering, accountancy or management, there are no professional bodies that accredit, examine or assess the competency or excellence of 'the professional.' In response to this absence, Gillies limited his definition of Creative Arts to the visual and performing arts, including design, music, drama and dance.[12] But the adjacent 'field' or 'area' that can be more strongly tethered to the workplace and 'the professions' - creative industries - is historically, theoretically and politically distinct from creative arts, involving branding, design, skill development and – more importantly – the commodification of creativity through intellectual property rights and patents. There has – so far – been no Doctor of Creative Industries.

Applying the concept of the professional doctorate in relation to different notions of 'the creative' is a useful way of opening up new scholarly spaces, but it may also confine and compress humanities research into the transitory and changeable economic needs of the 'creative industries.' There are opportunities in viewing proposals for professional or practice-based doctorates in the arts and media as choices to be fought over and new terrain to be developed and occupied, rather than as developments simply to be resisted in the name of the traditional role of the academy.

This rise of the professional doctorate has been part of a movement to align industry and the academy and is now being met with disquiet from Florida. This mode of doctorate not only captures a collective economic and educational transformation, but is meant to slot into an individual's career. As the Council for Graduate Education confirmed, the professional doctorate "is the personal development of the candidate (either in preparation for professional activity or to advance further personal skills and professional knowledge) and advancement of the subject or profession."[13] While most of these doctorates are not in the commercial sector – with the Doctorate in Business Administration being rarely awarded – they are undertaken for career progression and to have a more rounded view of a profession, becoming a 'reflective practitioner.' Such a focus on the 'individual,' 'skills' and 'personal development' mobilizes language and goals distinct from the original contribution to knowledge that is the benchmark for the conventional 'disciplinary' doctorate. A danger of this movement is that current institutional/professional practice is codified and validated as knowledge which is then seen as either challenging or trumping the abstract book-learning of unworldly academics. As early as 1993, the British government expressed its concerns with the Doctor of Philosophy.

> The Government welcomes the growth of postgraduate courses. It is concerned, however, that the traditional PhD is not well-matched to the needs of careers outside research in academia or an industrial research laboratory.[14]

This White Paper probed the industrial relevance of research degrees, and was encouraging what Florida's critiqued: that Universities arch beyond the academy and facilitate the commodification of ideas. More than a decade after the White Paper, the shape of much university research has moulded to the immediate needs of industry.

Before 1992, when all polytechnics were bound by the research degree regulations of the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), research degrees were fashioned as either a PhD or M. Phil. Since that year, institutions have been permitted to deploy their own research titles and curriculum. Yet a study in the late 1990s by Bourner, Bowden and Laing revealed that – at that time - few of the new universities were transgressing beyond the two conventional qualifications. They argued that "the new client groups lie outside of academia and industrial research laboratories; in our study they lie in the professions of engineering, education and management."[15] They proposed the benefits of a professional doctorate that ensured a distinction from the PhD, but allowed the development of new modes and forms of scholarship for groups for whom PhDs serve little purpose. In other words, the Doctor of Philosophy would not be fractured by the professional doctorate, but separated through distinct goals, methods and modes of learning. New 'markets' of students would be attracted. Nearly a decade later, in reassessing this earlier research project, our goal is to reconfigure and reframe the suite of postgraduate offerings within the discussions about a creative economy emerging in the last three years. Perhaps the professional doctorate can continue to serve the needs of industry and personal development while the PhD can reclaim and retain its function in wider scholarship based in the disciplines. Yet Florida's critique is important: perhaps industry-led or channeled research will not create the most innovative scholarship. It may reinforce already existing practice, methods and agendas. Now that the professional doctorates have gained a strong foothold in both British and Australia universities, it is appropriate to recognize the diversity of doctorates and programmes while asking who are they for and the value of their approaches to research.

The first Doctor of Philosophy awarded by an English university was made in 1920. A DPhil at Oxford,[16] it was followed by a PhD awarded from Cambridge the following year.[17] Harvard awarded a Doctor of Education in 1921. A much wider gap awaited the first PhD awarded in Australia, which was in 1948 from the University of Melbourne. The University of Sydney followed three years later.[18] Of most significance for this project, Australia's first professional doctorate was the Doctor of Creative Arts at Wollongong in 1984. It predated the qualifications in law (1989)[19] and education (1990). In other words, while Australia was much later in introducing a Doctor of Philosophy, the nation's universities were much earlier initiating innovative and diversified higher degrees. This early establishment of a DCA led to structural change in postgraduate administration. The U.K. would follow in the diversification of these awards after 1992. The first Ed.D emerged in England that year at the University of Bristol, the same year as the University of Warwick, the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology and the University of Wales introduced the Doctor of Engineering. By the end of the 1990s, three quarters of the pre-1992 universities and one third of the post-1992 universities delivered professional doctorates.[20] A decade later, the function of a professional doctorate was summarized by the UK Council for Graduate Education (UKCGE).

> A Professional Doctorate is a programme of advanced study and research which, while satisfying the University criteria for award of a doctorate, is designed to meet specific needs of a professional group external to the University, and which involves members of that group in the design, development or delivery of the programme.[21]

The Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee offered a similar determination: "the Professional Doctorate

is specific to a discipline, aimed primarily at practitioners in the field. The programme of study would be expected to include advanced coursework, project activity and a research component."[22] Their imperative was for the qualification to be specifically aimed at workers in a field, with the curriculum designed through a partnership between professional groups and universities. Research is a part of the submitted degree, but coursework and projects are integral to the methods of delivery and assessment.

This narrative of professional doctoral development shadows the emerging 'requirements' for skill development in the creative economy. As Bowden, Bourner and Laing reported, the increase in the number of these specialist and often industry-inflected doctorates has been in the areas of education, business administration and engineering.[23] But there has been a more productive and provocative shift in the determination of research in the professional doctorate degree, with methodological innovation in practice-based research, the deployment of action research and reflexive consideration of the role of the scholar in scholarship. Bowden, Bourner and Laing describe,

> a shift in the role of the doctoral researcher from spectator to agent. We hear much today of the importance of evidence-based practice. The new generation of professional doctorates in English and Australian universities offer the prospect of practice-based evidence. This is an important development as it allows a new tributary to flow into the stock of knowledge, one that flows from the advancement of professional practice.[24]

While recognizing this innovation, a provocative question still remains as to whether this alignment of engineering, education and management with higher degrees at universities cannibalizes – rather than proliferates - already existing forms of scholarship. In this earlier research, Bourner, Bowden and Laing recognized a distinction in the English university sector: pre-1992 universities 'protected' the doctorate, while post-1992 universities denied the diversification of doctorates.

> Whereas the 'old' universities have been concerned to protect the 'gold standard' of the PhD by allowing the development of alternative titles for professional doctorates, the 'new' universities have been more concerned to avoid proliferation of new doctoral titles so that variants have been squeezed into the PhD. This may reflect the greater self-confidence of 'old' universities as long-established awarding bodies.[25]

Significantly, the decision of 'old' universities conflates with Florida's recognition that university research should offer more than industrial and work-related goals. The difficulty for the 'new' universities was that they had packed diverse programmes and agendas into the 'traditional' doctorate. Our earlier discussion of the creative arts shows the intricate and ambiguous nature of these decisions and definitions of disciplines, practices and professions, and the impact on inter-disciplinary and liminal areas of study. Provocatively, we therefore raise a critical question in our creative approach to research doctorates.

What is education for?[26]

Tom Bentley asks a crucial question about the purpose of education. A more specific inquiry that under-girds this paper is to assess how this plurality of higher degrees impacts on the arts, humanities and social sciences, and how this diversification may dovetail into the creative economy. Of attention is how creative arts, creative industries and media studies are transforming the role and purpose of higher degrees. There is a cost of vocationalism and interlinking education with work-related learning, including the fragmenta-tion of logical patterns in the development of expertise, the de-centring or displacement of areas that may not be of direct economic benefit, and an implicit critique of traditional degree structures and methods. For example, Usher was clear in his determination that the knowledge economy 'replaces' – rather than enhances or diversifies - other directives for education.

> The first thing that can be said about this is that it [the knowledge economy] replaces an epistemological with an economic definition of knowledge. Knowledge becomes a factor of production, more critical in the production process as economic performance comes to rely more and more heavily on knowledge inputs … Economic growth is now seen to be vitally dependent on the development of an infrastructure that facilitates and enables sustainable knowledge development.[27]

Even in the EdD, the vocabulary from the creative industries palette - of partnership, outcomes and expe-riences – permeates the discourse.

> The EdD is based on a partnership between the University and the educational employers to provide candidates with an integrated set of experiences enabling them to demonstrate, through research scholarship, a set of outcomes reflecting the qualities prized in modern pro-fessional educators.[28]

Experiences enable - and scholarship produces - a set of outcomes for professionals. Underdiscussed in the literature is how affirmations of lifelong learning and professional/personal development can also mask a discussion of the commercialization of education. Terry Flew reported that,

> learning, creating and applying knowledge have become a continuous imperative for individ-uals and organizations, giving rise to a new idea – lifelong learning. This means that people will need to return to formal education more often during their lifetime and that learning will become a more explicit goal in activities not formally designated as education, especially work. There is now more knowledge, and more demand for it, than can be contained within a public sector infrastructure. New modes of access and knowledge creation are required. [29]

Terry Flew was resident in Australia when writing these words. The context for the crispness and clarity of his argument – without caveat - needs to be acknowledged. A decade of neglect in humanities and social science research in universities had reached such a scale that Mike Kent reported that "it might

be that it is too late now to act to save the higher education sector in Australia as it now exists."[30] The introduction of the Research Quality Framework in Australia, which was a flawed reproduction of the Research Assessment Exercise, decentres peer review and evaluation of scholarship in favour of 'impact' assessment through qualitative metrics.[31] Therefore, the success of the professional doctorate in Australia must be analyzed in a context where research is being assessed for its impact and relevance to industry or organizational performance, not disciplinary innovation or recognition by peers.

Mark Tennant, like Flew, wrote about higher education from the crucible of Howard's Australia. He argued that affirming a division, difference or distinction between PhDs and professional doctorates is not an adequate mechanism through which to convey the costs and consequences of framing postgraduate education within the creative industries and the knowledge economy. Tennant contends that this analytical separation of the doctorates in the research literature overshadows a more significant discussion about the shift from 'autonomous student' to 'enterprising self.'[32] The words and phrases 'flexible,' 'reflexive,' 'managed information,' 'entrepreneurial,' 'collaborative' and 'situated knowledge' have hooked into policies, curricula and mission statements. While many of the battles about the legitimacy of a non-vocational purpose for education have been lost in the undergraduate curriculum, the doctorate remains a site of debate, conflict and questioning about the role of economic and work-related objectives in scholarship.

In the United Kingdom, the private sector already spends more on training and education than government.[33] In response, universities have become competitive and market-oriented, using web- based platforms to sell their courses beyond the geographical limits of student catchment areas. Yet there has not only been a transformation in the mode of delivery, but also in the curriculum itself. Mark Tennant confirmed the scale of this change.

> Perhaps one of the most important shifts is that the demand for the 'relevance' of university curricula and credentials, while not new, has certainly taken on a new turn in the knowledge economy. Relevance no longer equates with the 'application' of knowledge 'to' the workplace, rather, the workplace itself is seen as a site of learning, knowledge and knowledge production, hence the term 'working knowledge.'[34]

The professional doctorate was formed and valued as a method to bridge industry and university, professional development and scholarship. But even in the sciences, Partha Dasgupta and Paul David have recognized the importance of separating academic science and science geared for industry, as short-term benefits would be emphasized over long-term developments that may not immediately be profitable.[35]

Creative industries courses and degree programmes emerge from media, communication, art, design and cultural studies departments. The history of many of these programmes before the 1980s was shaped by the legacies of scholars such as Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, E.P. Thompson and Stuart Hall. Raymond Williams in particular aimed to transform education for working class citizens.[36] Preparing students for the transition to work was not the goal. The aim was to develop consciousness about all aspects of their lives – including their experiences of, and aspirations for, paid employment - through the insights

of education. Currently, this project has been inverted, with universities 'mirroring' the workplace, not challenging the workplace. Without recognizing this history, Linda Ball reported on 'the role of higher education' in industry.

> For its part, higher education will need to understand the future of creative enterprises to help students and graduates to learn about the industry and how to access training and development opportunities. The implications are that staff need to update their knowledge about the world of work, take more responsibility for preparing students for the transition to work and encourage multidisciplinary working to mirror what is happening in the workplace. This involves a shift towards an outward-looking culture providing a bridge with the real world, extending beyond the formal undergraduate curriculum.[37]

Many ideologies dance through these sentences. The ivory tower of scholarship is invoked and opposed to the assumption that micro-businesses, the 'independents' and the 'creative class' are 'the real world.' Repressed notions include the possibility that university academics hold expertise that may have a value additional to the workplace and its immediate demands, or even that they are knowledge workers in and of themselves who hold a clear-headed understanding of their student cohort and their curricula objectives. For Ball, the three year undergraduate curriculum in art and design becomes the place where all the life skills required for the 'world of work' need to be provided.

There is a consequence of such statements for postgraduate education. If ambition is capped at 'training and development opportunities,' then professional doctorate will alter the brief of the higher education sector. Clearly the DCA is an attempt to build the relationship between 'work' and 'university,' 'creativity' and 'scholarship.' The question is why researchers in subject areas and scholarly disciplines would wish to 'mirror what is happening in the workplace.' Florida, Gates, Knudsen and Stolarick believe that researchers can aim too low in their standards, innovation and curriculum because of such assumptions about students, teaching, learning and the 'world of work.'

> The university's increasing role in innovation and economic growth stems from deeper and more fundamental forces. The changing role of the university is bound up with the broader shift from an older industrial economy to an emerging Creative Economy ... Innovation and economic growth accrue to those places that can best mobilize humans' innate creative capabilities from the broadest and most diverse segments of the population, harnessing indigenous talent and attracting it from outside.[38]

Their goal is to open out universities to the diversity of the population, not to narrow its interests to business and the professions. Indeed, what if the current 'the world of work' is not the best practice for the next generation's innovators in art, design, architecture, popular culture or screen and sonic-based media?

New knowledges, like media studies and cultural studies, do not erase old knowledges but they may change the credibility granted to these knowledges. Mark Tennant was rightly critical of the binaries that

separate paradigms and degree structures, desiring a more integrated approach.

> By making a conceptual (and binary) distinction between different types of knowledge, different types of doctoral degrees and different types of persons undertaking such degrees, universities have attempted to incorporate 'working knowledge' as an important addition to their more traditional and enduring role of working within disciplinary boundaries. But this scenario is not sustainable, largely because the incorporation of working knowledge into universities essentially subverts disciplinary communities by challenging what constitutes legitimate knowledge … Moreover, the incorporation of working knowledge into universities demands new structures and new ways of 'doing business' which create significant policy and practical tensions.[39]

The separation of worker and scholar is unhelpful. Through these binary distinctions, there remain similarities between the 'modes' of doctorate. They still require the supervision of a student by an expert in the field. But the separation of the worker-earner-learner from the scholar-discipline- specialist has impacted on all postgraduate education. In Australia, the Council of the Deans and Directors of Graduate Studies issued a Statement of Generic Skills for Doctoral Candidates, with a Joint Statement of the Research Council/AHRB (now AHRC) Postgraduate Skills Requirements emerging in the United Kingdom. All doctorates are changing, beyond the demarcation of professional or disciplinary doctorates. The permeation of 'generic skills,' rather than specialist knowledge, is having an effect. There is motivation and reasons to enroll in a professional doctorate. Jerry Wellington and Pat Sikes found that their students in the EdD enjoyed the structure of the degree and how it fitted into the pattern of their lives.[40] They became "researching professionals,"[41] forging a new work-based identity. Yet other modes of identity formation through education can be lost, denied or underwritten in such a narrative.

The New University?

> The new economy seems to offer most people rather little. Society is becoming more unequal. Experience of failure is becoming widespread. More of the economy resembles Hollywood: only a handful of the hundreds of projects under development become films, only one in six films released makes money and fewer still become hits. - Charles Leadbeater[42]

Leadbeater's argument about Hollywood is even more decisively applied to Higher Education. Many forms and modes of doctoral qualifications are being offered. Examinations are taking place and testamurs have been released. Yet there are few doctorates that contribute in a measurable and quantifiable way to social, economic or political change. They may provide professional development for employees. They may improve productivity and efficiency. But they also raise important questions about the point and purpose of higher education and scholarship. If our piece has an agenda, then it is to indicate a danger and as a warning to proceed with caution. The issue is not just – or indeed mostly – about the subservience

of universities to the commercial sector or the need of industry. Most professional doctorates, unlike much applied research, are in public or service sector areas. The issue is whether the power/status of the 'professional' is reinforced at the expense of non-professionals, and through the promotion of an a priori dominance of 'real world' knowledge drawn from current practice over new theoretical or research-based empirical knowledge.

Terms such as 'the economy,' 'work,' 'industry' and 'vocation' may too easily be conceded to a reductive rendering of the university's role. There is important work to be commenced in this debate that is blocked through the premature retreat to a moral/intellectual high ground. It is more effective to investigate the ambiguities and challenges of educational history. The study of earlier modes and rationales for doctoral education is not only productive but politically revelatory. The current system, punctuated by the vocabularies of skill development, work-based training, fees and debt, is distinct from the humanist model offered by Henry Newman. His 'idea' of the university has little tether to our current institution. Much creative industries analysis has been based on the university being the backbone and foundation for economic development, but this structural role lacks actual content. Through the industrial revolution, the split between tradition and practicality foreshadowed the division between education and training in the twenty first century. The dual purposes of universities – teaching and research – have consequences for the management of both.

The relationship between professional doctorates and/in the creative industries can be over-simplified through valuing of the 'world of work' over the academy. Of more significance is how we respect and develop the social processes of education, health care, material production and reproduction, sustainable development and cultural production. The seizure of the terms 'economic,' 'wealth- creation' and 'innovation' by a narrow market economy vision (one which would have amazed and appalled Adam Smith) has compressed the complex goals of university research into only being valuable if the postgraduate earns a high individual salary (the 'graduate premium') or if it furthers Gross Domestic Product. If a qualification does not fulfill this criterion, then it is discarded as of little or no value. In 1994, Gibbons, Limoges, Nowotny, Schwartzman, Scott and Trow described this new knowledge society and tracked the movement of knowledge production away from universities.[43] Application and development, not innovation and exploration, became the imperative. Such a model depleted the role, function and purpose of a university. Perhaps the professional doctorate was a way to reclaim some territory through aligning application with knowledge and work with learning. But the consequences of proliferating doctorates have been stark. Both the 1996 Harris report[44] and the 1997 Dearing report[45] expressed disquiet about the state and rationale of postgraduate qualifications.

For Florida, Gates, Knudsen and Stolarick, universities remain a "creative hub,"[46] the basis for developing technology, talent and tolerance. However they also stress the necessity for framing regional strategies and a willingness to "mobilize and harness creative energy."[47] Such phrases are difficult enough to translate into curriculum for undergraduates. It is not only complex but perhaps unproductive to codify such objectives into a skill set for doctoral education. However it is clear that creative approaches to research remain a project and agenda for not only this journal, but the university sector. Is it the time for pragmatic

compromise or a moment to reclaim words like originality, scholarship and excellence? Our role as workers in the field is to ensure that universities remain relevant, but that relevance is tempered and shaped by much more than only work-based skills. Perhaps by emphasizing the priority of use-value over exchange-value - in a new, fresh and broad vision of the 'real world' - universities can productively align their purposes with not only those of the professions and the new creative economy, but also those of the broader population, whose needs all these organizations should seek to serve.

Notes

[1] Richard Florida's *Cities and the creative class*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 143-4

[2] Stuart Cunningham charted this realization in his article "Social and creative disciplines in ascent," *The Australian Higher Education Supplement*, July 10, 2002, p. 33. He stated that "we can no longer afford to understand the social and creative disciplines as commercially irrelevant, merely civilising activities. They must be recognized as one of the vanguards of the new economy." Therefore, a productive tension emerges between Cunningham's welcoming of a 'vanguard' and Florida's caution at Universities 'pumping' out new ideas.

[3] We also note and acknowledge the literature tracking the transformation of the professional doctorate. Please refer to Tom Maxwell, "From first to second generation professional doctorate," *Studies in Higher Education*, Vol. 28, No. 3, August 2003, p. 279-291

[4] R. Florida, G. Gates, B. Knudsen and K. Stolarick, *The University and the Creative Economy*, December 2006. Table nine in this document focuses on "Students concentration." This heading refers to the proportion of students in a specific city and region, not - with a missing apostrophe - the capacity of scholars to understand their lectures, tutorials or readings.

[5] *ibid.* Table six reports "University Licensing Income and Startups," and table seven reports the "Correlations between University and regional technology measures."

[6] Maxwell, p. 281

[7] B. Hodge, "Monstrous knowledge: doing PhDs in the 'New Humanities,'" in A. Lee and B. Green (eds.), *Postgraduate studies/Postgraduate Pedagogy*, (Sydney: Centre for Language and Literacy and the University Graduate School, 1998), p. 114

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Changing the Direction of Society Through Human Enhancement and Society's Reactions.[1]

By Philip Santa-Maria

We have to create ourselves as a work of art.

-Foucault

"Alas," said the mouse, "the whole world is growing smaller every day. At the beginning it was so big that I was afraid, I kept running and running, and I was glad when I saw walls far away to the right and left, but these long walls have narrowed so quickly that I am in the last chamber already, and there in the corner stands the trap that I must run into."

"You only need to change your direction," said the cat, and ate it up.

-Franz Kafka "A Little Fable"

Humans live out their lifespan knowing that at some point there will be a moment where we cease to exist. On our linear timeline, we emerge as intelligent and rational beings from the unification of our parents' DNA. We then spend our lives gaining knowledge, applying it to our work, and at the same time striving for the meaning of our lives, our purpose of walking on the Earth for only a short while. Either way, we all know that death is around the corner. This process is essentially what it means to be human, and to be human is inevitable.

Our societies, our religions, our philosophies, and even our science have been gauged around the premise of mortality. Humankind has inherent characteristics that cause the questioning of its own identity in the context of reality and meaning. In the book of Psalm 8:4, the question is poetically expressed in a theistic framework, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?"[2] It festers madly, this same question, in the minds of all of us. Science and technology are deeply involved in the resolution to questions such as this. The current states of technological advances in the areas of artificial intelligence and biotechnology have

only fueled the burning questions within. They have put the answers within theoretical reach of scientists and philosophers.

It is only a matter of time until we grab control of our own mortality, and forever shift the paradigm of what it means to be human. This phenomenon could change everything that fundamentally explains our humanity by creating unlimited life spans. Immortality is a left jab to the meaning of life because without the natural human characteristics of birth, death, and regeneration, we are not human. And when our bodies physically decompose, leaving us with prosthetics, enhancements, and replacements, we would simply be an intelligent organism in a mechanical body. Technology has already begun recreating human parts, and will lead us eventually to a time where the definition of what it means to be human will be far contrasted to the meaning today. It will be in this time that religion will be challenged, and our theories of existence will be put to the test. We will have reconstructed society starting from the physical construction of the individual.

This will be our action, but what will be the *reaction* of society? What new cultures will develop as a result? This paper will examine recent advancements in the field of human enhancement, and will address questions concerning the sociology of science, more specifically the sociology of technology. By changing our direction, we allow scientists to study and identify possibilities in reality instead of frozen facts. As Matthew David explains in his text *Science in Society*, "Being always contains many possibilities for becoming,"[3] which applies to our physical reality as well as our social reality.

By tracing the chains linking recent technologies to their corresponding social upheavals, I will be showing that the future of technological advancement and guided evolution is grim if left in the hands of any governmental form of control over progress, also known as *democratic transhumanism*.[4] What has worked, and what will always work is the most minimal set of boundaries or regulations on progress which always come from government control, also known as *libertarian transhumanism*.[5] Many people hear the words libertarian and automatically relate it to an anarchist state which is completely untrue. The libertarian system recognizes the need for government, but demands that government interference be the absolute minimum.

Lastly, the most important variable will be the shift in our society towards what is called *technological existentialism*, a form of ethical neutrality in science. That is, removing the notions that technology is good/evil, right/wrong, and human/inhuman.[6] Frankly, it is what it is. Technology is merely utilized to fill in the gap of normal human potential. Gary Lee Downey bluntly perceives cyborg anthropology as, "a serious challenge to the human-centered foundations of anthropological discourse."[7] Because the cyborg movement in anthropology is about freedom from biological constraints, I would readily reason that it should also be about freedom from social constraints, whether or not such constraints come from political, religious, or ethical facets in society.

Gauging Attitudes Towards Technology

For my research I have created a survey. The survey asks questions about the individual's views of current technology and also asks questions about the future technology of prosthetics. By analyzing the results of the survey, I will determine if certain ethical views of current technology correlate with views of hypothetical future technology. I will try to find a connection between experience with computers, or even growing up with computers, and acceptance of biological enhancing technology. Therefore, my hypothesis is that participants in the survey with high familiarity and experience with computers, regardless of formal education or political affiliation, will be more accepting of transhumanistic cyborg technology.

I have also created a diagram connecting the social elements that will react depending on the status of one another. The down arrows signify 'reliance'. For example, the *politics* depend on *ethics*, or the *motivation* depends on *politics*. The chart is arranged to support my hypothesis concerning the state of science and technological advancement as it heavily stems from progress in its correlating facets in society. In the case of cyborg technology, the science therefore relies ultimately on the views of the major more popular belief systems.

CULTURE OF BODY MODIFICATION

Tribal / Tradition / Caste to

Adornment to

Utility / Transplant / Prosthetics to

CYBORG SOCIETY
Science

↓

Motivation

(Profit/Power)

↓

Bureaucracy

(Corporate/Political)

↓
Ethics

The Inventions of Humanity

"Man is an invention of recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end."

-Michel Foucault

Since the creation of the term "cyborg" by Manfred Clynes[8], the idea of cybernetic organism has spread like wildfire throughout the realm of science fiction and comic books. Many of us have even heard of certain Marvel Comics super heroes such as Wolverine or Iron Man. These are just two of the hundreds of cyborg characters in the genre of science fiction that includes Philip K. Dick and Arthur C. Clarke. However, the make-up of these two famous characters in particular literally illustrates the vision we have for emerging technology. Wolverine and his enhanced indestructible skeleton, Iron Man and his mechanical suit of computerized body armor, are fictional representations of ideas we are currently seeing today in military research for the creation of a super-soldier.[9] However, more commonly in the real world of average citizens, these modifications or prosthetics are administered in the medical field.

Natural organ transplants have been occurring since 1951 with the successful operation of a kidney transplant, to 1967 with the first successful heart transplant, up to 1981, the first successful lung transplant.[10] These leaps in medicine are indeed fantastic, but the patient never receives an organ that will last forever, so technically it prolongs the inevitability of death. Death is the one commonality that brings every human being that has ever existed together. Therefore, we can reasonably conclude that to be free from death is to be free from being human.

The biggest sociological question of science is simply: Does science facilitate human emancipation?[11] The debate is concerning the two ideals of truth and freedom.[12] Modernists in the field held true that more truth led to more freedom, and more freedom led to more truth.[13] However, Post-Modernists doubt all links between freedom and truth, and challenge the very foundation of scientific truths.[14] Still, research in the sociology of science and technology has been contained through only a few distinct theoretical perspectives: feminism, Marxism, and different ethnographies.

Published in the *Socialist Review* in 1985, Donna Haraway's 'A Cyborg Manifesto' echoed Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* of 1848. Haraway's work remains one of the most important works in the cyborg field, and has set the basis for theoretical frameworks on the subject of Cyborgs, namely feminist and socialist theories.[15] However, due to her upbringing as a Roman Catholic, a good amount of imagery

reverts back to her original beliefs and therefore could be analyzed better in an anti-religious context rather than a scientific context.

Just the ideas of recent innovations in genetics, such as cloning and stem cell research, have been pushed around and abused by the democratic process. While the exponential advancement of computer technology seems to give the image of geeks working in garages, genetic science is a scarier vision. One imagines Dr. Frankenstein, or an evil mad scientist with wild white hair. These are of course silly generalizations. However, since politics, economics, and technology are so interconnected, we must step back and view these collapsing boundaries and ask ethical questions about the current state of our society.

Now considered to be orthodox and outdated, Marx's original views of science and technology were overlooked during a radical scientific movement in the 1960's. Marx viewed that technical change was the fuel for social change, "At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production…From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. At that point an era of social revolution begins."[16] The development of technology and science are bound up with the development of the 'means' of production.

Critics to Marx and Engels in the twentieth century's Frankfurt School were very outspoken about science and technology in society. Specifically, Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas were adamant about stating the errors of orthodox Marxist ideology in underestimating the role of science and technology. Marcuse is most well known for identifying a link between science and domination in his work *One Dimensional Man* in 1964. After WWII, it became apparent that elite politicians cloaked their true nature with scientific jargon to seem progressive, but their drive for knowledge is fueled by a need for control and power rather than simply understanding the rules that govern the universe.[17] In Habermas' *Towards a Rational Society* in 1971, he talks about the shift of politics into technical administration and the danger that comes with it as well as the idea that scientific knowledge is not immune from broad cultural or narrow political influence."[18]

Therefore, we can conclude that, though technology is essential (as the means of production) for social change, there is danger in politicians who use technology for power and in government leaders who act to administer technology. Finally, and most importantly, knowledge gained from science is always affected by culture, more specifically religion, and politics. Is it realistic to therefore conclude that science, which is so heavily influenced by power struggles and ethical backlashes, will prevail in being the tool to strengthen the will and prolong the moral lives of individuals?

It depends on the individuals themselves.

Death as a Disease

> *"There are no such things as incurables; there are only things for which man has not found a cure."*

--Bernard M. Baruch

There are only a few reasons that technological advances occur in American society: profit, power, and the admirable yet under funded view of art for art's sake. Profit, a motivation of many corporations, is the end result of examining the market for what people want or need, getting the product in the hands of the people in the most cost effective manner, and finding a way to make the most money in the end.[19] Power, the motivation of government, is the end result of state funded technological development solely for the advancement of the state and the state's interests. In his work *Strategy Formulation*, I.C. MacMillan puts it best, "Power is the capacity to restructure actual situations."[20]

Few and far between do we see scientists who experiment for the sake of gaining knowledge, sometimes because such experiments would be deemed illegal or immoral. Either way, the technology of the post human, that which combines the organic with the mechanic is very likely to cause a stir in the public. The experiments and breakthroughs that cause nationwide pandemonium usually involve genetics. Hot debates include stem cell research, cloning, nanotechnology, and human/animal hybridization. But it was not long ago when the first heart transplant using a pig heart was the immoral headline of the week. The truth is that science is offensive. To uncover information in a society that covets the lack of information is a difficult task. To speak of the next step in human evolution involving machines is junk science to creationists, for example.

The problem rests in the motivation of scientists, and though the motivation is tied to several cultural, social, and economic influences, we must remember that we have come pretty far in societies that fear and limit scientific and technological progress. In 17th century Italy, father of science Galileo was forced to recant his heretic views of a heliocentric system. He was sentenced to house arrest, and forever remains the western world's most famous case of government doctrine, in this case the doctrine of the Catholic Church, interfering with progress.[21] Today, the heliocentric system is fact.

The federal government as much as ever involves itself with scientific progress. It is similar to Hollywood movie producers. The producer's general responsibility is to provide the funding needed to complete the film, an investment, and in return, to make a profit. However, Hollywood producers all too often get involved with the actual movie making process. They frequently change script ideas or complete plot lines altogether leaving the public with movies such as *I, Robot* where the only resemblance from the Asimov book is the actual title.

With federally funded science, the same thing happens. The scientific research is completed in a way that pleases the moral majority or it is not funded, essentially killing any chance of progress. Stem cell

research, which promises to discover possible treatments for human illness, suffers from lack of government funding. As the media often covers, stem cell research involves human embryos and is therefore extremely controversial. The current administration is against Federal funding of the research that it deems immoral as it has a 'pro-life' stance.[22] Since the research is very expensive, it is currently dead in the water.

What of Transhumanistic technological innovations? Only a few have made headlines. Though we live in a society where humans and machines exist symbiotically, the only advancements that tend to garner massive amounts of Google searches are those in entertainment. During my research, it was very hard to find any popular opinion information on this topic. I made it my responsibility to create a survey that would give me the views of a sample population. After conducting the survey with 22 people in person, and 26 online, I ended up with 48 completed surveys from people with completely diverse backgrounds, ethnicities, ages, and education.

The Dirty Game of Politics

> *"The union of the political and the physiological has been a major source of ancient and modern justifications of domination, especially of domination based on differences seen as natural, given, inescapable, and therefore moral… We have allowed the theory of the body politic to be split in such a way that natural knowledge is reincorporated covertly into techniques of social control instead of being transformed into sciences of liberation."*

> --Donna Haraway *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*

In the field of political sociology, there are many subfields. One of the main focuses is on how public personalities, social movements and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect politics.

What do politicians really know about technology? Max Weber wrote about the politicians need to control every aspect of their society, even parts that they don't understand, "It is as if in politics…we were deliberately to become men who need 'order' and nothing but order, who become nervous and cowardly if for one moment this order wavers, and helpless if they are torn away from their total incorporation of it."[23] To further prove many politicians ignorant nature about technology, I present Senator Ted Stevens on the internet, "The internet…*it's a series of tubes*. And if you don't understand those tubes can be filled and if they are filled, when you put your message in, it gets in line and its going to be delayed by anyone that puts into that tube enormous amounts of material, enormous amounts of material."[24]

German sociologist Max Weber warned his readers all about too much bureaucracy in our government. In his work *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Weber talks about bureaucracy coming from kingdoms and ancient militaries all the way to modern society where it exists in political parties, churches, business, and educational systems.[25] Weber goes on about the faulty politicians in David Beetham's *Max*

Weber and the Theory of Modern Politics. He speaks of the qualities of a real politician with conviction, "the real leader's task is not merely to compromise interests as if politics were like a market place, but to take a stand on issues that transcend material interests."[26]

He continues the argument in *Economy and Society*, "A person is more likely to care about such issues, and be willing to sacrifice office to conviction, if he is financially independent - he must live FOR, not OFF politics."[27]

The fuel in the fire of the stem-cell research agenda has been big names, celebrities, radio shows. You name it; there is always someone in the public sphere promoting the awareness and benefits of stem-cell research. Public personalities like Michael J. Fox are appearing to support the research, while unfortunately there is a counter-movement of celebrities like Jim Caviezel, better known as playing Jesus in *The Passion of the Christ*, who are battling it all out on commercials.[28]

These public figures garner much more support for each of their causes than any politician ever will. However, Hollywood actors are infinitely more likeable and recognizable. Who wouldn't want to support one of these two men? In one corner we have Marty McFly from *Back to the Future* (or Alex Keaton from *Family Ties*, whichever you prefer). In the other corner we have Jesus of Nazareth from Mel Gibson's mega-hit. What a fight! These public figures and these politicians, who are very one-sided and counter-scientific in their opinions, are influencing American citizens by the millions.

The World Church of the Operating System

> *"Morality, when formal, devours."*

> --Albert Camus

The reverberating problems in our society ultimately stem from ethics, which for the most part are of a religious nature. As stated before with the stem-cell research bills, organ transplants and blood transfusions which are referred to by some sects of Christianity as unclean, and in the past with new scientific discoveries that challenged dogmatic law, there is always a head on collision, a no holds barred street fight with advances of science and the ethics of the society. It is always intense because our ethics are a major form of the way we identify ourselves, and sometimes a reason or purpose to living altogether. Therefore it is not surprising that such violence and upheaval take place during an ethical debate.

Ethics are subjective. And that is not my subjective ethical opinion, rather a conclusion that many scientists and social scientists have come to regard as true. The idea of cultural relativity only further stresses the subjectivity of cultures, of peoples, of eras. If we step out of our own view, and look over the many ideologies of the world, we notice that truly there is no correct value system, nor is there a master system

that supersedes all others. This is the cross- cultural perspective, and a neutral view of ethics.

Max Weber wrote a brilliant essay in 1917 titled "The Meaning of Ethical Neutrality". It was a rebellious work which criticized the preceding generation's view which was headed by a German named Gustav von Schmoller. Schmoller was one of the great minds of the German Historical School of thought with which Max Weber couldn't disagree more. The trouble consisted of a simple disagreement about the existence of a true system of values, even if it extends beyond the systems of earth. It would have to be a universal system that encompasses the essential values that we all hold. Suffice to say, Weber wouldn't have it.[29]

Weber saw that this was another creation of unnecessary opposing viewpoints, parallel to party politics in a heavily bureaucratic governmental system. He focused greatly on promoting unbiased scientific progress, as well as proclaiming that the 'statesmanlike' compromise would not cut it either.[30] This type of thought was repeated in the works of famous existentialist Jean- Paul Sartre, and writer Albert Camus. Also, it is similar to Kierkegaard and Nietzsche and their existentialist dimensions.

In a sense, Weber is expressing the same idea as he did in his essay *Science as Vocation*, "According to our ultimate standpoint, the one is the devil and the other the God, and the individual has to decide which is God for him and which is the devil. And so it goes throughout all the orders of life,"[31] meaning that the individual must choose their values at the end. This supports the notion that, even though the individual is part of a society, he or she is alone with his or her choices, values, and conscience.

All of this ethical banter is very important in the field of technology. Technology is derived from the need of a society to fulfill or enhance human capability where it naturally can not do so alone. It is created by man, and at the same time man calls it good or bad for one of any reasons. But why is this so? The technology certainly does not function without the input of man, so why should the consequences of technology fall upon technology itself? Granted, many technological enhancements are dangerous, and many more are designed to hurt, kill, or eradicate a whole people. Still, the ethical problem is in the design which is the inherently human aspect. Therefore, in ethical neutrality it is unacceptable to deem inanimate objects as immoral or unethical, but instead deem immoral or unethical the actions in which certain technologies are used.

However, it must always be that anything deemed is only the opinion of the individual and can never supersede any other person's opinion.

Let's Look at the Data

"Get your facts first, then you can distort them as you please."

--Mark Twain

The purpose of the survey was to simply gauge how this randomly sampled population perceived technology's role in society. I also wanted to find a correlation between factors such as social ideologies, experience with computers, age, political stance, education, with their beliefs about current and future scientific progress, and how it should be conducted.

The first question is "How do you view technology?" My first surprise came with the answers that showed

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

|	Church & State	Science & State
Separated	39	23
Together	9	25
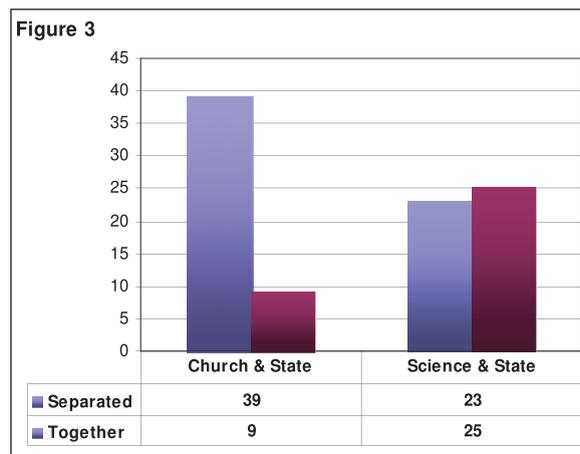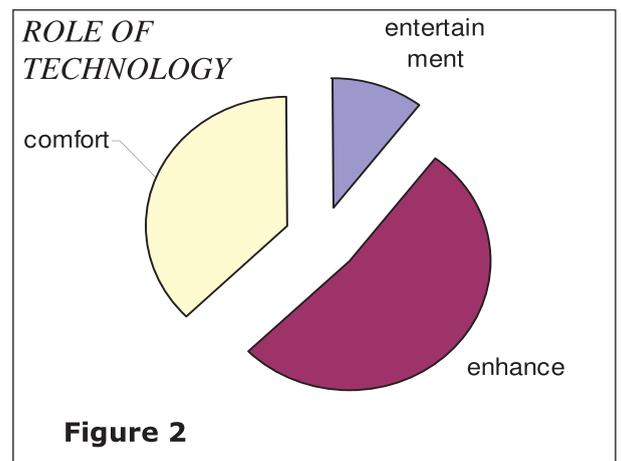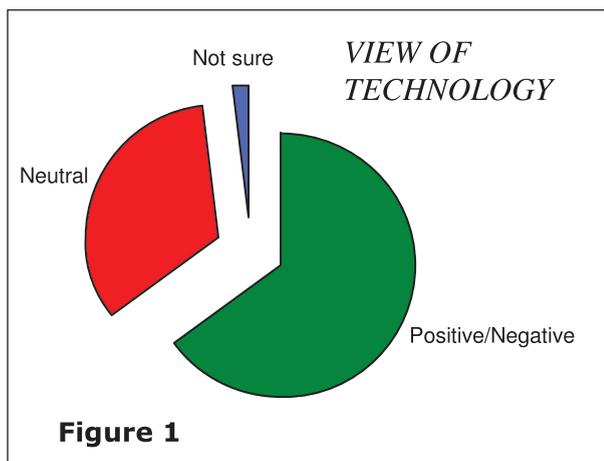
31 out of 48 participants answering "something that can be inherently positive or negative" which is shown in Figure 1. Then a majority of sample, 25/48, in the second question which addressed the role of technology chose the answer "enhancement" with a large minority, 18/48, picking "comfort" seen in Figure 2. Thirty of the participants answered that they use a computer daily. The other 18 answered weekly in question 3. Twenty-six use computers in their jobs, for personal use, research and for video gaming in

question 3a. Again, this is a highly familiar group in different facets of computer use.

In question 3b, twelve of them consider themselves "very experienced", while twenty- four consider themselves "moderately experienced", ten label themselves as "intermediate", and two as "novices". This means that this particular group for the most part is highly familiar with computers. A group that is highly familiar with computers and that sees the role of technology in society as enhancement is a correlation that I was looking for. On the other hand, this highly familiar group also views technology as either positive or negative. Questions 4&5 shown in Figure 3 were designed to pinpoint the participants' specific view of the role of science in society. On the "Separation of Church and State", a large majority of 39 were for it, while 9 would prefer the state to have some sort of moral role. On the "Separation of Science and State", only 23 were for it, leaving the majority 25 against it. Question 5 in particular gauges who is a Libertarian Transhumanist and who is a Democratic Transhumanist. And, the slight majority of the participants consider themselves democratic transhumanists, meaning they favor government intervention when it comes to scientific progress. This result disappointed me as I thought a group highly familiar with computers and technology would have the opposite viewpoint.

The next nine questions were designed to measure the type of outlook each individual participant had concerning recent and future technological advancements. Questions 6 through 8 rate the participants' opinions of stem-cell research. Questions 9 through 14 rate the participants' opinions of prosthetics and human enhancements. The stem-cell responses were what I had expected, a mixed and balanced set of opinions. The majority of the group supports the idea of stem-cell research. The larger portion of 34 supported while a smaller group of 14 was against stem-cell research all together. But, when asked if they supported federally funded stem-cell research, the story changed a bit. Eight participants switched sides as soon as the research became federally funded. The results can be seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4
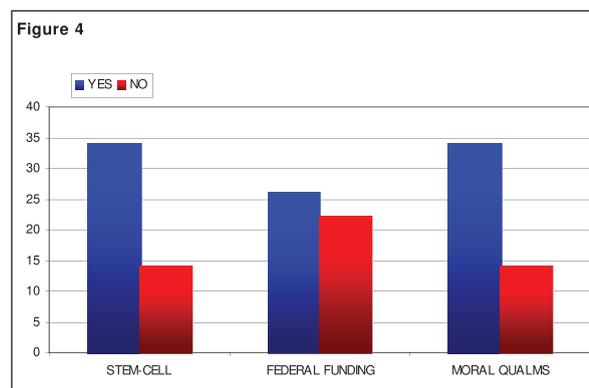
When asked why, three of the participants wrote these responses, "money should be spent on education and crime reduction instead", "my taxes!", and "not sure if it works at all". When asked if they had any moral qualms with the research, the results reverted back to the first stem-cell question having 14 responding 'yes' to having qualms, and 34 responding 'no'. This further supports the notion that many of those who did not support government funded research did not do so because of any personal ethics, but of a political or social stance.

Figure 5

Figure 6 - Results by Political Affiliation
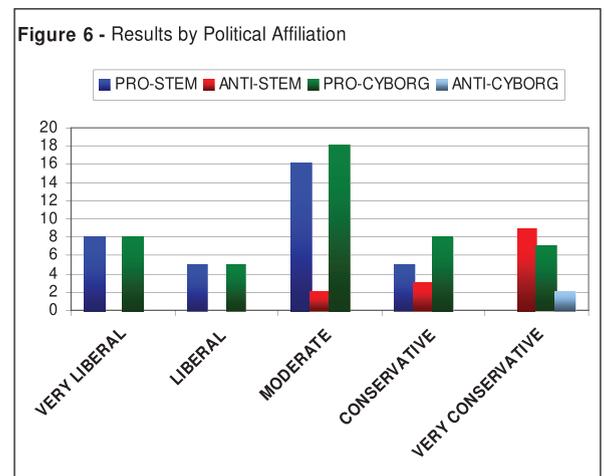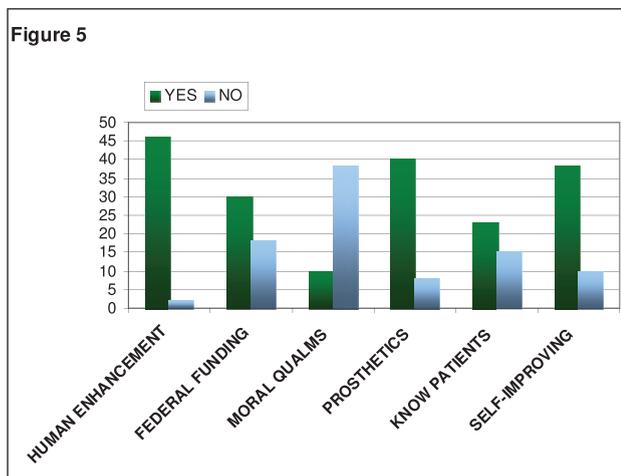
Finally, questions 9 through 14 were the most important. They all had to do with the participants' opinions and views of human prosthetic technology, everything from organ implants, artificial limbs, and enhancements to senses such as vision, hearing, and possible enhancements that increase memory and performance. The results can be seen in the large bar chart Figure 5. Out of the 6 questions, I found them all favorable to my hypothesis as well as my outlook on the future of human enhancing technology.

The participants overwhelmingly supported human enhancement, the majority of them supported Federal funding, and the majority did not have moral qualms with the idea. More than half of the participants know someone with some sort of prosthetic, attachment, replacement, or transplant. And the majority of the participants said that they would consider self-improvement if there was nothing inherently wrong with them, that is, they would consider improvements to their normal body such as hearing or vision enhancement.

I could tell the participants were all politically charged by the end of the survey because the only question in the "identity" portion that was filled out by every single participant was the question concerning political affiliation. As Figure 6 above shows, both the "very liberal" and "liberal" participants were unanimously supportive of stem-cell research and cyborg technology. The "moderates" were very receptive to the ideas having unanimous support for cyborg technology and a large majority being supportive of stem-cell research. The more right-wing on the scale we travel, the more apparent the changes become. Those who identify as "conservative" were pro-cyborg, but we see a dead heat when it came to the stem-cell issue, accurately reflecting the split in right wing politics today between social and religious conservatives versus libertarians on the right. And finally, those who consider themselves "very conservative" were anti-stem-cell research completely, and all but two extremely religious conservatives were pro-cyborg technology. This chart is the most important data concerning ethics and technology and its connection to modern politics. It is proof that politics plays a heavy role in the development and support of scientific advances.

Notes

[1] I'd like to thank those at the Veteran's Hospital for who provided me with a background on new prosthetic technology. Also, I'd like to thank Dr. Jerald Brown for encouraging my interest in the sociology of technology and futurism, and Dr. Barry Levine for single-handedly turning me on to Weber.

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Al-Durra/The Second Wife

Written and translated by Nejmeh Khalil-Habib

She is not bitter. She was this way when she first came with "Him" to our house. Something opposite to bitterness shocked my heart when he pushed her towards me and stood confronting both of us, leaning slightly forward, fixing his "ghatra" then saying in a threatening voice

"Look you two…. I need no headache….If you pass the limits, both of you are divorced. No questions asked…. Understood!"

I confess that I used to envy her well-shaped figure and the sophisticated way with which she walked. I confess that I used to sneak inside her room every time I saw her door slightly opened and purse my lips with resentment at the mess she left all over the place. No man can tolerate a messy, filthy wife! The day I heard her sighing of a bad headache, I wished she had a malicious tumour. I imagined what she would be like then: her thick bright hair that she leaves cascading over her shoulders would fall out, her healthy rosy cheeks would go pale and yellow, her eyes would stop sparkling with greed. Jasem would desert her and turn back to me entirely. The most important of all is that she would not be capable of giving him the boy he married her for.

One day, she invited me to watch a movie with her. I averted my eyes with hesitation. She dragged me by the hand and said with a wide smile: "Come on! Don't be silly! Let's have fun in this bleak house."

We sat together for the first time in the luxurious lounge room watching and laughing. My laughs were timid and restrained. She was natural and more relaxed. She brought a big dish of popcorn and put the curtains down. Our hands touched every now and then, and I felt a strange, inexplicable, feeling.

When she got pregnant I thought of wicked things to do to cause her to miscarry, but due to either cowardice or tender- heartedness my thoughts never passed the brink of imagination. I used to notice that after each visit to her parents, she looked brighter, more energetic. She would embrace and hug me, asking: "How was your day?" She used to wash me with waves of affection that made me feel guilty for having my silent ill intentions towards her. She used to enter her room for hours and come out with a lovely tiredness colouring her eyes while I was busy with my three daughters.

My *durra* is cute. She never criticises my behaviour, never competes with me over extra time with my husband. She didn't object when I released the maid without telling her. My feelings towards her have started to change, especially after her miscarriage. I felt a mixture of joy and pity but I was stunned when I learned that she had aborted it herself.

"I don't want to get pregnant by that trivial arrogant man," she had said.

I stayed silent. I don't agree with her. He is not trivial or arrogant; he is kind, generous and handsome. The day he asked for my hand I felt prouder than all the other girls in the family. *This* marriage is the only deficiency I see in him. I can't forgive him for that. I didn't do anything wrong. It is not my fault. It's God's will for us not to have a boy.

Yesterday, she invited me to her suite. She got the "Qur'an" and made me swear over it to keep secret what she was going to reveal. I got confused and hesitated, but her persistence made me agree. She sat on her knees in front of the closet and threw carelessly all the clothes out of it, then she took out a big black hand-bag. She opened it and sorted something which I recognized later was a computer. She sat on the carpet and put it in her lap and started fiddling on it with her fingers. I wasn't impressed by what she was doing, I am indifferent towards this new technology, I have enough to do in life, I don't need extra headache.

She cried begging me to stay for a while: "I want to show you something." I got confused, I had heard a lot about computers and the internet. "I don't have time for this, I have many things to do." "One minute only. One minute please."

I prepared myself to see some forbidden(s). A lustful thrill shook my body. I prepared myself to recite a hot scolding prayer. I will tell her: This is disgusting! I will not allow this to happen under the roof of this respectful house. I will pour all my anger on a life that made me half a human being by depriving me of having a baby boy. My anger evaporated when I heard her uttering calm musical words that I couldn't comprehend for being busy with my disappointment.

"What do you think?" she asked.
"Is this yours? Are you a poet? Who taught you all of that?"

She twisted her head and said in a sad voice: "My younger brother. The last kernel in the cluster, as my mother says."

"My brother Adnan was very upset when my parents agreed to this marriage. He found it difficult to under-stand what a spinster meant, or the mortification it causes my parents, or the scar it leaves on my soul. He wept bitterly the day of my marriage and promised to make life easier to me. He introduced the world to me through this small handbag. The freedom of spirit I live within my imaginary world, makes the prison of flesh with this trivial arrogant man, tolerable."

After that she started to keep her door slightly open and call me in whenever she felt I was around. I would enter and stand behind her watching. If my breath fell over her neck, she would smile; she would affectionately press my hand when in the middle of her childish pleasure.

I don't know why it thrills me when her hand touches mine.

Nejmeh Khalil-Habib
Sydney Australia
July 2005

الضُّرة

هي لم تكن مرة. كانت كذلك أوّل مرة جاء بها الى البيت ، إلا أن شيئاً عكس المرارة خفق بين جناحيّ عندما دفعها باتجاهي ووقف قبالتنا نحن الاثنتين هازاً سيابته مائلاً جذعه قليلاً الى الامام مسويا غطرته ثم صائحاً ـ شوفو ، وجع راس ما ريد. . . إذا تزودنها اثنيناتكن طالقات بيوم واحد . مفهوم!......

أعترف أنني كنت أحسد لها قدّها المتناسق وصنعتها في المشي، كما أعترف انني كنت أتلصص داخل غرفتها كلما رأيت الباب مواربا فألوي شفتيّ احتقاراً لما أراه من فوضى تعم المكان. لا يبقي رجل على امرأة عفنة. يوم سمعتها تتأوه من وجع في رأسها تمنيت أن يكون ما بها ورماً خبيثاً. وراح خيالي يسبح كيف ستكون حالها بعدها. . . سيتساقط شعرها الكثيف اللامع الذي تتباهى به. سيصقر ويذبل وجهها. سيهجرها جاسم، ليعود كلياً إليّ، والاهم انها لن تكون قادرة على انجاب الصبي الذي تزوجها لأجله.

دعتني يوماً بتودد لأشاركها في مشاهدة فيلم فيديو أهدتها إياه صديقة. بقيت صامتة وعندما أصرّت جلسنا معاً لأول مرة في الصالون نشاهد العرض ونضحك. ضحكاتي كانت مخنوقة حيية. هي كانت طبيعية أكثر منيّ. أحضرت طبقاً كبيراً من "البوب كورن" وأرخت الستائر. كانت يدانا كثيراً ما تتلامس فاحس إحساساً غريباً لا استطيع تفسيره. يوم ظهرت عليها اعراض الحمل، فكرت أن اعمل لها عمل يسقط حملها، ولأن ما أفكر به لم يتعد يوماً عتبة الخيال ظلت محاولة الاسقاط تنتظر على بابه. كنت ألحظ أنها تعود مشرقة مرحة محبة في كل مرة تزور بها أهلها، قد تحضنني، تعانقني، تسألني كيف قضيت يومي. تغمرني بفيض من الحب أشعر إزاءه بالذنب تجاه نواياي السيئة نحوها. كانت تدخل غرفتها لساعات تخرج بعدها وتعب جميل يكحل عينيها فيما أكون انا مشغولة ببناتي الثلاث.

ظلها خفيف هذه الضرة . لا تنتقد تصرفاتي ولا تحارب لتأخذ حصة أطول من زوجي ولا تعترض إذا ما صرفت الخادمة دون اخذ رأيها. بدأت مشاعري تتغير تجاهها، خصوصاً بعد ن أجهضت طفلها. مزيج من مشاعر فرح الانتصار وغمة الشفقة اختلطت بداخلي ولكنني صعقت عندما أعلمتني أنها هي من أجهضت نفسها
لا أريد ان احمل من ذاك التافه المغرور قالت
بقيت صامتة. انا لا أوافقها. هو ليس تافهاً ولا مغروراً. هو لطيف وكريم وشكله جميل. ويوم طلبني تباهيت فيه على كل بنات العائلة. عيبه الوحيد هو انه يريد صبياً لم استطع أنا ان أمنحه إياه

البارحة دعتني الى غرفتها، جاءت بالمصحف وجعلتني أقسم وبدي فوقه أن أبقي ما سوف أراه سراً. ارتبكت، ترددت ولكن إصرارها جعلني أفعل . قرفصت أمام بابة الخزانة أزاحت كومة من ثياب رمتها بلامبالاة خارجاً ثم أخرجت حقيبة سوداء كبيرة فتحتها وأخرجت منها شيئا تبين فيما بعد أنه جهاز كمبوتر. تربعت فوق السجادة وضعته في حضنها وراحت أصابعها تعبث بحركات سريعة. لم يثرني ما تقوم به. أنا لاميالاة بهذه التقنية الجديدة عندي ما يكفيني، رأيت فيه وجع رأس أنا بغنى عنه. وإذ استدرت خارجة صرخت راجية: خليك شوية. أريدك ان تشوفي هالشي
ارتبكت. أنا اسمع ان الانترنت فيها بلاوي كثيرة.
لا أريد أشوف شي عندي شغل كثير
لحظة لحظة
هيأت نفسي لأرى بعض المحرمات وسرت رعشة شهوانية في أطرافي. هيأت لساني لعظة توبيخية ارميها بها. سأقول لها عيب هذا الشي لا يصح ان يحصل في بيت محترم مثل بيتي. سأفش فيها كل حقدي على الحياة التي جعلتني مرأة مكسورة الجناح مكسورة الخاطر لا تنجب صبيانا
انتكس هياجي عندما سمعتها تقرأ كلاما ما شعلني عن استيعابه لملمة خيبتي. ثم رأيت نفسي اسالها من علمك كل هذا؟ من اشترى لك هذا ؟

ـ اخي الصغير. آخر العنقود كما تقول الوالدة.
ـ آه!. . لهذا يمسك ملاك كلما ذهبت لزيارة امك.
أخي عدنان حزن كثيراً عندما وافق أهلي على الزواج. لم يفهم ما في كلمة عانس من رعب يعشش داخل رؤوسهم ولا يرحم رأسي. بكى يوم تزوجت وقال وهو يودعني سأعمل المستحيل لأجعل حياتك أسهل. وقدم لي

العالم من خلال هذه "الشنطة". انطلاقة الروح التي اعيشها مع عالمي المتخيل هذا يجعل سجن الجسد مع هذا التافه المغرور شيئاً هامشياً

صارت بعد هذا تترك الباب موارباً وتناديني عندما تسمع وقع خطواتي. قد أدخل وأقف خلفها. كانت تبتسم ابتسامة ارتياح عندما تسقط انفاسي فوق رقبتها. قد تشدني من يدي وتضغط عليها بحنو وهي في غمرة فرحها الطفولي. لست أدري لماذا كنت أرتعش عندما تلامس يدي يدها

سدني اسنراليا
April 2005

Struck by an Evil Eye

Written and translated by Nejmeh Khalil-Habib

She entered our world in a forgettable moment of time and scattered what we had treasured of beliefs and creeds for hundreds and thousands of years. Things were never the same after that intrusion. How did it happen? Why were we spellbound with her every movement, behaviour, gesture? I don't know.

My father got upset, he ordered us not to utter her name "Take her out of your minds. She's a wicked and evil girl."

No matter how hard we tried, she was always there, nearer than a blink of an eye. Her presence always shadowed our conversation no matter how serious or trivial these conversations went.

We were all Australian born. We were all brought up in Sydney, but we never seemed to get ourselves out of our fathers' and grand grandfathers' skins. We were proud of our roots and silently resented this western culture. We were always content with what Father decided for us, he knew what was good for us better than anyone else in the world.

"His wisdom" saw that there was relatively no good in higher education for girls. Without questioning I complied with his verdict. I was convinced that a well- mannered girl, descendant of a dignified origin didn't need any higher education. Since my first sense of life I have known my mother to be in the kitchen. I never asked myself if she had any other concerns outside that kingdom. She was happy, content in tracking her mother, grandmother and grand grandmother's footsteps in looking after our needs and endeavouring to gain the reputation of being the best cook of delicious and complicated meals. I never heard her complain, or saw her seduced by the successes that our neighbour Zahra or her cousin Mirvat had achieved in public life. "The crown of my head, the apple of my eye Abu Faisal!"

I never demanded of getting a job like most of my colleagues. My essential needs were already met. "She" accompanies me to shopping when the need rises. My going out is organized and reasonable, I am not imprisoned but not in possession of unconditional freedom. I may contribute in helping my younger siblings in their homework or act as a baby sitter to my aunties' children when they ask, of course, without being reimbursed for my time. Reimbursement is still a shame in our tribe, while we heartily crave to have it. I might go out to watch a hit film or play with my cousins, but only after spending several days arranging and submitting full reports about the theme, the actors, where and when the film would be viewed, etcetera, etcetera. I never before felt offended by these procedures: I had surrendered to his leadership without complaint. I submitted to his orders and never felt persecuted or oppressed and I never felt that there was anything wrong with these restrictions so as to complain about them. I don't remember

that I ever infringed upon their commandments, and never wondered what was the big deal about eating meat on Fridays.

Then she entered our life. One day she accompanied my brother and some of his friends on their way from University. "I didn't invite her. It happened accidentally, we were involved in a hot conversation and we found ourselves here," Faisal said.

"Do you expect me to belief your story? "Masha'lah," an architect as well! *Mistarijleh ya'ni*, what a low kind of woman! Sure, she got no man to control her!"

Truth be said, she wasn't low or *man-acting* as mother had claimed. She was well- brought-up in a close-knit family, comprised of father, mother and children where the father is the head of his tribe in an exemplary patriarchal mode. She was one of us, had the same skin colour, the same dark eyes, and the same curly dense hair. She even speaks our mother tongue unbroken, clear, fluent like any old villager who never left his village. We were stunned by her courage; we were shocked by her carefree being. If she were blond with blue eyes, if she were born in this western civilization, if she were from a broken family, if she were rebellious, rejected by the guardians of morals and virtues in our ghetto, then it would be different. But to be brown, with honey eyes, a new comer to the country and from a village only a few miles from where we come from! This made her extremely influential.

She goes to University, she studies architecture, a male domain in our perception. She stays late at night and accompanies boys to their houses and invites them to hers. The mercury key ring that she always holds, the only long thick lock of hair tied to her back, fascinated my little brother. My mother closed her ears with both her hands when she heard her arguing loudly, taking sides with homosexuality and eutha-nasia. The audacity she showed in her conversations thrilled me. Each one of these boys weighs double her size, and their voices tens of times louder than hers, though she was never intimidated by them or felt inferior, on the contrary, she was always certain of herself, defended her beliefs with enthusiasm and confidence. She never sounded hesitant or seeking approval or stating false compliments.

Days weren't the same any more....

I tried to break "their" protocol by not accompanying "the tribe" to Church that Sunday. "He" broke with furious rage that made me comply and go, to avoid his ferocity, but my going was different this time....

My little brother refused to eat what mother put on the table that day. His "majesty" went mad and started cursing us one by one and in a lot. The little one shrank away and was silenced directly after my mother whispered something in his ear.

My mother started to ask why she is rooted in the kitchen all the time, so he frothed with rage and reached the brink of a heart attack. She shut up, after that, but became always grumpy and distressed. She stopped tidying our rooms and started asking us to do the job. She started rebuking us every time we asked her

for a glass of water or juice. Faisal stopped asking me to iron his shirts -- he started preparing his own sandwiches every morning. My father slapped his hands against each other and said in a mourning, tragic tune, "….we have been struck by an evil eye!"

عين صابتنا

دخلت عالمنا على حين غرة , بعثرت ما كان معلبا من ثوابت ومعتقدات فوق رفوف وعينا منذ عهد عاد. . . بعد دخولها لم تعد الامور على ما كانت عليه . لماذا حصل هذا ؟ لماذا هفت قلوبنا الى كل حركة وكل ساكنة فيها لست ادري . ابي يغضب وينهانا عن التفوه باسمها . اخرجوها من افكاركم . هي ضلالة وشر . ولكنها دائما بيننا اقرب من رفة الجفن , وان كان لا يزال في انفسنا خشية من ان نلهج باسمها على الملأ, إلا انها دائما بين اي اثنين منا تلاقيا على سمر .

كلنا مولود في استراليا , كلنا ترعرع في سدني بالذات,.ولكننا في الحقيقة ما فارقنا جلود اجدادنا يوما. فخورين بحسبنا ونسبنا، نكن احتقارا اخرس لهذه المدنية الغربية عن نهجنا ووصايانا، قانعين بكل ما يرسمه لنا الاب فهو أدرى بمصلحتنا .

قضى رأيه, الذي لا يعلوه رأي, ان اكتفي من الدراسة بالشهادة الثانوية فلم اطمع بمزيد. قال: هيك بيكفي .الفتاة العاقلة بنت الاصول يكفيها من العلم ما ينفع عائلتها. فرضيت ما وعيت امي إلا قابعة في مطبخها, ولم ينته الى وعيّ أنه دار يوما في خلدها ان تقتدي بجاراتها او حتى ببعض بنات جاليتها, فتسعى او حتى تطالب في نشاط خارج دائرة العمل المنزليّ. قانعة راضية باقتفاء اثر امها وجدتها في الانصباب على تأمين حاجياتنا وكسب شوط السبق في اتقان الاطيب والاكثر تعقيدا من انواع الطعام. تحرص على تلبية طلبات كل فرد في الاسرة. لا تشكو ولا تتذمر ولا حتى يغريها ما حققته نسيبتها بهيّة من امتياز على زوجها في الاونة الاخيرة . "سندي وتاج راسي ابو فيصل".

من جهتي ما طالبت يوما بالخروج الى العمل كمعظم زميلاتي . . . طلباتي الاساسية مؤمنة. هي تصطحبني الى السوق كلما دعت الحاجة. خروجي من البيت منظم مقنن , فما انا سجينة ولا في حل متروك لي الحبل على الغارب. قد اساهم في مساعدة اخوتي الصغار في بعض واجباتهم المدرسية او اعمل "بابي ستر " لابناء خالتي عندما تدعوني الى ذلك ـ طبعا بدون مقابل ـ فالمقابل ما زال عيبا في قبيلتنا نّعف عنه ظاهريا ونتلقاه بطريقة مواربة (على شكل هدية يعني) تكون في الكثير من الاحيان غبناً . قد اذهب مع بنات الاعمام او الاخوال لمشاهدة مسرحية او فيلم كثر الحديث عنه, ولكن بعد ان نعد لذلك اياما او حتى اسابيع ونقدم عرضا مفصلا "للجهات المختصة " عن الفيلم وموضوعه ومشاهده ومتى واين يعرض وكل التفاصيل المهمة وغير المهمة.

لم يكن الامر ليزعجني فقد اسلمت له القيادة واستكنت هادئة البال بعيدة عن وجع الراس. رضخت لكل اوامره.
ما احسست غبنا ولا عنّ لي أنّ حالي خليقة بالشكوى. لا اذكر انني خدشت وصاياهم وما جال بخاطري ابدا ان اتساءل وماذا لو اكلنا اللحم يوم الجمعة ! ! !

ثم دخلت حياتنا . . . جاء بها اخي الاكبر زميلة في الجامعة. هكذا بدون مقدمات ـ كما يفسر ـ ـ حصل الامر بعفوية تامة . ما دعوتها ولا حاجة . . . كنا في نقاش, سرقنا الحديث, ما حسينا ودرينا الا واحنا "كدام" الباب .
ـ وبدك ياني"اصدكك"! ! . . . . وتدرس هندسة عمار كمان . . . مسترجله يعني . . . من "كلّة" ما حدا يردها . . . .هذي بنت فلتانه . . .

لا ! ! . . . لم تكن فلتانه . . . كانت ابنة عائلة محترمة متماسكة , نواتها اب وام واطفال , والاب هو راس عشيرته دون منازع . كانت واحدة منا, لها نفس لون جلدتنا وغزارة شعورنا حتى انها تتكلم لغتنا الام بطلاقة افضل من اي واحد منا . . . اذهلتنا جرأتها . . . صدمتنا . . . لو كانت شقراء الشعر زرقاء العينين لكان الامر اختلف. لو انها ممن يرطنون في كلامهم . . . لو انها مولودة في هذه الحضارة . . . لو انها من عائلة مفككة . . . لو انها تعيش بعيدة متمردة على اوامر القبيلة . . . لو ان فيها شيئا من هذا لاختلف الامر

أما ان تكون سمراء الجلدة , عسلية العينين , لم تات الى استراليا الا قبل سنوات لا تتعدى اصابع اليد الواحدة ومن قرية لا تبعد سوى بضع مئات من الكيلومترات عن قريتنا, ففي الامر عجب . . .

تذهب الى الجامعة, تعود في ساعة متاخرة . اختصاصها مما هو مقصور في عرفنا على الذكور. لها زملاء يزورونها وتزورهم في بيوتهم . . . فهذا مدهش وغريب ! ! . . .

. . . أعجب اخي الصغير بجدائلهاالكثيفة المضفورة الى الوراء وبّعلاّقة المفاتيح الزئبقية التى لا تفارق يدها. وكانت امي تطلق شهقات خافتة وهي تسمعها تناقش هؤلاء الشبان ـ ابنها ورفاقه ـ وتتحمس لحقوق الشاذين جنسيا ولمسالة الموت الرحيم . . . وكانت تعتريني دهشة وانا اراها تقارع هؤلاء الرجال. كل واحد يفصل منها ثلاثة فيعلو صوتها اصواتهم دون ان تحس ازاءهم باي دونية. تصر على رأيها تحارب لاثباته دون مواربة او مجاملة كاذبة .

وانتهت زيارتها ليبدأ شيء ما داخل حظيرتنا . بدأ منطق والدي يبدو لامنطقيا. فأسواره التي قضى ثلاثين عاما في استراليا يحصنها ويعلي مداميكها طاولها اهتزاز . . . صرت اتساءل عن سر خنوعي . . . اصبحت اكثر تبرما وتأففا. لماذا لا اكون مثلها ! ! ها هي متألقة كزنبقة حقل. واثقة لا يجفلها زميل ولا تقعدها الاقاويل. ما همها ما يدور في ذهن الاخرين عنها! خائضة في هذه المدنية حتى الثمالة دون ان تخدش انيابها الشرسة سوى القشرة المهترئة من أصالتها.

وما عادت الايام كسابقاتها. . .
قلت : اخرق بروتوكولهم وارفض اصطحاب الجوقة الى الكنيسة هذا الاحد , فثارت ثائرته . . . ورأيتني اكسر الشر واذهب , إلا ان ذهابي هذه المرة كان مختلفا . . .
أصّر اخي على عدم تناول الطعام الذي اعدته والدتي فعلا صراخه, وراح يشتمنا جملة وتفصيلا, تهيب الصغير وسكت على مضض بعد ان وشوشت هي في اذنه شيئا ما .

وتساءلت امي عن سبب قبوعها الدائم في البيت, فأرغى وازبد وكاد يصاب بذبحة قلبية, فاستكانت ولكنها اصبحت بعدها دائمة التذمر والتشكي . . . لم تعد ترتب غرفنا عن رضى بل صارت تطلب منا باصرار غاضب ان نقوم نحن بهذا العمل . . . اصبحت تنهرنا إذا ما طلبنا منها كوب ماء او كوب عصير .
كف "فيصل" عن الطلب اليّ أن أكوي له قمصانه وصار يحضر سندويتشاته بنفسه كل صباح. . . فضرب والدي كفا بكف وقال بصوت فجيعائي ناحب : " . . . عين صابتنا "

نجمه خليل- حبيب
سدني استراليا

Fiddling While New Orleans Flooded: The Production, Dissemination and Reception of "'Dubya' Serenading the 'Madonna of the Superdome.'"

By Kris Belden-Adams

Monday, August 29, 2005, the city of New Orleans's most vital levee had broken, saturating the poorest parts of the city with toxic floodwaters in the wake of the category- four Hurricane Katrina. About 30,000 residents without a means to flee the city huddled into the Superdome, which claimed to have a 36-hour food supply. For two days, Louisiana officials and the state's National Guard had been placing urgent calls for help to the Pentagon, to F.E.M.A., and to the office of President George W. Bush.[1]

New Orleans was in peril. But nobody, it seemed, was listening.

As the first rush of toxic water washed out homes, President George "Dubya" Bush shared a piece of birthday cake (and a photo-op) with Senator John McCain. That night, Donald Rumsfeld went to a San Diego Padres baseball game. And Condoleezza Rice attended the Broadway show "Spamalot" during her New York City vacation.
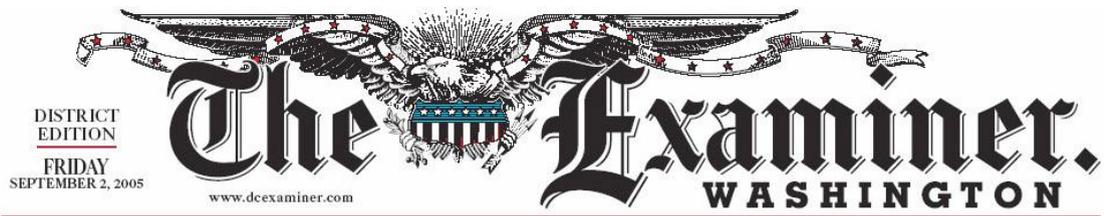
By the next morning, law, order and peace had dissolved into a frenzy of looting, rape and murder on what remained of the streets of New Orleans. The city was out of control. Many policemen had fled. However, that same afternoon, Pentagon spokesman Lawrence Di Rita reported that Louisiana already had enough National Guard units to handle what had become a state of anarchy.

Meanwhile, President Bush – 2,000 miles away in California – had a guitar jam- session with country singer Mark Wills. He then flew to his Texas ranch for a little "R&R."[2]

But that night, a two-year-old girl slept in a pool of urine in the Superdome. Crack vials littered the

restrooms. Teenagers nursed their bleeding hands after smashing vending machines to get food to eat. At least two people, including a child, had been raped. At least three evacuees had died, including one man who jumped 50 feet to his death, saying that he had lost everything, and now had no reason to live.[3]

How could any city in America lapse into such complete lawlessness and despair?

Fig. 1 – *The Washington Examiner*, Page A1, Sept. 2, 2005.

Credit: "S.O.S." photograph – by Eric Gay of The Associated Press, Sept. 1, 2005.

Moreover, where was the leader of our country?

Billions of viewers watched television newscasts, waiting helplessly for someone to come to the aid of the

Superdome's captives – whose chilling screams of "Help us!" aroused Americans' sympathies. Reporters sobbed as they described the sight and stench of bloated corpses, and the soft, eerie sound of whimpering, abandoned pets trapped inside of flooded homes. Americans in the Superdome, trapped on the rooftops of water- filled buildings – and sitting before television sets in the rest of the country – waited. And waited. A steady flow of urgent pleas were sent from New Orleans. But Bush remained aloof.[4]

An October poll conducted by C.B.S. News showed that George W. Bush's approval rating had dropped to 37 percent.[5] Only Richard Nixon was more disliked by the American public, and that was following his impeachment.[6] George Bush already had been plagued by allegations that he knowingly engaged America's sons and daughters in a war in Iraq under false pretenses.[7] But the president's failure to respond in a timely, attentive and sympathetic manner to the devastating floods of Hurricane Katrina opened Bush up to brand-new charges that the president could not be entrusted with the responsibility of taking care of the American people. The majority of evacuees were African-Americans who already were impoverished. The president immediately was labeled a racist by high-profile blacks such as Jesse Jackson and filmmaker Spike Lee.[8] "Dubya's" policy of giving high-level jobs as favors to unqualified pals (such as Mike Brown, then the leader of F.E.M.A.) and of providing tax breaks to the richest Americans cast him as an enemy to the poor, and to people who got jobs the old-fashioned way (by earning them). Things looked bad for President George Bush. An entire city needed him, and he – like Nero, fiddled as the people under his care begged for his help (**Fig. 2**).

Fig. 2 –President George W. Bush strums a guitar (adorned with the United States Presidential seal) during an appearance at Coronado Naval Base in California on Aug. 30, 2005. He was presented the guitar by country singer Mark Wills (right).

(Photograph by Martha Raddatz, The Associated Press)

In the months following Hurricane Katrina, media reports gradually tapered off. But the American public did not so quickly forget the tragedy. Many Americans wanted to do their part to help the victims, and to channel their feelings of helplessness into action. Often, this desire was driven by selfishness. But it also was prompted by the guilt of being unaffected, or by the need for reassurance that such a horror would not be permitted to ever happen *to them*. Others wanted George Bush to be held accountable for his slow response, and for what they felt was his lack of compassion for those afflicted by the flood. So they turned to the one way that they knew they could reach a wide audience very easily, quickly, cheaply and effectively: the internet.

A surge of new web sites emerged. At the time this paper was written, 16,400,000 web pages were dedicated to gathering donations to help the hurricane's victims, and to help rebuild New Orleans.[9] A stunning 1,440,000 sites were dedicated to promoting the impeachment of President Bush.[10] Twice that many web pages featured "Dubya" jokes and digitally altered photographs poking fun at the president, his policies and his staffers.[11] (In just the last month, the number of sites featuring altered photographs grew more than *ten-fold*.[12]) Photographs from these web sites typically are produced anonymously, and they available for viewing (and copying) on the site. They have given rise to a new form of political cartoon. Images typically are shared by viewers as attachments to e-mail messages. Often, these images are so seamlessly crafted that it is difficult or impossible to discern whether the image is an un-tampered news photograph, or a Photoshop montage. E-mail attachments typically are circulated with no information about their authors, origins or the process by which they were made. They rarely confess to their artifice – if indeed they are false. In this paper, I will trace the production, dissemination and reception of one digitally altered photograph depicting the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Katrina at the Superdome.

Fig. 3 – "CAY7UZ7L.jpg," Source and Date Unknown.

On Saturday, Sept. 10, 2005, I was among 27 people who received an e-mail from a Graduate Center colleague Sharon Suchma. Attached to her e-mail was an uncaptioned photograph (**Fig. 3**) with the cryptic file name "CAY7UZ7L". The only text accompanying the image was Sharon's message: "I know…terrible… but I just couldn't help it."[13]

The image depicts President George "Dubya" Bush, dressed in a navy blue suit and light-blue tie, strumming a tan-colored guitar with the presidential seal on it. He smiles as he tries to entertain a sobbing black woman who dabs at her eyes with a white towel. She holds a nearly naked, concerned-looking baby in her other arm. We do not see the baby's father in the scene. His absence suggests that the mother and child were left to fend for themselves in the hellish Superdome. The abandoned mother-and-child image has been a mainstay of the practice of documentary photography for more than a century (**Figs. 4-5**).[14]

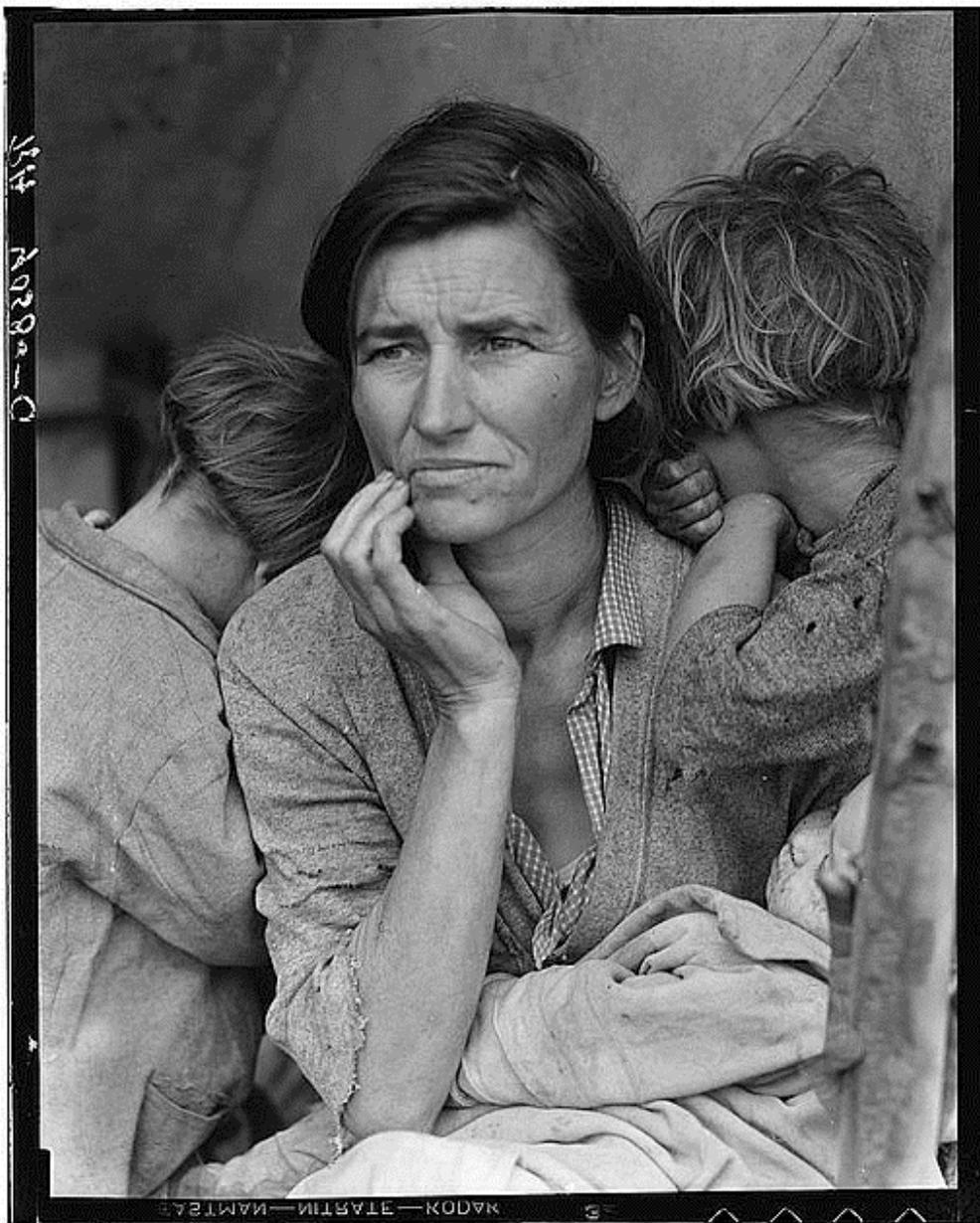**Fig. 4** – Lewis Hine, *Ellis Island Italian*

Fig. 5 - Dorothea Lange, *Migrant Mother*, 1936. *Madonna*, 1905.

The lone mother represents a sympathetic nurturer figure whose primary desire, above all else, is to self-lessly protect her offspring. "Madonna" figures – as they were depicted in early 20th-Century documentary photography – are very composed, graceful and they are willing to die, if necessary, in order to save their brood. For instance, the "Madonnas" photographed by Lewis Hine and Dorothea Lange face a future of poverty and struggle. Their trial is one of fortitude, and of the strength of human spirit. These women do *not* emotionally crumble, or feel sorry for themselves, because their kids need them to be strong. These two iconic women have become symbols of human perseverance in the face of adversity. However, the "Madonna of the Superdome" (**Figs. 1, 3**) is a woman pushed past her limits. She is a "Madonna" of a post-9/11 world, one who just spent two nights contained in a nightmarish cesspool of rapes, murders and

other acts of unrestrained violence. We can only imagine the atrocities this woman has experienced. We know that it must have been unthinkable, because she cannot contain the tormenting thought of what she has witnessed, even for the sake of being strong for her child – (which is, after all, what mothers *do*, first and foremost).

The "Madonna of the Superdome" stands in a parking lot filled with litter and clusters of other destitute evacuees who have no place to live, and likely – no earthly possessions beyond the shirts on their backs. Most of them are also African-Americans, except for one figure, our president. The diagonal lines of the stadium and the pavement markings are offset by the angle of "Dubya's" guitar. Our eyes are drawn at first to the crying mother, who wears bright yellow. And then, we glance to the left toward President George Bush. He is oblivious to the sadness and horror of the situation. Our president offers her no food, no diapers, no baby formula, and no helicopter ride to his ranch in Crawford for some "R&R." Instead, he laughs, strums, and enjoys himself while the abandoned mother cries.

The photograph was not accompanied by the name of a photographer, news agency, or even – the name of the crying woman. A lack of contextualizing information is not unusual for e-mail attachments, which circulate with the casual, often ephemeral, air of chain letters. These private e-mailed notes are exempt (so far) from the reach of copyright laws, which has made e-mail a popular forum for circulating photographs like this one. Such anonymous transmission of images prompts us to wonder if the internet is a realm where authorship is irrelevant, where Roland Barthes' suggested "death of the author" is a foregone conclusion, and where infinite electronic copies if images can be disseminated freely and without accountability, and without a single, material point of origin.[15] Internet-distributed photographs are translated into digital bits of data (assuming they did not already begin their lives as "data" – as the products of a digital camera).[16] A digitally altered image is typically shared in copy form (or as the copy of a copy of a copy, and so on – all of which magically happens without the loss of image quality).[17] Tracking down an "original" digital file proved to be an impossible task, and one which exemplified Walter Benjamin's suggestion (written more than 50 years before the internet even existed) that one of capitalism's "basic conditions" would include a shift from production to reproduction.[18] Benjamin foresaw that technology would transform the way we relate to images, and that it would allow that even reproductions could be re- reproduced endlessly. (Let us not also forget that internet-distributed, digitally altered images are made from images which *themselves* might exist in a potentially endless series of copies, too.)

The photograph had been forwarded by at least four generations of recipients before it reached me. By my count, this image had been seen by 90 other people. I passed it along to about a dozen more. If every one of those 90 people did the same, this version of the image would have had a circulation of more than 1,000 viewers, probably in less than three hours. (And that does not even take into consideration that *those* recipients might pass it on, and the *next* generation of recipients might do the same, and so on. And it does not take into account the circulation of the image before it reached me.) The circulation path of an e-mailed image is circuitous, haphazard and potentially endless. It is limited only by the recipient's atten-tion span upon reception, his or her receptiveness to the photograph's political message, on a recipient's willingness to pass it along, and the image's ability to hold the attention of its busy audience. This is the

nature of internet image circulation. It is intermittent and unpredictable.

Quickly abandoning the search to track a definitive "original" photograph as a futile effort, I began to research the possible source of the image. A month of researching this photograph netted only one hint toward finding the maker. The image originated as a digitally altered photograph posted on a website gallery featuring an array of manipulated images. In other words, it entered the public realm to be appreciated for its technical prowess. I could only guess that it presumably was copied, circulated by e-mail, and finally became assimilated into political web pages. (In just one month, the number of political web sites carrying this image jumped from 2 to 72.)[19] According to Xeni Jardin, who posted an unconfirmable note on the discussion board Boingboing.net, this image may first have been created by "a fairly well known Photoshopper named 'Farker Guy Incognito,' now known as 'Chasie' on Somethingawful[.com] and elsewhere."[20] Jardin noted that the artist was said to have first uploaded this image to the site Mechapixel.com, a Photoshop contest forum which promotes the open exchange of digitally altered photographs and allows authors to work under false names (to protect their anonymity).[21] As of October 23, 2005, the image was not available on Mechapixel.com, and attempts to track down the author by either of his aliases were unsuccessful. Because admitting authorship of digitally altered images such as this one can open the creator up to privacy risks and floods of unfavorable feedback from people who might disagree with their political message, the makers of photographs such as these use changeable nicknames (much as graffiti artists do), and they develop an underground audience – and even "fans."[22] Authorship of internet-distributed digitally altered photographs is not "dead." It is merely *well-disguised*.

Covert authorship raises questions about the factual authenticity of the photograph. This e-mailed photograph has the tone of an authoritative, photo-journalistic voice at first glance. But online research revealed that this image *was* made by digitally merging two separate images – both taken by photojournalists working for The Associated Press (**Figs. 1-2**). (It is worth mentioning that few, if *any*, other recipients of this image would have taken the time to track its source material to confirm its fictionality – something most readers would automatically assume. Images like have given the political cartoon new form, and certainly, a new, unofficial, manner of circulation.)

Photojournalist Eric Gay took the photograph of the woman at the Superdome. An unofficial audit of national newspapers' front pages posted at the Newseum showed that 18 daily newspapers ran the photograph of the "Superdome Madonna" on their front pages.[23] (No data was available to determine how many publications chose to run the image on inside pages or in magazines.) The "Madonna's" name is noticeably absent from captions, implying that Gay either failed to ask, or the woman declined to give her name. Gay's "Madonna of the Superdome" photograph conveyed the horrors of the Superdome though the presentation of a visually dominant, sympathetic figure who simultaneously speaks to poverty (as an apparent single mother), Christian values (as a "Madonna"), to universal values (the imperative to protect one's children, and the appeal to our humanistic sympathies), to racial tension, and to the unspeakable violence sparked by the event. In short, it had the makings of a photograph that had the ability to be "iconic," by summarizing the entire event (the tragedy, the loss of hope, fear…and even racism) in a single image.

The guitar photograph was taken by photojournalist Martha Raddatz. No newspapers at the Newseum had published the guitar image on their front pages – undoubtedly because it was released on a day which was full of important breaking news. Raddatz's photograph, however, surfaced most often online, on web sites which juxtaposed photographs of New Orleaner residents wading through shoulder-high water with the president's jam session. (It is likely that the maker of the montage man have run across the guitar photograph while visiting one such left-leaning web page.)

The e-mailed, digitally altered, image which combines these two news photographs is well made. It does not reveal any obvious evidence that it is the result of photo-manipulation processes. The edges of both figures are clean and devoid of any hint that they were carefully cut out from another image and pasted into another. (Achieving crisp edges, which do not appear *so* crisp that they look harsh and artificial, is a very difficult thing to master in PhotoShop – the computer program commonly used to manipulate digital photography in the graphic design and publishing industries.) Both the crying mother and the president are consistently lit from above, by a light source that appears to be of a similar strength. Whoever made this image knew what they were doing (and probably was a trained graphic designer, illustrator or artist). The only potential flaw is the scale of the figures. The president's head is smaller than the mother's, even though he is standing in front of her.

But evidence of manipulation, in this case, would make a big difference in my interpretation of the photograph. If the photograph was a "straight," unaltered image, it would prompt a grave, outraged response. But if it were altered, it could be dismissed as a joke – with a serious political message. In other words, montaged images such as these have taken on the form of a political cartoon, redefined by the digital age. Patricia Leighten argues that "the point of photomontage is not simply, to create a visual lie, but to elicit a psychic truth."[24] The "truth" of this image, as a creation, still spoke to the "psychic truth" recipients witnessed by reading press reports and watching news broadcasts from New Orleans.

But the concept of "manipulation" leaves much room for interpretation, according to Leighten, who reminds us that insomuch as a photographer selects the scene he or she shoots, "every photograph is manipulated."[25] However, there is a difference between overt, collaged manipulation of John Heartfield (or its antecedent, Pictorialist Henry Peach Robinson's multiple-exposure tableaus) and the "straight" photography work of Alfred Stieglitz, for instance. Every image published in the print media has been subjected to cropping and "toning" processes which have the potential to alter the meaning and appearance of a photograph.[26] Digital manipulation of any degree is inherently a representation-altering process – but to varying degrees.

Generally speaking, news photographs carry different expectations of "truth" value than other kinds of images. News photography is expected to provide a surrogate eye for the viewer, yielding something which Barthes described as a sense of "having- been-there." [27]

A news photograph is often trusted without question, even though viewers know that a photograph is always a *re*-presentation of the real. When news publications that typically run unaltered, "straight"

images "retroactively reposition" one of the Great Pyramids to fit the image on a vertical cover of *National Geographic*, or when they choose to run a purposefully darkened mug shot of O.J. Simpson, as *Time* magazine did on their cover, the publications cast doubt upon their credibility, and the perceived truth value of every image they publish.[28] Illustrative images typically – but not always – are marked by publications as such. But far too often, that information is downplayed and revealed very modestly. (So modestly that most readers overlook it, and assume that every image they see conveys truth.)

Although the resulting montaged photograph may lack photojournalistic "truth value," it does speak to a different kind of truth about our government's slow response to Hurricane Katrina. But the impact of this image upon political discourse at a broader level is difficult to discern. President George Bush's public approval rating is low, but it certainly would be overshooting to attribute this discontent to the circulation of one digitally altered image on the internet. The image does *not* present a complete political argument, but instead presents our president, as a walking "punch line." Viewers who *like* President Bush probably would find the image to be inflammatory (like a political cartoon), rather than genuinely thought-provoking. They probably would not continue to circulate the photograph. Indeed, this image is not likely to prompt viewers to change their minds about their political leanings. But it serves to provoke discussion, just as political cartoons do – only on an indescribably vast and unprecedented scale. Images such as these can be considered symptoms of a new kind of news consumption, especially among the internet-savvy population. Evening news programs have lost ten percent of their viewers in the last four years.[29] On the other hand, satirical news programs have a steep increase in viewers. According to Pew Research Center reporter Carroll Doherty, "Twenty percent say they learned something regularly from 'The Daily Show,' 'Saturday Night Live' or shows like that. This has doubled over the last four years."[30] Photo-montaged images, such as the one at the center of this study, also feed the public's increased appetite for news which is delivered with a wry sense of humor. Such photographs have not only redefined the political cartoon, but have given it a new audience, and therefore, a new life.

Notes

[1] Unless otherwise noted, my source of record for the timeline of events surrounding Hurricane Katrina on the first two pages of my paper is: "The Progress Report", "Katrina Timeline," *Thinkprogress.org* [On-line journalism site] Accessed Oct. 19, 2005. Available at: http://www.thinkprogress.org/katrina-timeline

[2] Elisabeth Bumiller. "Bush Under Fire for Slow Response," *The New York Times*, Sept. 2, 2005.

[3] Information about Superdome atrocities is from: *The Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 1, 2005, as reported in: "The Progress Report".

[4] Stuck in the same dangerous, toxic, unhygienic, desperate environment as the hurricane victims, journalists developed an emotional bond with their subjects that runs contrary to the detached pathos taught in

journalism schools and preached in newsroom handbooks. Some journalists (such as C.N.N.'s Anderson Cooper) became noticeably testy with politicians because journalists such as Cooper maintained that the slow government response came at the expense of many lives. Eric Deggans. "Journalists' Outrage Evident in Coverage," *The St. Petersburg Times* (Fla.), Sept. 8, 2005.

[5] C.B.S. News. "Poll: Bush Ratings Hit New Low," [On-line News Resource] Accessed Oct. 16, 2005. Available at: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/10/06/opinion/polls

[6] About.com. "Historical Presidential Approval Ratings." [On-line database] Accessed Oct. 21, 2005. Available at: http://uspolitics.about.com/library/bl_historical_approval.htm Jimmy Carter's approval rating at the time he left the presidency was within the margin for error of George W. Bush's. Incidentally, "Duyba" had the lowest approval rating of any president in 80 years upon the very start of his second term. Mary Dejevsky. "Another Bush Presidency Gets Lost in the Rough," *The Independent* (U.K.), July 9, 2001.

[7] Of the seemingly countless number of web sites call for the impeachment of George W. Bush, the most neutral one that summarizes the charges against Bush is: Wikipedia. "Movement to Impeach George W. Bush." [On-line resource] Accessed Oct. 16, 2005. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Movement_to_impeach_George_W._Bush

[8] As of Oct. 23, 2005, a stunning 2% of African-Americans who were polled approve of President Bush's job performance. Incidentally, the population of New Orleans is 67.25 percent African-American. United States Census Bureau. "New Orleans Population and Demographics," *U.S. Census Data*, Collected 2000.

[9] Search for: "Hurricane Katrina" and "Donations," *Google.com*. [On-line search engine] Accessed Oct. 24, 2005. Available at: www.google.com.

[10] Search for: "George W. Bush" and "Impeachment," Google.com. [On-line search engine] Accessed Oct. 24, 2005. Available at: www.google.com.

[11] Search for: "George Bush," "Photography" and "Joke," Google.com. [On-line search engine] Accessed Oct. 24, 2005. Available at: www.google.com.

[12] Search for: "George Bush," "Photography" and "Joke," Google.com. [On-line search engine] Accessed Sept. 19, 2005, and again on Oct. 24, 2005. Available at: www.google.com.

[13] Roland Barthes points out the importance of text in framing our understanding of an image: Roland Barthes. "Rhetoric of the Image." in *Image-Music-Text*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977) 32-51.

[14] Gina Miceli-Hoffman. "The Madonna and Child Motif in the Photography of Jacob Riis, Lewis W. Hine and the R.A./F.S.A. Photographers, Ben Shahn, Dorothea Lange, and Russell Lee," Thesis, Northern

Illinois University, 1999.

15 Roland Barthes. "The Death of the Author." in *Image-Music-Text*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977) 148. Although I am summoning the "death of the author" in a more literal sense in the body of this essay, it is important to clarify that Barthes' full argument is much meatier, and it is one which has great impact upon the writing of art history. In his essay, Barthes suggests that the intentions of the author are no longer meaningful in the determining the interpretation of a text. This, according to Barthes, would make a photograph, for instance, a place open for free "play," where an author cannot determine a right or wrong meaning of the work. In one essay, Barthes does not just open up the possibilities for the interpretation of works of art, but he also makes room for creative revisions of art history.

16 Terry Gips. "Computers and Art: Issues of Content," *Art Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 3, Autumn 1990. 230-231. Geoffrey Batchen. "Da[r]ta," in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: M.I.T. Press, 2001. 176-191, 226-229.

17 Batchen. 151-156.

18 Walter Benjamin. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt. (New York: Schocken, 1977).
For a discussion of Benjamin's thoughts, as they apply to digital photography, please see:
Margot Lovejoy. "Art, Technology and Postmodernism: Paradigms, Parallels and Paradoxes," *Art Journal*, Fall 1990. 257-265.
Batchen. *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. 148-149.
Geoffrey Batchen. "Epitaph," in *Burning With Desire: The Conception of Photography*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: M.I.T. Press, 1997. 204-216, 265-266.

19 Google.com. Image search for "'George Bush' and 'guitar'" Accessed Sept. 19, 2005, and again on Oct. 19, 2005. Available at: www.google.com

20 Jardin, Xeni. "Wednesday, August 31, 2005: A Tale of Two Photos" [On-line web log] Accessed Oct. 19, 2005. Available at: http://http://www.boingboing.net/2005/09/06/katrina_wish_you_wer.html The Photoshop gallery of Somethingawful.com is located at: http://www.somethingawful.com/photoshop/

21 Jardin, Xeni. "Wednesday, August 31, 2005: A Tale of Two Photos" [On-line web log] Accessed Oct. 19, 2005. Available at: http://www.boingboing.net/2005/08/31/_a_tale_of_two_photo.html

22 Ibid.

23 Newseum, The. "Archived Front Pages for Sept. 2, 2005." [On-line database] Accessed Oct. 23, 2005. Available at: http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/

24 Patricia Leighten. "Critical Attitudes Toward Overtly Manipulated Photography in the 20th Century," *Art Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Winter 1977-78. 136.

25 Leighten, 133.

26 Press images are not always manipulated with the intent of deception. Often, the process of adjusting brightness and contrast has more to do with compensating for the shortfalls of your printing presses than changing the meaning of the image.

27 Roland Barthes. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc., 1981).

28 Douglas, J. Yellowlees. "Doing What Comes Generatively: Three Eras of Representation," [On-line journal] Accessed October 11, 2005. Available at: http://web.nwe.ufl.edu/~jdouglas/minnesota.pdf Batchen. "Ectoplasm," in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. 128-144, 215- 218.

29 "Young Americans Get Their News from 'The Daily Show,'" Chicago Sun-Times, January 13, 2004.

30 Ibid.

We Could Be So Good Together: Rock and Roll and American Fiction.

By Terry Dalrymple and John Wegner

One of Sherman Alexie's best short stories is titled "Because My Father Always Said He Was the Only Indian Who Saw Jimi Hendrix Play 'The Star Spangled Banner' at Woodstock." In it, Alexie explores the contemporary Native American's search for cultural identity and the ways in which American popular culture impacts that search. Beyond Alexie's specific thematic concerns, the story also drives home at least two other important American truths: rock and roll saturates American popular culture and, thus, influences the making of American fiction, even Native American fiction, literature we would not normally associate with rock and roll. However, unlike jazz and the blues, critics have largely overlooked rock's influence on American fiction, even though, as Alexie shows, the rhythm of rock and roll pervades the American psyche to such a degree that it can't help but influence the production of its literary counterparts. Jim Morrison, poet, singer, and character in the increasingly fictionalized melodrama of his life and death, sings with the Doors, "We could be so good together / Ya, we could, I know we could," and he offers to "Tell you 'bout the world that we'll invent" ("We Could Be So Good Together"). Rock and fiction can be good together, too, because their enterprises are similar: Both invent lies in order to invite listeners and readers on an expedition to the truth of human experience.

Although the phrase "rock and roll" and its variants had for years carried sexual connotations in blues and rhythm-and-blues tunes, when Alan Freed applied the term to the new sound of the early 1950s, only he, the artists he played, and a few avid fans caught on. According to Irwin Stambler in the revised edition of *The Encyclopedia of Pop, Rock, and Soul*, Freed was the first disc jockey to use the term regularly (242). Though Freed had an avid following, neither the term nor the music was immediately embraced nationally. In fact, according to Songfacts, a huge database of rock trivia, when Sonny Dae and His Knights released "Rock Around the Clock" in 1954, the reference was so esoteric the record flopped. Even the record company did not know how to describe the song and on the label called it a "novelty foxtrot."

Bill Haley and the Comets released the song as a B-side that same year, but it made no waves until its re-release by the Comets in 1955. By 1957, though, Chuck Berry's hit "Rock and Roll Music" claimed it

was the only music to dance to, and by 1958 Danny and the Juniors asserted that rock and roll was here to stay. They were right, and their proclamation has been repeated or echoed for nearly fifty years. "Rock and Roll Is Here to Stay" became an anthem for Sha-Na-Na, and its sentiment echoes in Neil Young's "My My, Hey Hey (Out of the Blue)." The likes of The Beatles and The Beach Boys covered "Rock and Roll Music." Peter, Paul, and Mary dug rock and roll music, Bob Seger liked old time rock and roll music, and the Arrows, Joan Jett, and Britney Spears all loved rock and roll and wanted another dime in the jukebox. Neil Young encouraged listeners to "keep on rockin' in the free world." Starship even went so far as claiming to have built a city on rock and roll. Exaggerated (and shallow) as that claim may be, it helps highlight an incontrovertible fact: since the days of Alan Freed, rock and roll has become a monolithic building block for American culture, not just in the cities but, as John Mellencamp clarifies in "R.O.C.K. in the U.S.A.," in the small towns, too.

Simply put: Rock and roll extends to all fields of American culture. We live in an age when every honky-tonk country band across the nation plays "Joy to the World," "Sweet Home Alabama," and "Old Time Rock and Roll"; Chet Atkins collaborates with Dire Straits' Mark Knopfler (*Neck and Neck*); country music—no, American music— icon Willie Nelson records tunes with Aerosmith, Kid Rock, Keith Richards, Joe Walsh, Eric Clapton, ZZ Top, and a host of others. Bob Seger, Led Zeppelin, Bob Dylan and other icons of the sixties rock explosion sell cars, clothes, lingerie, and movies. Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young lead political protests and Bruce Springsteen and Bon Jovi have worked tirelessly to help heal the nation after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. MTV wants to "Rock the Vote" every four years. Queen's "We Will Rock You" accompanies athletes onto the field in small towns across America, and Presidential candidates cannot resist Fleetwood Mac's optimistic call to not stop thinking about tomorrow. Movie soundtracks have evolved from studio-generated background music to major label productions that are often far better than the movies they accompany. Somewhere right now, a poor soul is listening to "Stairway to Heaven" as Musak in an elevator or doctor's waiting room. As Richard Lacayo points out in a 2001 *Time* article, nearly every American "under seventy has some emotional attachment to electrified music with a beat" (66).

No one doubts the relevance of rock and roll to American history. Even a cursory review of Eric Nuzum's "Parental Advisory: Music Censorship in America," a web site summarizing his book of the same title, reveals the powerful impact of rock in America's municipal, state, and national political and religious arenas since the 1950s.[1] In addition to the political impact of censorship, there are matters such as Buddy Holly's death, Elvis' appearances on Ed Sullivan, the British invasion of America led by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones in the 1960s, John Lennon's assassination in 1980 outside the Dakota, and Curt Cobain's suicide. These are pivotal moments in rock and roll history whose influence extends well beyond music studies.

Rock and roll might have begun as a counter cultural movement with rebels in leather jackets throwing off the shackles of country music, but that rebellion seemed tame by the late 1960s.[2] Certainly, as Lawrence Grossberg argues in his essay "Is There Rock After Punk?", "rock and roll might be seen as an invasion of the house . . . [that] radically reshapes the real, not merely symbolically, [but] by placing the rock and roll apparatus in a (limited) struggle within and against the structures of everyday life" (116). Rock and roll

and its long haired listeners might have scared the pants off parents, legislators, and television executives, but "[h]owever rebellious and provocative rock n roll appeared and however much it conflicted with conservative and conformist pressure in the high schools at the time, it was nothing more than a cultural form in which the teenagers in fifties America accepted their conditions of life" (Wicke 47).The very cultural contexts and entities that produced rock and roll eventually begin to co-opt and dominate the sound. In essence, real life issues of life and death begin to dominate the movement.[3]

The U.S. presence in Vietnam, the fight for civil rights and equality, and the burgeoning sexual revolution transformed rock fashion from the poodle skirts and bobby- socks of the teeny-boppers to the hip huggers and feather boas of Janice Joplin. Music moved from what Robert Miklitsch calls the "'teen morality plays' like the Shangri Las' 'Leader of the Pack'" to the hip swaying, sex-filled longing of Janice's voice and her bands' raw, physical guitar. Joplin's hard living bluesy rock blends perfectly with Mick Jagger's exaggerated and openly phallic tongue. Clearly, the "Leader of the Pack" and all other early rock gang members would have gotten their asses kicked by the late 60s. Let's face it: by the late 1960s Fonzie would have been more welcome at the family dinner table than the Lizard King or Mick Jagger. Woodstock taught America that rock truly was here to stay and it provided a clear preview that American culture needed to re- evaluate the meaning of rebellion.

In essence, rock and roll defines the American narrative of the last forty years or more. Any film, television movie, or history of America now must include references to the musical stars of its era. Rock and roll and American culture have formed a symbiotic relationship in which one informs the other. Or as Joyce Carol Oates' narrator writes about teen culture in the short story "Where Are You Going, Where Have You Been?" music "made everything so good: the music was always in the background, like music at a church service; it was something to depend upon" (36). Oates dedicates her story to Bob Dylan, and rock plays an integral role in the story's conflict and characterization. Arnold Friend, thirty-something antagonist who attempts to disguise himself as a teenager in order to stalk young girls such as fifteen-year-old Connie, refers to Connie as his "sweet little blue-eyed girl" (54). The phrase calls to mind Dylan's "It's All Over Now, Baby Blue," and knowing the song helps unlock both Connie's and Arnold's characters and motivations. Connie's dangerously naive visions of life, love, and sex are epitomized by the sweet, sugary pop music she listens to day after day (think Ohio Express, the Archies, Edison Lighthouse). In her hazy view, sexually charged interaction with boys is "sweet, gentle, the way it was in movies and promised in songs" (39). With no parental guidance (her mother nags at her and her father ignores her), Connie "learns" only from other teens, popular movies, and bubble-gum rock.[4] Thus, she is helpless against Arnold Friend, whose disguise creates an uncanny resemblance to Dylan and whose actions are like those of the vagabond knocking on Baby Blue's door, luring her into an ominously surrealistic vision of the world. Dylan sings in "It's All Over Now, Baby Blue," "You must leave now, take what you need, you think will last, / But whatever you wish to keep, you better grab it fast." In Oates' story, Arnold says he has come to take Connie "for a ride" (43) and commands her to "come outside" (52) in a hurry so that they can "get away before her people come back" (53). According to Dylan's song persona, the familiar world is crumbling: "This sky, too," he says, "is folding under you," and later, "The carpet, too, is moving under you." As a result, "it's all over now, Baby Blue."[5]

In similar fashion, Friend tells Connie she must leave now because the place where she came from "ain't there any more" and the place where she "had in mind to go is cancelled out" (Oates 52). "It's all over for you here," he says, "so come on out" (51). The place Connie came from is a place where love is like sugar and honey and yummy in the tummy, growing wherever she goes. The place where she is going, Friend promises her, is a place where "I'll have my arms tight around you so you won't need to try to get away and I'll show you what love is like, what it does" (Oates 53). We can be good together, he's telling Connie, not in the bubble-gum rock world but, rather, in a world like the Doors portray, a "wanton world without lament" ("We Could Be So Good Together"). Oates' story conveys both the power and the danger ever-present in the rock and roll that emerged in the 1960s and the 1970s, both in its smoother and its edgier manifestations.

This dependence of the American myth on rock and roll becomes increasingly relevant to American fiction after the rock and roll revolution of the 1960s, and Oates' story is by no means the only one in which rock plays an integral role. The narrator of T. Coraghessan Boyle's short story "Greasy Lake" considers rock and roll a part of nature: he and his contemporaries went to Greasy Lake, he says, to "drink beer, smoke pot, howl at the stars, savor the incongruous full-throated roar of rock and roll against the primeval susurrus of frogs and crickets. This," they thought, "was nature" (2). Boyle's story takes its title and epigraph from Bruce Springsteen's "Spirit in the Night," and like Connie the characters in it develop a worldview grounded in rock and roll. Theirs, however, is a rawer music than Connie's (in addition to Springsteen, Dylan, and The Doors, think the Rolling Stones and Jimi Hendrix).[6] They want to be "bad," to cultivate "decadence like a taste," to strike "elaborate poses to show that [they don't] give a shit about anything" (10). Wild young Billy in Springsteen's song offers up a "bottle of rose" and "some dust" about which he says to his friends, "Trust some of this it'll show you where you're at, or at least it'll help you really feel it." They revel in drugs, sex, and rock-and-roll out at Greasy Lake. The narrator and his friends in the story "Greasy Lake" drink "gin and grape juice, Tango, Thunderbird, and Bali Hai," and sniff "glue and ether" and what someone claims is cocaine (1). They stay out until dawn, and one night after carousing around town for hours they "take a bottle of lemon-flavored gin up to Greasy Lake" (3). As they pursue this "bad" life on this particular night, they nearly kill a man, nearly rape a girl, discover a corpse, and watch as the narrator's parents' car is brutally vandalized. By the end of the story, when two stoned girls with a handful of pills ask them to party, the narrator simply wants to cry and responds, "No thanks" (11). The "bad" life they have dreamed of, similar to the lifestyle depicted in Springsteen's song, is too much for them. As powerfully as they are drawn to the world depicted in rock-and-roll, they cannot handle the harsh realities of that world any more than Connie can when she is forced to confront it via Arnold Friend.

This interplay between music and literature becomes increasingly relevant after the rock and roll revolution of the 1960s, and Oates' and Boyle's stories are by no means the only cases in which rock and American fiction interact. *Carved in Rock: Short Stories by Musicians* (Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003) is a collection of twenty-seven short stories by rock and rollers such as Eric Burdon, Ray Davies, Joan Jett, and Graham Parker; *It's Only Rock and Roll: An Anthology of Rock and Roll Short Stories* (Godine, 1998) is a collection of twenty-two fictions about rock and roll, written by fiction writers such as Lee K. Abbott, Madison Smartt Bell, and T. Coraghessan Boyle. The Bomp Bookshelf, an online archive "dedicated to

listing all music books ever published (in rock and related genres),” lists well over one hundred novels and short story collections to which rock and roll is central. The influence of rock and roll on American fiction can be as simple as Bobbi Ann Mason’s epigraph to Bruce Springsteen in her novel *In Country* or Thomas Pynchon’s grunge rock band in *The Crying of Lot 49*. Rock’s presence extends beyond simple references in the text, though. The so-called “MTV novels” from Jay McInerney and Brett Easton Ellis mirror the influence of fragmented video on musical production and interpretation.[7] Punk rock and the gothic novel go hand in hand, and America’s endless fascination with biography lends itself to novels and short stories that create fictional accounts of musicians like Mark Childress’ *Tender*, Don DeLillo’s *Great Jones Street*, Carl Hiaasen’s *Basket Case* (with at least a little input from Warren Zevon), or even Jimmy Buffet’s *Joe Merchant*.[8] Novelists T.C. Boyle, Stephen King, and Barbara Kingsolver utilize rock and roll in some guise or another in their fiction. Their contact with rock even extends beyond the typewriter and into the Rock Bottom Remainders, a band that “plays music as well as Metallica writes novels,” band member Dave Barry quips on their website. But Metallica does not have to write novels to be important to novelists. In “Intersections: T.C. Boyle’s Rock n Roll Muse,” a March 8, 2004, interview with NPR, Boyle says, “every writer of my generation and down is only writing because we can’t have our own rock bands.”[9]

The relationship between music and twentieth century fiction has some critical history. Werner Wolf, in “Towards a Functional Analysis of Intermediality: The Case of Twentieth Century Musicalized Fiction,” reminds us that “a further cultural function which the musicalization of fiction served in the twentieth century is related to the specific feature of much of Western music since the late middle ages: polyphony” (25). The polyphonic, a plurality of voices of equal importance, is multi-faceted in any discussion of music and literature. Most important, perhaps, is the voice of the music that echoes in the background as any author produces a work of fiction. Notably, though, that echo, or an equivalent one, bounces between the ears of the reader. The polyphonic production of fiction, though, “allows writers to abandon traditional referential storytelling and its implications, while still guaranteeing aesthetic coherence and control for a text which otherwise might be in danger of disintegration” (Wolf 28). Rock and roll might have a guitar solo, but eventually every instrument on stage has to jell to create a song. The same thing begins to happen in Oates’ story. Connie and Arnold Friend are but two voices in the story who meld with Bob Dylan to create meaning. Concomitantly, the reader’s experience, both directly and indirectly with Dylan, creates a separate voice that influences meaning.[10]

This relationship, or this polyphonic exchange, is not one sided. John R. Duxbury, in “Shakespeare Meets the Backbeat: Literary Allusion in Rock Music,” catalogues “the practice of incorporating literary allusions and quotes in the world of rock music” (19). Rush gives us the new “Tom Sawyer,” Jefferson Airplane sings about Lewis Carroll’s “white rabbit,” and even Ratt’s “Round and Round” has a reference to Shakespeare’s “Romeo and Juliet” (Duxbury 20, 21). The connection extends beyond allusions, though. Elizabeth Jane Wall Hinds, in “The Devil Sings the *Blues*: Heavy Metal, Gothic *Fiction* and ‘Postmodern’ Discourse,” argues that “the appearance of Gothic fiction in the late eighteenth century and that of Heavy Metal in the late twentieth follows the same historical path as their two parent-forms, namely the novel and Rock music” (151). P. Jane Helen, in “Rock and Roll, Redskins, and Blues in Sherman Alexie’s Work,”

argues that Alexie uses references to rock and roll and he has "reinscribed them for his own purposes of presenting an American Indian cultural and political view of subversion and resistance" (71). These kinds of articles, though, are few and far between, and considering the centrality of rock and roll to American culture, this absence seems surprising. As an indelible part of our consciousness, rock has moved from the alternative to the mainstream and slowly infiltrates virtually any venue.

It is precisely this attachment to popular culture, perhaps, that has kept rock and roll from serious study among academics.[11] Yet, the experimentation in both theme and process, the self-referentiality of rock in its rhythm and words, shows us that "music shares with fiction and literature some essential features" (Wolf 20). The two can be good together. Since Washington Irving adapted European folklore to American settings, fiction writers have led the way to creating a distinctly American literary tradition and identity, just as rock and roll, with some help from across the Atlantic, has created a distinctly American musical identity. In *The Lonely Voice*, Frank O'Connor asserts that the short story as a genre remains "romantic, individualistic, and intransigent" (21) and that it always conveys a sense of "outlawed figures wandering about the fringes of society" and, thus, "an intense awareness of human loneliness" (19). Although O'Connor was Irish, was distinguishing between the novel and the short story as he perceived them, and died roughly fifteen years after the advent of rock and roll, he might as well have been describing most modern and contemporary American fiction, novels included, and the best and most influential rock and roll. Consider fiction's and rock's most critically acclaimed artists and works; images of wanderers, scorned lovers, Byronic heroes, and marginalized characters giving the finger to the status quo in America abound.[12]

Both genres offer their readers and listeners the artistic exploration of the human condition. An intermedia approach sees music as a work of art which has "a special affinity with, and impact on, the human consciousness and the unconscious" (Wolf 24). More important, though, the combination of these two distinct artistic fields offers a way for American fiction to expand the conventional narrative and explore the contemporary condition. Simply put, both genres are always tuned in and turned on.

Notes

[1] See Eric Nuzum's website http://ericnuzum.com/banned/. For a more complete listing of music censorship, see his book mentioned in the text (*Parental Advisory: Music Censorship in America,* Harper, 2001). There are a myriad of other sources related to rock and roll censorship and multiple on-line and hard copy bibliographies. See About R.O.C. (Rock Out Censorship) at http://www.theroc.org/aboutroc/roc10.htm for a more complete listing.

[2] Elizabeth Jane Wall Hinds notes that "Partly due to its youthful energy and partly due to its position in history, the 1960s Rock band found itself speaking the language of rebellion: instrumentally, it found the sound of the Big Bands and Bing Crosby too easy on the ear, too mushy; its lyrics found the crooning

of euphemistic love songs and the nonsense verse of 1950s 'bubblegum' pop too arid and politically unaware" (152). See also Peter Wicke's *Rock Music: Culture, Aesthetics and Sociology* for a more complete discussion of rock and roll's emergence from country music and rhythm and blues.

[3] See Wicke and Grossberg for a more detailed discussion of the cultural impact of rock and roll. Additionally, Robert Miklitsch, in his essay "Rock 'N' Theory: Autobiography, Cultural Studies, and the 'Death of Rock', provides an excellent "anecdotal and autobiographical take on the origin or 'birth' of rock" (par. 1). While Miklitsch claims his essay begins anecdotally, he provides a well-researched look at the early stages of rock.

[4] According to the *St. James Encyclopedia of Pop Culture* (bubblegum rock enjoyed its heyday in the late 1960s. Bubblegum rock was mass-marketed and created to target the pre-teen market left behind by rock and roll's edgy sex driven music. Think of "Yummy Yummy Yummy" by Ohio Express, "Sugar, Sugar" by the Archies, or "Love Grows (Where My Rosemary Goes)" by Edison Lighthouse; for a more contemporary example, imagine Hillary Duff or the 80s duo Hanson. While bubblegum rock is, like other genres within rock and roll, a cultural product, it is important to note that the music is fluffy and sappy. Like bubblegum, it's fun at first, but the flavor quickly goes away. See A. Mateski's web site dedicated to bubblegum rock for a more complete definition (http://home.xnet.com/~reja/life/bubblegum/bubblegum_music.html).

[5] Paul Cioe argues in his essay "'Where Are You Going, Where Have You Been?' and the Fantasies of the Unconscious" that "Dylan's mid-60s lyrics are full of 'Arnold Friendian' sentiments and postures" (93). While Cioe doesn't call Dylan a seducer, he does note that Dylan was a key troubadour in the musicalization of America. Connie's attachment to music isn't that different from the average Americans. Cioe quotes Marie Urbanski who notes that music replaces the apple in leading Connie down the path of ruin.

[6] The Stones' "Street Fighting Man" and "Satisfaction" would be relevant to Boyle's story, as would Hendrix's "Are You Experienced" and "Purple Haze."

[7] Brett Easton Ellis' *Less Than Zero* is considered by many the first MTV novel. These works are characterized by short chapters and quick scene shifts and they reflect the growing influence of MTV on a generation that came of age in the 1980s. Additionally, the characters in these novels reference songs and videos as a means of explaining their own lives.

[8] Certainly, rock and roll is a complex musical genre. We define rock in general earlier in the essay. Punk rock, as Hinds points out, emerges as the rock rebellion of the 1960s becomes established and dominated by the record labels. Hinds argues "By the late 1960s, however, a hegemonic force had taken hold of Rock music" (153). Rock and roll became mass marketed, and, as such, lost its edge. Punk and heavy metal emerged as a response. In much the same way, the gothic novel of the 18th century develops in response to the safe, artistic works of the age.

[9] Likewise, Bobbi Ann Mason has remarked that she "became a writer because she couldn't sing and was too shy to become a rock singer" (qtd. Brinkmeyer 8).

[10] Consider, for instance, the different "readings" of Dylan possible. A person who heard Dylan live and "came of age" during the 1960s might imagine him differently than a 15 year old who first heard Dylan singing with Victoria Secrets models in the background.

[11] See Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin's *On Record: Rock, Pop, and The Written Word* for a more complete discussion of the academy's response to rock and roll. Frith and Goodwin argue that the academy has treated rock as a "low grade gimmick" (2).

[12] For a more complete discussion of this idea, see Perry Meisel's *The Cowboy and the Dandy: Crossing Over from Romanticism to Rock and Rollz* (New York: Oxford UP, 1999) and Robert Pattison's *The Triumph of Vulgarity: Rock Music in the Mirror of Romanticism* (New York: Oxford UP, 1987).

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ESL Curriculum in Secondary Schools in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges Towards Communicative Competence.

By Sunday Adejimola Amuseghan

Abstract

Determining the success or otherwise of the English curriculum aims, goals, objectives, methods and materials, which bother on the mass and accumulation of the four language skills [listening, speaking, reading and writing] as well as different language levels [phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis and semantics] is an inevitable task. Most ESL curriculum reforms over the years have sought to strike meaningful balance between linguistic competence and communicative competence. Contrary to this expectation, communicative competence is regrettably lacking in several students that pass through the Nigerian secondary schools annually. ESL coursebooks, methods and contents are often mentioned as the most sources of the problems for unachieved ESL curriculum aims, goals and objectives at the secondary school level in Nigeria. This paper, therefore, critically looks at some issues and challenges in ESL curriculum towards achieving communicative competence and come up with a recommendation of providing enrichment materials, which newspapers and other media resources can suitably provide.

Introduction

Most curriculum reforms over the years have sought to make a thorough re-examination of the aims, goals, objectives, methods, and materials involved in the effective implementation of the English curriculum. One school of curriculum theory, in fact, states that the achieved curriculum is the effective one. However, before this feat in curriculum is achieved, there are two other perspectives from which curriculum could be looked at: prescription (intended curriculum) and practice (implemented curriculum).

According to Obanya (2002:204), "in ideal situations there would be a perfect match between what is prescribed, what is practiced, and consequently what is achieved (outcome)". One would expect English

as a Second Language (ESL) learners in the Nigerian context after nine (or twelve years for those who opt for "going straight for English") solid years of learning English and using it for instruction at the primary and secondary levels to be academically, linguistically and communicatively competent in social contexts beyond the school system, which is the ultimate goal of the prescribed English Language curriculum at the secondary school level. The socio-linguistic realities, according to Obanya (2002:207), are however different in that English is really a restricted code language in the Nigerian setting, even in school premises. Therefore, the challenge posed in this situation has become one of the greatest areas of concern in our educational system in recent times, particularly in secondary and tertiary institutions, which witness remarkable decline in both communicative and linguistic competence of the learners of English. The situation at the secondary school level is that in which the motivation is to *pass* English and not to *master* it. However, in the real sense of communicative situation, the ability to understand a language and to produce it in actual communication is not the same as meeting a descriptive standard which examination-oriented English curriculum emphasizes. This is because actual language use involves many varieties of knowledge, which no one has ever attempted to squeeze into textbooks or grammars.

Obanya (2002:208) says that interaction, which should be in form of multi-way and multi-media exchanges (verbal and non-verbal) in the conduct of classroom teaching and learning activities, is significantly absent. He concludes that what obtains in the classroom English language teaching and learning process, according to research and anecdotal evidence, is frontal teaching characterized by:

- a heavy reliance on the textbook as the exclusive teaching learning materials;

- reading aloud by the teacher followed by recitation and imitation reading round the class by pupils (learners);

- very little respect accorded to the primacy of oracy in language teaching and learning;

- an undue rush to finish the textbooks, a sign of also "covering the syllabus"; and

- devotion of a considerable amount of time to practicing exam –type skill

The situation that arises from the problems above is inimical to the perceived or intended curriculum outcome of ESL in Nigerian secondary schools and even beyond the academic purpose in the larger society. Curriculum materials have to be perceived for what they really are, not just textbooks because communicative skills are not acquired through textbooks but in "a natural (special) activity and it is better taught and learned in that context" (Obanya, 2002:212). The challenges of this paper therefore are in agreement with some views of Obanya (2002:213):

- building up English language skills and acquisition of communicative competence in secondary schools;

- enriching ESL learners' performance through newspapers;

- turning the textbook into genuine curriculum materials and not as a sacrosanct text to be used for English language curriculum;

- creating an enabling environment within the school premises for the promotion of language learning: the provision of libraries and promotion of activities in and outside the school in order to reinforce the normal efforts of teachers;

- taking a more holistic view of a language as an audio-oral–syntactico-lexical complex and so paying greater attention to the teaching and examination of English language in use as opposed to the restricted code English language extracted from the larger corpus for examination purposes only.

The challenges above are identified in order to help achieve the general aims of secondary school education in Nigeria as provided in Section 14:17(1,2) of the National Policy on Education, which are:

- to prepare the students for useful living in the society; and

- to prepare them for higher education.

In order to meet the requirements above, the following goals, according to Adegbite (2005:112-113), must be put in focus:

- learners should be able to understand as well as converse effectively in spoken English in order to have successfully undergone the course; and

- learners should be able to effectively read, comprehend critically as well as engage efficiently in expressive and creative writing.

The English language curriculum and the nature of communication skills in Nigerian schools

Learners' needs are theoretically of great importance in current learner-centered approaches in teaching generally and language teaching in particular. Needs analysis is very fundamental to the planning of an effective language education programme (Richards, 1990 cited in Jibowo, 2005:174-175). While the selection and presentation of the ESL curriculum are for academic and communicative purposes, only little emphasis is placed on communicative skills in the social contexts within and outside school premises. In other words, although linguistic and communicative contents in the curriculum are intended to promote communicative competence, they are not explicitly or vigorously pursued judging by the credit passes learners obtain annually without proficiency in real communication situations.

Apart from examination purposes, curriculum issues arising from the *National Policy on Education* (NPE),

among others, include appreciating language as a means of promoting social interactions, natural cohesion and preservation of culture (local languages).

Consequently, the English Curriculum does not only provide contents but also allow ESL teachers to apply necessary linguistic insights and to develop necessary activities that will help their students (ESL learners) to acquire the basic language skills. Thus, linguistic insights help ESL teachers to interpret and characterize language learning in terms of productive and receptive skills both of which are needed for linguistic competence and communicative competence.

Looking at the goals, objectives, methods and materials upon which English curriculum is planned as well as the freedom of formulating achievable classroom objectives, organization and presentation of contents and activities, and evaluation by ESL teachers, it is safe to say that the over-reliance of textbooks, whose treatment of the curriculum contents is not adequate, should be discouraged. Therefore, communicative interaction should be in form of multi-way and multi-media exchanges (verbal and non-verbal) in the classroom teaching and learning process. This claim is supported by Obanya (2002:208) who says that communicative skills are not acquired through textbooks but in "a natural (social) activity and it is better taught and learned in that context"

The English curriculum in senior secondary schools in Nigeria is poised to find out how well the school has prepared learning for life outside school. According to Banjo et al (1997:1), the questions begging for answers through WAEC designed curriculum are:

- how well the learner can understand spoken English;

- the extent to which the learner's spoken English can be easily understood (when he / she speaks to people);

- how well the learner can comprehend what he/she reads, i.e. how much meaning he/she can draw from the sentences or passages he/she reads; and finally

- how effectively the learner can write for others to understand.

Communicative competence and methodology have been advocated by linguists like Widdowson (1986), Littlewood (1981), Brumfit (1984), Williams (1990) and others as a way out of the defects of the structural methods which had failed to make the learners of English as a second language competent enough to use the English language for academic purposes. Also, Nwoke (1987:11) posits that:

> The overall aim of language teaching is to create in the learner a capacity to communicate in the target languages. Regrettably, a number of language activities in our language textbooks carried out by English language teachers and students do not conform to the true nature of communication.

In communicative methodology, attempts are made to give learners of English as a second language the natural setting for them to grapple with communicative activities (Ellis, 1984). This will enable the learners to try from the very beginning not only to understand the message produced by other speakers but also to produce their own utterances in the L2, expressing their own ideas and meaning (Marton, 1950).

Apparently, there are inadequacies in the teacher's method against the learner-oriented methods. Some of the factors responsible for these shortcomings are overcrowded classes, the pressure to cover the course contents with a limited time frame, lack of instructional materials and lack of motivation for teachers to do their best. Thus, English teachers teach English mechanically and students learn mechanically too without meaningfully involved in the generation of their own knowledge. In this way, the teaching and learning activities become teacher-centred and dominance of cognitive learning outcomes, rather than effective communicative and linguistic competence.

Most language teachers are skeptical of communicative method for the fear of inaccurate and ill-formed sentences which communicative activities either spontaneous or guided learning should inspire with propensity of acquiring communicative skills. Their fear of fossilization or pidginization of the target language (English) should not be the reason for avoiding the exploration of the use of the communicative methodology.

It is very important to get learners use the English language for the purpose of true communication as against the teacher's self–made examples and the imposition of grammatical structures and meanings abstracted from their social contexts or situations. This implies that English teachers have to plan purposeful activities (lessons with enrichment activities), which will allow learners to be actively involved in the learning activities taking place in the classroom. In view of this, a dozen of language education experts say that task-based learning does not assume that language should be atomized and practiced in small segments, but that language is learnt when learners are placed in a position where they have to use any or all of the linguistic resources available to them in order to achieve meaningful communication. Olabisi (2002:30-38) therefore observes that the teaching of the English language does not provide enough opportunities for the learners to develop communication skills.

Most of the teachers in secondary schools are more concerned with disseminating facts, information and principles on how to do this or that in language classroom than teaching language skills or allowing students to do and learn, practice and engage in language activities aimed at acquiring communicative skills or competence.

Over-reliance on ESL course books in the English language curriculum

The over-reliance on ESL course books in teaching and learning situations in Nigerian secondary schools is clearly stated, according to Ohia and Adeosun (2002:217), as follows:

It is not uncommon among teachers to get into the class and ask the students to 'open to page ….of…text and rely entirely on the text throughout the duration of the lesson.

Apart from over-reliance, ESL coursebooks also exhibit a characteristic of over– emphasis and superiority of a particular teaching method over the other(s), forgetting, according to language experts, that there is no best way of learning and that learners learn best when different learning methods and approaches/strategies are used. ESL course book writers should shed their preference to particular method(s) and employ what Rivers (1964) calls *informed eclectism*, which is a combination of teaching methods/approaches designed to strike a balance between linguistic competence and communicative competence. Teachers should remember that language production and comprehension are normally carried out in varieties of knowledge: conscious knowledge acquired from other people, from books, mass media, at school etc, and tacit knowledge, which is unconscious and cannot normally be verbalized but forms the basis of many skills, including verbal ones (Klein, 1986:40-41). According to him, much of our language proficiency is of tacit form (i.e. the rules that define word order in a sentence, or the use of the article in English). He further says that "this tacit knowledge can under certain circumstances be made conscious, and many textbooks, including the grammars used in language teaching do just this". In our use of language however, non–verbal knowledge is also availably used and this includes pictures, charts, mass media, illustrations, diagrams etc. Also, the grammatical or linguistic knowledge of phonemes, morphology, syntax, lexis, and semantics as well as the communicative knowledge of the speaker, situation and reference or social context of usage are very important to the understanding, response and communicative skills. The above should form the core and supplementary contents of the English curriculum, taking into consideration the goals, objectives, needs and interests, methods and instructional materials in implementing ESL curriculum in secondary schools.

Ndahi (1977) writing on suitability of textbooks in meeting the dictates of English curriculum says that a lot of textbooks in use are poorly organized. According to her, materials to be taught are not usually arranged in order of difficulty and topics grouped together are unrelated and materials are somehow irrelevant to the communicative needs, interests and environment of learners.

The *National Policy on Education* (NPE, 1981) also says:

Most of our textbooks at present are unsuitable, inadequate or expensive. New curricular call for appropriate textbooks and reference books.

In spite of the centrality of textbooks in the teaching and learning activities, Johnson, C.H. cited by Aboderin (1987) says that teachers should not enslave themselves to particular textbooks or a set of materials. He furthers says that teachers must understand and use the freedom that they have to adapt and to supplement the materials to conform to the needs and interests of the learners.

In the classroom situations, teachers, not only do not heed to the pedagogical advice and their professional training but also ignore the inadequacy of the English syllabus and unsuitable presentation of contents in

the English course- books. Whatever goes on in the classroom with the English course books, Oyetunji's (1971) observation that it is extremely difficult to get a book that is satisfactory in most aspects of teaching English still holds today. According to Ohia and Adeosun (2002:217), "even the good textbooks on modern English methodology do not contain sample lessons to illustrate in concrete form, the modern views on techniques in language teaching". Williams (1990) also notes that no single textbook can equally satisfy the needs of a class of students from varied language backgrounds and this makes the preparation of textbooks and syllabus materials a special kind of problem in a multilingual situation where both English and mother tongues are languages of instructions.

Ubahakwe (1979) describes as pedagogically defective the over-reliance on the authority of the printed text where language texts are not properly examined, analyzed and evaluated before selection for use in the classroom. Allen (1984), therefore, posits that a language classroom must have at its base a consideration of what learners need to learn, their interests and the goals of the target language in order to bring the best out of the learners' linguistic tendencies. The affective and intellectual resources of learners are necessary in language teaching. ESL teachers should, therefore, endeavour to exploit these resources and link them to the experience of learners. This pedagogical enrichment principle is necessary for the selection of and presentation of English language contents and classroom activities, which must be learner-centred. Ohia and Adeosun (2002:226) state that:

> A single coursebook cannot meet the needs of learners from varied language backgrounds. Since no single coursebook can equally satisfy the needs of a class of learners... students should be exposed to as many texts as possible.

Every stakeholder in language teaching, especially English, who realizes the potentialities of a language (English) in contributing to the growth of individuals and the nation should realize that the attainment of the educational goals of ESL in Nigeria must be a paramount concern to him or her. This is because the status of English in Nigeria is not controversial, hence teachers and coursebook writers should endeavour to create the enabling resourceful and effective contents and adequate exercises as well as appropriate methods aimed at developing the learners beyond school. This challenge requires the use of, according to Obanya (2002:208), "multi-way and multi-media exchanges [verbal and non-verbal] between teacher and learners as well as among learners in the conduct of classroom lessons". Also, the lessons and learning even outside the classroom must be activity–based.

Recommendation of enrichment materials (newspapers/magazines) as supplementary texts to textbooks

Discussions and debates often characterize the low level of communicative skills of Nigerian students across levels of our educational system. Many scholars, linguists and curriculum planners have identified a lot of factors responsible for these ugly and disappointing situations despite the huge investment on

education by individuals, parents, government and groups or societies. Adekunle (1970:274) attributes this unabated problem to "the absence of a well-defined objective, the dearth of trained language teachers, the lack of adequate teaching materials and the use of strangely unrealistic syllabuses and testing devises". His findings are based essentially   on examination-oriented English language curriculum, which has communicative abilities or potentialities as undertones in order to make students functional beyond the academic purposes.

Ajayi (2002:229) adds to the variables of the poor performance in English among the secondary school students, the seeming absence of enrichment materials in the schools nowadays. This claim reinforces Allen's (1984) view that teachers and language coursebooks must look beyond the confines of the class-room into the outer worlds, focusing attention on the use which an individual will make of what he/she has learned in a situation which is not primarily a learning situation. Therefore, language teaching experts in recent times subscribe to the selection of English language curriculum contents, teaching approaches and methods that agree with the learners' linguistic, cultural and geographical environment, their needs and interests as well as the goals of the target language in order to inspire, promote and bring out the learners' linguistic and communicative tendencies. One of the problems facing the communicative competence in our secondary schools today is the teachers' inability to improvise the necessary enrichment materials that can stimulate the desired intellectual development and communicative competence in the English language.

In the 60s and 70s many secondary schools had native-speakers of English as teachers who taught, encouraged and developed communicative tendencies in learners and even created an enabling English language speaking environment through discipline and hard work in listening, speaking, reading and writing. This development was supported with libraries stocked with good reading materials. Ajayi (2002:229) says:

> At present, however, many schools do not have libraries, and those who have could not afford the high cost of novels and even where novels are available, they are too few to cope with the ever-increasing student enrolment due to population explosion in school. Sadly, some of the most fascinating teaching materials such as the newspapers have largely been ignored in the teaching and learning in secondary schools.

When we talk of enrichment materials and activities, we mean initiatives either recommended or provided or improvised to support and facilitate robust academic activities in order to achieve desirable educational goals or objectives even beyond school. Such enrichment materials or activities include supplementary textbooks and other instructional materials such as tape-reorder, video tape, camera, pictures, charts, diagrams, discussions, debates, excursions, radio, resource persons, newspapers, magazines, maps, globes, projectors, films etc.

Ajayi (2002:230) says:

> More than any other sources, the newspaper is highly rich in terms of information, covering

local, national and international affairs, up-to-date information on political, health, music, sports, entertainment, arts, fashion, law, economics, medicine, science and technology.

Language teaching materials draw their contents from many academic disciplines and utilize teaching strategies which reflect philosophies of various schools of thought on the nature of language learning such as highlighted by Ajayi (although the list is not exhausted). In terms of contents, English language curriculum provides for language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. It is expected to have materials on speech, language structures, reading comprehension, language and vocabulary development and composition. Garrett (1993:4) notes:

> Newspapers are among the most relevant texts available for the classroom. Students like them because they can always find something they can care about inside the newspaper.

Ajayi (2002:230) opines that:

> The newspaper can be a great language enrichment material, particularly in ESL writing/ reading classroom. For instance, it is easy to adopt, it can be marked, cut, pasted, coloured and discarded easily and new issues appear daily. Finally, photographs, paintings, drawings, graphics, maps, cartoons and sketches serve as comprehension aids because they provide context clues working with the newspaper.

Emphasizing the importance of newspapers/magazines as enrichment materials in schools, Roe et al cited in Umoh (1991:84) say that: "Newspapers and magazines are excellent media for reading instruction ... they treat a wide variety of subject matters. They are interesting to students who have been turned off by formal reading materials"

Umoh (1991), therefore, provides differences between a novel (or English textbook) and a newspaper/ magazine in terms of volume cost, production, readership, care and handling and contents. It is clearly indicated that the cost of newspapers and magazines is lower than novels or English textbooks. Also, while the production of textbooks is at one time or reproduced (reprinted) after sometimes, newspapers and magazines are produced daily, weekly or monthly. In terms of utilization or readership, newspapers and magazines satisfy the academic and life beyond school purposes. Students, semi-literate people and workers provide readership for these printed media while students, educated people and very few workers read textbooks. Ajayi (2002: 230) says that:

> The contents of the newspaper/magazine are always current (textbooks treat modified events in society). As a result of this currency, students develop language and academic skills within a real and relevant content. Due also to its immediacy, students easily relate what they read in the newspaper with what goes on in the society. In this way, the content of learning is within the learner's experience. This invariably motivates and develops students' interest.

Although newspapers and magazines are carelessly handled once read, the experiences gained could be communicatively permanent and rewarding. The carefulness on handling textbooks makes them to be locked in shelves and kept out of reach of children and visitors. When it comes to the educational advantages and communication skills, newspapers can function as effective language enrichment materials. They can be used to teach essay and letter writing, reading comprehension, lexis and structures, vocabulary development, and above all, communicative skills (oracy and literacy). In fact, they provide for activity-based teaching and learning situations, self-instruction, and freedom and learner-centeredness. These enrichment materials will expose learners to intensive reading of letters to the editor, interviews, feature articles, editorial comments and news stories. All these desks cover all disciplines in our society and provide real life situations of acquiring and using English as a communication tool effectively. However, newspapers and magazines are not to be used as substitutes to textbooks, they are recommended for enrichment materials in the ESL curriculum in the secondary schools in Nigeria. Therefore, teachers should be careful in the use of them.

It is recommended that a critical re-appraisal of the curriculum should be done, especially in the aspects of contents, textbooks and methodology of achieving communicative competence, which the current English curriculum has failed to achieve. Therefore, enrichment materials that will not necessarily expand or bring about curriculum overload are suggested in form of newspapers/magazines. It is the position of this paper that communicative skills are better achieved in a natural (social) setting and that English is better taught and learned in that context as opposed to the over-reliance and centrality of textbooks. Therefore, eclectic teaching methods anchored on multi-media exchanges [verbal and non-verbal] should replace the teacher and textbook-centredness. Newspapers/magazines provide current reading contents in editorial comments, news reports, feature articles, sports, science and technology, law, medicine, education, music, and art etc.

In fact they treat a wide variety of subject matters that are interesting to students who have been bored with formal and routine textbook reading materials. If well-utilized, newspapers/magazines will provide learning activities that will engineer learning activities, which will take care of the interests, needs and familiar environmental experiences of the learners in order to make educational aims, goals and curriculum objectives achievable even beyond the school.

Therefore, the following should be attended to:

(i)   The present situation at the secondary level where reading is perceived as the core of the school curriculum (see Bright and MicGregor, 1982) should be reviewed.

(ii)   Also, the language skill most tested in terms of papers 1-3 or test formats is reading. This situation requires a critical re-examination by curriculum planners, language experts, and teachers and ministry of education:
Paper I: Essay, comprehension and Summary
Paper II: Lexis and structure and grammar and guided rational close passages.
Paper III: Test of orals: pronunciation –segmentals and suprasegmentals

(iii)   Curriculum designers should take advantage of the inherent potentials of newspapers in preparing teaching materials for reading comprehension, registers, language structures composition (essay and letter writing) and vocabulary development at the secondary school level.

(iv)   Textbooks can be designed in such a way that certain features of the newspapers are integrated in the learning activities in the classroom

(v)   Secondary schools should be provided with functional libraries or e-libraries with current information.

(vi)   A relatively recent language learning method called "whole language" should be adopted in teaching and learning classroom situations by teachers

(vii)   Learners' interests, needs, cultural and environmental factors should be considered in the experiences organized or exposed to students

Conclusion

In real communication situation, language is naturally acquired in its social contexts through interaction in the family and larger society. But in schools, language is acquired essentially through a lot of reading. In fact, reading occupies a central position in language learning at school. As important as reading is, learners do not normally read and when they do, they do not understand in most cases. In fact, linguistic competence is learnt in school through reading more than communicative skills and since there is a link between linguistic competence and communicative competence, learners often fall short of communicative competence. Therefore, there is a big problem in the school system. Curriculum planners, teachers, and linguists, therefore, seek to re-examine the aims, goals, objectives, methods and learning materials (contents and instructional materials) in order to make the curriculum outcome a reality.

This paper is also aimed at these variables with the main thrust of providing solutions to the seeming unfulfilled English language curriculum in terms of achieving communication goal at the secondary schools level in Nigeria.

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Re-visiting Ursula Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*: Anarcho-Taoism and World Resource Management.

By Samar Habib

> I called it "an ambiguous utopia". I think it's a perfectly natural step to go from Taoism to anarchism. That's what I found myself doing [in *The Dispossessed*]. They are definitely related, they appeal to the same type of person, the same bent of mind.[1]

Ursula K. Le Guin is one of the most influential science fiction and fantasy writers of the twentieth century and is easily the most prolific female author we have seen in relation to these, often male-dominated, genres. Born in 1929 in Berkeley, California, Le Guin has led a somewhat parochial lifestyle and has rarely ventured away from the "West Coast" since her return from Paris to live in Portland, Oregon, in 1958.[2] Her works received numerous awards and honours and they continue to be the subject of critical and analytical scrutiny across the academy. The series of novels that take place within her "Hainish Universe"[3] yield complexity and insight beyond the scope of most science fiction writers. *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia*, which won both the Hugo and Nebula Awards in 1975, was Le Guin's last Hainish universe novel to be published, but in the chronology of that world it is the first story to occur along the timeline. However, it is not this intricacy and combination of geographically plausible worlds and timelines that have made *The Dispossessed* a classic, but rather the unassailable philosophical contribution to Utopian discourse that it has made and continues to make.

Le Guin had managed to imagine and put in motion an alternative economy and styles of living which could work and whose inhabitants were all equally stripped of an infrastructure that would enable the power-hungry to exercise that power, once obtained, on others. But this utopian world did not prevent the existence of, or annihilate, such individuals. Take the character Sabul for instance, in his attempts to suppress fresh intellectual ideas that disprove his own,[4] or that incidental character, Desar the mathematician, who compulsively hoards and accumulates material for himself, despite the free availability of amenities and paraphernalia (133-134). Such individuals continue to exist but they are disabled from inflicting themselves absolutely on others. There is a utopia even in this simple idea of de-centralizing power, of turning governments into administrations of "things" not people. Recently, an anthology of thoroughly researched

critical essays on *The Dispossessed* was published, but there was an omission of a rigorous treatment of what Le Guin saw at the time as a relationship between anarchist theory and Taoism.[5] Although articles on both anarchism and Taoism in relation to the novel exist,[6] there has not been a serious attempt to consider the interrelations of these modes of thought and how they are represented in the novel. In this article my intention is to explore Le Guin's imperfect Utopia and to expose the intertextual influences of Taoism and anarchist theory on Le Guin's profound novel and vision in the hope of filling the hiatus which currently exists in this area.

The Background to the Story

The story of *The Dispossessed* begins with its hero, Shevek, boarding a shuttle from a planet called Anarres to another satellite planet called Urras. The ancestors of the inhabitants of Anarres came from Urras, some sixteen hundred years prior to the timeline of the text, after a revolutionist by the name of Odo led an insurrection against the government system of her nation. The anarchic theory of "Odonianism" gathers support and momentum after its founder's death, so that a small group of internationalist, Urrasti inhabitants, identifying themselves now as Odonians, are given the means to colonize Urras's arid, desert-like moon. With this opportunity the Odonians set out to create a society which observes the paradigm of anarchic political theory.

This theory of Odonianism, is not to be mistaken, as Ursula Le Guin tells us, with "the bomb-in-the-pocket stuff, which is terrorism…[or] the social-Darwinist "libertarianism" of the far right; but anarchism, as prefigured in early Taoist thought, and expounded by… Kropotkin, Goldman and Goodman."[7] Odonianism then, is extrapolated from the political theory of anarchism that was developed in the late nineteenth century by European thinkers such as Peter Kropotkin, Emma Goldman and Michael Bakhunin. Furthermore, Odonianism is, as Le Guin indicates in several interviews, a combination of Taoist thought and anarchist theory.

From Taoism to Anarchism and Back

It is believed that Taoism was born in the first century B.C. (this is uncertain), out of the writings and teachings of Lao Tzu and his disciple Chuang Tzu. Taoist thought creates a consciousness of the world that encompasses every distinct thing and being into an unsegmented whole. Lao Tzu writes: "There is something that contains everything. Before heaven and earth it is. Oh, it is still, unbodied, all on its own, unchanging…. Not knowing its real name, we only call it the Way."[8] This unsegmented whole, in another translation and interpretation of the *Tao-Te-Ching*, is said to be "the all-changing changeless" which is also "being in itself".[9] Therefore, in Lao Tzu's ontological projection, reality is oddly static but in this stasis and precisely because of it, inexhaustible change and new life is possible. The stasis is called 'ho', roughly

meaning 'structure' (in Shevek's temporal physics this is the 'cycle of time', in Odo's social theory it is called 'the ends') and the inexhaustible spirit of change is called k'ai, which means 'expansion' (Shevek calls this 'linear time', Odo calls it 'the means').[10]

Deleuze and Guattari's "1933: Micropolitics and Segmentarity"[11] offers a demonstration of this conception of the human world as oscillation between the expansive and the static. The main stipulation for Deleuze and Guattari in their essay, is that laws and states (or communities with customary law) are facts of human existence, changeless, part of the structure that Taoism refers to as Ho. Deleuze and Guattari focus on the tensions that exist between states and individuals (or customary law and the individuals in non- centralized societies) as object-specific examples of the Taoist perception of the 'changeless'. In the field of theoretical political science (which is what Deleuze's philosophy is in this context) aspects of Taoism can be *used* to theorize the human world. However Lao Tzu does not specify what is part of the structure and what is part of k'ai, but man-made laws are not seen as part of the cognition that attempts to comprehend the *Way*.

For this, there is a simple reason in Taoism. To create a law one needs the knowledge of the difference between 'good' and 'bad', of course this is relative to the creators of the law. Within the "all-changing-changeless" there are "two things, one origin, but different in name, whose identity is mystery. Mystery of all mysteries!" (Lao Tzu, 3). The *difference* between, for example, the north pole and the south pole is metaphysically impossible, however people are surer of the difference between good and bad. From the all-changing-changeless polarities emerge that humans *think* they are capable of distinguishing between. This distinction, in Taoist thought is an illusion, which "enlightened" ones overcome. On the basis of the uncertainty of all knowledge a Taoist cannot conceive of a law, since a law assumes one certainty or another. Taoism therefore is more accurately related to a political theory which admits indeterminacy, lawlessness and constant change, rather than to a political theory that finds states, laws and rigid authority as unchangeable facts of human being.

However, if Guattari and Deleuze are correct, the Taoist is squandering her life for she wants to be rid of customary and state laws by targeting human cognition of reality. In Deleuze and Guattari's theory, the fact of the state and law (or customary law through Shamans and medicine men and the religious community in non-centralized *governments*) remains unchanging, whilst in the meantime, collected (united) individuals, act on a shared desire and work on making changes within the rigid reality of the State. Thus, individuals and the communities they constitute, are part of k'ai – the expanding content of the "all-changing change-less." According to the theory, desire is what brings about change, but individual desire (the desire of one) is not a strong enough "flow" to make changes in the state, so, individuals desiring the same thing fuse into a "line of flight" that either ends in failure (for example: the anarchic cultural movement in the U.S) or makes the desired change (another example: the re-introduction of capital punishment in some states in the U.S) and then disappears.

Unlike the Taoist however, who has no law in his mind, Deleuze and Guattari assert that 'laws' are inevitable to human consciousness. Anarchism, by its nature wants to create a world that falsifies Gilles and Deleuze's theory.

Individualist anarchism sees that a balance between the individual cell and the social organism must be created and it claims that this is possible, and together with collectivist anarchism, reiterates the Taoist concept of wholeness and oneness. Emma Goldman claims that anarchism is the "philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of governments rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful as well as unnecessary."[12] Not having studied Taoism, Goldman writes that "Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, and the State, and society are non-existent [meaning synthetic illusions], since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination. Anarchism is therefore the teacher of the unity of life; not merely in nature, but in man" (Goldman, 58).

However, for these positive theories of human potential there are counter theories. The Darwinian Socialists do not agree with either Taoism or anarchism. They say that the world is the way it is and *they*, their mode of thought, has nothing to do with it. Charles Darwin, a scientist and not a political theorist, saw that a struggle for existence existed between species and among members of the same species, since they all share the biological urge to reproduce and were in fact competing for the space and resources of the earth. Darwin did not see that species could control these hostile urges against each other (unless this was in favour of everyone's survival), for the force of Natural Selection is greater than themselves.[13] Darwinian Socialists, as Le Guin refers to them, believe that the State is a biological necessity, as Guattari and Deleuze intimate (though they might not be Darwinian Socialists themselves). Atro, the eighty year-old Urrasti physicist, who is a passionate militant, communicates to Shevek the political appropriation of the Darwinian theory of existence and evolution.

> I don't want those damned aliens getting at you through your notions about brotherhood and mutualism and all that. They'll spout you whole rivers of 'common humanity' and 'leagues of all the Worlds' and so on, and I'd hate to see you swallowing it. The law of existence is struggle – competition – elimination of the weak – a ruthless war for survival. And I want to see the best survive. The kind of humanity I know. 68

Anarchists disagree, and consider "mutual aid"[14] to be a more important factor in human affairs than the "struggle for existence." Therefore anarchists target the positions of power created by institutions and centralized governments, laying direct blame on an office which can only be mismanaged, not on the infallible urge to mismanage.

In *The Dispossessed*, Shevek's other Urrasti colleagues at the University of Ieu Eun, Pae and Chifoilisk, represent those who comprehend human potential according to the deterministic stasis of Darwin's biological theory and Deleuze and Guattari's political theory. They also represent both capitalist and communist modes of government, respectively (they are literally government representatives). In contrast, Shevek represents the anarchist individuals who have transcended the "wall" that Chifoilisk and Pae insist on accepting.

> I think you are afraid of me Pae…Because I am, by my existence, disproof of the necessity

of the State. But what is there to fear, Saio Pae, you know I am personally quite harmless. 73

[To Chifoilisk]
The state of Thu is more centralized than the state of A-Io. One power structure controls all, the government, administration, police, army, education, laws, trades, manufactures…You fear we [Odonians] might bring back the revolution, the old one, the real one, the revolution for justice which you began and then stopped half-way. Here in A-Io they fear me less because they have forgotten the revolution. They don't believe in it anymore, they think if people can possess enough things they will be content to live in prison. But I will not believe that. I want the walls down. I want solidarity, human solidarity. 120

Shevek's mode of cognizing the objective world beyond his individual perception, suggests a *proof* of the mental ability to transcend the seeming necessity/predeterminacy of bureaucratic control and violent competition. The way of the Tao, to be found in a mind that contemplates the cosmos, and the way of anarchism, to be found in a mind that contemplates the social organism, together seem to raise an objection to the biological determinism figured in the "Darwinian life cycle" and the political determinism figured by Deleuze and Guattari. Something that is not described by these political theories emerges: the quest to eliminate their correspondence to perceived reality. On this point of escaping the Darwinian life-cycle, Fredric Jameson has noted that:

> The absence, from the Anarres of TD, of large animals such as the donkey […] which startles Shevek, is the negative obverse of a far more positive omission namely that of the Darwinian life-cycle itself, with its predators and victims alike: it is the sign that human beings have surmounted historical determinism … and have been left alone with themselves to invent their own destinies."[15]

Later in the essay Jameson observes that violence in the Utopia of Anarres is not meant to be eliminated, for there is nothing "more shocking in TD than the scene in which Shevek is beaten into unconsciousness by a man who is irritated by the similarity between their names…. Utopia is, in other words, not a place in which humanity is freed from violence but rather one in which it is released from the multiple determinisms (economic, political, social) of history itself" (226-7).

Shevek calls for the elimination of "unnecessary suffering" which Jameson rightly labels as facets of the multiple economic, political and social determinisms of history itself. The implication is that human-made laws create unnecessary suffering, while the laws of existence themselves create unavoidable suffering. Human consciousness is asked to make a distinction between an act of willful harm, which is preventable, and an event of natural disaster. Shevek explains to his Anaressti friends that:

> Suffering is a misunderstanding … no society can change the nature of existence. We can't prevent suffering. This pain and that pain, yes, but not Pain. A society can only relieve social suffering – unnecessary suffering … If instead of fearing it and running from it, one could, get

through it, go beyond it. 56-7

The Taoist sage, unlike Shevek, is never roused to passionate action; he does not inflict change, but cooperates with natural change, offering no resistance. The collectivist anarchist, to be found in the early writings of Kropotkin and Bakunin, demands that change occur through a physical revolution – through what they see as moral violence and what is referred to in the taxonomy of the state as "terrorism" (for the obvious reason that "it" is being terrorized with the idea of "its" extinction/destruction).[16] The sage on the other hand does only what is needed and is psychologically incapable of violence since "he" sees things as they are and consequently sees beyond them and changes nothing. Odo's 'circle of life' and rejection of the notion of *deserving* make an alliance with Taoist consciousness which, on this point, conflicts with both collectivist anarchists and those they are "collecting" against:

> No man earns punishment, no man earns reward. Free your mind of the idea of deserving, the idea of earning, and you will begin to be able to think. 296

No "man" will punish another, no "man" be offered reward. When the mind is free of the idea of value, the idea of punishment and reward (a Taoist maxim) individuals will begin to be able to see clearly – the ultimately incomprehensible fact of things and beings. Clarity is also bewilderment, but to the Taoist it is a full engagement in being. The collectivist anarchist has a partial (or partisan) engagement in being, as does the Statist. The Taoist-anarchist or the individualist anarchist (the Odonian) however is different. Far from being indifferent to the political world, as is the mental state of the Taoist, and far from being ready to inflict change by force, as in the mental state of the collectivist anarchist, the individualist anarchist finds a middle point between the too.

The individualist anarchist is a Taoist for she resists the urge to violence and, in fact, transcends the need by accepting the fact of the others. At the same time, unlike the Taoist sage, she continues to desire a better world full of psychically similar people to live with. The psychic similarity that the individualist anarchist, or Shevek, is searching for is to be found in the philosophy that Lao Tzu's *Tao Te Ching* reflects. Liu Xiaogan explains that *wei-wei* (i.e. nonaction[17]) is 'to eradicate or reduce certain, not all, human action"[18] and he argues that the concept of *tzu-jan* (a specific kind of action) should not be confused with 'naturalism' (for this has Western implications[19]) which is contrary to Lao Tzu's theory, but rather to conceive *wei-wei* (nonaction) through *tzu-jan*, which is to be taken for "naturalness, spontaneous, or spontaneity" of action (Xiaogan, 212). Compare this to the actions taken by politicians and corporate executives, which are often motivated by a desire to harness more power, or even to the behavior of a bank teller or any person working according to the protocol of the institution employing her – in the cognition that recognizes *Tao* there cannot exist such a thing as protocol, it would only be a game. Should this 'naturalness' of behaviour (and psychology) be activated only 'necessary suffering' will remain (since violence is contrary to *tzu-jan*) and that is easier to deal with than unnecessary suffering. No one would want to seek revenge against a storm that destroys one's home, but if the force of destruction is an army, this would be (and indeed is) different. That is because we know that soldiers each have a reproachable conscience, but do not suspect for a minute that a storm does.

The individualist anarchist who has rejected even the "moral" use of violence, as Shevek does, cannot accept the coercion or oppression of another human being, even if that human being "himself" is coercive and oppressive. This reiterates Lao Tzu's conception of power. Once one reaches Taoist enlightenment, Lao Tzu explains, it becomes clear that the *use* of power is not part of the Way:

> True leaders are hardly known to their followers. Next after them are the leaders/the people know and admire;/after them, those they fear;/after them, those they despise. (Lao Tzu, 24)

At this point in the *Tao Te Ching*, Le Guin comments that this mode of action/behavior is "a matter of "doing without doing": uncompetitive, unworried, trustful accomplishment, power that is not force."(Le Guin, *Tao-Te-Ching*, 24). This form of self-conduct cannot admit authoritarian rule since it is free from force or coercion and it is characteristic of Shevek's behaviour throughout the text.

Anarchist theory offers its own suggestions on the etiology and mechanics of authoritarian rule. Peter Kropotkin brings to light the phenomenon of "mutual aid among animals". Interestingly he suggests that not only 'man' has come up against the wall of Darwinist competition, while many species have already transcended it: "If an ant which has its crop full has been selfish enough to refuse feeding a comrade, it will be treated as an enemy…"[20] Thus, the tendency toward authoritarianism can be traced back to the human's desire to minimize her own struggle for survival. By creating and enforcing a system where he is a beneficiary, he is tipping the balance (the natural distribution of struggle) in his favor, so that others, weaker than him, bare not only their burden but a substantial portion of his. There is no better elucidation of this concept than through the anarchic scrutiny of the creation of property. And it is no secret of course that anarchism's worst enemy is the concept of ownership,[21] which is why in the Anaressti vocabulary there is no filthier swear word than 'profiteer'.

To better understand the logic behind anarchism's rejection of propriety and this rejection's relation to Taoist philosophy I propose the following mental excursion: Let us choose the bank balance of one of the richest people in the world (not the richest, say US\$666m), now let us purchase with that amount of money all the cans of beans in the world, then let us topple the cans on top of each other in the shape of a pyramid. Now let us call forward the possessor (and her dependents, if any) of all this food and ask her to stand at the base of this pyramid. What would the ratio of her body weight to the weight of beans be? And if she ate from it for the next one hundred years (without purchasing any more beans, mind you) how much would still be left over, as waste? The net weight of beans in each can is 400g, the height of each can is 11cm, the diameter 7cm, and the price of each can is 50 U.S. cents. This woman eats an astonishing 8 cans of beans a day, she weighs 75 kilos and is 168 centimeters tall. I shall leave it to the mathematician to sort out the volume of the pyramid and all those answerable things. What becomes apparent for anarchists is that since human beings are all connected to each other as living parts of a social organism (or the Taoist "unsegmented whole" I spoke of earlier), it becomes indefensible and solipsistic to argue along the lines of an individualistic, consumerist and capitalist (or possibly feudal) economic system. Le Guin illustrates that Urras is a mismanaged world, which speaks of ostentatious and superfluous riches on the one hand and, on the other:

A famine in Bachifoil Province in the Nation of Thu,' the commentator's voice had said. 'Bodies of children dead of starvation and disease are burned on the beaches. On the beaches of Tius, seven hundred kilometres away in the nation of A-Io…women [high class prostitutes] lie on the sand all day until dinner is served to them by people of the unpropertied class. 42

At the heart of this inequality is the respect for and defense of one's *right* to procure and accumulated beyond one's needs, and neither collectivist anarchism nor Taoist philosophy are able to accept the ideological basis of such an economic system. Emma Goldman explains that "organized authority, or the State, is necessary *only* to maintain or protect property and monopoly" (Goldman, 64). Shevek understands this, refuting that the "human will to dominance" and greed is intrinsically unavoidable, and indicates that any explanation of the reality of the political world other than logically dissoluble greed is either itself deluded and ignorant or intentionally deluding and ostensible.

"[Oiie]: It did not matter who governed, or thought they governed, the Benbilis: the politics of reality concerned the power struggle between A-Io and Thu" "The politics of reality," Shevek repeated…"That is a curious phrase for a physicist to use."

"Not at all. The politician and the physicist both deal with things as they are, with real forces, the basic laws of the world."

"You put your petty miserable "laws" to protect wealth, your "forces" of guns and bombs, in the same sentence with the law of entropy and the force of gravity? I had thought better of your mind, Demaere!" 172

Oiie represents in this context, what Emma Goldman calls "the ordinary man" or the "average reader". For Emma Goldman and Paul Goodman, Kropotkin and Bakunin, anarchism is a necessary step in cultural evolution. They are aware (as is Le Guin) that social and political structures are increasingly taxing individual breath and personal freedom. However, aside from the states themselves, the greatest obstacle to anarcho – Taoism is also the inability of the mass-individual[22] to comprehend the teleology of the political world and how the condition of the material world *is* and *can be* managed.

On Urras, our fictional anarchic theorist, Odo, writes that "excess is excrement" (P88). Similarly, Shevek, adjusting to the lavish excesses of A-Io's capitalist economy, "had reflected, quite early in his stay on Urras, that the Urrasti lived among mountains of excrement, but never mentioned shit." (128-9). In addition, "he could not force himself to understand how banks function, because all the operations of capitalism were as meaningless to him as the rites of a primitive religion… barbaric… elaborate… unnecessary… acres of luxuries, acres of excrement." (113-4). It does not appear that the majority of consumers in a capitalist economy are aware of the connection between excess and inequality. By contrast, simplicity, purpose and pragmatism are key concepts in an anarchist economy. Bedap, Shevek's life-long friend, is a Functions analyst, who, joking with Shevek, points out that the color of Shevek's blanket (orange) was the product of unnecessary labour. The blanket need not look pretty to meet its practical purpose/function (*TD*, 139-40).

Le Guin may have extrapolated this from Paul Goodman's essay entitled "Notes on Neo-Functionalism". Goodman writes:

> Functionalism is design of the means simply for the end…the neo-functionalist goes further… Is the use, he asks, as simple or ingenious or clear as the efficient means that have produced it? …he keeps his eye more immediately on the object itself and asks, is it worthwhile?[23]

In the same essay Goodman gives a "theory of packages" (Goodman, 51), which demonstrates the utilitarian hierarchy (what Goodman calls "Functionalism") that an anarchist economy advances. Le Guin no doubt interprets Goodman's ideas as we see in the following:

> He had been fascinated…by the Urrasti habit of wrapping everything up in clean, fancy paper or plastic cardboard or foil. Laundry, books, vegetables, clothes, medicines, everything came inside layers and layers of wrappings. Even packets of paper were wrapped in several layers of paper… 168

The theory of resource management that anarchism suggests works on the evident but unprovable premise that all members of the social organism are connected, even if they perceive themselves to be (arbitrarily) divided. Therefore if O's bank balance is US$666 million, this is directly connected to the astonishing number of starving individuals in the world. In addition, the police and the state protect this economic inequality within a solipsist taxonomy on what is real. The "ordinary man" has not yet understood these "facts" (or so the anarchist propagandist thinks), nor is he willing to discard the quest for "luxury." Shevek's remark to Keng becomes especially meaningful in this context: "We cannot come to you. We can only wait for you to come to us" (289). This remark signals the anarcho-Taoist's patience and carefulness not to contradict her own principles of individualism, not to *enforce* her belief but to patiently await the moment it is finally realized by the others (especially the owner of that bank balance) exactly what possible world they are in fact being offered. The individualist anarchist cannot go back to Keng and her collective of capitalists; he must wait until the collective catches up with him. Then and only then, Le Guin seems to suggest, can a successful anarchy establish itself, naturally, and as part of the evolution of the mass-individual human mind, which comprehends the relationship between excess and inefficiency, propriety and poverty.

> Like all power-seekers, Pae was amazingly shortsighted. There was a trivial, abortive quality to his mind; it lacked depth, effect, imagination. It was in fact a primitive instrument. 231

George Orwell once wrote that all hope lies with the proletariat and, in the course of a fictional narrative, he clarified, devastatingly, that there is no hope in them.[24] Whether the mass-individual mind is part of Ho – the static reality of the Mind (as Deleuze and Guattari suggest), or whether it is along the expansive passage of K'ai remains to be seen in the next millenium or two. Somehow the anarchic claim that this barrier exists predominately in the human mind seems reasonable but is yet unprovable. However, the personality and thought patterns of pacifist (taoist) anarchists suggest that the possibility of this utopia

exists already in their behaviour and mode of thought. That Shevek, Lao Tzu, Goodman, Goldman, Le Guin and others are *in themselves*, in the manner of their thinking, proof of the feasibility of the idealism of anarchist world and self management.

Notes

[1] Interview with Ursula Le Guin, cited in Philip E. Smith's "Unbuilding Walls" in Ursula K Le Guin. eds. Joseph Orlander and Martin Greenberg. New York. Taplinger Publishing Company, 1979. 79.

[2] "Ursula K Le Guin: Biographical Sketch" Ursula K. Le Guin's Official Website http://www.ursulakle-guin.com/Hyperbite2000.html, last accessed April 4, 2007.

[3] The Hainish Universe is contained within Rocannon's World . [1966]. London: Universal Tandem, 1978. Planet of Exile. [1966]. N.Y: Acebooks, 1973. City of Illusions. [1967]. London: Granada, 1971. The Left Hand of Darkness. [1969]. Frogmore [Eng.]: Granada, 1973. The Word for World is Forest. New York: Berkley, 1972 and The Dispossessed. [1974]. Frogmore: Granada, 1976.

[4] For example see Ursula K. Le Guin. [1974] The Dispossessed. Frogmore: Granada Publishing, 1976. 93, 101-3. Subsequent page numbers refer to this edition.

[5] I am referring to Laurence Davis and Peter Stillman, eds., The New Utopain Politics of Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*. New York, Oxford & Toronto: Lexington Books, 2005.

[6] The above anthology contains impressive scholarship on anarchism in *The Dispossessed* in the section entitled "Anarchist Politics" 111-166 which espouses three articles on the subject by Dan Sabia, Mark Tunick and Winter Elliott. Articles published in earlier decades on anarchism and The Dispossessed include: Tower Sargent, Lyman. "A New Anarchism: Social and Political Ideas in Some Recent Feminist Eutopias." Women and Utopia. Eds. Marleen Barr and Nicholas D. Smith. New York: UP of America, 1983. 3-33; Smith, Philip E. "Unbuilding Walls: Human Nature and the Nature of Evolutionary Political Theory in *The Dispossessed*. Ursula K. Le Guin. Eds. Joseph D. Olander and Martin Harry Greenberg. New York: Taplinger, 1979. 77-96; Brennan, John P. and Michael C. Downs. "Anarchism and Utopian Tradition in *The Dispossessed*." Ursula K. Le Guin. Eds. Joseph D. Olander and Martin Harry Greenberg. New York: Taplinger, 1979. 116-52; and Urbanowicz, Victor. "Personal and Political in *The Dispossessed*." SFS. 5 (1978): 110-7. J.R. Wytenbroek's "Taoism in the Fantasies of Ursula K. Le Guin." In The Shape of the Fantastic:… Ed. Olena H. Saciuk. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990. 173-80, is concerned with tracing the influence of Taoism on Ursula Le Guin's *Earthsea* novels, however the author's definition of Taoism holds for a reading of *The Dispossessed* and has resounding similarities with anarchist political theory. Wytenbroek writes: "Taoism proposes a pacifistic lifestyle of nonaggression, and is against war and possessiveness, and the desire for wealth, possessions, glory, and power. It leads its adherent to seek

oneness with being, to become aware of the unity, harmony, order and balance of all being, man included, and insists that such wholeness of being can be achieved through the practice of wu- wei [Unaction]" 17.

[7] Interview with Ursula Le Guin cited by Elizabeth Cummins. <u>Understanding Ursula K. Le Guin</u>. Columbia: South Carolina UP, 1993. 106.

[8] Lao Tzu. <u>Tao Te Ching: A Book about the Way and the Power of the Way</u>. Ed. Note. Comp. Ursula Le Guin. Boston: Shambhala, 1997. 34. Subsequent page numbers refer to this edition.

[9] Chung-Yuan. <u>Creativity and Taoism</u>. New York. The Julian Press. 1963. 9 & 126-7

[10] For more information on the k'ai-ho effect see above reference "introduction" 9

[11] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. "1933: Micropolitics and Segmentarity" <u>A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia</u>. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 1987. 208-231.

[12] Emma Goldman "Anarchism." <u>Anarchism and Other Essays</u>. London: Kennikat Press, 1910. 56.

[13] See Charles Darwin. "Struggle for existence" in <u>Origin of Species</u>. London: John Murray, 1906. 75.

[14] Peter Kropotkin "Mutual Aid Among Animals" <u>Mutual Aid</u>. London. William Heinemann, 1910. 1-10.

[15] Jameson, Fredric. "World Reduction in Le Guin: The Emergence of Utopian Narrative." <u>SFS</u>. 3 (1975): 221-230. 224.

[16] Michael Bakunin suggests that the state should be destroyed so that it is replaced by the "international". He writes: "Convinced…that the individual and social evil resides much less in individuals than in the organization of material things and in social conditions, we will be humane in our actions…and we will ruthlessly destroy what is in our way without endangering the revolution." <u>Bakunin on Anarchism: Selected Writings</u>. Trans. Sam Dolgoff. Montreal. Black Rose Books. 1972. 149.

[17] In Ursula Le Guin's <u>City of Illusions</u> this is referred to as 'Unaction'. In a critical passage Le Guin refers to Lao Tzu's "Tao Te Ching" and to Lao Tzu himself when she writes: "…that quiet voice speaking from amidst forgotten wars and disasters […] Mankind had outlived disaster; and he had outrun mankind…that old canon of Unaction…" . <u>City of Illusions</u>. London. Granada. 1967. 36.

[18] Liu Xiaogan. "Naturalness (tzu-jan), the Core Value in Taoism: Its Ancient Meaning and its Significance Today". <u>Lao Tzu and the Tao-te-ching</u>. Eds. Livia Khon and Michael LaFargue. Albany: N.Y. UP. 1998. 218.

[19] For a brief summary and example of 'naturalism' in the Western tradition see Paul Goodman's

"Advance-guard writing in America: 1900-1950" in <u>Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals</u>. New York. Vintage Books. 1964. 196-9.

[20] Peter Kropotkin. <u>Mutual Aid</u>. (1902). London: William Heinemann, 1910. 13.

[21] Odo's slogan "to make a thief make an owner" (120) implies not only that a thief without property cannot exist, but that the self-made owner (the first owner) is a thief, since, beyond utility, there is no rational or natural basis for ownership in the physical world. This is no doubt in reference to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's famous edict: "The true founder of civil society was the first man who fenced in a piece of land, thought of saying "this is mine," and came across people simple enough to believe him." see Jean Jacques Rousseau's <u>Discourse on the Origin of Inequality </u>(1775). Trans. Franklin Philip. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. 55.

[22] The term "mass-individual" appears in Deleuze and Guattari's essay. It refers to the popular opinion in a democratic state. A state which fully fuses with mass-individual desire becomes a war-machine state (Nazi or fascist) since all the power of the state is directed to appease the mass-individual desire which is, by its nature according to Deleuze and Guattari, centred around the rejection of the Other.

[23] Paul Goodman. "Notes on Neo-Functionalism." <u>Drawing the Line: Political Essays of…</u>. Ed. Taylor Stoehr. N.Y: E.P. Dutton. 1977. 49.

[24] I refer to Orwell's *Nineteen-Eighty-Four* in which the anti-hero Winston recognizes that a successful revolution must needs be a people's revolution: a mass revolution. As Winston conjectures: "If there was hope, it *must* lie in the proles, because only there, in those swarming disregarded masses, 85 per cent of the population of Oceania, could the force to destroy the Party ever be generated." Later Winston clarifies that "until they become conscious they can never rebel, and until after they have rebelled they cannot become conscious." See George Orwell, <u>Nineteen-Eighty-Four</u>. [1949]. New York & Toronto: Hudson Books, 1990. 72 & 74. The trope of the sleeping "mass-individual" is an old one and it seems to have recurred in literature of various historical and cultural periods, including Henry David Thoreau's "sleepers" in his autobiographical work, <u>Walden Pond</u>, which is easily a critique of early entrepreneurial capitalism as a means to freedom. See "Economics" in <u>Walden Pond </u>. New York: Dover Publications, 1995. 1-52. Thomas Pynchon's version of the proles, Thoreau's sleepers and Deleuze and Guattari's mass-indvidual, are the *Thanatoids* in his novel *Vineland*. The Thanatoids are literally "the living dead," and they are addicted to television. Curiously in <u>Vineland</u>, the Thanatoids awake just before the novel ends. See Thomas Pynchon. <u>Vineland</u>. Boston: Little Brown, c. 1990. The earliest reference to this trope that I can think of is to be found in another work of "utopian" philosophy, that of Plato's <u>Republic</u>, where we find the analogy of the cave dwellers. Socrates likens our "education and the lack of it" to a condition he describes as that similar to people living in a cave, where the shadows on the wall, in the poorly lit cave, become, in the dwellers' perception, ultimate reality. While, in the meantime, those who are exposed to the reality outside the cave, in the full light of the sun, are mocked upon their return to the cave for being "blind" and for their seemingly ludicrous idea that what is perceived inside the cave is only the shadow of truth. See Plato's "Book

VII: The Cave." in <u>The Republic </u>R.E. Allen, trans. 227-261 This fascinating trope, however, should be the subject of an entirely different study altogether. A study from which a detailed research paper would easily emerge and I hope to write it one day.

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