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Crossing Cultures/ Crossing Genres: The Re-invention of the Graphic Memoir in *Persepolis* and *Persepolis 2*.

By Lopamudra Basu

Migrant Intellectuals, Academic Debates and the Graphic Memoir

Marjane Satrapi's graphic memoirs *Persepolis* and *Persepolis 2* are compelling explorations of female Iranian national and diasporic identity. Satrapi uses the form of the graphic novel to creatively counter the overwhelming perception of Iranian women as oppressed subjects of Islamic religious orthodoxy. This essay is an attempt to read Satrapi's memoirs as a reworking of the traditional genre of autobiography, which has traditionally privileged a Universalist western subjectivity, usually male. Satrapi reinvents autobiography as a genre expressing the growth of non-western, female, Iranian subjectivity but also rescripts its terrain as encompassing the social sphere in relation to which individual subjectivity develops. Not only does Satrapi use the memoir to narrate her own growth into consciousness and artistic expression, this narrative is constantly juxtaposed against seminal events in contemporary Iranian history. Satrapi's reworking of autobiography as graphic memoir disrupts the categorization of Iranian female identity as one in direct opposition to modern western female identity, positing one as complete suppression by religious authority and the other as the apotheosis of freedom and individualism.

Satrapi's memoirs have been published at a time of increasing visibility of memoirs by Iranian women in the US. Perhaps the most famous example is Azar Nafisi's *Reading Lolita in Tehran*. This work has sparked a furious controversy about the particular popularity of Iranian women's memoirs at a time of increasing US intolerance towards the current regime in Iran and the constant veiled and overt threat of American attack if the present Iranian government does not give up its nuclear energy program. Hamid Dabashi has drawn a connection between these seemingly disconnected literary and political phenomena by arguing that such literary presentations of women's suppression by religious or cultural institutions has been the traditional rationale for moral and cultural legitimation of imperial rule. Using Gayatri Spivak's analysis of the moral rationale for British colonial rule in India to be the saving of brown women from the atrocities of brown men, Dabashi categorizes these contemporary memoirs to be providing the present day moral impetus to sanction American imperial adventures. Dabashi is quite unabashed in his categorization

of Nafisi and others as comprador intellectuals who are servicing the American ideological machinery. In addition, Dabashi accuses Nafisi for reinvoking a restrictive notion of the western canon, through her depiction of a group of students reading the classics of modern western literature in the privacy of Nafisi's home, at a time of academic and literary censorship in Iran. The reading list of Nafisi's group, Dabashi argues, ignores a domestic Iranian literary tradition and the women in the group lack an empathy with the underprivileged sections of the Iranian population. While this paper is not the space to tease out the intricacies of this debate, I think it provides an interesting context to begin reading *Persepolis*.

It is important to keep in mind that the Nafisi controversy impinges on the question of gender. Dabashi's main source of discomfort with Nafisi's depiction of the severe restrictions of women's freedoms in contemporary Iran is that it becomes a rationale for imperial interventions. This is a familiar accusation that many feminists of color have faced. In representing gender oppressions in their societies truthfully, they invite criticism for being anti-nationalist or pro-western. The Nigerian born British novelist Buchi Emecheta is an example that comes to mind as someone who has attracted a great deal of negative attention because she has been an unequivocal critic of polygamy. Nigerian critics have attacked her for her negative portraits of Nigerian men. This ambivalence in Emecheta's presentation of Nigerian men has led to some critics like Chikwenye Okonjo Ogunyemi to argue that Emecheta is preoccupied by the question of the black woman as a victim of black patriarchy, without being equally attentive to the question of racism. Ogunyemi identifies Emecheta as a feminist author and construes feminism to be a Euro- American movement. It seems that a feminist of color or a third world feminist has to shoulder the peculiar burden of speaking out against the oppressions of women in her society, while avoiding being labeled as a western feminist who privileges gender without being attentive to racial, ethnic, and class issues.

In spite of its focus on dangers of representing gender oppression, Dabashi's tirade against Nafisi is oddly reminiscent of Aijaz Ahmad's polemical attack against Edward Said in the early nineteen nineties. Predictably, Ahmad's leading charge against Said and other postcolonial migrant intellectuals was that they are separated from their native cultures and that Said's celebrated intellectual dissent and intervention from metropolitan locations is an ineffectual project because the institutional location of migrant intellectuals already co-opts them in the pervasive regime of global capital. In a similar manner, Dabashi argues that Nafisi's political affiliation with neoconservatives in the Bush regime undermines her credibility as a critic of Iranian social realities. In attempting to figure a way out of this theoretical impasse between the potential for migrant intellectual activism and the limitations imposed by metropolitan location, I think it is useful to bring into play the notion of the autonomy of the artistic form proposed by Adorno and others of the Frankfurt School. Walter Benjamin in "The Author as Producer," Herbert Marcuse in *The Aesthetic Dimension* and Theodor Adorno in "Commitment," have all in different ways privileged art which does not explicitly follow the dictates of any political purpose. These writers wanted to distance themselves from the excesses of art pressed to the service of repressive political systems. These theorists made an impassioned argument for an autonomous space for art, so that it could be the repository and expression of potentialities for social transformation, without explicitly furthering a political agenda. Instead of explicit correspondences between works of art and political realities, Adorno and others in the Frankfurt School are interested in highlighting the less formulaic, subtle inter- relationships between art and politics. First,

in Adorno and Marcuse's conception, an artwork by virtue of its form is able to transform reality and give it an alternative space and a life of its own. It is no longer a part of the real world but vitally connected to it, following only the logic of its form. Marcuse defines aesthetic form as "the result of the transformation of a given content (actual or historical, personal or social fact) into a self-contained whole: a poem, play, novel etc. The work is thus 'taken out' of the constant process of reality and assumes a significance and truth of its own"(8). Marcuse goes on to argue that the critical function of art resides in the logic of its aesthetic form. Although the aesthetic form of a literary work distances it from the actuality of class struggle, it is able to offer a "counter-consciousness," which is ultimately liberatory. For Marcuse as well as other theorists of the Frankfurt School, the progressive character of a work of art is not dependent on the class origins of the artist or the representation of the oppressed class in the artist's work. Marcuse argues that "the criteria for the progressive character of art are given only in the work itself as a whole: in what it says and how it says it (19).

Richard Byrne's discussion of this controversy in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* points to the misuses of Nafisi's memoir by the current US administration to build a consensus for a military campaign against Iran. It is important to acknowledge that artistic works can be manipulated and pressed into the service of ideological campaigns to manufacture consent for imperial projects. The *Persepolis* memoirs embody a form which is innately resistant to such ideological manipulation and co-optation. A graphic memoir is a hybrid form which combines autobiography with journalistic or historical reportage mediated by the cartoonist's gift of exaggeration. Scott McCloud in his unique study of the art of the graphic novel *Understanding Comics*, written in the form of a graphic novel, has argued that "the cartoon is a vacuum into which our identity and awareness are pulled . . . when you look at a photo or realistic drawing of a face . . . you see it as the face of another . . . but when you enter the world of the cartoon . . . you see yourself" (36). The cartoon is thus an iconic figure which allows the reader to project her own reality into that of the comic character enabling a dialogue between two different realms of experience. McCloud also argues that by dabbling in two distinct styles, one of photographic realism and the other of abstraction, the graphic novelist is able to dwell simultaneously in abstract concepts as well as concrete specificity, depending on the style being used. The interplay of visual styles, the realistic to the iconic, along with the verbal dialogue makes this genre a hybrid and dialogic one, similar to M.M. Bakhtin's theorization of the traditional novel. The graphic novel in the present time retains its connection to the "heteroglossia" of popular culture in a manner more similar to the nineteenth century novel, when the novel was more of a form of popular entertainment.

Persepolis, created as a dialogic art form does not offer a romanticized vision of individual sensibility. Nor does it offer a monologic presentation of Iranian woman as victim of Iranian religious patriarchy. While recording the events of the Islamic Revolution accurately, and emphasizing the curtailment of women's rights, there is no luxury for lament or nostalgia. There is also a conscious attempt to include diversity of classes and religions in the presentation of Iranians. There is a sense of a broad canvass sweep rather than a small circle of Iranian women who are readers of western fiction. In some unique ways therefore, the form of *Persepolis* enables it to be malleable enough to escape some of the controversial quagmires that more traditional autobiographies can fall into. Moreover because it embraces a popular cultural form,

the graphic novel, it can mask the seriousness of its statement under the guise of comic laughter. Like the figure of the fool in Shakespearean tragedy, the graphic memoir form allows for serious and provocative commentary on contemporary society without getting labeled as the political statement of Iranian nationalism or feminism.

The medium of the graphic novel enables Satrapi to develop a satirical perspective to critique the dual standards of the Islamic regime and the double lives that Iranians are forced to live. She is also able to use humor and the child narrator's voice to point to contradictions between appearance and reality both in Iran and the West. The form of the graphic novel enables the representation of the autobiographical persona as a comic character, thus allowing for an ironic distance which removes elements of nostalgia, sentimentality, and solipsism which are dangers inherent in the form of the memoir.

Rewriting Memoir as Collective Memory

Julia Watson and Sidonie Smith in the Introduction to *Decolonizing the Subject: the Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography* have argued that in traditional western autobiography the subject of autobiography "the 'I' becomes 'Man,' putatively a marker of the universal human subject whose essence remains outside the vagaries of history" . (xvii). They consider western autobiography to be an "exclusionary genre," which provides a "constraining template . . . against which the utterances of other subjects are measured and misread" (xviii). In *Persepolis*, Marji's childhood and growth into subjectivity happens against the historical events of the Islamic Revolution and the Iran Iraq War. Questions of Marji's autobiographical subjectivity are not isolated from the history of her country and the consequences of the Islamic Revolution on the lives of women. *Persepolis* distinguishes itself from traditional autobiography not only because of its hybrid literary identity as graphic memoir, which intermingles visual and literary text, but also because it does not concentrate exclusively on the subjectivity of the author. The graphic form enables partial use of the first person "I" but it also depicts the autobiographical persona as a third person "Marji," a nickname obviously derived from Satrapi's first name but providing some distance from the traditional autobiographical subject position.

Persepolis draws attention to Satrapi's primary social and intellectual formation as a liberal, upper class, western educated Iranian girl. The graphic memoir portrays Marji's parents' active involvement in the Iranian revolution primarily because of their left-wing, anti-imperialist politics. Marji becomes the witness and recorder of the dramatic events sweeping her country at the time of her childhood. Through her eyes, we witness the violent demonstrations during the revolution, Iran's war with Iraq, and the American hostage crisis, among other events. There are several intertwined narrative strands in the memoir. The history of Marji's relatives interweaves with events in Iran's past and both of these influence the course of Marji's life. In the memoirs, Marji's voice is not the only one we hear. There are several storytellers in *Persepolis*. Two very important ones, because of their affective bonds with Marji, are her grandmother and her Uncle Anoosh, who fill her in on the British and Russian imperial rivalries over Iran, the attraction of

left wing and Marxist ideology for the intelligentsia, and the corruption of the Shah's regime. Although a graphic memoir, these characters represent modes of oral storytelling in informal situations. Walter Benjamin in his essay "The Storyteller" reflects:

Memory creates the chain of tradition which passes a happening from generation to generation . . . It starts the web which all stories together form in the end. One ties on to the next, as the great storytellers particularly the Oriental ones, have always readily shown. In each of them there is a Scheherazade who thinks of a fresh story whenever her tale comes to a stop. (98)

Benjamin is lamenting the end of oral storytelling conventions and the rise of the novel in an era of print culture. The representation of oral forms of storytelling and particularly their role in creating the foundations of Marji's identity points to a sense of self which is not at a radical disjuncture from family and community. Marji's early sense of self does not coincide with any separation of public and private components of identity. Being born at a tumultuous time of Iranian history, even her private dreams and reveries as a child are imbued with a sense of political participation in the public sphere. Even when the revolution is quickly co-opted by Islamic religious hard liners, who impose very authoritarian rules limiting access of women to public space, the private sphere of the family home remains a space of free speech, inquiry, and questioning of events outside. Marji's parents both participate in this inquiry and debate and Marji is quickly socialized as a political being, for whom the imaginary portraits of Marx and God are remarkably alike in their physical appearance.

Throughout both memoirs, there is an uncompromising critique of war and an expose of the hypocrisies and double standards of the Islamic regime. In both *Persepolis and Persepolis 2*, Satrapi records the enormity of suffering and devastation caused by war. Although the main target of Satrapi's satire is the Islamic regime's curtailment of women's rights, her deeper anger is reserved for its complicity in involving Iran in a long and disastrous war with Iraq. Although the presentation of the war begins with Marji's patriotic fervor and her father's enthusiasm in being able to bomb Saddam Hussein's Baghdad, the human costs begin to endow the text with a somber poignancy. The tragic consequences of war are revealed in the arrival of refugees in Tehran and the increasing lists of dead soldiers, who are promised an instant place in heaven. Even more devastating is the destruction of Jewish family of Baba Levy, which causes the death of Marji's friend Neda Levy. She is an innocent victim of war and her death along with the death of Marji's classmate, Pardisse's father remain moments of senseless suffering in a work in which satiric laughter seems to dominate.

The memoirs do not provide a political analysis of the Iran Iraq war, but there are allusions to the culpability of European powers in their irresponsible sale of weapons to both countries. The Iranian hostage crisis is referred to parenthetically as is the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi army. Mahmood Mamdani has pointed out "The Iraqi war against Iran saw the first post-Vietnam use of chemical weapons in war, and America was the source of both the weapons and the training needed to use them"(122). These memoirs hint at the responsibility of global super powers and arms trade in propelling the war, but these threads are not explored sufficiently.

Although the geographic movement traced in the protagonist's journey is from post revolutionary Iran to Austria, followed by a return to Iran and a final departure for France, the choice of a European country is determined by the pragmatics of obtaining a visa rather than any particular emotional or cultural identification with Europe. It becomes virtually impossible to obtain a US visa after the hostage crisis mentioned in *Persepolis*. In both memoirs, the US is presented as a powerful entity in the imagination of the characters, as a space of freedom and pleasure with a faint acknowledgement of it as a geo-political entity that is implicated in the political ferment of modern Iranian history.

The yearning for Anglo-American culture is evident in Marji's obsession with punk rock, her defiance in seeking out contraband cassettes, and her parents' smuggling posters of Iron Maiden and Kim Wilde into Iran from their trip to Turkey at considerable risk to themselves. Are these acts of rebellion limited only to the western educated upper class Iranians? In a very revealing moment in the memoir, Marji's cousin Shabad reports the recruitment of village boys for the war effort. Shabad claims "They come from the poor areas, you can tell . . . first they convince them that the afterlife is even better than Disneyland, then they put them into a trance with all their songs" (*Persepolis* 101). This seems to suggest that Disneyland is an attractive place for young boys of the poorer strata of Iranian society. Thus the Islamic regime is selective in its rejection of capitalist modernity and will invoke it for its own purposes. Even if this is Shabad's own rhetorical retelling of the drafting techniques, there seems to be an implicit acknowledgement of the pervasive appeal of American popular culture.

Inverting the Colonial Gaze: Iranian Woman's Eyes on Europe

Satrapi's project in the graphic memoirs is to provide a counter-narrative about the status of Iranian women, a narrative which deconstructs mainstream media and even tendencies in western feminism that cast Iranian women and other groups of third world women as unmitigated victims. Chandra Talpade Mohanty has explored the binary between the west and the non-west in feminist scholarship in her essay "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." Mohanty analyzes the discursive production of the third world woman as "a singular and monolithic subject" (196) in feminist texts. Third world women are portrayed as a homogeneous category and posited as victims of particular institutions and systems. Mohanty argues that individual practices like veiling cannot be reduced to a pervasive sign of female oppression in Islamic societies; local contexts must be examined closely when evaluating any practice. Mohanty's critique is directed at hegemonic western feminism which seeks to "represent" the oppressions of third world women and thus unconsciously replicates its own privileged and normative position in a manner similar to hegemonic status of western humanism. Satrapi's unique contribution through her graphic memoir is to deconstruct the binaristic model by which the world is increasingly codified, the modern West and the backward East, particularly as these spaces structure and impact the lives of women. In mainstream media and popular perception, the US is seen as a space guaranteeing the rights of women and post revolutionary Iran a space where women's freedoms are severely restricted. Satrapi's memoir refuses to be "under western eyes," it refuses the familiar mode of being read as a text

about Iranian women's travails under the dreadful Islamic regime. One of the ways in which it enacts this refusal is by subverting the practice of the gaze which has been directed by western feminists towards third world women, proceeding instead to direct this gaze at the hegemonic west and the liberated western feminist as well.

John Berger in *Ways of Seeing* discusses the gaze with reference to Renaissance paintings and argues that a woman's gaze like her self is often split into two. She is schooled in the art of surveying herself and policing her own actions. Contrasting the male gaze with that of the female Berger writes, "Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at . . . The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object—and most particularly an object of vision: a sight"(47). Juxtaposing images of women from Renaissance paintings and girlie magazines, Berger traces a similarity in facial expression and reads both images as woman responding to an imagined male onlooker, "offering up her femininity as the surveyed" (55).

This objectification of women as a source of visual pleasure and power for the male onlooker is made even more complex in the context of western imperial conquest in the Islamic world. Two visual texts which embody Islamic women becoming available for the visual consumption of a western male gaze are the famous 1834 painting of Delacroix "Women of Algiers in Their Apartment," which becomes the title of Assia Djebar's collection of stories about Algerian women and the cover image of her book. The other example is *The Colonial Harem*, which is Malek Alloula's collection of postcards of Algerian women in various states of native dress and nudity, sent back to France by French colonialists in Algeria. Like the autobiographies of Islamic women, these visual texts form the cultural context for the writing and reception of the visual images of *Persepolis*, particularly images of the female body.¹

The question of the visual representation of Islamic women is intimately linked with the institution of veiling. Feminist scholars of Islam like Leila Ahmed and Fatima Mernissi have pointed out that there was no rigid prescription of the veil during the early history of Islam. The Prophet Muhammad's wives often led very active public lives and accompanied him as advisors on the battlefield. The veil, Mernissi points out, was instituted as a mechanism to separate the public and the private at a time when the wedding guests of the Prophet had overstayed their hospitality. But during the lifetime of the prophet it was never a rigid imposition. The practice of veiling became rigid and codified during subsequent periods of Islamic history. During the period of European colonization, the veil got fixed as a sign of Islamic oppression of women. The colonial conquest of territory became allegorically conflated with gaining access to the covered bodies and concealed lives of Islamic women. The veil got conflated as a sign of cultural backwardness of the Islamic and other eastern worlds. In the era of nationalist decolonization, secular nationalists in the Islamic world demanded the abandonment of the veil as a symbolic passage to modernity. The banning of the veil was particularly harsh in its enforcement in Iran, where in 1936 Reza Shah Pahlavi enforced a ban on the veil which was very traumatic for many Islamic women who had relied on it as a modicum of safety and comfort in their lives. Predictably the banning did not completely succeed and many Islamic women continued to wear some form of the veil. Farzaneh Milani in *Veils and Words: Emerging Voices of Iranian Women Writers* notes the dramatic passage of legislation banning the veil in 1936 and the equally

controversial re-imposition of the veil in 1983 after the Islamic Revolution. In both instances, women's protests against legislation affecting their bodies, identities, and relationships with public and private spaces were largely ignored. Mialni points to the arguments in favor and against veiling but ultimately gestures at its unstable status. She gestures at the problems inherent in the veil:

There is a paradox at the center of all these arguments: does the veil protect or entice? On the one hand, man is represented as a creature with gargantuan sexual appetites, unable to control himself, a potential threat to any woman who through displaying her body might provoke or arouse him . . . Yet it is the veil that entices one to imagine what it hides. It teases and torments some men and protects others from what they cannot see.” (39)

The titillating effect of the veil almost luring the voyeuristic gaze of the male viewer is particularly noticeable in the visual representations of Islamic women in the colonial era. It is no coincidence that Delacroix's painting coincides with the date of the French conquest of Algeria. Assia Djebar has pointed out that the representation of Algerian women in the harem in a state of leisure and dressed in opulent finery, smoking a hookah, casts the western male viewer as voyeur, violating the taboo of the veil and getting intimate access to sensuality and visual pleasure in the private sphere. The same dynamic of voyeurism is intensified in the postcards collected in *The Colonial Harem*, which includes images of Algerian women in semi nude poses, used to present and circulate an exoticized image of Algeria.

Inderpal Grewal in *Home and Harem* argues that the harem in Islamic societies and the *antahpur* in Hindu society functioned as a community of women, a space often of friendship and autonomy. However in the colonialist imagination all these forms of seclusion were constructed as a problem or as evil. According to Grewal “harem women in orientalist texts were seen as promiscuous, duplicitous, and often as lesbians, those in the Indian zenana were seen as passive and exploited as well as duplicitous” (51). Grewal interprets these discourses as ultimately restricting the relative autonomy of the harem, and the infiltration of colonial power into domestic spaces.

These images of the exoticized sensuality of women of the Islamic world perpetuated in the colonial era two contrasting ideas about women in the Islamic world. On the one hand, the veil represented theological oppression, denial of human rights of self-expression. On the other hand, images of unveiled women in the harem seemed to represent sensual excess and moral depravity which could be read as civilizational backwardness to justify the imposition and continuance of colonial rule.

It is against this background of the visual representation of Islamic women that Marjane Satrapi embarks on her quest to represent through the visual form of comics, women and men who have had a role in shaping her life. It is not surprising that there is no attempt in her drawings to highlight the feminine charms of her women. She refuses visual pleasure to an implied male reader/viewer by refusing a sexual or exotic presentation of women's bodies. This choice is also apparent in the stark black and white drawings of the memoir and the refusal of providing visual stimulation through the use of color.

Persepolis 2 is a more dramatic representation of an inter-cultural gaze. This memoir begins with Marji's arrival in Austria where her parents have sent her to escape the constricting life, loss of individual freedom, and the devastation of Iran's war with Iraq. Satrapi continually deconstructs the facile generalizations about western democracies being the most fertile grounds for the flowering of female subjectivity. Marji's experience in Austria is the very opposite of the model immigrant success narrative. Instead of being able to pursue her educational, artistic, and personal goals, Marji's life goes into a downward spiral once she is separated from the nurturing influences of her natal family. She experiences Austria as a place of profound alienation and personal failure. It is only by returning to Iran and reconnecting with her family that she is able to find her identity as an artist. In the realm of romantic relationships too, Satrapi undermines popular perceptions of greater equality among the sexes in intimate relationships in the western world. Satrapi's parents share a very equitable relationship through both the memoirs. In contrast, Markus, Marji's Austrian boyfriend is shown to be quite exploitative. Even though Marji's marriage to Reza, on her return to Iran, does not last, there is greater balance of power between them.

However at the convent where she resides at the beginning of her life in Austria, Marji encounters virulent racism and cultural stereotyping. She goes to watch television in the common lobby carrying her pot of spaghetti to eat while watching television. The nun in charge accuses her of a lack of manners and then goes on to generalize that "It is true what they say about Iranians. They have no education" (*Persepolis 2* 23). Unlike the male gaze of Delacroix's painting or the postcards of the *The Colonial Harem*, we see Marji being subjected to the gaze of the educated western woman. We can witness in this encounter the construction of what Chandra Mohanty had referred to as the monolithic third world woman. Marji's response defies any stereotype that her interlocutor might have been harboring about the docility and subservience of Iranian women to authority. Marji's retaliation is swift and brutal when she mimics the rhetoric of her attacker and says "It's true what they say about you too. You were all prostitutes before becoming nuns" (*Persepolis 2* 23). If the nun can casually devalue Marji's cultural heritage, she has no compunction in casting an insult on the principle of chastity that is one of the foundational values of a nun's life. If Mother Superior's gaze attempts to cast Marji as the unsophisticated, culturally backward other, Marji's reversal of that gaze is able to caricature the celibate nun as a former prostitute.

Although Satrapi refuses an erotic presentation of female bodies in her graphic memoirs, this attitude however is not concomitant with any kind of internally imposed censorship on the representation of the sexual aspects of Marji's identity. In fact, both the memoirs are imbued with an attitude of frankness and an acceptance of the sexuality of men and women. This sensibility is very much in contrast to the attitude of sexual titillation that has characterized the discourse of the harem.

Marji gets cast as the inadvertent voyeur of liberated western sexuality, when at a party at her friend's Julie's house she witnesses Julie and her lover being intimate on a couch on the living room where she had escaped to. We enter into this scenario through Marji's gaze. Instead of the colonizer's gaze at the hidden sensuality of the Eastern woman, the reader is gazing at the liberated sexuality of a young Austrian woman. The acceptance of late twentieth century pre-marital sex in western democracies is suddenly rendered unfamiliar and disturbing from the perspective of a young Iranian girl for whom pre-marital chastity

is a standard expectation. Julie's uninhibited sexuality and promiscuity only creates a sense of amazement in Marji. After the first shock of seeing a man's genitalia, Satrapi creates a panel which is a flashback to a childhood conversation between Marji and her father on the subject of testicles. Marji remembers her father's embarrassment and comparison of testicles to ping pong balls. In the next panel Julie discovers Marji laughing aloud on the couch and concludes erroneously that she is under the influence of marijuana. Marji's spontaneous laughter upon recalling the conversation with her father and Julie's laughter at the mistaken reading of Marji's laughter emphasize their mutual agencies and avoid fixing either of them into a relationship of object and voyeur.

Marji does become subjected to the relentless scrutiny of adolescents in her high school for whom she is all too marked by difference. Sitting behind a group of her schoolmates in the cafeteria, she overhears them talking about her. The form of the graphic novel that Scott McCloud describes as "sequential art" is particularly effective in this scene. We see a scowling faced Marji facing the reader while the speech balloon captures voices she is overhearing from the next table, voices which cruelly compare her face to that of a cow's. Like in the encounter with the nun, even in a moment of profound anxiety about herself, Marji does not tolerate insults. In the next panel we see an iconic representation of her face, just an outline of her profile with an exaggerated mouth proclaiming in bold and extremely large letters "I am Iranian and proud of it" (43).

Marji's whirlwind romance with Markus brings into an interesting intersection some of the cultural preconceptions and attitudes that are the historic legacy of the colonial encounters. By the time she meets Markus, Marji is beginning to feel extremely isolated in the social world of Austria, where she has lost the direct and intimate support of her parents and extended family. Moreover, she has already been subjected to vicious racist comments which have severely undermined her confidence in herself. She is also confronting adolescence with its dramatic physical changes in an atmosphere of no social and familial support. These conditions make Marji quite anxious about her femininity and desirability as there is no longer a comforting sense of acceptance and nurturing that her family had provided for her. Her adolescent interest in the opposite sex seeks a reciprocity of attraction and acceptance. However, her first encounters with Austrian boys are disappointing, one seeks out her company for possible help with his problems in mathematics and the other acknowledges himself to be a homosexual after his inability to feel aroused by Marji. When Marji encounters Markus she is delighted to find that he has a "normal" heterosexual interest in her, which at last alleviates her own uncertainties about her desirability. However, this relationship is fraught with difficulty not just because Marji's difficult social situation of living in exile and being completely without friends or familial support but also because the relationship has to encounter racially hostile attitudes directed towards it, due to the fact that the homogenous white Austrian society cannot easily accept the idea of inter-racial romance. Marji is subjected to the gaze of older Austrian women, Markus' mother and Frau Doctor Heller, her landlord, who are angry and discomfited by the idea of inter-racial dating. The final violent blow to the relationship is struck by Markus' unfaithfulness and Marji's discovery of it. This spirals into a period of profound depression, self-hatred, and alienation for Marji. In some of the most moving and dark scenes of the memoir, Marji becomes a homeless vagrant, riding in the labyrinth of the city tramway or foraging for food in garbage cans, till she ends up in the hospital after coughing

blood and passing out on the street.

This episode strips Marji of all the layers of social privilege that she had taken for granted and reduces the social and economic gap that separates her from illegal immigrants or refugees who struggle to survive in urban centers of Europe and North America. The experience also gives Marji clarity and insight about a relationship she had grown comfortable with. She realizes that Markus is initially attracted to her racial and ethnic difference, her “rebellious side” and her “natural nonchalance” (*Persepolis 2* 65). He encourages her to start visiting disreputable clubs to buy drugs for both of them. But Marji realizes in retrospect “This decadent side, which had so pleased him at first, ended up profoundly annoying him” (*Persepolis 2* 72). Markus is attracted by Marji’s exotic difference but ultimately expects her to conform to expectations of feminine docility and subservience which transcend boundaries of the east and the west. Gender inequality is still a reality in the post feminist west and this is revealed in the multiple ways that Markus exploits Marji, particularly his unscrupulous demands on the remittances sent by her parents. He does not have any moral qualms in being unfaithful and expects Marji to accept it quietly. The relationship reaches an unbridgeable impasse when Marji vociferously expresses her legitimate anger at his unfaithfulness.

Persepolis 2 invites a comparison between Marji’s first romance with Markus and her later relationship and marriage with Reza, upon her return to Iran. Contrary to notions of restricted individual choice in the sphere of romantic relationships, Marji’s romance with Reza begins and progresses on her own volition and faces very little mediation from her parents. When they first meet at a party they fascinate each other because each represents a sphere of experience that the other has not had access to. Reza has intimate knowledge of the war and Marji has the experience of living in a western democracy, an experience of escape and freedom that Reza longs for. While there is a definite element of affectation in their presentation of their personalities to each other, revealed in Marji’s reveries after their marriage, captured in panels representing two differing versions of herself. In one, she is wearing a dress, sporting a feminine hair style, rouged cheeks, donning a submissive smile. In the next panel depicting the woman Reza finds himself with, Satrapi draws herself in angular lines. She is wearing a shirt and pants and her hair style is shorter and cut straight in a page boy style. Her legs are no longer discreetly crossed but her knee covered by the trouser leg juts out. The sharp lines of her nose, the projecting knee, and the sullen expression make her look quite different from the girl in the previous panel. This visual contrast reinforces the notion of the limitations of the romantic perspective and how any perception is ultimately partial. Thus Marji and Reza begin their relationship with romanticized perceptions about each other. However, as their relationship evolves, we see them as companions, preparing for examinations and studying art at the university. Their relationship seems to be based on a principle of equality. During marriage negotiations, Marji’s father inserts her right to divorce in the marriage contract, anticipating their future incompatibility. Even when the marriage disintegrates they are able to collaborate on their final art project. Finally it is Marji’s grandmother who inspires her to seek a divorce when their mutual incompatibility is irreconcilable and Marji is unable to decide on a course of action.

The trajectory of Marji’s relationship with Reza dispels any facile notions of oppression that stereotypic perceptions of Iran may have generated. While it is true that the exceptionally progressive and tolerant

atmosphere of Marji's family cannot be taken as a given for all private homes in Iran, the fact that there exist female relatives of an earlier generation like the grandmother who value individual happiness over social expectations, gesture at indigenous resources and potentialities for the empowerment of women.

While Satrapi is committed to critiquing the excesses of Islamic religious orthodoxy in Iran, she is equally interested in revealing the limitations to their power and the constant challenges to their authority offered by ordinary Iranians. She is careful in *Persepolis* to reveal the protests of women like her mother to the rigid imposition of the veil. Marji's mother is active in demonstrations and resists wearing the veil till she is personally attacked and threatened to be raped. Even when the veil becomes an inescapable requirement of public dress, there are a myriad ways in which women defy the authority of the regime. The most common form of rebellion is the sly subversion of the veil itself. On the first page of *Persepolis* we see female children playing in Marji's school. Reducing the veil to a play object, some children jump rope with it, some use it as a piece of cloth that can be used as a headdress of a monster. In Marji's adolescence, subversion of the veil includes wearing the headscarf along with a denim jacket decorated by a Michael Jackson button (*Persepolis* 131). More serious and direct forms of confrontation with the regime include Marji's various encounters with figures of religious authority. On her return to Iran from Austria, she is not afraid to speak out and demand greater freedom for women. Her protest against the university dress code for women actually earns her a conference with the university's Islamic commission who eventually agree to let her design a uniform more comfortable for female art students. While Satrapi's memoirs draw attention to "the contrast between the official representation of my country and the real life of the people, the one that went on behind the walls" (*Persepolis* 2 150), the schizoid split of the private and the public reiterates the desire for change and the continuing demands for reform which Iranian women seek to negotiate with the Islamic regime. We are not given a picture of a static society but one in which women are active agents of political and social reform. Mahmood Mamdani has interpreted the rise of the Iranian feminist movement resulting in more liberal legislation for marriage and divorce, in recent years as the "emergence of an Islamic modernity, arising from processes within Islamic societies" (174) rather than being externally imposed. Satrapi's literary and artistic achievement lies in creatively challenging some familiar western stereotypes about Iran and mapping indigenous potentialities for change for women in Iran.

Notes:

¹ Hamid Dabashi refers to this collection of postcards and compares these images to the image of veiled girls reading on the cover of Nafisi's *Reading Lolita in Tehran*. He accuses the publishers of cropping the image and for removing the original context of the photograph which depicted young women reading a reformist paper during the 2000 election.

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The Holocaust World of Yechiel Fajner.

By Dvir Abramovich

The near destruction of European Jewry by Nazism is still at the forefront of

scholarly pursuit and has produced a remarkably diverse canon.¹ Yet, despite the critical spotlight cast about the Holocaust and its subsequent artistic representation, the powerful literary forays of Yechiel Fajner (Denur), who spent two years in the Nazi death camp of Auschwitz, and who is arguably one of the Holocaust's most significant chroniclers have been noticeably overlooked. Indeed, Omer Bartov has expressed dismay at the almost universal sidelining by critics of Denur's corpus and the author's relative obscurity outside Israel.² Leona Toker concurs with Bartov's assessment, noting that although Denur's books have been part of the curricula of the Israeli education system, and have been translated into many languages, "...academic criticism has not done well by him."³

Yechiel Denur was born Yechiel Fajner in Sosnovich, Poland on 16 May, 1909. For a while, his date of birth was erroneously given as 1917. His parents were Hassidic Jews, and he was one of three children. He studied at the renowned Talmudic Yeshiva in Lublin and later enrolled at Warsaw University. A gifted violin player, he began penning music and poetry in Yiddish at an early age, becoming well known within the Jewish community. His first collection of poems *Tsveiuntsvantsig: Lider* was published in Warsaw in 1931. It is noteworthy that after WWII, he burned copies of this book that he found in the Library of Congress in Washington and in his local library in Jerusalem. He claimed that this book "belonged to a world that no longer existed."⁴ He was captured by the Gestapo in 1943 and transferred to Auschwitz, where he spent the next two years until rescued by Soviet troops in February 1945 from a death march. His sister was earlier raped and murdered by the Nazis, along with his entire family and wife. He wandered throughout Europe following his liberation. Fortunately, he was hospitalised in a British army camp in Terra-Viso, Italy, by members of the Jewish Brigade, fighting alongside the allies. Once recovered, and after completing his first novel over a two and a half week period, he clandestinely entered Palestine. In 1947, he married Nina Asherman, who became his trusted translator. They had two children, Daniella, who he named after his twin sister, and Lior. He died of cancer in 2001, aged 92. He kept writing until his last days. According to his son, Denur asked that his death not be announced to the public. He left a list of people who were to be told.⁵

Denur's novels can be accurately described as profound fictionalised chronicles of hell, as stories related

by a man who was able to transmit the shattering truth without once lessening its true dimensions.⁶ Publishing under the pen name K.Zetnik 135633, Denur took the moniker from the German abbreviation KZ (Konzentrationslager) for concentration camp inmate, stating, “I must carry this name as long as the world will not awaken after the crucifying of the nation to erase this evil, as humanity has risen after the crucifixion of one man”⁷ He also observed, “It does not matter that I, Yechiel Denur, pass away. The most significant fact is that K. Zetnik will stay alive”.⁸ In his book *Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh* (1960) (Translated as *Star Eternal* 1967), the main protagonist vows that with “Your ashes which I embrace with my arms, I swear to be your voice...I will not stop to tell about you until my last breath.”⁹

To be sure, this pseudonym further reinforced the anonymity and seclusion the author chose to embrace for many years until his death in 2001, while at the same time ironically pointing up the obliteration of identity and individuality the Nazis sought to achieve.¹⁰ It is worthy of note that Denur wrote his first five books cloistered in an isolated cabin away from family and friends.¹¹ Besides the pseudonym, the fact that the author adopted the name ‘Denur’, which in Aramaic means ‘of ‘fire’ after settling in Palestine, clearly attests to the motif of transformation through the inferno that constituted a central pillar in his oeuvre.

In 1961, he was summoned, along with hundreds of other survivors, by state prosecutor Gideon Hausner to give evidence at the Eichmann trial. It was not surprising that Denur’s submergence within the reality of the Holocaust was so intense, so unforgettable, that upon seeing the face of the architect of the final solution in the glass booth, he fainted, overwhelmed by the blackening, nightmarish images of what he lived through. Before collapsing, this is how Denur described Auschwitz on the witness stand:

The time there is not a concept as it is here in our planet. Every fraction of a second passed there was at a different rate of time. And the inhabitants of that planet had no names. They had no parents, and they had no children. They were not clothed as we are clothed here. They were not born there and they did not conceive there. They breathed and lived according to different laws of nature. They did not live according to the laws of this world of ours, and they did not die...¹²

The strong emphasis on authenticity and naturalism is evinced and underlined by Denur’s own commentary on his role: “It was not a pen name. I do not regard myself as a writer and a composer of literary material. This is a chronicle of the planet of Auschwitz.”¹³ In essence, the thematic quilt of his sextet of novels titled *Salamnder: A Chronicle of a Jewish Family in the Twentieth Century* shimmers with a rasping objectivity that primarily dwells on the complete brutality and physical torture perpetrated upon the prisoners, the sexual exploitation and the total dehumanisation that was carved into the charred soul of the Jews. Accordingly, in *Salamandra* (1946) (translated as *Sunrise over Hell* (1977) *Qaru Lo Piepel* (1961) (Translated as *Atrocity* (1961) *Bet Habubot* (Translated as *House of Dolls* (1955) *Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh* (1960) (Translated as *Star Eternal* 1967), amongst others, the absurd and insane universe of the *Shoah* is spotlighted through the figure of Harry Preselshnik, who as the author’s alter ego, witnesses and reports on the ugliness and misery embodied in the surreal and at times, supernatural, reality of Auschwitz. Concomitantly, the prose is often deliriously frenzied, slipping into over the top stylised

kitsch and sadism.¹⁴

Unable to exorcise the demons of the past, the former inmate, numbed and tormented by post-traumatic syndrome, was haunted and besieged by the burden of memory that he considered all his pre-war output and life as non-existent. As a matter of fact, he retrieved several of his early works from the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the Hebrew University Library and subsequently tore them to shreds.¹⁵ It has been noted that whilst in the nascent days of Israeli statehood, the author's books were treated as pornography by its teenage readers who were titillated by the remarkably explicit portrayals of sexual abuse, his corpus is now studied in Israeli high- schools and by IDF soldiers.¹⁶ It is of particular salience that the inclusion of his writing in the educational syllabus, flowed from the writer's particular wish that his royalties be directed to funding the teaching of the Holocaust, reflecting his deep concern that memory of the event be preserved. Incredulously, despite the hobbling, unyielding evil he saw, Denur's vision of life was not entirely that of a broken man. Rather, in his later novels, such as *Phoenix over the Galilee* (1966) for instance, he conveyed the message of universal peace and encouraged common dialogue and understanding between the warring Jews and Arabs.

After escaping from the death marches in 1945, K. Tzetnik, then known as Yechiel Fajner, was taken to a hospital in Italy to recover. Compelled to record the unspeakable brutalities of his tormentors and fearing he may not live for long, he feverishly wrote *Salamandra* over two and a half weeks.¹⁷ Close to the bone and swathed in scenes of devastating violence, the work is painful to read. Yet, in rendering the seemingly unreal, it is a blow to the solar plexus of indifference, for it leads one to ponder the palpable, unforgettable sorrow of the victims and prevents a turning away from the distressing and confronting material. It's noteworthy that the horrendous images presented in the book, one of the first published on the subject-matter, led one Israeli soldier, writing to his girlfriend from the front in 1947, to explain that after reading K. Tzetnik he has decided to train as hard as he could and become strong so as to ensure that such a thing as the Holocaust never happens again. And commenting on the novel's lingering effect, Gershon Shoffman, one of Israel's finest wordsmiths, similarly opined: "The book overpowers all others not only in its insights and vision, but also in the naked facts...the author forces on you the feeling of death with a mighty hand, so after reading you feel as if you were also there, really there, and now you are one of the miraculous survivors."¹⁸

At the outset, it is important to explicate the meaning of the original title, as it underpins the thematic matrix upon which most of the author's concerns can be mapped out. According to Hebrew lore, the *Salamandra* is a phantasmagorical animal that emerges from a fire that was burning in one place for seven years.¹⁹ In essence, it denotes a being that has been born of fire and out of destruction, whose threads to the past have been bluntly severed and whose entire being has been crafted out of the flames (it is interesting to observe that in Israel K. Tzetnik changed his family name to Denur, meaning "of the fire").²⁰ During therapy, K.Zetnik revealed to his doctor that on the way to the crematoria he hid in a barrel of coal, and that it was out of that barrel that he was born, "as a child coming out of the womb of his mother, from the darkness to the light of the world."²¹

More broadly, it is this central trope that frames the dramatic backbone of the author's sextet of novels. Like the *Salamandra*, some of the heroes who populate K. Tzetnik's literary landscape have survived the total mayhem of camp life but have come through spiritually and physically demolished, re-created from the maelstrom of anarchy into another person. On another level, it has been suggested that since the cycle of six novels is entitled *Salamander*, the ur-message knotted throughout is that without those individual *Salamanders*, those brave souls who preserved and endured the mind numbing assault, the truth would not have been transmitted to future generations.²²

Cut from a cloth splashed in blood, the nucleus narrative of *Salamandra* takes place in the Ghetto and Auschwitz and tells the story of Harry Preselshnik, the author's alter ego (this fact is undisputed- in the book, Harry is given the same inmate number that the author adopted for his pseudonym, 135633).

The time is just before the war. The place is Poland. Watching with dismay the surfacing of rampant anti-Semitism, the talented and brilliant musician senses the looming danger about to engulf Polish Jewry. For instance, walking home with his fiancée Sonia, he notices a neon sign on the main street that declaims that, "whoever buys from a Jew is a traitor."²³ Earlier, he hears the account of an esteemed Professor of maths, who is attacked by a gang of students that beats him and paints on his coat, "Leperous Jew."²⁴ In response, Harry decides to immigrate to Palestine, where his future father in law, Schmidt, has settled. However, when the elderly industrialist hears of Harry's plans, he informs him through a letter, that better he drown his daughter in the sea than bring her to the inhospitable land. Reluctantly, the Zionist Harry agrees.

Appositely, K. Tzetnik deftly shades in the prevailing mood among the Jewish community, using a gaggle of characters drawn from the arts and business, with each persona an archetypal representation of the various societal postures that existed at the time. We should not forget that since K. Tzetnik was armed with first hand knowledge, he was able to deftly proffer a historical portraiture interwoven with the personal tale of Sonia and Harry that is mesmerising in its eye for details and breadth of realism.

A few days later, the narrative surges headlong into the world of the irrational and the grotesque as the Germans invade Metropoli, rounding up Jews in the street, burning books and prayer shawls and throwing into the fire beards that have been torn off the men's faces. Before long, the Jewish councils are established followed by the establishment of the Ghetto. The author shows the wretched, imprisoned existence of slavery, humiliation and public executions in the Ghetto as well as the extreme starvation in the work camp to which Harry is transferred. Arriving at a labour camp in Germany Harry is struck by the thousands of bony men, head shaven and protruding jawbones greeting the newcomers with a plea for bread. In a telling moment, Harry tells himself that he is in another world. Later, the staggering, wrenching horror wrought by the Shoah is emblemised in a scene that involves Harry discovering the carcass of a friend next to the camp clinic. In the dead man's face, Harry sees the true image of God, and touching its head, he touches the head of the twentieth century. Such sentiments haunt Denur's pages, most notably the silence of heaven and the collapse of faith. The belief in the divine is ceaselessly shaken in view of the mountains of ritual prayer objects, the cutting of beards and forelocks and the liquidation of pious Jews. An inmate whose

entire family has been transported to the killing centres looks up at the sky and asks, “And for this I glorified and sang your name on this earth?”²⁵ And when Harry picks up a body and carries it to the mound of corpses, he turns it upside down since, “The heavens are not worthy of seeing the image and character of this Musselman.”²⁶ In other words, a God that has allowed a Jew to reach such severe emaciation and fate is not entitled to see the individual’s face.

Ultimately, Harry is transported to Auschwitz without Sonia, where he is assigned the duty of removing the gold teeth from the mouths of the charred corpses. The arrival at Auschwitz signifies the end of the journey and of life, “The train enters the new planet. The doors slide and the masses fall out the freight cars to large yard.” At one point, a prisoner asks if there is a life in Auschwitz, to which another responds, “Whoever wants to survive here, must kill another.”²⁷

In addition to the daily savagery, there are also the *Musselman*, those emaciated, half dead prisoners, who are the touchstone, the reflexive marker for the unsettling dehumanisation of Auschwitz. Unable to eat or feel hunger, the *Musselman* eject any food that they ingest because of their ravaged intestine and are immediately dispatched to the gas chambers once identified by the camp doctor. Unsurprisingly, at one point Harry is reduced to the state of the *Musselman*, joining the row of the totally skeletonised group marching towards to the crematorium. Yet he is able to draw on his last nugget of internal strength and attempt escape. And although captured, the S.S men, impressed by his daring act, decide to spare him immediate eradication and send him back to work.

The book lays particular emphasis on the notion of love, glaringly absent among the chimneys of Auschwitz, through the Harry and Sonia dyad. Against incredible odds, the couple manages to remain devoted to each other, in spite of the fact they are separated and can only communicate through a fragmented exchange of letters. It is fairly evident that Sonia carries a deep sense of guilt for listening to her father and not leaving for Israel and it is this feeling that guides her actions. To be sure, she sees herself responsible for the fate that befalls Harry. As the story develops, Sonia saves Harry from a certain death by storming into a government office demanding his release out of a labour camp and Harry refuses a friend’s offer to smuggle him out of the country, opting instead to remain with Sonia.

Significantly, in complete opposition to the stereotypically erroneous image of the Diaspora Jew held by many Israelis in the 50s, the author repeatedly overscores Sonia’s heroism, painting her as the exemplar of the proud Jew, suffused with pride and dignity, constantly on the guard for her loved ones and unwilling to bend to the Nazi rule. In fact, she is the one who fights in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and later joins the partisans. Indeed, throughout the book, her fierce determination to fight rather than surrender is on display front and centre. For instance, she tells Rabbi Fromkin who opposes armed resistance, that while he has chosen for himself and disciples a shameful death, she and her comrades are sanctifying the name of Israel and that they are the ones acting in accordance with the Law of Israel and the name of God. Lamentably, Sonia is ultimately trapped by a Gestapo operative after boarding a train destined for Auschwitz that she believes is headed for Switzerland. Thrust into the belly of the beast Sonia quickly becomes a *Musselman* and is discovered by Harry who recognises his wife’s corpse by the mole on her

cheek. Given her construction as a woman of valour, and the fact that throughout the tale she is adumbrated as a woman of action, who is able to elude the Nazis time and again, and who defies her inevitable fate with all the cunning she can muster, Sonia's death is all the more shocking because of the state she is found in and the fact that it is the gentle, passive Harry who endures. Above all, Harry survives the annihilating smokestacks so he can testify to the truth and tell of the calamity to those who were not there. It is only then that we can truly and tangibly incubate the dead in our memory and in our soul.

In his book *The Seventh Million* Tom Segev writes: "I was a boy when I first read *Qaru Lo Piepel* (the original Hebrew title of *Atrocity*). I have never read anything about the Holocaust that so disturbed me."²⁸ More striking is Haim Shorer's 1961 plea to Gideon Hausner, the state prosecutor in the Eichmann Trial:

Leave aside your concluding speech and take K. Tzetnik's latest book *Piepel* and read it out loud to the court and its listeners and don't stop...Read in a loud voice and we will listen and cry for two-three days and nights. All of us, all of Israel, we will cry and wail without end; perhaps we could wipe away with the sea of tears the great horror, whose depth we yet not know. We will cry until we faint with our dear K. Tzetnik, with his pure and holy book.²⁹

Likewise, the book's English version contained on its jacket a quote from a reviewer, who noted that, "The author regards himself as the keeper of a chronicle. Indeed, the essential importance of the book is its documentary side second to which is its literary rendering. It is the very documentation which I see as a major literary achievement."³⁰

A layered mosaic of unimaginable, inconceivably traumatic vignettes, the main subject of *Qaru Lo Piepel* is the sexual exploitation of children in the camps. The nub of the narrative follows Moni, the seven-year boy who is forced to become a child prostitute, a *Piepel*, to serve the needs of the older guards and section orderlies. First appearing in *The House of Dolls*, the naïf, tender and refined child, modelled after the authors' own brother, arrives at Auschwitz and is immediately noticed by Block ruler Franzel because of his tempting, gentle eyes. Traversing familiar territory, K. Tzetnik manages to brilliantly transcribe, from the perspective of a youthful hero, the horrifying crimes committed against children in the Holocaust and to embed the story's fabric with illuminating insights about the torture and destruction of innocent lives.

At its epicentre, the book is a rites of passage tale, unfolding in an insane universe where cruelty and subjugation go hand in hand. Further, the story is also about the struggle of children to grasp the intolerable reality they are thrust into and to behave heroically in a corrupt, abnormal world. In many respects, *Atrocity*'s keynote theme is Moni's attempt to preserve his sanity and integrity even as he is ceaselessly preyed upon by the vicious, evil men of the block.³¹

Looming large among the pages of *Atrocity* are consuming images of the sadistic debasement of human life that chillingly flash throughout. In one disturbing passage, Fruchtenbaum, a Jew and scion to a Zionist family who was once a *Piepel* and now runs one of the blocks, hacks to death a fellow Jew for recognizing him and reminding him of his suppressed heritage. Repeatedly, K. Tzetnik hammers home the idea

that perversity and murder were polymorphous in the Nazi phenomenon. Furthermore, he stresses that the camp inmates, with their abject existence, would do anything to survive, even if it involves violence against their brethren. Clearly, it underscores K. Tzetnik's core tenor- that Auschwitz was a planet separate from the rest of the world, a place where one must not be good, where one must reverse traditional morality and act with total callousness. The survival instinct looms large. In a terrifying catalogue of scenes a Nazi officer chokes a young boy to death after his rape; an old *Piepel* is seesawed from side to side with a cane laid across his neck; a cellblock master smothers one his captives by pushing his head into the latrine hole; an adolescent is punished with death for stealing jam for the Rabbi who yearns for the sweet taste.

In common with K. Tzetnik's other texts, the *Mussulmen* once again comprise a central part of the symbology of depravity and expunction of life. The *Mussulmen* relate to one of the operating themes in the author's works, namely that of re-creation, or miscreation, as Howard Needler puts it.³² In k. Tsetnik, we are presented with the deformed creation of man in the form of the *Mussulman*, the walking dead, whose very existence symbolises a reversal of the vision described in Genesis. Needler observes that, "Instead of being in the 'image of God', we have a creature from whom the image of man has been all but effaced."³³ The *Mussulman*, sardonically and grotesquely labelled by the author as "the flower of the twentieth century" are the result of Nazi transmutation.

At one point, Moni, escaping the unprecedented savagery of Robert, seeks shelter among the *Mussulmen* and is hardly noticed by the men who have had any trace of life snuffed out by the debauchery of their enslavers. Notably, the *Mussulmen* are entrusted with safeguarding the food rations for it is known that their desire to eat has dissipated and that they no longer possess any consciousness of their surrounding. Above all, the blank, hollowed out, spiritually emaciated corpses, slowly crawling towards their liberating death, personify the surreal and subhuman depths a person can be reduced to.

As to be expected, Moni's odyssey into the netherworld is graphically charted, emphasising his inability to shake off the 'fetters' of his Judaic past. Doubtless, Moni is acutely aware of the fate that awaits him if he allows those values to surface, as they are in direct opposition to the demands of Robert, the block chief. For instance, Moni refuses to eat, though he has access to all the food he craves and though he knows that these acts will surely lead to death for his tormentors like their sexual objects to be of supple and round flesh. Inevitably, the sensitive young protagonist, who longs for his parents, grows too thin to continue his function as a *Piepel* and is replaced by Lolek. Still, he cannot hate his substitute, because he believes that Lolek, just like him, yearns to see his mother who is interned at the women's camp. Indeed, despite the relentless suffering and pervasive anguish around him, Moni never loses his humanity. We reflect, for instance, that he embraces the Talmudic teachings of The Rabbi of Shilov, who through his Yom Kippur prayer and mere presence in the camp, is able to infuse Moni's wretched existence with a modicum of meaning and hope.

In the end, after stealing a turnip and receiving a ruthless beating for his 'sin', Moni finds release when he valiantly attempts to escape by lunging at the barbed wire. Significantly, his brave, life-affirming act elicits unexpected praise from Robert and Vatzek, a German Kapo, who recognise his courageous refusal

to succumb to the impending death from starvation that awaits the others. Perhaps the deepest message of the book is that it is only in the world of Auschwitz, where all values had been so overtly inverted, where all moral prescriptions were eclipsed by ritualised monstrosity, where the usual distinctions between right and wrong vanished, that the death of a little boy is preferable to life.

Gershon Shoffman, one of Israel's pre-eminent authors once wrote that K. Tzetnik's *Beit Habubot* (*House of Dolls* 1953) is a holy book.³⁴ Certainly the most famous and widely read of his novels, *Beit Habubot* centres on a young Jewish girl, Daniella Prelesnik – in reality the writer's own sister. Three days before the outbreak of the war, the fourteen year old is captured in Poland while on an end of a school year trip and transferred to a Nazi woman's camp, the ironically named 'Camp Labor Via Joy', where she is forced to become a prostitute for the German soldiers. Formally, the plot is 'based' on the notebook kept by Daniella.

Told in flashback, the narrator is Harry, Daniella's brother, who is assigned to the sick bay, though he had never graduated medical school and although there are no medicines, no beds, no instruments, and most importantly, no patients. Instead, he is charged with overseeing the burial of the piles of Jewish bodies, all the while struggling not to surrender to the impending debasement of life that turns those interned into *Mussulman* or shadow men. These are the deformed, crippled, near dead human skeleton, who are the embodiment of human misery and lost hope. Over the course of the novel, Harry loses all those who are close to him, including his friend Tedek, once a member of the Ghetto resistance who is now enamoured with Daniella.

As the girls enter the camp and are directed to their division, they are at first sterilised and then indicted into the abhorrent master-slave relationship of the 'House of Dolls' for which they are simply not prepared. The extreme sexual abuse and their treatment as mere objects in this brothel limpidly illustrates the familiar trope of K. Tzetnik's series of novels – the Holocaust as the most horrifying, obscene and unique of modern situations.³⁵ We learn, for instance, that the 'dolls' must be in perfect physical condition for the visiting soldiers, en route to the Russian front or those coming from the transit terminus, who stop by to prey upon the weak and vulnerable Jewesses. In addition, the discovery of any venereal infection means immediate doom, for any damage results in transportation to the ovens. Worse, if the concentration camp guards or other 'German warriors' leave unsatisfied with their entertainment, they only need to convey their displeasure and report the number tattooed on the girl's breast. In the event that three such complaints are recorded, death is instant. Over and over, the tale is intent on exceedingly reinforcing and reminding us that within the framework of the barracks, every act leads to the distortion and the elimination of life. To take but one example. When the new girls arrive, the veterans know that soon a selection will follow to replace those whose bodies have deteriorated. In effect, the newcomers are their executioners.

In a similar vein, we read that every girl must smile to show her appreciation of the pervasive cruelty meted out day and night, knowing that her life depends on seeming happy and content for the 'guests'. One could venture the observation that in portraying such events and situations, there exists the risk of triviality and objectionable eroticism, of seducing the reader to voyeuristically participate in the sexual

victimisation presented, rather than focus on the horror perpetrated.

Still, it is equally clear that on a different reading, the text does gravitate to that other central theme hovering above – the strength of the women-victims to spiritually survive the gory dehumanisation of the Nazis in spite of the beatings and rape. In fact, there are various instances of the will to live and preserve one's sanity and dignity that can be found among the pages of the book. One is the tale of Tzevia, an orthodox girl from the seminary of *Beit Ya'acov* who purposefully and stubbornly refuses to acquiesce to her tormentors' advances, though she knows the result of such repudiation. And thus, inevitably, Tzevia is bludgeoned to her death, standing naked in the execution arena, defiant and strong, admirably victorious in keeping her chasteness and virtue whole. Another striking case in point is Daniella, who keeps her head up and who against the odds upholds her moral integrity. As the novel draws to a close, the heroine seeks to escape her dreaded existence by saunters towards the barbed wire fence. Not surprisingly, she is shot by an S.S sentry who knows he will be rewarded with three days leave for ending her bid for freedom. Following the murder, he bursts out singing, intoxicated with euphoria since he knows that tomorrow he's going to his family, to his only daughter whom he so misses.

Doubtless, the dark, violent barbarism of the German officers knows no bounds. A panoply of abominations abound. Elsewhere, the same sentry clobbers Tzevia's sister Hanna to death, in a methodical, gut wrenching display. To the pious woman's shouts of 'God all mighty, save me,' he responds with well-directed and vicious blows to her head, legs, arms and ankles, watching calmly as she writhes in pain, plunges her teeth into the ground and tears her hair out. Afterwards, he coolly rests to devour his sandwich. And then there are the medical experiments conducted by the German professor on the girls, including artificial inseminations, tests on twins, coerced abortions and castrations or the raw cruelty of Elsa, the brothel overseer.

Significantly, Daniella's family photographs, the only means she has to recreate the safe childhood she once took pleasure in, to which she clings to, are destroyed upon her entering the camp, foregrounding the callousness of the Nazis and their desire to denude the prisoners of any emotional ties to their former life. Not surprisingly they succeed in obliterating every remnant of the past. Early on, it is revealed that old photographs fall lifeless to the floor of the cutting room where the young women work, ripping the seams of the garments taken from the victims in search of anything hidden. The scattered pictures, some of brides and grooms, some of babies in their cribs, are stepped on and swept by 'Rivka into the rubbish heap.

And while the narrative limns in graphic detail Daniella's, Harry's and the other inmates' ordeals and sexual exploitation, K. Tzetnik ensures that the teenager's memories of family love and tradition engraved deeply in her psyche, are not erased. To wit, as a counterpoint, the author undercuts his sequences of sheer Dantean hell with the quotidian innocence and loyalty that guyed Daniella and her brother Moni's life before the war in the town of Kongressia. Among other things, this serves to further underscore the nauseating degradation they are subjected to and to emphasise the two realities, each as stridently polar as the other. Compositionally, K. Tzetnik employs the device of flashback to paint life in the ghetto as well as the mass deportations, eerily shading in the pitiful images and mood of the destitute and condemned

residents, sent by the Judenrat councillors, who favour the rich over the poor in their selection of the daily quota. It is also abundantly evident that the rabid anti-Semitism not only emanates from the Nazis, but also from the Polish peasants and partisans. At one point, Daniella, fleeing from a carnage of her school friends in the Yablova market, pleads with a Polish farmer to take her in, but is told to get out. And in the same breath, she kisses the hands of the farmer's daughter, hoping she can convince her father to have mercy on the little Jewess begging for help, but to no avail.

Through the succession of vignettes padded with interior monologues, K. Tzetnik pulls the reader into Daniella's world, dramatising and compounding the sadism to which the protagonist must adapt, but ultimately cannot. Interestingly, the scenes of battery and psychical defilements are inscribed in a non-judgmental, neutral manner, perhaps as a tacit acknowledgment that what is being chronicled is at the peak of the objective mode since the satanic acts speak volumes and do not require a braiding of the subjective.

In different ways, K. Tzetnik's *Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh* (1960) (Translated as *Star Eternal* 1971) is a remarkable, seminal achievement in the Holocaust canon. At once a disturbing and edifying work, it depicts in vivid, yet simple and direct detail, the unspeakable horrors of concentration camp existence, functioning as a summum of K. Tzetnik's thematic template. Above all, it describes the gruesome events of the 'final solution' in a pared down, staccato style and language that tangibly pierces the impenetrable thick wall erected by readers that often prevents any cognitive or emotional engagement. Put simply, it arouses and extracts a deep chill of empathy and shock from the spectator and in the process opens a window for the young generation so as to allow it to connect with the world over there.

Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh possesses a mimetic surface clarity, severely filleted, that is aided and abetted by the brevity of the basic Hebrew, pruned of metaphor and hyperbole. Laconic, trimmed and controlled, its effect is so natural that the bewildered reader is increasingly unaware how much detail is being described. For example, a scene that conveys the twisted reality that day begins at night in the death camp is typically compressed, "A march of naked bodies into the night. The silence of midnight in Auschwitz."³⁶ In a similar vein, when Harry attempts to verbalise his torment at Auschwitz he plainly remarks, "Human language came to an end."³⁷ Elsewhere, forcible labour is thus limned, "With every plunge of your hoe you bury the sun."³⁸ Admittedly, the conflation of razor sharp sentences with fragmented descriptions underscores the author's desire to reflect the crushed, disjointed reality that is outside any normative framework and does not fit into any logical, coherent mould. Likewise, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the message foisted upon the audience is that here is a perverted reality, stripped bare of the conventional constituents of time and space. Originally published in Hebrew under the title *The Clock*, it is small wonder that the central operating motif that informs the narrative is that of 'time' and more specifically the parallel time frames of normal Europe, where people live a typical, ordinary life and 'Planet Auschwitz', where Jews suffer terror and inhumanity. In construction, the book is made up of a series of jarring, loosely coupled episodes, which the author terms as 'stages'. Each chapter is self contained, encasing within its midst a separate title and storyline, and pivots around disparate threads of camp living, leavened, for the most part, by a welter of jolts, gnomic words and twists.

Bookended by a prologue and an epilogue, *Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh* begins in the narrator's eerily quiet street, bathed in the searing heat of the sun and featuring a boulevard of display windows. The author adumbrates the tranquillity of the place, heightened by snippets of banality peppered throughout the opening pages, and then quickly dismantles it when the intensity of the date is revealed: September 9, 1939, the day when Hitler's army marched in Poland, marking the start of the Second World War. It is then, as one critic asserted, that humanity's cultural clock reverts to zero, when the sand hour suddenly trickles to a different, one is tempted to say, an otherworldly beat. Even more starkly, the city's electric clock is in synchronicity with the unfolding of events- its hands rest on 9 am. And thus, we have an application of a direct and realistic portraiture, devoted to the profound and sober chronicling of a specific place and time, setting down a visage of the 'other planet', to borrow from K. Tzetnik once more, in precise detail and lineament.

After the hero, Ferber, is taken to Auschwitz, the narrative lens zero in on this world with uncompromising eyes, capturing with perfectly modulated metrics the indigestible tableau, images of annihilation and the doing of evil that defies description. With a raw filmic gaze, the author, possessing such a strong grip on his material, leads the reader into the vertex of Auschwitz, into the black hole, condensing into a few passages the feeling of omnipresent death. As the narrative is written in the second person, the reader is addressed openly and is thus positioned to see the inmate's world and co-opted into participating in an experience from which, by reason of distance, he was explicitly excluded. In other words, the reader is interpellated to adopt and comply with mood, vulnerability and torment which the shaping of the plot seeks to present.

There are moments of uninhibited infernal magnitude. In one episode, we step into the 'showers', surrounded by the bony, living dead and stare into the sprinklers above our head in anticipation for the stream of Zyklon B to spurt blue gas into our lungs. In another, we join the column of men the author names *Musselman*, the nearly dead skeletons, standing crowded among the block walls, trembling in fear of the camp commander who may arbitrarily sentence any one to death. And in yet another, the reader shudders as he joins the roll call of prisoners "Bones butting against bones" lined straight for selection to the crematorium, hoping against hope that they will be overlooked. If anything, the unflagging pace, the leaping from one visceral episode of agonizing torture to another, the repeated catalogue of atrocities presented in explicit specificity is all chokingly disturbing. One need only consider a sequence where a group launches at the ground to lick the remains of some spilled soup, ones' teeth biting into the other, to understand the reduction of the human condition to its most basic level.

There are many other such incidents that dapple the book. A man is set to be beaten to death for attempting to obtain another plate of soup or because he urinated during a curfew and then is mercilessly killed; a row of musicians, made up of Europe's most talented and gifted, accompanying those sentenced into the chambers, playing in thunderous tones so as to silence the wailing of those who cannot bear their fate; a Jew digs with his own hands a mass grave for his brethren about to be shot.

And still, in the midst of the machinery of death, a note of optimism for the future can be drawn from a striking theological conversation between Ferber and the Rabbi of Shiley, titled 'The Last debate'. At one

point, Ferber ponders the question of the Jewish people's destiny, asking the Rabbi why God has deserted his children and delivered them to the hands of the beast. In response, the Rabbi states that out of the ruins and ashes of the night, the nation of Israel will rise in the Promised Land with its eternal star brightly shining. On the face of it, false hope. Yet, for our hero, a nourishing vision.

At the novel's conclusion, when the main protagonist returns from Auschwitz to his hometown Metropoli, the same clock has not stood still but is still running, only this time it a changed world that he encounters. A compendium of the devastating effects of the camp is supplied in the text's concluding lines. Here, Ferber pleads that one hair of his sister's golden locks be returned, along with one of his father's shoes, one wheel of his brother's bicycle and one speck from his mother's back.

Time and again, Denur's confronting novels, which were some of the first to tackle the descent into 'Planet Auschwitz', as he called it, present and bear witness to the years he and his fellow captives endured, singularly focused on the gleaming monstrosity of the German guards.³⁹ Gripped mercilessly by his concentrationary experience, Denur had said that his inability to unearth the right registers and words to document the past resulted in exhaustion and breakdown. For the most part, Denur's semi-autobiographical novels are graphically disturbing confessional pieces that allow the stunned reader an unmediated and acutely faithful glimpse into the eye of the storm, into the irrational nature of evil that shaped the author's life forever. Infused with a narratorial and stylistic obsession for outlining the violence, perversion and bestiality of the Nazi criminals writ large, fuelled by an abrasive reverence for an exact transcription of the abominable, the painful episodes are informed by the despair attendant to daily life in the camps. Also echoed throughout the books are the raging insanity of evil and the fevered attempt to maintain, among the fire of the ovens, one's dimming humanity and compassion.⁴⁰ Remarkably, despite the geysers of cruelty and pain that he witnessed, the hard lesson that Denur carried with him from Auschwitz, was not hate or cynicism, but a, "positive and universal one concerning tolerance for the stranger in a strange land...a passionate belief in the need to work for mutual understanding between Jew and Arab in the shared homeland."⁴¹

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¹ See: Saul Friedlander. (ed.) *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992; Geoffrey H, Hartman. (ed.) *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994, David Hirsch. *The Destruction of Literature: Criticism after Auschwitz*. Hanover, N.H: University Press of New England, 1991; Dominic LaCapra. *Representing the Holocaust*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994; Berel Lang. *Act And Idea In The Nazi Genocide*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990; Lawrence Langer. *The holocaust and the literary imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

² Omer Bartov. *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press: p. 189.

³ Leon Toker. "Truth and testimony," *Haaretz*. March 26, 2003.

⁴ Noah Kliger. "Haish Mi-kokav Haefer," *Yediot Ahronot*. July 23, 2001.

⁵ Tom Segev. "Met hasofer Yechiel Denur, aval K.Zetnik yichye la-netzach," *Haaretz*. 18 July, 2001.

⁶ See: Tom Segev. The code of Ka. Tzetnik," *Koteret Rashit*. 27, May 1987: -. 11. See also Yechiel Szeintuch. "Discerning key terms in the Writings of K.Zetnik" *Hulyot: Studies in Yiddish Literature and its links with Hebrew literature*. Vol 5, (1999): 275-290.

⁷ <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/e/eichmann-adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-068-01.html>

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¹² <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/e/eichmann-adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-068-01.html>

¹³ <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/e/eichmann-adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-068-01.html>

¹⁴ Bartov, p. 188.

¹⁵ Segev, *The Seventh Million*. P. 4.

¹⁶ Bartov, 189.

¹⁷ Segev, *The Seventh Million*. P. 4.

¹⁸ Gershon Shoffman. *The complete writings of G. Shoffman*. V (4) Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1962.

¹⁹ Sheintuch, 126.

²⁰ Yechiel Szeintuch. *K.Zetnik 135633: A Series of Dialogues with Yechiel De-Nur*. Jerusalem: Beit Lochamei Hagetaot/Dov Sadan Institute.

²¹ K. Zetnik. *Hatzofen*. Tel Aviv: Hakibutz Hameuchad, 1987: 73.

- ²² Moredechai Ovadyahu. "The other planet of K.Tzetnik," in *The Storm and the Silence: Characters in our new literature*. Tel Aviv: Alef, 1976.
- ²³ K. Tzetnik. *Salamandra*. Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1946: p. 25.
- ²⁴ K. Tzetnik. *Salamandra*. p. 20.
- ²⁵ K. Tzetnik. *Salamandra*. p. 122.
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- ²⁷ K. Tzetnik. *Salamandra*. P. 142.
- ²⁸ Tom Segev. *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and The Holocaust*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993: p. 5
- ²⁹ Haim Shorer. "To the prosecutor in the Eichmann Trial: about a terrible and holy book," *Davar* June 1961: p. 21
- ³⁰ Quoted in Alan J. Yuter, *The Holocaust in Hebrew Literature: From Genocide to Rebirth* (New York and Port Washington: Associated Faculty Press, 1983)
- ³¹ Tzvika Dror. "K.Tzetnik's literary and documentary corpus," *Davar* April 20, 1990: p. 12
- ³² Howard Needler, *Red Fire Upon Black Fire: Hebrew in the Holocaust Novels of K. Tsetnik*. P. 241-242.
- ³³ Needler, p. 241.
- ³⁴ Gershon Shoffman. *The complete writings of G. Shoffman*. V (4) Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1962.
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- ³⁶ K. Tzetnik. *Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh* Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1960: p. 34.
- ³⁷ K. Tzetnik. *Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh*: p. 35
- ³⁸ K. Tzetnik. *Ha-Shaon Asher Me'al Ha-Rosh*: p. 13
- ³⁹ William D. Brierly. "Memory in the Work of Yechiel Dinur," in *Hebrew Literature in the Wake of the Holocaust*. Edited by Leon Y. Yudkin. Rutherford, N.J: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1993.
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Rrose Sélavy, Barbarella, Madonna: Cybersublimity after the Orgasmotron.

By Michael Angelo Tata

We do not yet possess the perceptual equipment to match this new hyperspace, as I will call it, in part because our perceptual habits were formed in that older kind of space I have called the space of high modernism. The newer architecture therefore—like many of the other cultural products I have evoked in the preceding remarks—stands as something like an imperative to grow new organs, to expand our sensorium and our body to some new, yet unimaginable, perhaps ultimately impossible, dimensions (Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 38-39).

So in the late 50s I started an affair with my television which has continued to the present, when I play around in my bedroom with as many as four at a time. But I didn't get married until 1964 when I got my first tape recorder. My wife. My tape recorder and I have been married for ten years now. When I say "we," I mean my tape recorder and me. A lot of people don't understand that (Andy Warhol, "Love (Puberty)," *THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol*, 26).

Some Sums

It is no accident that this essay takes as its point of departure a mosaic comprised of Fredric Jameson lost in the hyperspace of Los Angeles' Westin Bonaventure Hotel in his seminal glance at the cultures of late capitalism, *Postmodernism*, and Andy Warhol wedded to a piece of equipment for capturing, storing and replaying the voices of others in his *THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol*. Nor is it an accident that Jameson, the unacclimated, unfortunate Modern waiting for his body to sprout a new perceptual apparatus which will allow him to process the newly mutated spatialities surrounding and subsuming his subjectivity, and Warhol, the closest thing to a cyborg the artworld has ever produced, will be dumped in turn.¹ Swerving from Jameson and Warhol, I offer a second mosaic, this one comprised of the now Retro Madonna of "Ray of Light" and two newcomers, cyborgs themselves, women tuned in, turned on and short-circuited

by technodesire: the anonymous “dumped dummy,” as Jean-François Lyotard in *Les Transformateurs Duchamp* refers to her, of Duchamp’s posthumous assemblage *Étant données: 1 la chute d’eau, 2 le gaz d’éclairage* (1966), and the campy space kitten Barbarella from Roger Vadim’s film *Barbarella, Queen of the Galaxy* (1968).

Other cyborgs, art-machines or recyclatrons could have been selected to illustrate the connection between trash and transport—for example, Jeff Koons, with his factory-made, Coney Island souvenir-stand aesthetic horrors such as *Pink Panther*, *Popples* or *Michael Jackson and Bubbles* (all 1988), French body-mod performance artist Orlan, with her grotesquely reconstructed body and accompanying videodocumentation of her many surgeries, or the inimitable transsexual performer Amanda Lepore.² However, I have chosen my three stars, (1) Duchamp’s Bride, (2) Jane Fonda’s cosmonaut and (3) the “new” (yet of course now “old”) cabbala-correct, ethereal, British Madonna, for the relation they bear to what I will, after *Barbarella*, term the Orgasmotron, or perpetual pleasuring machine, a device which exists only within the cinematic, yet which crystallizes the philosophical complexities of postmodern sublimity, persisting as an operative metaphor at the heart of cyberculture.³

As the introductory Warhol quote demonstrates, the sexual pleasure of machines or machine/human interfaces is nothing new. Occurring with gizmos as diverse as television sets (Nam June Paik’s installations, for example *TV Garden*, 1982, or *Pyramid II*, 1997), telephones (Avital Ronell’s *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electric Speech*), tape recorders (Warhol’s *Philosophy, a*, or *Andy Warhol’s Party Book*) and computers (Donna Haraway’s and Sue-Ellen Case’s theories of the wired body), this pleasure colonizes physically embodied human-human relationships, replacing them with something akin to the pleasure of too much information, sensory overload, or cybernetic immersion in the infinite. This pleasure also resonates at the same frequency as Longinus’ *hypsos*, Nicolas Boileau’s ravishment, Edmund Burke’s terror at the threat of annihilation, Immanuel Kant’s overheated imagination, and Friedrich Nietzsche’s Dionysian frenzies, all formulas for being-overwhelmed: they generate the same Hertz reading, although in a novel atmosphere and perhaps with different coefficients. In company with these purveyors of sublimity, Barbarella, Madonna and Duchamp’s dummy, who, for my own perverse aesthetic reasons, I will refer to as his drag persona Rose Sélavy, all respond to the sexual pleasures of technoannihilation—intensities to which they willingly surrender, but which do not necessarily contain or control them (they become the machine’s ghost made external, to pervert the expression preferred by the theory of mind).⁴

The difference between the two summations represented by those experiencing sublimity, or E [**Sélavy, Barbarella, Madonna**], and those expostulating upon what people experience when they experience sublimity, or E [**Longinus...Nietzsche**], hinges upon the nature of the exact and specific pleasure experienced in the face of an indifferent infinite which changes according to alterations within physical, material reality.⁵ For obvious historical reasons, the Orgasmotron cannot arrive as a site of pleasure until a certain technology is in place, making it improbable that Kant could have ever spoken as to its contours—even though, as Ronell points out in her *Crack Wars: Literature Addiction Mania*, the 18th and 19th centuries viewed the novel as an illicit, orgasm-producing black box (an aphrodisiac simulating a genre), the implication being that the idea of a pleasure-generating aesthetic object did exist prior to its mechanization.

Joseph Tabbi's formulation of technopleasure in *Postmodern Sublime: Technology and American Writing from Mailer to Cyberpunk* posits the self's immersion in potentially infinitized webs of information as generative of a sublimity unique to the postmodern world; sexualizing his version of this dissolution is an objective of this essay. Embodied in and enacted by works of literature by novelists Norman Mailer, Thomas Pynchon, James McElroy and Don DeLillo, as well as by cyberpunk renegades like Kathy Acker and Donna Haraway, Tabbi's postmodern sublime corresponds to the feeling of being swamped or overwhelmed by the vast wash of information characterizing Jean-François Lyotard's "Postmodern Condition." As "metaphor and more than metaphor," the machine at once represents and transcends the postmodern non-individual, whose radical inability to represent "the whole of American technological culture" results in "a complex pleasure derived from the pain of representational insufficiency" (1).

Tabbi's pleasure is the negative pleasure discussed by Kant in his *Critique of Judgment* and further elaborated on by Lyotard in his *Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime* and *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time* (specifically, the chapters "The Sublime and the Avant-Garde" and "After the Sublime, The State of Aesthetics"), the difference being that in Tabbi, there is no ensuing positive pleasure following the infinite's assault on the individual, no triumph of the imagination, which, in Kant and in Lyotard, experiences the highest raptures of its freedom as the paradoxical result of its unfreedom. Detached from human interest, the infinite does not present itself, while simultaneously thwarting and circumventing every attempt at representing it.⁶ For Tabbi, as well as for Jameson, the postmodern variety of sublimity consists in the failure of the postmodern, dispersed subject to signify, to transform the world of which it is a part into meaningful discourse. The resulting heteroglossia (Tabbi) or schizophrenia (Lacan via Jameson) of the diasporic subject stammering in the face of the untotalizable, the suprasensible, the swamping, is exactly what gets performed by the writers Tabbi enumerates: they represent the unrepresentability of postmodern hyperspace and its many imbricated yet never fully articulable networks.⁷

Diverging from Tabbi's postmodern or technological sublime, I wish to posit a specific variety of postmodern/technological sublimity, which I term the cybersublime. As I have already elucidated, one specific characteristic of the cybersublime is its inherent Orgasmotronicity: Sélavy, Barbarella and Madonna, in their own respective ways, testify to this fact, as I will demonstrate.⁸ For me, there undoubtedly exists the category of the postmodern sublime, but this category is not limited to the epistemological pleasures of unavoidable misrepresentation, or of the self's fatally flawed responses to the Big Other's question, *Che Vuoi?*; rather, this category is inclusive of a vast number of ecstatic postmodern experiences hinging upon dissolution, drifting and being-lost.⁹ Revising Tabbi, my postmodern sublime takes the notion of the gross and scandalous proximity of the high to the low within contemporary consumer culture—what Tabbi, quoting Thomas Weiskel's *The Romantic Sublime: Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence*, refers to as the "dangerous proximity" of the high and the low within Romanticism—and turns it into the sublimity of kitsch, a sublime derived from the great voraciousness of trash (15). The self's immersion in a culture of trash elevated to the status of the masterpiece, its subsumption within a neverending stream of junk, is what Warhol theorizes with his introduction of the notion that an infinity of Marilyn's, automobile wrecks or Brillo boxes could constitute some uninterrupted field of aesthetic immersion. Hence for me any postmodern sublimity must also include a notion of the transportability of kitsch.

In addition, it must also include a notion of the aesthetically immersible; that is, not mere technological immersion, or the self's incorporation by a technology which always exceeds it and which threatens it with annihilation, but the absorption of the self by various aesthetic networks, such as those provided by cyberpunk and technorave, or by the gymnasiums, steroids and all-night parties of "the circuit."¹⁰

For me, the technological sublime begins to be recognized by poets like Hart Crane and artists like the Constructivists, Dadaists and Futurists. It takes as its operative premise the idea that the machine has replaced the body, going on to transfer the Romantic Sublime onto the products and networks of technology (the Alps of William Wordsworth's *Prelude* give way to the Brooklyn Bridge of Hart Crane's *The Bridge*). While the cybersublime is a moment within the technological sublime, it is in no way exhausted by it. Instead, the sublimities of late capitalism's vast informational networks, matrices and cybernetic crystallizations themselves constitute a mutation within the technological, a sort of by-product or *supplément* which has come to engulf industry, or the bridges, smokestacks, skyscrapers and dehumanized urban geographies of classical capitalism.

The excesses of information and the dissolution of the self into the informational networks of cyberculture—indeed, as Haraway intimates, the postmodern self, the self at the end of the Second Christian Millennium, is a cyborg by default—produce a version of sublimity which in popular culture is frequently described and represented in sexual terms. This sexualization is not a great surprise, considering that even for Nicolas Boileau, who in his 1693 translation of Longinus' *On the Sublime* identified the sublime as rape, there is no sublimity without violation. The cultural products with which this essay is concerned—the *Étant données*, *Barbarella* and "Ray of Light"—each sexualize the cybersublime in kind. Thus Duchamp's discarded mannequin, exhausted by the pleasure engine of the *Étant données*' prequel *La Mariée mise à nue par ces Celibataires, même*, lies wasted with only the natural resources of gas and water to accompany her corporeal decomposition (she decays in the shadow of an Industrial Revolution and an industry which no longer need her). *Barbarella*, having out-orgasmed the Orgasmotron, having "turned its wires to faggots," awaits further sexual torture at the hands of evil scientist and positronic-ray-wielding Duran Duran. Madonna, having incandesced into whatever atomic particle it would be that could travel in excess of the speed of light, "gets herself a universe," leaving her alienated consciousness behind, her body along with it, and transcending that body-consciousness system by morphing into a liquidly blissful ray of pure energy, uncontaminated alpha rhythm.¹¹ These women are all the pleasure victims of technology, the ravished and evacuated corpses who litter the information superfreeway since F.T. Marinetti first theorized the sexiness of the airplane or Fernando Pessoa, the malleability and morphability of personality.¹² Donna Haraway's formulation of a manifesto for cyborgs in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* and subsequent search for imploded, intergeneric life forms in *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™* is a search for those ontological nexuses of the natural with the cybernetic, for those moments when the human subject is diasporized, overwhelmed, absorbed, overheated. Similarly, Sue-Ellen Case's search for the body in *The Domain Matrix: Performing Lesbian at the End of Print Culture*, her Osirian quest among the many networks, channels, and loops of communication for embodiment, is a search for Rrose Sélavy, *Barbarella*, and Madonna. Conquered by endorphins, each reduces her body to the minimum weight of a photon. Trashed, and trashing, each

recycles energy in turn, demonstrating three of the many ways that the human epidermis can respond to hyperstimulation.

Impossible Integrations

If Sélavy, Barbarella or Madonna were to pursue calculus, if they were to quantify their experiences as short-circuited cybersluts, how would they represent those experiences in the impersonal symbolization of mathematics? In *Part Two: Semantics of Modest Witness*, Haraway presents a cheeky mathematical formulation encapsulating their respective situations:

$$\infty \infty \Omega$$

$$\int \int \int \text{NATURE}^{\text{TM}} \text{CULTURE}^{\text{TM}} dN dC dt = \text{NEW WORLD ORDER, INC.}$$

$$0 \quad 0 \quad 1945$$

Urging that the modest witness, or unbiased observer, of millennial scientific advances/mutations performs a triple integration on a trademarked nature, culture and time (not trademarked), Haraway traces the derivative ($\text{NATURE}^{\text{TM}} \text{CULTURE}^{\text{TM}} dN dC dt$) back to the master-function NEW WORLD ORDER, Inc.; in other words, she solves the problem of what mathematical function a trademarked nature and culture correspond to by offering the solution that they are traceable to the equation $f(x) = \text{NWO}$. Ultimately, the trademarking of nature and culture represented by transgenic creatures like DuPont's emblematic OncoMouseTM are the result of a new world order in which nature and culture, the raw and the cooked, the given and the constructed, implode. Throughout *Modest Witness*, Haraway is obsessed with what she terms transuranic elements and transgenic species. Using the periodic chart developed by chemist Dmitri Mendeleev in 1869 as a point of inception, Haraway casts her gaze toward the scientific fabrication of elements with atomic numbers greater than 92, or the atomic number assigned to uranium, the naturally occurring element with the greatest atomic number—for example, plutonium ($^{244}\text{Pu}94$ and its explosive isotope, $^{244}\text{Pu}94$) is lab-fabricated, and hence transuranic (its atomic number is 94). Elements such as plutonium represent an implosion of nature and culture, both of which collapse into and onto one another such that questions of the naturalness or constructedness of plutonium become moot, or, if we use the language of the Pragmatists, less interesting.¹³ An insuperable amalgam of nature and culture, plutonium is a cyborg element born in the human race to develop nuclear technology (hence the significance of the date 1945 in Haraway's triple integraton):

Two things stand out simultaneously in the presence of the transuranic elements: First, they are ordinary, natural offspring of the experimental way of life, whose place in the periodic table was waiting for them. They fit right in. Second, they are earthshaking artificial productions of technoscience whose status as aliens on earth, and indeed in the entire solar system, has changed who we are fundamentally and permanently. Nothing changed and too much changed when plutonium joined the terran family. The transuranic elements—embedded in the semi-otic, technical, political, economic, and social apparatus that produces and sustains them on earth—are among the chief instruments that have remade the third planet from the sun into a global system (55).

Refashioning planet earth into a global reactor, plutonium and its sister actinides are among the host of technological intrusions into the chemical and physical to have indelibly marked human consciousness. However, standing apart from other nature/culture meldings produced through the modest witnessing of “the experimental life” introduced by the seventeenth-century chemist Robert Boyle, these elements, themselves freaks, commodities, and fetishes, catapult the postmodern subject into a universe of radical implosion in which the human and the mechanized are interfaced so completely that separation is impossible: this fusion constitutes sublimity.¹⁴

If the introduction of transuranic elements represents one feature of the New World Order or, as it is referred to in other passages, the Second Christian Millennium, then it is the even more traumatizing, exhilarating introduction of transgenic species into the lifeworld which puts the finishing touches on a way of life based on the opposition of nature and culture to one another (the experimental way of life championed by naturalist Robert Boyle represents one such N/C Node). Haraway takes the very real example of the world’s first trademarked creature, DuPont Laboratories’ Superstar OncoMouse™, as evidence of the fact that, for postmodernity, nature and culture have imploded so fully that it is no longer possible to resist the diaspora of selfhood which results when the oppositions around which selfhood has formed in the West (supereminent among these being anthropology’s nature/culture) are obliterated in favor of an oppositionless and desublimated network of synthetic pleasures. Accompanying OncoMouse™ is a more fictive hybrid, FemaleMan©, OncoMouse™’s “Elder Sibling” (69). Taking her cue from Joanna Russ’ 1975 science fiction novel *The Female Man*, Haraway proposes a copyrighted and spliced-together “FemaleMan©” as brother/sister to OncoMouse™:

I have made a tiny little typographical amendment to Joanna Russ’s version of the oxymoronic hominid: I write it “FemaleMan” to highlight this being’s unexpected kinship to other socio-economically—genetically/historically—manipulated creatures, such as OncoMouse. Like OncoMouse™, the FemaleMan© lives after the implosion of informatics, biologics, and economics. If we date the implosion from the first successful genetic engineering experiments in the early 1970s, Russ’s Female Man lived at the flash point of that momentous collapse of organisms, information, and the commodity form of life (70).

For Haraway, the FemaleMan© is precisely the sexless, ungendered figure of the cyborg as it is described

in her “A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century”: “The cyborg is a creature in a post-gender world; it has no truck with bisexuality, pre-oedipal symbiosis, unalienated labour, or other seductions to organic wholeness through a final appropriation of all the powers of the parts into a higher unity” (*Simians, Cyborgs and Women*, 150). Rejecting the origin-narratives of Hegel, Marx, Freud and Lacan, all of whom posit a secondary split which must always haunt the subject with the lack it introduces into psychic life, impelling that subject to spend its time healing its split via a circular and impossible return to its origins, the cyborg is not a part of the gendered world. Imploding gender, conjoining female with male in a unity that is not at all a sublation, the cyborg, imaginative counterpart to DuPont’s cancer-infused mouse, represents the liberatory fantasy of a world rendered fully cybernetic.

Applying these ideas about transuranic elements and transgenic species to the book’s rather cryptic title yields the following scenario: at the end of the Second Christian Millennium, in the midst of a techno-aesthetical mutation, the Modest Witness of Boyle’s experimental and Baconian way of life—that is, the de-masculinized, presumably humble, objective witness to the physical phenomena of the world embodied in the historical person of Robert Boyle—confronts the trademarked OncoMouse™ and the copyrighted FemaleMan© through information received at its e-mail address, the book’s title.¹⁵ As “the sender and receiver of messages in (Haraway’s) e-mail address,” the modest witness exists at the interface of the informational secretions of the FemaleMan© and the OncoMouse™. Their informational blips and bleeps reconfigure that witness such that she is no longer modest in the Boylean sense. Instead of merely witnessing the external events of mechanistic science, as the Oculist Witnesses inhabiting the upper pane of *Le Grand Verre* merely observe the potential sexual interaction of Bride with her Bachelor Machine, Haraway’s new witness “works to refigure the subjects, objects and communicative commerce of technoscience into different kinds of knots” (23). Drawing on the literary tradition of figuration, Haraway proposes a chiliastic, parousial reading of the characters populating her drama: “Signs and wonder bring us to the next contaminated practice suffusing my book and built into the title *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™*: that is, figuration. In my book, entities such as the modest witness of the Scientific Revolution, the FemaleMan© of commodified transnational feminism, and OncoMouse™ of the biotechnical war on cancer are all figures in secular technoscientific salvation stories full of promise” (8). The apocalyptic and comical result of Haraway’s figuration is such that the Book of Revelations, with its fantastic, phantasmagorical Second Coming of Christ, is replaced with a secularized and technological equivalent, a pastiche in which two eminent and paradigmatic cyborgs make the “man” of science blush with prurience (he, too, is a whore).

Revising Haraway’s original integration, I, in my attempt to locate the cybersublime in Haraway’s ideas about the pleasures of implosion, provide the following substitute:

E Transgenic Species, Transuranic Elements, Vampires, Technofetuses, OncoMice™, Flavr Savr Tomatoes, SimCity, SimEarth, SimLife, SimSim...

In offering an “epsilonic” alternative to Haraway’s integration, my intention is to emphasize the sublimity of implosion, the fact that the many hybridized, cyborgian creatures gleefully enumerated by Haraway throughout the many dazzling pages of *Modest_Witness* are in their sheer effulgence sublime. In my reformulation of the integration as summed series, I make no attempt to trace back these hybrids to some ordinary curve, some fictive $f(x)$. Diverging from Haraway, I do not provide a solution to an integration, for the very reason that it is an important feature of cybersublimity that such hybrids, implosions and nexuses are in no way traceable to any master equation: they can only be added together. While Haraway will posit the New World Order as the solution to the triple integration of nature, culture and time, my interest in sublimity leads me to frustrate integration by leaving it indeterminate: I am not the conspiracy theorist that Haraway is, and thus refrain from attributing any unity to the tangle of wires and genes that define current technological configurations. For the pleasure of the cybersublime, the bang with which Rose Sélavy expires, with which Barbarella’s Orgasmotron pops, and with which Madonna passes from particle to wave, is a result of the postmodern fusion represented by hybrids such as these. Immersed in an incomprehensible and unrepresentable technological infrastructure, Jameson’s lost hotel sojourner and Tabbi’s ambivalently integrated auteur cannot solve for $f(x)$ except to get the equation wrong. While there exists technology, biology and power, and while these three do experience some implosion, overlap or palimpsesting, it is not necessary that the three congeal into the Foucauldian force of technobiopower posited by Haraway; in fact, the cybersublime’s charge results from there being no one entity to which the products and organisms of late capitalism can be ontologically regressed.

Special Cases

Haraway’s diasporic postmodern subject is matched by a similarly dispersed subjectivity in Sue-Ellen Case, whose spectacular mess, *The Domain Matrix*, is also preoccupied with the nature/culture interface represented by the cyborg.¹⁶ Searching for the body in a culture that has fulfilled Marshall McLuhan’s wishes in *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* and transcended print, Case supplies our three heroines, Sélavy, Barbarella and Madonna, with two models which provide answers to their mysterious disappearances: (1) voodoo and (2) sadomasochism. Case’s concerns are similar to Jameson’s. The confusion, anxiety and bewilderment with which Jameson confronts the architectural space of the Westin Bonaventure and his consequent prognosis that, somehow, the human subject of high modernism has lost pace with the mutations of technology and is no longer able to process sensory data received from the world of that technology’s making, is no more than Case’s articulation of a “new organization of space” that relocates the functions of “nation, screening, sexuality and the body” within the networks and new spatialities of cyberspace (3). Case compares the postmodern and high modern subject’s respective

relation to space. Using Guy Debord and his fellow *Situationistes Internationales*' idea of a "unitary urbanism," Walter Benjamin's notion of the flâneur, and Michel de Certeau's plan for "walking in the city" to "describe the relation between reader and hypertext" in the modern milieu, Case posits two types of wandering, one effected in the space of the city, the other in the suburbs of cybereality.

For Case, surfing the Net, navigating its many corridors and wormholes, is a version of that very Barthesian textual encounter, cruising. The International Situationist, the flâneur-dandy and the streetwalker all partake of the same activity, that of imbuing a certain geography with meaning. The urban matrix, a prefigurement of the cybernetic matrix, presents the observing, experiencing, locomoting subject with the technological sublime of Hart Crane, the Constructivists, the Futurists and the Dadaists. The transition from urban matrix (grid of buildings, people and situations: New York City) to *suburban matrix* (sprawl of wires, wash of electronic-libidinal impulses, alienation with simultaneous hyperconnection via mobile technologies: Los Angeles) is the selfsame move from the modern sublime to its postmodern cousin.¹⁷ Examining the various spatial configurations of cybertechnology and its many products, Case hits on the two metaphors mentioned early on in this present paragraph; namely, voodoo and sadomasochism. These two interpretations of what transpires when the POMO cybernaut dives headfirst into a world of layered screens and virtual egos tie the "Domain- Matrix" of the Net to two fundamental spatial configurations: (1) magic, conjuration, incantation, performative utterance, and (2) the sexual *tableau vivant* of the master and servant, Venus in Furs and Severin, as they are configured in their proper positions with respect to one another in the sexual theatre. Seeking as her project a reclamation of the lesbian body, a body resuscitated by Monique Wittig in *Les Guérillères* and *The Lesbian Body*, yet subsequently lost to that great dissolver of bodies, the Internet, Case searches for performance: both performative utterances in J.L. Austin's sense of the expression in *How to Do Things with Words*, and "performance" in the more banal sense of some discrete, physical, corporeal, located body doing something in the space of the world.

While Haraway promulgates the view that the postmodern subject is a diasporic, "electrophoresed" separation of what in other eras had been unified under the pronoun "I," in Case "diaspora" carries with it a self-conscious reference to those other atomized bodies of postmodernism, the postcolonial selves whose emigrations and immigrations have brought them into and out of America's cities and whose cultural practices have become intertwined with established American practices which they in turn influence and alter via a principle of syncretism. Positing voodoo as one potential metaphor for explaining what goes on when the postmodern "I" taps some mysterious code onto a keyboard and is instantaneously transported into a scenic omniverse of detached and disembodied paraperformances, Case literalizes Haraway's metaphor of the diasporic. Referring to a character in William Gibson's *Count Zero* who equates the immediacy of cybertechnology ("getting things done") with the immediacy of *le voodoo*, Case explains her post-colonial appropriation of Hatian ritual:

Gibson's character perceives voodoo as the language of doing, of functions, not of abstract concepts. Voodoo is used by the outsiders who hack into this net that would transcend their miscreant spaces to represent a belief system that thinks by doing. Like the street, voodoo is a system which takes found objects, the trash or litter that the transcendent system leaves

behind, and redeploys them in a useful, hopeful manner. Voodoo vessels, for example, on the altars, are empty bottles reworked with sequins and ribbons to aid in involving the loas, or spirits, who work on various problems the petitioner submits. Online, Gibson's character takes the old computer parts or software functions to grab some online time—the unit of value (52).

Case goes on to link the cyberpunk deployment of junk with the practice of bricolage found in the Afrofuturism of films like John Sayles' *The Brother from Another Planet* and Lizzie Borden's *Born in Flames*, in Sun Ra's Omniverse Arkestra, in black comic books such as *Static* and *Icon*, and in graffiti art.¹⁸ For Case, the radicality of these cultural practices lies in the "complex signification of space" which they embody. Opposed to the Eurocentric rationality which in the West (and East: Japan) has culminated in the stunning technological advances making cyberspace possible, the bricolages and pastiches of Afrofuturism are evocative of the religious, aesthetic and social practice of voodoo—indeed, of all other systems dismissed as "superstition" with the emergence of Haraway's Modest Witness in the person of Robert Boyle—making Futurism a looking forward which is also a looking back (futurism becomes technoprimitivism). Deterritorializing rather than colonizing, the practice of voodoo as it belongs to its Hatian believers or to its diasporized adherents in, for example, New Orleans, to the Afrofuturists, or to an Italo-American cybertraveler like Madonna, liberates the West from Euclidian space, allowing it to perceive a new interrelatedness and immediacy which, for those Hatian women gluing sequins onto bottles, is no more than an old immanence.¹⁹

For Case, the real glue which bonds voodoo with cyberpunk is the relationship that each practice bears to the abject. As means of salvaging the garbage, junk, detritus, trash and refuse produced by the human organism, both voodoo and cyberpunk, themselves marginal practices, appropriate the discarded, the wasted, the junked, reworking it, redeeming it, remixing it into something that is decidedly not-trash. The scandalous proximity of the high and low to one another in the Romantic Sublime comes to mind, as does Duchamp's assemblage of bricks, mannequins and one large, abandoned portal in *L'Étant données*. Case makes her most beautiful evocation of this sublimity, that of the most abject piece of filth being associated with the highest transports of the soul, in her discussion of the voodoo vever for Legba, loa of the crossroads:

The vever is a figure drawn to chart the particular course through space that the need of the moment would employ to evoke the appropriate spirit. The vever are drawn with various materials, most importantly, again, with materials produced as "leftovers" from other functions. For example, the black markings within the white lines of a vever may be made with coffee grounds (54).

Case continues to explain that the vever, displayed via waste products like coffee grounds, becomes the doorway through which one gains access to a loa, or "window of space" akin to the windows one passes through on the Net: for Case, the spatiality of voodoo is precisely the Net, or hypertextual, visual, immediate mess of intersections, sites and paths through whose tangles information clots and circulates (like the space of post-Euclidian geometry, it is curved, hyperbolic). The theory of the leftover which Andy Warhol

puts forth in the chapter from his *Philosophy* entitled “Work” is eerily present in Case’s yearning for the abject, raising the question of what relation the respective bricolages of voodoo and cyberpunk bear to camp, that other great employment of leftovers which has absorbed artists, writers, performers from Esther Newton’s communities of drag queens in *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* to the current mania for all things white trash (see, for example, Jerry Springer’s *Too Hot for TV*).²⁰ Representative of the sublime uses of trash, voodoo and cyberpunk attack from the margins, using the undesirable, the wasted, the jettisoned in meaningful, empowering, aesthetically innovative ways: and so the cybernaut achieves identity with the diasporic, seizing upon a historically older mode of thought as a model for interpreting its own current activity in the same way that the scientist of Quantum Physics eschews Newtonian mechanics for holistic models of particle-systems in tune with discarded Western practices such as alchemy and with the religious thought of the East, specifically Zen Buddhism.²¹ While these equations often come off as facile and condescending—“Oh! They really did get it right! Those crazy Hatians!”—it is immensely important to note their presence in theories of artistic, religious and scientific production at the end of the Second Christian Millennium and to ask why it is suddenly so important, so urgent, for the cybertheorist to connect the immediate present with the remote, devalued past.

Abjection provides one way of symbolizing cybertechnology and the sublime; sadomasochism provides a second. It is this second metaphor, the Domain-Matrix, which Rose Sélavy, Barbarella and Madonna speak to in their respective raptures (and captures). Their different responses to what Haraway terms “the informatics of domination” (“Manifesto,” 161), or new networks of power marked by simulation and surface, are made in the presence of the Domain-Matrix as she overheats the devotee of pleasure. Case’s relationship to her screenic universe, to the cybersimulacra she confronts in her electronic-libidinal travels through the vast domain and boundless terrain of the information matrix, is one of domination, humiliation, subjection, enslavement, subordination: technology makes her its servant and she derives sexual pleasure from it, metaphorically and literally. Bottom to the Internet’s top, Case performs accordingly:

Hanging onto my crucial amulets, I enter the scenario with the “Domain-Matrix.” I am disciplined by her, but I maintain my role; I am ignorant of her plan, but capable of improvising within it; I beg her to recognize my body, to bind me, to seduce me, while performing in the anxious space of her far-reaching domain and power, whose boundaries are, by definition, beyond my purview and my control. I am seduced and pleased by her spectacle, but wary of its consequences. I fully expect some final satisfaction, but assume it will never be dispensed. I realize that it works only within strict parameters, but want it never to end...The point is not to succeed. The hope that “we shall overcome” only emulates the Domain-Matrix. Instead, playing the bottom, while denigrating even that role as efficacious or conclusive, might be the only “point” that succeeds precisely where it fails (236).

Case, the “butch bottom,” is disciplined by her conqueror’s cords of love, by the very wires whose mysterious configuration produces and sustains the charmed illusions of cyberspace.²² Waiting for final satisfaction, Case is in the same position in which Lyotard, in *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time* leaves Burke: she waits, she anticipates, she finds herself suspended.²³ The fear of “nothing happening,” the

cessation of all activity, the eradication of the “now” delivered by death, is what Burke faces and which Kant elides. In *The Inhuman*, Lyotard connects the possibility of nothing happening with sublimity: “The possibility of nothing happening is often associated with anxiety, a term with strong connotations in modern philosophies of existence and of the unconscious. It gives to waiting, if we really mean waiting, a predominantly negative value. But suspense can also be accompanied by pleasure, for instance the pleasure in welcoming the unknown, and even by joy, to speak like Baruch Spinoza, the joy obtained by the intensification of being that the event brings with it” (92). Case, penetrated, permeated and pleased by the apparatuses of technology, yet left suspended, forever waiting, occupies a position similar to Burke’s. Rose, Barbarella and Madonna all nod their heads in agreement and, perhaps, enjoyment. The pleasure inflicted upon Rose in the swatch of spacetime separating *La Mariée Mise à Nue* from the *Étant données*; the ecstasies and transports forced upon Barbarella by Duran Duran and his pleasuring-torturing apparatus, the Orgasmotron; the Material Girl’s sacrificial immolation in the flame of technology: all three scenarios operate via principles of domination and submission articulated by Case yet prefigured by Burke.

Pulling the Plug on the Big O

It is at this point that I allow Rose Sélavy, Barbarella and Madonna to part company from my discourse. In piecing together the philosophies of Donna Haraway and Sue-Ellen Case with a little help from Edmund Burke, Immanuel Kant and Jean-Francois Lyotard, I have hopefully achieved my rather strange goal of finding a way (1) to differentiate the cybersublime from Tabbi’s conception of the technological or post-modern sublime, while (2) highlighting the Orgasmotronicity or sexual stimulation associated with the human/machine, cyborgian interface. It should be obvious that not all accounts of the human subject’s postmodern plight, or the assimilation of heterogeneous bits of information and simulacra demanded of it by the new technologies which have proliferated in late capitalism, are couched in terms as blatantly sexual as those I have chosen: not every cybernaut will be a Rose Sélavy, a Barbarella or a Madonna. My intention throughout this enterprise has been similar to Case’s: that is, to find some way of talking about sexual desire and performance in a world of rapidly disappearing bodies. Overheated by her nine bachelors, all of whom constitute some machine, lubricious gear train or desire magneto, as Duchamp referred to them in *From the Green Box*, Rose Sélavy, Duchamp’s drag alterego, vanishes from *Le Grand Verre* to reappear cunt-forward on the other side of a peepshow in the *Étant données*; in another room of this strange house, Barbarella, her hormones and blood pumping, cums so hard she destroys the machine which produced this pleasure, only to be subjected to further sexual devices which she will likewise short circuit, while, on the roof, Madonna, sick of her lusty Catholic material body, vaporizes into the apparent nothingness of one hyperactive wave: for these women, being a cyborg means much more than the genderless dystopia of Haraway’s future. The cyborg is voracious—whether or not she is able to withstand the pleasure she receives. Technology is no arid arrangement of wires, plugs and circuits: it has the power to satiate sexually, to motivate limbically, to imbricate libidinally, with the accompanying dangers of human explosion (Mme. Sélavy), technological counter-suffusion (Mme. Fonda) and the very tempting prospect that body and machine might fuse-implode in a fantastic discharge of light and heat (Madonna).

True, these women inhabit only one moment in time, after which their subsequent manifestations part company from the cybersublime. For Madonna, the acorporeality of “Ray of Light” gives way to an oddly bodily spirituality in which the renunciation of the material world must be articulated on repeat in a futile effort to convince none other than herself that an egoless universe is possible. As her *Re-Invention* (2004) and *Confessions* (2006) tours demonstrate, the Material Girl does not renounce materialism, but rather creates a species of religious experience in which immaterial entities like “soul” or “agape” are treated materialistically, hoarded and mastered as commodities in their own right. For only a moment, she vaporizes into some force, vapor, quintessence or subatomic particle-wave jetting away at speeds in excess of 186,000 miles/second, an épatisme in the face of Albert Einstein, whose *Special Theory of Relativity* posits the speed of light in a vacuum as matter’s upper motility limit (“VII: The Apparent Incompatibility of the Law of Propagation of Light with the Principle of Relativity,” as well as “XV: General Results of the Theory”). And then she’s gone. Similarly, there is no proof from the mind of Duchamp that the destroyed woman of the *Étant Données* is Rose Sélavy proper; her existence in this tableau I have only surmised, and with the most devious of motives. And Fonda will never short circuit a sexual device again, despite what an embittered Ted Turner might say. As with any aesthetic experience, the cybersublime is delicate in constitution, evanescing the moment that anyone, including myself, seeks to pin it down. A truly Heisenbergian creation, the precise moment of pleasure can only be located at an expense, becoming a mere snapshot of expired desire which can only be regarded retroactively. The technological waste product of Duchamp’s mannequin, together with the intergalactic pixie and the materially condensed pop princess, all speak the language of love. Their dialects identical, each hails from Diotima’s hideaway and takes as her object the infinite as embodied in the flows and streams of a technoreality which might destroy her, but which also might send her careening into the tenth dimension. “Is there any difference?” she seems to be asking, clarifying the nature of pleasure for a desublimated, post-Millennial audience of pill-popping metros, silicone-stuffed globe-trotters and individuals absolutely coincident with screen names and user profiles.

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Notes

¹ Although I am advancing an Orgasmotronical and cyborgian reading of Duchamp's *Le Grand Verre* (1915-1923) and the *Étant données* (1966), as well as cubist works like *Nu Descendant un Escalier, No. 2* (1912), *La Mariée* (1912) and more representational works like *Broyeuse du Chocolat, No. 2* (1914), I do not identify Duchamp himself as a cyborg. Though automated in a way which prefigured and made possible Warhol, Duchamp himself did not become a man-machine as fully as Warhol did. Gazing toward the servo-mechanistic and the industrial, Duchamp remained apart from technology as its consumer and observer. Obsessed with machines and, in general, with how things work, Duchamp never transformed into a mechanism proper—although he did set the stage for such a change to occur (indeed, he made the obviation of the human a mere formality).

² Regarding Orlan, the implantation of the Mona Lisa's brow into her forehead (*Omniprésence*, 1993) allows her to complete (temporarily) the Gioconda series [Da Vinci→Duchamp→Warhol→Orlan]. See Bernard Blistene's monograph *Orlan* (Paris: Flammarion, 2004), as well as the film *Synthetic Pleasures* (Gund, 1996).

³ The cyberpunk documentary *Synthetic Pleasures* also uses Barbarella's Orgasmotron as a model for cyberpleasure. In this context, the Orgasmotron both instigates and amplifies whatever sexual pleasure it is that results from the collapse of the body/technology interface. Examining phenomena as disparate as the total environment, the transsexual body and the party drug MDMA, *Synthetic Pleasures* never loses sight of the fact that the mechanized can saturate, rend and reorganize the human body.

⁴ While there is no indication in Duchamp's writings that either the bride of *La Mariée* or the corpse of the *Étant Données* are Rose, I treat her as such in order to further volatilize Duchamp's alterego. Construing

bride and body as a veritable [Duchamp]’ or “Duchamp Prime,” I insert the artist into his masterpieces in order to complicate their gender configurations.

⁵ I use the Greek symbol Epsilon, or E, to denote summation. Hence E [Sélavy, Barbarella, Madonna] refers to the fictitious series whose sum can be tabulated by “adding” bracketed quantities “Sélavy,” “Barbarella” and “Madonna.” My use of Epsilon, as my use of other mathemes, is both literal and metaphorical.

⁶ In *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1991), Lyotard describes the indifference of matter: “Matter does not question the mind, it has no need of it, it exists, or rather *insists*, it *sists* ‘before’ questioning and answer, ‘outside’ them. It is presence as unrepresentable to the mind, always withdrawn from its grasp. It does not offer itself to dialogue and dialectic” (142). In other words, the world does not present itself—it does not care. Radically outside all human interest in re-presenting it, it persists over time without the wish to be known or knowable. Thus all knowledge is excessive.

⁷ In *Postmodernism* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1993), Jameson explains what he means by a non-clinical schizophrenia: “When that relationship breaks down, when the links of the signifying chain snap, then we have schizophrenia in the form of a rubble of distinct and unrelated signifiers. The connection between this kind of linguistic malfunction and the psyche of the schizophrenic may then be grasped by way of a twofold proposition: first, that personal identity is itself the effect of a certain temporal unification of past and future with one’s present; and, second, that such active temporal unification is itself a function of language, or better still the sentence, as it moves along its hermeneutic circle through time” (26-27).

⁸ See my “Orgasmotronicity of the Servo-mechanistic” in the exhibition catalogue *Greater New York* (MOMA/PS1, 2000) for an additional look at the connections between being plugged in and sexed up.

⁹ The *glissement* of the self as it moves metonymically from one méconnaissance to another in response to the hallucinated demand of the Big Other is explicated by Žižek in *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (New York: Norton, 1989). Žižek’s interpretation of Lacan’s Graph of Desire makes it clear that, for Lacan, the self is a signifying chain gone horribly awry in its attempt to decipher the desire of the non-existent yet always-already-posed Big Other (the Big Other’s voice is no more than an act of ventriloquism).

¹⁰ See Elmer DeWitt’s article, “Cyberpunk,” in Maasik and Solomon eds. *Signs of Life in the USA* (Boston: Bedford, 1997). See also the film *Synthetic Pleasures* referred to in n1. Finally, Dirk Shafer’s film *Circuit* (2001) provides a wonderful representation of the queer party circuit. As untotalizable network of parties, substances and sexual encounters, the circuit stands by the side of the rave as cultural form embodying the postmodern experience of epistemic and emotive loss.

¹¹ Such is my interpretation of Madonna’s current New-Age-meets-Jewish-Mysticism-in-the-House-of-Gaultier look and attitude. Transcending her previous images, the majority of which are intensely corporeal and lusty, the Spiritual Girl leaves her shopping bags behind to enter a world of gleaming surfaces and

beaming rays. In *Cyborgs, Simians and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), Donna Haraway describes the dematerialization effected by the machines of post-industry: “Our best machines are made of sunshine; they are all light and clean because they are nothing but signals, electromagnetic waves, a section of a spectrum, and these machines are eminently portable, mobile—a matte of immense human pain in Detroit and Singapore” (“A Cyborg Manifesto,” 153).

¹² Since I am trucking in popular images in this essay, I offer the cover of 80s electronic group Berlin’s EP *Pleasure Victim* (1982) as yet another representation of screens, women and orgasm. Victimized by pleasure, lead singer Terri Nunn performs ecstasy on a TV monitor for an arrested male pervert looking to get off on her getting off. The film *Videodrome* (Cronenberg, 1983) presents a similar paradigm of techno-sexual exhaustion.

¹³ I mention the Pragmatists in an effort to fold William James and Richard Rorty into the mix: James, for his belles-lettrist performance of truth in essays like “The Present Dilemma of Philosophy,” “What Pragmatism Means,” and “Pragmatism’s Conception of Truth” in the collection *Pragmatism and the Meaning of Truth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), and Rorty for his attention to incommensurability (*Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*) and vocabularic plasticity (*Contingency, Irony and Solidarity*). Their innovations (James’ idea of truth as what-works; Rorty’s description of knowledge-claims as incommensurable with one another and personality as incommensurable with itself) all apply to the cybersublime and also to the postmodern sublime in both Tabbi’s and my senses.

¹⁴ With his development of the air pump, a device supposedly permitting neutral, objective, world-disclosing observations of nature, Boyle set up a new paradigm for interpreting and living the world. Inventions such as the air pump allowed him to create and study vacuums, culminating in Boyle’s law, $pV = C$ (the pressure times the volume of a gas is constant for a given mass at a constant temperature). Haraway’s point is that Boyle introduced a new type of living, one through which the human subject separates itself from the world and is thereby able to deduce its axioms and laws. A mere witness or spectator, Boyle’s subject observes phenomena from a distance (just like, within philosophy, Hegel will emerge as history’s spectator).

¹⁵ See Chapter 1 of *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan C _Meets_OncoMouseTM* (New York: Routledge, 1997) for a description of what it means for the modern scientist to be an impassionate witness to the workngs of nature: “The world of subjects and objects was in place, and scientists were on the side of the objects. Acting as objects’ transparent spokesmen, the scientists had the most powerful allies. As men whose only visible trait was their limpid modesty, they inhabited the culture of no culture” (25). See also Haraway’s description of how the modest witness modified male virility such that the traditionally female qualities of modesty and humility became desirable masculine virtues (33).

¹⁶ Case’s project has to fail: print culture cannot mime cyberculture, which it must always approximate. Although Case gives it her best shot, her book, with its “optical” and hypertextual organization, is nowhere near as exciting as the experience of surfing the Net. Furthermore, the gross excess of information crammed

into its pages is wearying and unsexy, the product of what she terms “the dowdy dyke” (versus the trendy and commodified “dildo dyke”). Rose Sélavy, Barbarella and Madonna would never achieve orgasm with this particular wash of information: there is no dumped dummy, no Queen of the Galaxy, no ray of light, but this absence is important, emblamatizing the otherness of the Net from print culture, their radical discontinuity and heterogeneity.

¹⁷ It is of utmost importance that Case’s book ends with a chapter called “Los Angeles: A Topography of Screenic Properties,” since it is the radical suburbanism of Los Angeles, city of Jameson’s clueless wonderment, which is most amenable to the postmodern sublime as it is found in technoimmersiveness and in the idea of the cyberflâneur. The succession of cities—from Paris to New York City for the moderns, from New York City to Los Angeles for the postmoderns—presents one model for interpreting the move from a technological sublime to a cybersublime. Within this schema, Madonna’s own artistic move toward cabbalism stands out as emblematic of a larger cultural trend: she, too, leaves the city for the suburbs. See the collection *Madonna’s Drowned Worlds: New Approaches to Her Cultural Transformations, 1983-2003* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004) for further analyses of what Los Angeles means to the new Madonna.

¹⁸ For a better discussion of the postmodern significance of graffiti art, see Case’s discussion of Chicano decorative practices in Southern California in “Performing City: Chicano Chariots of Fire and Drive-By Art” in her *Domain- Matrix: Performing Lesbian at the End of Print Culture* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996, 227-231).

¹⁹ Beginning with the mathematician Carl Friedrich Gauss in the 18th and 19th centuries, the existence of a post-Euclidian geometry made itself known. Revising Euclid’s famous “fifth postulate” from his *Elements* (roughly, that for each line there exists only one parallel), post-Euclidian geometry redefines physical space by formulating alternatives to the one-parallel-per-line axiom. In the 20th century, this geometry influenced chaos theory, fractal theory, and theories of self-organization, such as autopoiesis. See Leonard Mlodinow’s *Euclid’s Window: The Story of Geometry from Parallel Lines to Hyperspace* (New York: Free Press, 2002) for a deeper analysis of the history of Euclidian and post-Euclidian geometries.

²⁰ “I always like to work on leftovers, doing the leftover things. Things that were discarded, that everybody knew were no good, I always thought had a great potential to be funny. It was like recycling work. I always thought there was a lot of humor in leftovers. When I see an old Esther Williams movie and a hundred girls are jumping off their swings, I think if what the auditions must have been like and all the takes where maybe one girl didn’t have the nerve to jump when she was supposed to, and I think about her leftover on the swing. So that take of the scene was a leftover on the editing room floor—an out-take—and the girl was probably a leftover at that point—she was probably fired—so the whole scene is much funnier than the real scene where everything went right, and the girl who didn’t jump is the star of the out-take” (*Philosophy*, 93).

²¹ See Maurice Berman’s *The Reenchantment of the World* (New York: Bantam Books, 1984), as well as Karl Jung’s work on alchemy and the collective unconscious in “Individual Dream Symbolism in Relation

to Alchemy” in *The Portable Jung* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976).

²² I take the expression “cords of love” from a Chris and Cosey song of the same title on their 1991 album *Pagan Tango* (Play It Again Sam).

²³ In “Coldness and Cruelty,” Gilles Deleuze connects the experience of suspense with masochism: “In Masoch’s novels, it is the moments of suspense that are the climactic moments. It is no exaggeration to say that Masoch was the first novelist to make use of suspense as an essential ingredient of romantic fiction. This is partly because he masochistic rites of torture and suffering imply actual physical suspension (the hero is hung up, crucified or suspended), but also because the woman torturer freezes into postures that identify her with a statue, a painting or a photograph. She suspends her gestures in the act of bringing down the whip or removing her furs; her movement is arrested as she turns to look at herself in the mirror” (33). See the compilation *Masochism* (New York: Zone Books, 1991).

A Syntactic and Semiotic Analysis of Some Yoruba Sexist Proverbs in English Translation: Need for Gender Balance.

By A.A. Asiyanbola

Abstract

Using systemic, structural and contrastive linguistic theories as bases of analysis, the paper identifies and explicates eighteen English-translated Yoruba proverbs associated with women and brings out their inadequacies with regard to gender prejudice against the female race. Out of the eighteen, fourteen are found to be gender-biased while only four of them are gender-neutral and can apply to both sexes. From the foregoing, the paper suggests the second versions of these proverbs that cater for the gender not represented in the first set. Thus, the paper is able to prove that the same set of proverbs can be used as reprimand for both the female and male sexes and not for only one of them as they were originally.

Introduction

Just like among many races of the world, the Yoruba people of the south-western geo-political zone of Nigeria hold the use of proverbs in esteem. This is to the extent that there are different sets of proverbs that accompany various human activities, events, things and ideas (Daramola, 2004; Salami, 2004 and Asiyanbola, 2006). Although some scholars look at proverbs as being archaic and moribund, nowadays; some of these so-called archaic proverbs, which are legacies of our forbears, are still relevant. In this paper, therefore, we have attempted to do five things. First, we have identified some proverbs that are associated with women in Yoruba-Nigerian society. Second, we categorized the proverbs into four classes according to their functions. Third, we translated the proverbs into English for international intelligibility. Fourth,

we examine critically each of the proverbs with regard to their meaning and relevance to the present time. Lastly and most importantly, we attempt at re-creating some of the proverbs that are gender-biased in order to make them gender-neutral, and thereby, prove that the second version of each proverb concerned can also apply to the gender eliminated in the first versions. We have to note *ab-initio* that the Yoruba society that this paper is concerned with is a male-dominated one right from time immemorial and little wonder then that we have proverbs such as we have originally in this corpus. It is very important that we have this at the back of our minds before we proceed further.

Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

The theoretical framework gains insights from structural grammar of Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985) and systemic grammar of Scott, Brockett, Brown and Goddard, 1971 in the analysis of the proverbial sentences considered in this paper. We also found the contrastive analysis of Robert Lado (1957) very helpful as it is basically concerned with how two languages and cultures can be compared and contrasted in terms of their similarities and differences. The two languages that we are concerned with are Yoruba, the source language and English, the second language. Our main concern, however, is to translate into English some Yoruba proverbs in such a way that their meaning and essence are not lost. This, we have done by employing two modes of translation as practised by Olorode (1987) and Adegbite (1988). First, we did a parallel word-to-word translation (PWT) of Yoruba source language (YSL) into English, and lastly, we did a normal sentential translation into English (NST). We have employed this mode of translation to enable us to have a thorough understanding of Yoruba culture as it is presented in English. These, we hope, will not cause the messages in the proverbs to get lost in translation. To categorize and analyze the proverbs, however, we have also employed the methodology of Daramola (2004); Salami (2004) and Asiyanbola (2006). This involves the categorization of the proverbs into four functional or semiotic classes as they are used in Yoruba society. Our theoretical framework also involves the use of linguistic stylistics as practised by Enkvist (1971) and Awonuga (1988) in order to explicate the sentential proverbs to arrive at their meaning, essence and usage in Yoruba society. Lastly, from the linguistic explication of the proverbs, we have been able to generate another version of the patriarchal proverbs out of the eighteen proverbs in our corpus to female-tolerant or gender-neutral versions, since the fourteen proverbs concerned can also apply to both genders and not to the female gender alone. The main concern of the present paper is, undoubtedly, within the purview of applied linguistics as a social science which has to do with the application of the knowledge of linguistics to solving societal problems as asserted by Sealey and Carter (2004).

Data Collection, Analysis and Discussions

The data involve eighteen Yoruba proverbs associated with women. The major source of the proverbs is

through oral medium, while the minor sources are from radio and television broadcasts and programmes in the Yoruba source language (YSL), and Yoruba newspapers and magazines circulated in South-western Nigeria.

In this paper, we have categorized our corpus conveniently into four; namely, proverbs employed to teach men moral lessons about women, proverbs employed to teach women moral lessons about men, proverbs to teach cooperation between the male and female sexes and lastly, those proverbs employed to discourage men from extra-marital practices.

Proverbs employed to teach men moral lessons about women

The proverbs in this category form the mode since they have the highest number compared with the other groups. They are basically employed to teach men moral lessons about women by emphasizing some abnormal behaviour which the Yoruba people think some women have. These proverbs are indirectly instructing men to move away from such women that have such bad social traits. The proverbs do not consider that it is possible for some men to have these traits being condemned in women. The following are the proverbs considered in this category:

- (a) YSL- Ìyàwó tí a fẹ̀ lójú ijó ìran ní wò lọ.
 PWT- (WIFE THAT PRO. MARRY PREP. PARTY WATCHING BE PRO. WATCH GO)
 NST- If you woo a lady at a party, she will go astray when she becomes your wife.

There are two clauses in the above complex sentence that forms the proverb. The first is an adverbial clause of condition starting with *If*. This is followed by a main clause which is a moral instruction to a would-be husband. This is to warn the man to be careful of the source through which he obtains his wife. It is just like a man that starts courting a call-girl he meets in a hotel. The fact lies in the sense that the lady so married might still go back to her trade. However, this Yoruba proverb seems to be one sided. It is possible to re-create another version that will neutralize the gender prejudice against women inherent in it. Thus we can have

- YSL- Ọ̀kùnrin tí a fẹ̀ lojú ijo ìran ni ń wo lọ.
 PWT- If a woman meets a suitor at a dance party; the man may not make a promising husband.

This shows that not being promising or reliable to one's partner is not restricted to the woman race alone; the man can also share from the blame. Why we have the first version in the first place is because the Yoruba society is patriarchal or male-dominated in nature. It is the man that woos or marries the woman and not the other way round in Yoruba culture.

- (b) YSL- Ìyawo tí a fẹ̀ losù aga tí ń fiyan mọ̀le yo-ba-níḅe lorúkọ ọ̀mọ rẹ̀ yoo máa jẹ

PWT- (WIFE PRO MARRY PREP. MONTH PRO. FAMINE THAT AUX2 POUNDED YAM BUILD HOUSE REGRET BE. NAME PRO. AUX2 BE)

NST- If we marry a wife during the month of famine and she decides to be using pounded yam to build a house, the name of her child will be called “regret”.

This proverb has the same structure as the first one in that it also starts with a conditional clause and a main clause. It follows a cause-effect structure, the cause being in the first clause and the effect in the second clause. It is equally a warning to the man to be watchful of the type of wife to marry. In a nutshell, a man should desist from an extravagant wife who cannot manage available resources prudently because if one does not run away from such a woman, when he becomes one’s wife, one will regret having her as a wife as one will not be economically stable since his wife is not prudent. This proverb is also one sided as it is not only a woman that can be extravagant or uneconomical, a man can share from such a blame. So, we can re-render the proverb to take care of the male race to read:

YSL- *Ọko tí a fẹ losù aga tí ń fiyán mọle, yoo-ba níbe lorúkọ ọmọ rẹ yoo máa jẹ.*

PWT- The husband whom we married during the month of famine, and who decided to use pounded yam to build a house will name his child “regret”.

- (c) YSL- *Ápon yan iya o ní oun yan iya. Tani a bá gbé aperẹ iṣu fún tí ko ní ko iyán końko fún ni.*
 PWT- (BACHELOR TAKE PUNISHMENT PRO. SAY PRO. TAKE MOTHER INT. PRO. AUX. GIVE BASKET PREP. YAM TUBERS AUX. NOT AUX. GIVE POUNDED YAM SMALL GIVE PRO.)
 NST- A bachelor has chosen punishment and claims to have chosen a mother; can one give a basket of yam tubers to somebody for the person not to reciprocate the gesture with a plate of pounded yam?

The proverb is rendered in English in three clauses with the first clause as a statement of fact about an irresponsible and foolish bachelor who has chosen a lover-woman as a mother. The second part of the sentence is rendered in form of YES-NO-question meaning that while the foolish bachelor gave out a basket of yam tubers symbolizing something more valuable to his lover, the woman now reciprocated the gesture with a plate of pounded yam, the food supposedly prepared from the yam sent to her. This implies that the lover-woman is only giving the foolish bachelor part of what he has given her. The woman is then wiser and knows what she is doing more than the man who is foolish and has lost a lot of fortune. This proverb is always employed to teach bachelors to go for a young unmarried lady that they can marry to make a home with, rather than befriending or patronizing experienced women who will “shave their heads bald and add black paint to it”, that is, exploit them to the core with little or nothing in return. This proverb, although directed to the male race, can be re-created to cater for the female race too. Thus we can have

YSL- *Áponbinrin yan ibajẹ, o ni oun yan baba, ta ni a ba sun kaaka fún tí ko ní sanwo iṣẹ ẹni fún ni ?*

NST- A spinster adopts immorality and says she adopts “sugar daddy”, which man can we make love with that will not pay his bill?

As we can use the previous proverb to reprimand a frivolous and foolish bachelor, so also can we use the latter to reprimand a foolish and frivolous spinster who goes about with men to satisfy their sexual urge only for the men to pay her handsome money on each encounter. This irresponsible action should be discouraged in both men and women most especially during this period of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV-AIDS), which is becoming endemic in the present-day society.

- (d) YSL- Obìnrin to bímọ́ fún ni ti kúro lálè eni.
 PWT- (WOMAN HAD CHILD PREP. PRO. AUX. LEFT BE CONCUBINE ONE)
 NST- A woman who has got a child for us is no more our concubine.

This proverb is rendered in a long sentence which is initially loaded thus:

M H Q
A woman who has got a child for us is no more our concubine.

With the analysis above, the focus is on the first *complex-nominal group* which is in italics. It is complex because it has modifier-head and qualifier (MHQ) structure. Functionally, it is the *subject* of the sentence which is the most important element in the sentence, hence it is being fronted. Everything in the sentence is about the first complex-nominal group which is the subject of the sentence. This is to tell us the importance that the Yoruba people place on the woman that has children and the children themselves. In the proverb, it implies that the first love encounter of a man and a woman is courtship or *concubinage*, but when the woman has got a child for the man, the woman cannot be referred to as the man's concubine. She is already his wife whether she lives in his house or outside it. The proverb proves to the hilt the Yoruba tradition about the love for the child. The Yoruba people are of the opinion that no matter the degree of hardship a woman receives in her husband's home, it is her children that will absolve her of such hardship. In another vein, no matter how bad a woman may be, the Yoruba people will still regard her or hold her in high esteem because she has children for her husband. It re-enacts another proverb: "Ninu ikoko dudu leko funfun ti n jade" which means "From the black pot comes the white pap". The woman of bad behaviour here is metaphorically referred to as the *black pot* while her child is referred to as the *white pap*. The above proverb can also be reformed to cater for the male race instead of the female race alone, although it will amount to our saying the same thing, meaning-wise, all over again, thus:

YSL- Ọkùnrin tí a bímo fún ti kúro ní alè ẹni.
 NST- A man who is the father of one's child is no more one's concubine.

- (e) YSL- Ẹşin obìnrin soro ń gùn, o le gbéni subù.
 PWT- (HORSE WOMAN HARD PREP. CLIMB PRO. AUX. MAKE ONE FALL)
 NST- It is not good for a man to climb on his wife's horse because he can fall to his death.

The *horse* metaphor has been used in the above proverb to represent the whims and caprices of one's wife. There are some men who are only guided by the whims and dictates of their wives. The proverb is a

warning that such actions will only lead to the downfall of such men. Among the present-day couples in Nigeria, for example, the age of chivalry has been re-enacted in that some men will not use their discretions in the absence of their wives. They just must gain the consent of their wives before they embark on something or the other. This proverb is to check excessive preponderance of one's wife on every matter concerning one as it may be inimical to the existence of the man. The members of the man's extended family may decide to disown him or desert his nuclear family as the Yoruba people value man's independence from his wife as well as the social relationship with the extended family members. The above proverb is, however, gender-biased against women. We need to re-render it to take care of the male race too because it can be applied to men. For example, we can have:

YSL- Eṣin ọkùnrin soroo gùn, o le gbéni subú.

NST- It is not good for a woman to always climb her husband's horse because she can fall to her death.

The new proverb can be used to check over-dependence of some women on the whims of their husbands. This is because as women can disappoint and make their husband disillusioned, so also can some men equally disappoint and make their wives disillusioned.

(f) YSL- Obìnrin bímọ̀ fún ni ko pé ko mo pani, obìnrin ko bímọ̀ fúnni ko pe ko ma pani.

PWT- (WOMAN PRO. PROCREATE PREP. PRO. NOT SAY NOT AUX. KILL PRO.
WOMAN NOT PROCREATE PREP. PRO. NOT SAY NOT KILL PRO.)

NST- Whether a woman has a child or not for her husband does not prevent her from killing him.

The sentence is made up of a *nominal clause* as *subject*, followed by a *complex- negative-verb phrase* (*does not prevent*), a *pronoun* standing for the woman, and a *prepositional phrase*. The proverb is used as a warning to men that they should not be carried away by the fact that their wives have got children for them and so the wives cannot wrong them because whether their wives have children for them or not does not prevent their being killed or persecuted by their wives. The proverb may be an exaggeration or hyperbole, however, the truism is that the wife that will hate the husband will still do so irrespective of her fertility status.

This proverb can also be re-created in order to be more objective as the situation it touches on can apply to both sexes:

YSL- A- bímọ̀ - fún- ọkùnrin ko pé ọkùnrin ma pani a- o- bímọ̀- fún- ọkùnrin ko pé ko má pani.

NST- Whether a woman has a child or not for the husband does not prevent her from being persecuted by the man.

This is to say that if partners can disappoint, it is not only the female partners alone that can do so as

disappointment and disillusionment can come from either of the partners- male and female.

- (g) YSL- *Átigbé iyawo ko to ọ̀n, owo ọ̀bẹ lo soro.*
 PWT- (MARRYING ART. WIFE BE NOT AUX. VALUABLE MONEY STEW BE DIFFICULT)
 NST- Marriage ceremony is not as difficult as maintaining a home.

The structure of the proverb is subject (S), verb (V) and adverbial phrase of manner (A). The proverb is used as a warning to some men who are very hasty about being married. There is a comparison and contrast between the expenses of marriage ceremony and that of maintaining a home of which in time past, the man was wholly responsible. If one wants to marry, one should first of all have a good job to maintain his family. The members of one's extended family can only help one to sponsor one's marriage ceremony with regard to the bride price, bride wealth and reception of guests but they cannot help one to take care of one's nuclear family in term of the day-to-day needs such as feeding, clothing, shelter, children's education and others. The above proverb can have the second version that bother on the female gender because marriage is for two people and not for one person alone:

- YSL- *Àtìlọ̀kọ o to ọ̀n, atìṣebiyawo- to- ñ - fowo- bọ̀kọ lo lo soro.*
 NSL- It is easy for a woman to get married to a man, but it is difficult to be a financial help-mate to the man.

The proverb is recreated here to cater for the role of women in the present-day society which demands that both men and women should be hard-working to cater for their homes. The burden is too heavy for only the husband to bear nowadays unlike as it was in the past when men were to be the sole bread winners of their families and when there was little or no socio-economic challenge. So, women as well as men, should work very hard to bring up their children properly in the present-day society.

- (h) YSL- *O d ì gba tí a bá gbéyawo kí a to morí ẹ̀ni.*
 PWT- (PRO. TILL TIME THAT AUX3. HAVE WIFE THAT PRO. KNOW HEAD ONE)
 NSL: The type of woman we married will dictate our destiny.

This proverb above is directed to the male race. It is equally rooted in the Yoruba belief about destiny (ORI) and about the tradition of marriage where the man is expected to be more active than his female partner among the Yoruba people. It is like the English proverb: "Behind a successful man, there is a lady"; but this Yoruba proverb is saying more than that thus: "Behind a successful or unsuccessful man, there is a lady". This same proverb can be re-created to take care of the women race too, thus:

- YSL- *O digba t í a b á lọ̀kọ kí a to morí ẹ̀ni.*
 NSL- The type of husband a lady has married will dictate her destiny.

So, we can rightly say that: "Behind a successful or unsuccessful woman, there is a man".

Proverbs employed to teach women moral lessons about men

The proverbs in this category include those that are meant to advise the women race to comport themselves to the Yoruba social norm of women submission to the husband, good conduct, prudence in home economic management, care of personal appearance and the entire family:

- (a) YSL- Ìyawo tí a bá fẹ́ran lómọ̀ rẹ́ ń wuni.
 PWT- (WIFE THAT PRO. LOVE BE. CHILD PRO. AUX. LOVE ONE)
 NST- It is the wife that one loves, that one loves her child.

The sentence has an end weight in that it is loaded at the final part:

M H Q Q
 the wife *that one loves that one loves her child*

The focus here is on the wife, not every wife, but the one the husband loves. It behoves the woman to be of good behaviour so that the husband will love her. And, as love is extensive and contagious, it definitely extends to the child or children of such a lucky woman. The proverb can be used to dissuade women from behaving badly to their husbands so that the husbands will love them and thereby love their children.

With the present trends of events in our society, however, this proverb can now be re-created to cater for the male race given the spate of divorce and physical separation of husbands and wives. Thus, it is possible to have

- YSL- Ọ̀kọ̀ tí a bá fẹ́ran lómọ̀ rẹ́ ń wu ni
 NST- It is the husband that we love that we cherish his child.

Nowadays, it is possible to have a single female parent taking care of about two or more children of different husbands. This new proverb is applicable to this situation because it is possible for her to have been married to two or three men at one time or the other. In this situation, the men will have different levels of responsibility and commitment to the woman, who is the mother of their children. Therefore, it is always the current husband who laughs last that will laugh best and it is the children of such husband that will be royally treated at the expense of other children belonging to the unlucky husbands that have been divorced by the woman in question.

- (b) YSL- Papá t ́ a mú ná iyaalé, o n bẹ́ laja fun iyawo.
 PWT- (CANE THAT PRO. AUX. BEAT SENIOR WIFE BE. LEFT PREP. SHELF PREP. JUNIOR WIFE)
 NST- The cane that was used to beat the elderly wife by the husband is left on the shelf for the

younger wife.

The proverb re-enacts the similarity of experience among women as the experience of the elderly wife in the hand of a tyrannical husband is not always different from that of the new wife. This is to warn the newly married wife of a polygamous man that the honey- moon she is experiencing presently may soon elude her when her husband takes another woman for wife. In a situation just like the one we explained previously referring to the present-day society, where divorce and separation have been the order of the day among couples; the proverb can still be re-created thus to cater for the wife who can be overbearing:

YSL- Papa tí a mú na ọkọ akọkọ o n bẹ laja fún ọkọ tuntun.

NST- The cane that was used to beat the first husband is left on the shelf for the new husband.

Overbearing behaviour can be associated with one or the other member of a married couple as it is not restricted to a particular gender. The man or the woman can be overbearing or difficult. Therefore, the above new proverb can be re-rendered, if at all it does not yet exist; but the fact therein is objective and is happening in our present-day society. The proverb, that has been recreated, re-enacts another Yoruba proverb which says: “O ri agbebo adie loja, o sare si i, o nye ogun o n pogun ni oninnkan ta a”. This means: “You saw a hen in the market and you rushed to buy it. If it is productive, the owner will not sell it”.

(c) YSL- Obìnrin sọ wa nù o ni oun ko lori ọkọ

PWT- (WOMAN LOST BEHAVIOUR PRO. SAYS PRO. NOT HAVE HEAD HUSBAND)

NST- A woman is bereft of good behaviour and she complains of not being destined to have a good husband.

The proverb re-enacts the Yoruba belief in “ORI”- *head* or destiny. According to a Yoruba belief, there are two types of head; the inner one and the outer one. The inner one is one’s behaviour while the outer one is the apparent one we are carrying on our neck. It is believed among the Yoruba people that one’s outer head may be good while one’s inner head (behaviour) may be bad. Even, if one’s outer head (appearance) is not good, one may improve on it if one’s inner head is good. Here, in the proverb above, the wife who is of bad behaviour, now finds an alibi or solace in her destiny that she claims does not provide a good husband for her not realizing that she has got a bad behaviour (*bad inner head*). The proverb is used as a reprimand for a woman of bad behaviour to do away with her behaviour so that she can have a stable and happy home. The above proverb can be re-rendered in another version to take care of the other gender, thus:

YSL: Okùnrin sọ wa nù o ní oun ko lorí aya.

NST: A man is bereft of good behaviour yet he complains of not being destined to a good wife.

The new proverb above is telling us that it is not only the woman that can have a bad behaviour only for her to blame her *destiny* for providing for her a bad husband, the man can equally have a bad behaviour towards the wife only to blame his destiny for giving him a bad wife. The lesson inherent in the two proverbs is that there is no absolute good husband or wife, one needs only to adjust to one’s spouse so that

there will not be either divorce or separation.

- (d) YSL- Funfun niyì ehín egùn gaga niyì orùn omù síkísíkísíkí niyì obínrin.
 PWT- (WHITE BE. FEATURE PREP. TEETH CURVE AND ROBUST BE. FEATURE
 PREP. NECK BREAST ROTUND AND ATTRACTIVE BE. FEATURE PREP.
 WOMAN)
 NST- As the white colour is an attribute of the teeth, and rounded- curves are features of the
 neck; being rotund and pointing are features of women's breasts.

In this proverb, there are comparisons of various kinds of the parts of the human body but the focus of the proverb is the woman. It emphasizes the importance of the breasts in the shape of a woman. It is the woman's breasts that distinguish her from the man. It shows that if a woman does not have a rotund and pointed breast, she will not be attractive to men since many men are interested in the woman's breasts as the first focus of attraction. The importance of the breasts in women cannot be overemphasized as they serve as the point of sexual and erotic activity for the couple. It also serves as a medium of feeding the young ones with milk. The fact that modern medical practitioners now emphasized breast-feeding as the sole medium of nutrition for new born babies lends credence to the importance of women's breast which is the focus of this proverb. This is a proverb that educates the woman to take good care of her appearance including the breasts which are very important sources of attraction to the husband on the one hand and means of nutrition for the baby on the other hand.

- (e) YSL- Àdásínìlorun obínrin oḍoḡo eléwùrẹ́ ń wá ewùrẹ́ o ní kí wọn jẹ́ kí oḡo oun dé. Se oḡo rẹ́
 lo gbe ewure ni?
 PWT- (MICHIEF-MAKER WOMAN PRO ODOGO GOAT OWNER AUX SEARCH PREP.
 GOAT PRO. AUX. SAYS LET PRO ALLOW PRO. HUSBAND PRO.
 COME. BE AUX. IT HUSBAND PRO. AUX. STEAL GOAT ART.)
 NST- Mischief- maker, the wife of a certain man called Odogo. The owner of a goat is looking
 for it, Odogo's wife asked people to be patient till the arrival of her husband. Is her
 husband responsible for the stolen goat?

The proverb is talking about a wife that brings an *ill wind* or problem for the husband. It is the kind of woman that will bring her husband into trouble. In the proverb, there is a theft of a goat and the owner of the goat is searching for it. Instead of the wife of Odogo to keep silent and go about her business, she asked the owner to be patient till her husband returns. When the husband returns, we have to expect that he will answer embarrassing questions from the owner of the lost goat.

This proverb can be recreated to allow for gender equality as the wife can bring the husband into trouble so also can the husband bring the wife into trouble. Thus, it is possible to have the second version of the proverb:

YSL- Adásínìlorùn oḡunrin oḍoḡo, eléwùrẹ́ ń wá ewùrẹ́, o ní ká jẹ́ kí iyawo oun dé.

NST- Mischief- maker the husband of Odogo, the owner of a goat is searching for her lost goat, he asked her to be patient till the arrival of his wife.

(f) YSL- Kobìnrin tatọ rin ọkùnrin tatọrin ẹnikan ní láti lomi leyìn ẹsẹ ju ara wọn lọ.

PWT- (LET WOMAN URINATE WALK LET MAN URINATE WALK PRO. BE. PREP. HAVE WATER PREP. BACK FEET MORE THAN BODY OTHER ART.)

NST- Let a woman and a man walk while urinating, one of them will have a messy feet much more than the other.

The above proverb is directed to the woman race that it is not everything that men can do that women can also do and get away with it. This is not to distract the attention of the female race from the modern challenges which enable women to be rubbing shoulders with men at various fields of human endeavours: politics, education, health, science and technology, economics and so on. The proverb only shows the patriarchal or male- dominated setting of the Yoruba race. The proverb is often rendered by Yoruba elders when they are settling a dispute involving infidelity between husband and wife. This is when the wife is trying to retaliate on the cheat-husband by having amorous and sexual affairs outside marriage. This shows that the social expectations from both the women and the men are different in Yoruba land. The Yoruba people expect a woman to be a model of perfection while they do not expect so much from men. In other words, the attention of the society is absolutely paid to the woman while not much attention is paid to the man. This may be because of the role of the woman as the major influence on the child. This brings to fore an English proverb which says: “Educate a man, you only educate one person, but educate a woman, you educate the whole nation”. It shows that if a woman is educated or becomes of a good moral standard, her behaviour or quality will be contagious on the other members of the society as they have that endowed charm to influence others. Thus, it will be disastrous for the society if women behave carelessly and recklessly like their male counterpart. The situation that will result from such action of the women then can be summarized in another Yoruba proverb, thus: “Bí esinsin bá ń jẹ elégbo, awọn eniyan kii ríi, sùgbọ́n nígbá tí elégbo bá ń jẹ esinsin ni wọn má a ń pariwo” meaning that “When a person with a sore is being bitten by house flies, people do not pay attention, but people shout at the top of their voices when the house flies are being eaten by the man with the sore”.

Proverbs employed to teach cooperation between the two genders

The proverbs in this group are degenderized ones in that they state categorically the mutual existence of both genders in a community as one cannot do without the other and that both genders should work together for the progress of their family in the first place, and that of the larger community on the other hand. We have three of this kind of proverbs in our data. They are the following:

(a) YSL- Bọkùnrin réjo bobìnrin pa á, kéjo má sa ti lọ.

PWT- (IF ART MAN SEE ART SNAKE IF WOMAN KILL PRO. THAT SNAKE NOT AUX2 RUN AWAY)

NST- If a man sees a snake and a woman kills it, what matters is the death of the snake.

This proverb is proving gender equality as it implies that both the male and the female sexes are equally important and useful in the society. Not all human endeavours are exclusively for men. For example, it is possible to have a man who has bought a car but cannot drive it only for his wife, who is brave enough, to drive it for him.

- (b) YSL- Oowo soya lobo atampako n̄ dun oko, ọrọ n̄ í í k̄oni ní ȳodi s̄ob̄ọl̄ọ.
 PWT- (BOIL ATTACK WIFE PREP VAGINA THUMB AUX PAIN HUSBAND MATTER BE TEACH PRO BE BRING OUT BUTTOCK PROTRUDING)
 NST- When the wife has boil at her vagina entrance and the husband has whitlow on his thumb, then the next matter is for the wife to allow her husband to make love to her from the rear.

The proverb starts with an adverbial clause of condition or time followed by a main clause that states the need for cooperation between the man and the woman in a particular sexual act or situation. It re-enacts another Yoruba proverb which says “Aso igba la n da fun igba”, meaning “a particular period demands a specific action”. For example, when it is cold, one puts on a coat and when it is hot, one puts on a light dress.

- (c) YSL- Tokotobo lo n şiş̄e oko Ido.
 PWT- (VAGINA AND PENIS BE AUX. WORK PREP. FARM PERSONAGE)
 NST- Both the vagina and the penis should work together for success on Ido’s farm.

This proverb involves a figurative expression called synecdoche in that a part is representing a whole. *Penis* is a symbol representing man, while *vagina* is a symbol for the woman. Both the man and the woman should work together for success in a society. Before the woman can be pregnant, for example, both the woman and the man should be equally serious in their sexual acts. When the child comes to the world, the couple still assiduously work together to take care of the child. Neither of them should be passive in the society, both should be involved in the progress of their community as a single sex cannot do everything all alone.

3.4 Proverbs employed to discourage extra-marital practices

This category of proverbs is also gender-neutral in that they are applicable to both women and men alike. The only one in our corpus is condemning illicit affairs between the two sexes.

- YSL- Ija ni gbeyin ale.
 PWT- (FIGHT BE AUX COME LAST CONCUBINAGE)
 NST- Concubinage comes first, quarrel comes last.

There is a comparison between concubinage, an illicit sexual relationship, and fight which can ensue when there is no love between the couple again. Any sexual relationship between a woman and a man that does not lead to procreation is termed concubinage in Yoruba land. If children are involved, it is no more concubinage but marriage, as far as the Yoruba people are concerned. In a situation where the man or woman, as the case may be, has spent his or her fortune and energy for the sustenance of the union but failed, then the relationship breaks and quarrels ensues. This proverb negates the earlier proverb: “Obinrin bimo fun ni ko bimo fun ni ko pe ko ma pani”. That is, “whether there is procreation or not, a woman that will *kill* the husband will still do so”.

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have identified eighteen Yoruba proverbs that are associated with women. We have categorized these proverbs according to the uses in which they are put in Yoruba-Nigerian setting. For international intelligibility, we have translated the proverbs into English, analyzed and discussed them grammatically and stylistically in order to bring out their meaning, essence and usage among the Yoruba people. Lastly and most importantly, we found out that out of the eighteen proverbs investigated in this paper, that are associated with women, fourteen of them are gender-biased while the remaining four are gender-neutral. We, therefore, attempted at degenderizing each of the fourteen gender-biased proverbs by suggesting another versions that will take care of the other gender not represented in the first set of proverbs. We have done this because it is not only women that should be blamed for some societal problems, for example; divorce, sexual immorality, extravagance and high-handedness; so we should have proverbs that reprimand or warn both sexes since proverbs are expected to guide both the male and female genders and not only one of them.

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Crossed Lines: The Creation of a Multiform, Multiscreen Interactive Film

By Sarah Atkinson

Abstract

This article investigates the multiform, multiscreen interactive film installation, *Crossed Lines* (2002-2007, Dir: Sarah Atkinson). *Crossed Lines* amalgamates multiform plots, multiscreen viewing environments, interactive interfaces and interactive story navigation forms into one storytelling paradigm. My research probes the challenges of designing, authoring and scripting such an ambitious piece, drawing comparisons to traditional approaches to screenplay, authoring and traditional modes of fictional production. Various theories and paradigmatic perspectives are referenced whilst reflecting on the extensive creative developmental and production process of the filmic installation.

Article

Crossed Lines is a multiform (or multiplot) film telling the stories of nine characters in a way that the viewer can constantly explore and switch between all nine forms, and can simultaneously witness all sides of the characters' exchanges which are taking place between the nine remote locations. The starting point of the piece was to conceive a series of narratives that could be viewed as individual stories, but would also reference and link to the other stories, as is the case of the multiplot film genre. As McKee has noted 'multiplot films never develop a central plot; rather they weave together a number of stories of subplot size'. (1998:227) The difference with *Crossed Lines* is that it is delivered through an interactive interface paradigm, meaning that the viewer has the power to navigate and order the stories themselves, and to create a story of varying complexity depending on the number of different characters which are selected through the interface. Multiform plots have already been explored extensively in the commercial cinematic realm. For example, *Shortcuts* (1993, Dir: Robert Altman) traces the actions of twenty-two principal characters, both in parallel and at occasional points of connection. In *Magnolia* (1999, Dir: Paul Thomas Anderson), nine separate yet connected storylines are investigated. *Run Lola Run* (1999, Dir: Tom Tykwer) depicts three alternate realities triggered by the same event. Other influences to *Crossed Lines*

have been non-linear films such as *Memento* (2001, Dir: Christopher Nolan), which is told in two separate narratives. One as a series of black and white scenes shown in chronological order which is intercut with a series of colour scenes which are presented in reverse chronological order; the two narratives converge at the film's climax. Influences also stem from multiscreen presentations such as *Timecode* (2000, Dir: Mike Figgis), which incorporates four simultaneous ninety minute takes shot by four different cameras and is presented to the viewer in a screen divided into quarters. This type of approach is not usual within feature film production. As Boyd Davis has theorised;

Polyptychal approaches survive, indeed flourish, in some kinds of factual television, where the agenda is a quite different one from that of fictional narrative... In the classical film, only temporal, not spatial, juxtaposition of separate views is generally permitted. (76:2002)

Interactive film presentations have also been created through cinematic, DVD and computer interfaces. The viewer of such content 'is thus no longer merely an observer but a user of the film.' (Himmelsbach, in Shaw, J and Weibel, P. 2003:236) The first known interactive cinematic system is cited by Hales (2005) as being Kinoautomat premiering at Expo '67 in Montreal:

In a specially constructed voting cinema, the 124 audience members at each screening could vote on how Mr Novak should act at five key moments in the film by pressing red or green buttons on their seats. (2005:55)

Interactive interfaces have become commonplace within the DVD mode of delivery. Films such as *My Little Eye* (2002: Mark Evans) have been presented in an alternative screen interface on DVD, in this case through a web browser to enhance the narrative, which is centred on a reality web cast. Interactive story navigation systems have also been delivered on DVD. The format architecture allows 'additional content to be embedded into the experience of watching a feature film, similar to hyperlinks within a web page'. (Atkinson, 2007:22) One such example, *Tender Loving Care* (2000, Dir: David Wheeler) allows the viewer to navigate and witness alternate content dependant on questions that they answer after each chapter of the film. These types of films in both their content—and story design—in the former examples, and in their form in the latter, challenge the dominant conventions of traditional classical film, and are far removed from 'normative diegetic exposition.' (Grieb, 2002:157) This is precisely the area in which the conception of *Crossed Lines* was posited.

There's a conflict between interactivity and storytelling. Most people imagine there's a spectrum between conventional written stories on one side and total interactivity on the other. But I believe what you really have are two safe havens separated by a pit of hell that can absorb endless amounts of skill, time and resources (Freitag in Platt 1997:195)

Crossed Lines is presented as a large-scale nine-screen projection, which is controlled by the use of a telephone interface. The nine numerical buttons of the telephone keypad mirror the layout of the nine video screens establishing a firm visual relationship between the interface and screen (see figure 1). A familiar,

simplistic and efficient user interface is used intentionally since it is a ubiquitous piece of hardware that can be operated intuitively, with no or very minimal instruction for the user. As McLuhan states, ‘the telephone demands complete participation’ (1964:267) and is ‘an irresistible intruder in time or place’ (1964:271). In *Crossed Lines* the user presses one of the keys, (numbers 1-9), and the result of their action is then immediately apparent on the corresponding screen in that a dramatic action is triggered, for example, a phone rings or someone walks into frame, thus giving the operator an immediate sense of user agency. In technical terms, what the user’s key press actually activates is a switch in video streams. The corresponding screen (numbered 1-9 in exactly the same way the phone keys are positioned, the numbers run chronologically from left to right, top to bottom) changes to a new scene, as does one or more of the other screens depending on which characters are in conversation. This is consistent throughout the entire piece. It is therefore apparent to the user early on in the experience that they are driving the narrative. On the nine screens, the user is faced by nine characters (Figure 2) each of whom are seen or will be seen as the narrative progresses, on the telephone, and then communicating with one another solely through the use of the telephone. The approach taken to the production of the installation was to purposefully heighten and enhance the experience of the multiple narratives; and to encourage user engagement and immersion.

With the telephone, there occurs the extension of ear and voice that is a kind of extra sensory perception. With television came the extension of the sense of touch or sense of interplay that even more intimately involves the entire sensorium. (McLuhan, 1964:266)



Figure 1: Crossed Lines Interface



Figure 2: Crossed Lines: Nine Screen Projection

The comparison to the television here implied is of note, since the aspect ratio of the screen depicted in figure 2 is more akin to a television set and its 4:3 dimensions than it is to a 16:9 cinema screen. The use of DV also contributes to the installation's televisual aesthetic.

When the handset is first lifted in the installation, the user is read the following pre recorded verbal instruction:

Welcome to Crossed Lines. There are nine people within this telephone exchange who communicate solely through the use of their telephones. You can activate their phones by pressing the corresponding key on the telephone keypad in front of you.

There is no other instruction presented to the user, either as printed documentation or on the screen itself. Aside from the nine video streams, there are no additional on-screen buttons or visual cues, and the visual composition to that illustrated in figure 2 is not changed at any time. As Boyd Davis has noted in similar interactive pieces:

The elimination of screen-furniture, together with the intuitive simplicity of the interaction, seem to hold some promise of making even an aggregate display feel natural. What is offered to the user is another segment of the diegesis, not an extra-diegetic button or control (2002:79)

This sense of the natural is of paramount importance to the piece and will be discussed further in a

moment. It is difficult to escape from the 'vending machine paradigm' mode of interactivity in such installations (Hales, 2005:61), where there is a sense that there is nothing of any valued significance happening other than the pressing of a button to select an item. However, this was tackled in *Crossed Lines* by the use of the interface being an intrinsic element of the viewer's experience of the narratives, to allow a sense of 'transparent immediacy' (Bolter and Grusin, 1999); as if the viewer is listening to the intimate exchanges in real time, it is as if they themselves are experiencing the result of a crossed line, as they enter the installation space and pick up the phone to listen in. The action of listening to the intimate exchanges on the screens also mirrors the actions of the characters and the stories that unfold on the multiple screens adding a further sense of narrative enhancement. Further retrospective investigation is planned into the user experience of the piece, as Sloane has noted:

The equipment used to present the story to the reader is not an adequate site for rhetorical analysis of how stories act on their readers. (2000:126)

In addition to its study of story structure and interface, *Crossed Lines* also explores concepts of surveillance and voyeurism as critical metaphors and also as dramatic motifs. The camera is locked off in each of the nine screens ensuring that the nine frames are static throughout. This was a thematic decision and functioned as a narrative device since the locked off and passive camera connotes surveillance. The viewer is therefore positioned as the voyeur. This theme is also prevalent in the use of the viewer's listening device; the telephone handset. The viewer is also the eavesdropper. To further emphasise the theme of voyeurism and surveillance, each individual scene was shot as one continuous take with no cuts in either sound or picture, to give the viewer the impression that they are experiencing the events in real time. Artopoulos cites Deleuze, and the concept of the 'time-image', which characterises films that use different forms of montage to manipulate the relations between time, space and the duration of the movie. (2006:214) In terms of time, there is no such manipulation in *Crossed Lines*. Events appear to play out in real and in correct chronological time order. During the filming of the scenes, each character was shot individually; the actors heard the dialogue to respond to through an earpiece. In later shoots, the actors heard the pre-recorded dialogue through the earpiece, to which they then had to respond in complete synchronicity. Dialogue had to fit exactly and overlapping had to be avoided in order to eliminate any postproduction manipulation. If editorial cuts were to have been executed to structure scenes, if changes in shot size and camera movement were to be included, not only would the staging of real time be ruptured, the authenticity and actuality of the piece would also be compromised. A sense of authorial control would also have been imposed compromising the interactive intentions of the piece. As it is, by using the telephone paradigm as a cutting device, scenes are effectively actioned and sliced in two by the user. The Director/Author does not act as the editor. Instead, the user enacts that responsibility. If cuts had been put in, then it would also have emulated a conventional film. Whilst arguably, this still remains the case, there is less of a sense of stage management and manipulation. The classical cinematic codes of using different shot sizes to control the dramatic tensions within a film is absent, for example; cutting to a close up to raise the viewer's awareness of heightened emotion within a character or scene. In this sense, the comparison of the installation to the television can again be drawn, with the telephone keypad acting as a remote control.

Television is encountered through techniques such as channel hopping, muting, and multiscreens, through multiple association in different contexts or fragmented through time-delay and by report (Brown, N, Del Favero, D, Shaw, J and Weibel, P, 2003:312)

This analogy is particularly relevant since viewers can choose to continually favour one character by repeatedly pressing the corresponding key on the telephone keypad, or they can explore the multiple strands by pressing a different key at each interactive juncture. These are the points at which a conversational interchange has finished, and each of the nine screens reverts back to looped 'waiting' states. Viewers can also interrupt the story flow at any time, by pressing any key to intercept another conversation. *Crossed Lines* therefore addresses viewers' contemporary modes of viewing and reception. This type of fractured viewing behaviour is also comparable to viewers' experiences of television serial dramas in which they have become well versed in the archetypal characters, episodic structure and predictive storylines. Viewers are able to skip action, to miss whole weekly episodes and yet are still able to pick up from their point of narrative departure as they have developed an awareness and fluency in the language of the medium. The ability to channel surf, to pick and choose, to make random selections, obviously has a profound effect on the different readings of the visual text and the different narratives that are revealed by the users' choices. This will certainly be investigated further during user analysis of the piece, which will be discussed in the conclusion of this article. The choice of a locked off camera also provided consistency; each of the frames needed to be similar in both composition and shot size, action needed to be equal and democratic, so that no one frame was favoured, and viewers could not be influenced on their selections on this basis. A mid shot was therefore selected as the most appropriate shot, this shot size also allowed key elements of the locale to be shown. In interactive works, says Garrand, 'special attention is paid to sets and props to provide exposition' (1997:76) This was also ensured through the various atmospheric audio beds that were used to provide the viewer/listener with further environmental information. The sound of keyboards tapping, and constant talking in a multiplicity of voices can be heard in screen two to indicate Phillip's position of working in a busy, open plan office. In screen four, the viewer can hear constant background dialogue, but this is rather more subdued within Maureen's environment of a Samaritan call centre. These narrative techniques are crucial communication tools in this type of narrative. As David Riordan points out, 'if you spend time introducing the characters, the viewer is not being asked to do anything. In interactive, that is death. Instead you need to discover the back-story more as you go' (Garrand, 1997:75).

The use of the telephone provides an obvious interplay between form and content. The detailed narrative strands were developed around this. The title *Crossed Lines* makes specific reference to the telephone interface chosen. A paradigm of a crossed line is used at certain points of the piece. Attitudes towards chaos and confusion lying behind crossed lines are central to the narrative. An example of this occurs in which Phillip (screen two) and Gary (scene seven) are connected together, seemingly by the viewer's interactions. An intriguing exchange takes place in which an argument develops where the characters are attempting to ascertain who telephoned whom, and then Gary confesses to an act of violence that he has recently committed. Instances of physical crossed lines also occur towards the climax of some of the narratives, in which characters enter other characters frames (see example in figure 3) Julie abandons her car in screen three, and enters the phone box in screen seven, Martin leaves his screen, five, to enter Julie's

car in screen three, James from screen one visits Brenda in screen four, during which time Phillip from screen two enters James' flat in screen one.



Figure 3: Crossing boundaries: In screen three, Julie has left her car and has appeared with Gary in screen seven. Julie's mother Maureen in screen six tries to calm Gary down unaware that her daughter has just entered the phone box. A simultaneous exchange is also taking place between James, screen one and Mandy, screen nine. Paramedics tend to Bob in screen eight, in a failed attempt to resuscitate him.

The narrative was purposefully focussed as a naturalistic piece, borrowing certain codes and conventions from British television drama in its choice of storyline and characters. It was grounded in real life ideas as opposed to fantacism, which is characteristic of many interactive projects, which tend to be far more abstract and exploratory. The work of Toni Dove exemplifies this tendency. Within her compelling interactive cinema installations, the theme of time travel is prevalent. Users are able to interact with a physical motion-tracking interface which in turn effects the visual images that are projected. By stepping on a motion sensor floor mat in the installation *Artificial Changelings* (1998) users are able to step in and out of different time zones; to travel back and forth in time. There are obvious visual signifiers imbued in the different character's costumes which communicate to the user the frame of time which they are in; future or past. The challenge of *Crossed Lines* was to design an experience that had sufficient openness and freedom of navigation whilst maintaining the naturalism of the storylines and of the user experience, and also communicating a cohesive narrative. Platt has commented that 'realism isn't a luxury in interactive

entertainment'. (1997:197) This was an area that was a primary investigative focus of the piece and a key aim was to actively challenge this notion through practice based experimentation. Mateas and Stern have proposed that;

stories with looser, sparser event structures (plots) will be easier to implement in an interactive medium (require less generativity) (2005)

Bruckman differs, suggesting that 'A balance must be struck between giving the viewer freedom and maintaining narrative coherence' (In Garrand, 1997:68) *Crossed Lines* was indeed conceived as striking a balance between these two view points. A definite methodological intention of this piece was to develop a more fluid interface and storytelling experience, allowing the viewer to explore the stories, rather than to make decisions at forced points. This has been the case with several other web and film interactive projects in which the viewer is subject to a branching tree structure in which they can select a different storyline. Examples of this genre are *Jack Point Jack* (2002, Dir: Michael Stelzer) and *Dual* (Dir: Buckley Hubbard). These two web based interactive short films invite viewers to instruct the main male protagonist on the different courses of action that he can take, based on a choice point selection system at set points in the story.



Figure 4: Graphical map of branching points in the interactive movie dual

In branching tree interactive narrative structures, users cannot sidestep through the story, they are only able to move forwards limited by 'dual' the choices made available to them. In projects with longer running times, this also presents the producer of the content with a branching explosion, in which infinite numbers of alternate scenes would need to be recorded in order to satisfy the various different narrative pathways that could be followed. Dixon has argued of the commercial viability of interactive cinema;

To give enough breadth to differentiate different plotlines and to follow the stories of different individual characters takes vast amounts of film, and consequently vast budgets, and the key

problem is that most of it will not be seen. (2007:577)

Exploring an alternative to the branching tree form of exposition, to allow sufficient opportunities for choice and navigation was key in designing and defining the interactivity of *Crossed Lines*. This was of paramount concern in the scripting of the piece, and the subsequent structure of the storylines and scenes. The nine narratives in *Crossed Lines* are designed to run alongside one another, and to intersect with one another at strategic points. The user is never restricted by the amount of choices that are available to them, only in the sense that they have a choice of nine buttons to press (see figure 5) Various combinations of the story can therefore be viewed, and this will be an entirely different experience for every user. The user inevitably will make choices through the narrative and structure their own experiences and journeys through the set narratives. This interactive dichotomy presented in the comparison of branching tree structures and the one utilised in *Crossed Lines* is illustrated in Peacocks definition of interactive media being characterised in two ways, as redundant or entropic;

Redundancy is a term used to refer to the viewer's experience of a sequence of events that is highly predictable, where options are closed... entropy refers to experiences of sequences which are unpredictable, where options are open and remain open, possibly appearing to be discontinuous or disconnected (2000:23)

In this sense, the intention was certainly to explore the entropic possibilities presented by the structure of *Crossed Lines*. In the first section of *Crossed Lines*, the same scenes can be accessed at different points. Once a scene has been viewed, even partially, the user cannot revisit the same scene, unless the narrative is reset at any point by the user pressing the 0 key on the telephone handset. This restriction was imposed to maintain a sense of real time, of reality, and not to create an environment in which the user could transcend time boundaries as in the examples of Toni Dove's work.

The writing of the screenplay was approached by firstly developing nine identifiable and clearly defined characters (or archetypes) and then by mapping the various different and complex relationships between them (see figure 6 for brief character descriptions and relationship details). Contrasting character types were chosen and developed, strong affirmative types, (James, Phillip, Julie and Brenda) were purposefully placed against weaker more disturbed characters (Gary, Martin, Mandy, Maureen and Bob). There was a definite balance of ages and gender. There was also a balance of genre albeit in a subtle sense, in terms of the characters that were used to represent the specific genres. Phillip is the embodiment of the comedic, Julie, Bob and Gary exemplify the victims of tragedy and Martin personifies a representation of the villain in a thriller. The boundaries between the genres become blurred as different characters from different genres engage with one another. As Gilligan has noted in commenting on other interactive projects, humour, which is not a commonly used form of expression in interactivity, could be achieved by 'contrasting characters and information' (Gilligan, in Garrand, 1997:78) This is certainly the case in scenes when Phillip, is positioned into two of the more serious storylines; that of Gary and Bob, with humorous results. Viewers of *Crossed Lines* can therefore choose to follow the genre of their choice through the representative character or mix and match through varied choices.

	Mandy <i>Sex line operator</i> Sullen and preoccupied	Bob	Gary	Maureen	Martin	Brenda	Julie	Phillip
James <i>Tarot card reader</i> A confident womaniser	Mandy calls James for anonymous tarot readings.	James calls Bob from Brenda's phone when he discovers that he is a victim of her fraudulent credit card activities.	No connection.	Maureen calls James for an anonymous tarot reading.	No Connection	James and Brenda are having an on-off sexual relationship. Brenda is seeking revenge for an affair she suspects James is having.	No connection.	Phillip calls James part of his plot with Brenda to seek revenge. He also enters his flat at a later scene the narrative to sabotage his tarot cards and to steal his wallet.
Phillip <i>Catalogue call centre agent</i> Camp and quick witted	Phillip speaks to Mandy from James' phone when he enters his flat to take his credit card.	Bob calls the catalogue order line from his Sunday newspaper and is connected to Phillip.	Crossed Line.	Maureen calls the catalogue line to place an order and is connected to Phillip.	Phillip calls Martin to let him know about Gary in the phone box. He knows him through Brenda's criminal connection.	Friends/Conning Associates, they speak with one another in order to plot for Phillip to steal James' wallet.	No connection.	
Julie <i>Motorist stuck in her broken down car</i> Young, naive and trusting	They are good friends and speak throughout as they are meeting That evening to go out.	Crossed Line.	They meet at the climax of the narrative, when Julie runs into the phone box to call for help.	Mother and Daughter. Maureen becomes increasingly worried for Julie's safety.	Martin intercepts Julie's calls for assistance and calls to taunt and stalk her.	No Connection		
Brenda <i>Credit card fraudster</i> Unpleasant and selfish	Mother and Daughter; a troubled and distant relationship.	Brenda targets Bob to dishonestly obtain his credit card number.	No connection.	No connection.	No connection.			
Martin <i>Telephone hacker and stalker</i> Sinister and controlling	Martin phones the sex line to speak to Mandy.	Father and Son, they only speak in the conclusion of the narrative when Bob calls Martin for help.	Martin calls Gary in the phone box to taunt him, after being given the number by Phillip.	Maureen speaks to Martin at the climax of the narrative when he answers Julie's phone from her car.				
Maureen <i>Telephone Samaritan</i> Kind and well meaning	No connection.	No connection.	Gary calls The Samaritans and is confides in Maureen on a number of occasions.					
Gary <i>Alcoholic depressive</i> Aggressive and desperate	Gary calls the sex line from the phone box and speaks to Mandy.	No connection.						
Bob <i>Confused elderly man</i> Lonely And vulnerable	Bob calls Mandy from a number in his Sunday supplement.							

Figure 6: Grid of relationships and connections between the nine characters

Action between the characters was broken down into scenes or ‘conversations’ – the motivation point of the commencement of each scene/conversation is signalled by a telephone ring, this is triggered by the viewer’s key press, and is punctuated to end by a character’s telephone being put down. It was essential to structure the narrative segments in this way, as O’Meara has observed, ‘every experience in an interactive ought to be a tiny story or scene. Even if it’s short, it still needs to have a beginning, middle and end’. (In Garrand, 1994:76) This was certainly the basis on which each of the scenes in *Crossed Lines* were structured. Given the problems that can arise within a potentially fractured viewing experience, in what has been scripted as a fully formed narrative, the challenge of ensuring that viewers received essential expositional elements was paramount.

The same information will have to appear in a number of different scenes, but it can’t be presented in exactly the same way or the player will become bored with hearing it on repeated viewings. Instead, the writer has to feed the essential information into all the possible story tracks but do it differently each time. (Garrand, 1997:76)

The conversations are by their very nature ‘dialogue heavy’, since characters are inclined to explicitly state their intentions, being on the telephone, they are not afforded the additional communication tools of body language and facial expression. The usual screenwriting rule of using ‘visual before aural’ (Costello, 2004:82) indicators does not necessarily apply in this instance, especially given the fact that the conventional cinematic tools such as camera movement, shot changes, non-diegetic sound and music are also absent. Costello encourages the writer to omit unnecessary dialogue, if the same information can be given visually, then to cut a line or a word. This economical approach to language is not appropriate given the nature of all the scenes and the emphasised actuality of the piece. Cinematic codes and conventions are once again not appropriate, again arguably making the piece more like television in its form, content and potential reception.

In terms of approaching the formatting of the script, Friedman claims that ‘no clearly defined format has come to the fore such as those that exist for the film and television worlds’. (2006:266) Handler-Miller asserts that ‘formats for interactive scripts vary widely. Sometimes they resemble the format for feature films, but incorporate instructions for interactive situations’ (2004:197) In the case of *Crossed Lines* at traditional format was followed, then additional elements not present in traditional scripts, were employed to identify the scene numbers. These scene numbers precede the master scene line in every instance (see figure 4). The first digit refers to the grid number in which the scene is visible, and the second is a shooting script number, to identify the sequence of scenes to be shot during the principle photography stage.

NINE INDIVIDUAL SCREENS, POSITIONED IN A GRID THREE BY THREE

In each we see a character.

1.1.INT. JAMES’ OFFICE - DAY

James sits at a candlelit desk, next to a telephone, shuffling a deck of tarot cards.

2.2.INT. MARTIN'S OFFICE - DAY - SAME

Martin is in a darkened attic room, the light of a computer screen illuminates his face as he frantically taps into a keyboard, he stares intently at the computer screen, biting his lip and concentrating.

3.3.INT. JULIE'S CAR - DAY – SAME

Julie is driving along in a car in an inner-city setting. She taps, sings and dances in her seat to an upbeat house track playing on the radio.

4.4.INT. MANDY'S OFFICE - DAY - SAME

Mandy is sat at a desk in a very tatty office environment next to a telephone. She is chewing gum, which she pulls in and out of her mouth with her fingers.

5.5.INT. BOB'S LIVING ROOM - DAY - SAME

Bob sits on an arm-chair, fast asleep with his head tilted to one side, with a telephone receiver cradled between his ear and his shoulder, and a newspaper resting on his lap.

6.6.INT. MAUREEN'S OFFICE - DAY - SAME

We see a phone in an empty booth. There are self-help and medical leaflets surrounding the phone. There's call centre noise in the background.

7.7.INT. PHILLIP'S CALL CENTRE OFFICE - DAY - SAME

Phillip sits in a sterile office environment wearing a head set. He looks around the office and chats to people, eats and flicks through a magazine.

8.8.INT. BRENDA'S HOUSE - DAY - SAME

We see a chintzy hall way and a pseudo antique phone, fake flowers and tacky ornament. There is no character visible in the frame.

9.9.INT. PUBLIC TELEPHONE BOX - DAY - SAME

We see wide-angle view taken from the top corner of an empty phone box in a quiet street.

INT. GALLERY INSTALLATION – DAY – SAME

Viewer/Listener picks up the phone receiver in the installation to listen.

INSTRUCTIONAL V.O.

Welcome to crossed lines. There are nine people within this telephone exchange who communicate solely through the use of their telephones. You can activate their phones by pressing the corresponding key on the telephone keypad in front of you.

1.10.INT. JAMES' OFFICE - DAY - CONTINUOUS

James deals the cards that he has been shuffling into five piles as if doing a tarot reading for himself. He is serious throughout.

2.11.INT. MARTIN'S OFFICE - DAY - SAME

Martin's tapping and concentrating continues as he turns the speakers up, the sound of police radios can be heard. He starts to pick up what sounds like telephone conversations, A man can be heard dictating directions as to his whereabouts on the motorway.

3.12 etc...

Figure 7: Script excerpt from *Crossed Lines*

While a viewer is witnessing a conversation, action continues in each of the remaining 'non-conversational' frames. We see the other characters in looped action, waiting for a call or going about their business. For each scene, therefore it was essential that all nine screens were scripted in the way shown in figure 7, even if there was no dialogue for a particular character; a description of the action of their screen was essential, as dependant on the point in time in the story, the characters in the non conversational frames would be waiting in a different way, which would be indicative of their current stage in their own narrative journeys. In screen seven, for example, Gary, the inhabitant of the phone box, becomes increasingly agitated as the narrative progresses as he either swigs from a bottle of neat rum or props himself against the phone. Similarly Julie, in screen three, stranded in her broken down car becomes visibly anxious as night falls, her camera switches to night vision as the light levels lower increasing the sense of user surveillance. The viewer witnesses her increased anxiety as she is unknowingly, telephonically stalked by Martin, the character who inhabits his phone-hacking world within screen five. The passage of time in *Crossed Lines* was initially signified within the motif of a clock which was used in the scene in which Bob, the old man sat. This frame was tightened during the postproduction phase in order to be of comparable composition to the other eight screens, as incorporating the clock meant that the shot was too wide (figure 8). The two exterior scenes are now used as the key signifiers of the natural passage of time from early evening, to dusk, to nightfall (figure 9). These changes happen in tandem with one another, again to emphasise the real time experience of the piece, to indicate that the action of all nine screens is occurring in the same time frame. Obviously faster, impulsive viewers will experience this passage of time at an accelerated rate compared to slower more methodical viewers.

In form and presentation, the script appears as any other, but this is only a hint at the final film, as it cannot encompass all of the narrative possibilities. The variation in order and structure of the script is set in motion by the viewers' various interactions. The script includes figure 5 as a visual guide indicating the layout and the corresponding numbering of the scenes to enable those working on the project a greater understanding of the structure of the piece. As Friedman states 'writing for interactive media will require a new layout to accommodate not only more elements of media production but also the non linear form

and the interactive possibilities of the program'. (2006:254)

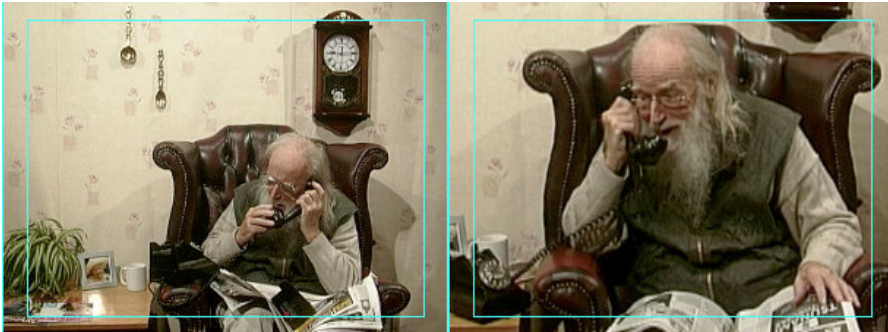


Figure 8: A change of frame size; initially the time on the clock corresponded with the actual screen time of the events taking place in each of the nine screens.

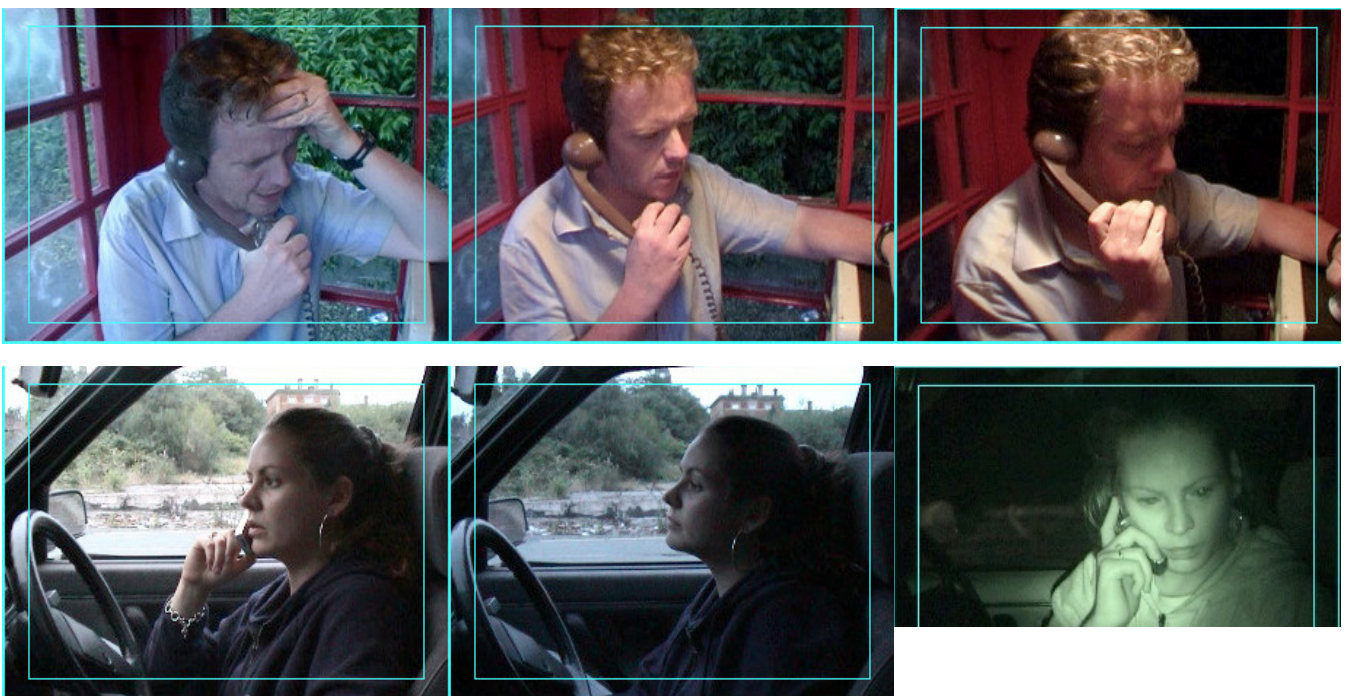


Figure 9: The passage of time is illustrated in the piece by the changing lighting conditions in screens three and seven.

To provide further analysis of the piece, audience engagement and reception need to be considered, since, as Tremblay has observed, when navigating through such 'narrative spaces, which present multiple perspectives and simultaneous levels, the user must bring his or her subjectivity into play.' (Tremblay, 2004) Through the *Crossed Lines* project, there is a method to not only understand subjectivity in the media, but

also to track its applications. Audience studies will now be undertaken to gauge the reception of *Crossed Lines*; to build patterns of how the different story content has been viewed and accessed. A secondary level of scripting has been incorporated into the game design to enable data to be generated concerning the time spent in the different scenes, the different routes chosen, character and storyline popularity, and the overall length of the story experience. The output of this scripting is shown in figure 10 and can be used to generate and visualise this data. In-depth interviews with participants in the piece will also be undertaken to generate qualitative data.

```
-- "Viewer started watching movie at: 15:14:16"
-- "Viewer entered scenes10to18 at 15:14:45"
-- "Viewer selected scene17slug at 15:14:52"
-- "Viewer selected scene15slug at 15:15:02"
-- "Viewer selected scene18slug at 15:15:12"
-- "Viewer selected scene14slug at 15:15:21"
-- "Viewer selected scene10slug at 15:15:31"
-- "Viewer selected scene12slug at 15:15:39"
-- "Viewer selected scene13slug at 15:15:47"
-- "Viewer left scenes10to18 at 15:15:51"
-- "Viewer entered scene27 at 15:15:51"
-- "Viewer left scene27 at 15:15:58"
-- "Viewer entered scene24 at 15:15:58"
-- "Viewer left scene24 at 15:16:44"
-- "Viewer entered scene19 at 15:16:44"
-- "Viewer left scene19 at 15:16:56"
-- "Viewer entered scene31 at 15:16:56"
-- "Viewer left scene31 at 15:17:04"
-- "Viewer entered scene20 at 15:17:04"
-- "Viewer left scene20 at 15:17:15"
-- "Viewer entered scene23 at 15:17:15"
-- "Viewer left scene23 at 15:17:22"
-- "Viewer entered scene26 at 15:17:22"
-- "Viewer left scene26 at 15:17:26"
-- "Viewer entered scene25 at 15:17:26"
-- "Viewer left scene25 at 15:17:30"
-- "Viewer entered scene39 at 15:17:30"
-- "Viewer left scene39 at 15:17:37"
-- "Viewer entered scene45 at 15:17:37"
-- "Viewer left scene45 at 15:17:48"
-- "Viewer entered scene49-53END at 15:17:48"
-- "keypressed=" 7
-- "keypressed=" 7
```

```
-- "Viewer left scene49-53END at 15:18:05"
-- "Viewer entered scene54END at 15:18:05"
-- "Viewer left scene54END at 15:19:09"
-- "This movie was watched by: sarah"
-- "viewer stopped the movie at: 15:20:09"
```

Figure 10: Text file generated by the secondary layer of scripting as the user interacts with *Crossed Lines*

This creative process demonstrates the insights of the various disciplines involved; from conception, to plotting, scripting, filming, directing, picture and sound editing and interactive authoring. *Crossed Lines* brings forward debates and discourse surrounding alternate narrative structures, user engagement and interface. *Crossed Lines* is a multigenre hybrid of film, television and game which references, reflects and celebrates its predecessors and looks toward new paradigms of challenging filmic storytelling. It presents a malleable form of digital fiction, which takes into consideration the viewer's heightened awareness of narrative structure and plays to the sense of instant gratification inherent in the television and gaming audience.

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New Technology and the Universal Service Obligation in Australia: Drifting towards Exclusion?

By Mike Kent

The ability for citizens to communicate with each other and the state is an enduring foundation of democracy. In a country such as Australia, with its relatively sparse and widely dispersed population, the ability to link the citizenship remotely through technology facilitated the development of nationalist ideologies when the separated colonies united at the time of Federation in 1901. The Universal Service Obligation is the mechanism that ensures that every Australian is linked through the telephone network, and potentially through the Internet. However the system is not without its flaws. There are serious implications for those who fall outside this ‘universal’ ability to communicate.

This article tracks the development of the Universal Service Obligation: the mechanism through which the Australian Government requires telecommunications companies – primarily Telstra – to provide a minimum level of telephone service to all Australians. Exactly what constitutes that basic service, how, and at what level it is provided is a subject of debate that centres on how the words *universal*, *service* and *obligation* are interpreted and defined. The colonial past provides the framework for the current debates about the rollout of new telecommunications infrastructure. The development of telecommunications in Australia and the role of government in that development have changed significantly over time, from the Postmaster-General’s Department as a government department through the deregulation of the telecommunications sector and the privatisation of Telstra. The history of language and ideology of access to the telecommunication network informs its present positioning.

On February 6, 2002, ten-year-old Sam Boulding died when he suffered an asthma attack while at his home, an isolated property in Kergunya in northeast Victoria. His mother Rose Boulding who is blind was unable to call for help because her phone was not working despite having travelled to a public payphone to ask Telstra to repair it ten days earlier.¹ Her partner ran to a neighbouring property to call for an ambulance, and they eventually drove to a nearby post office to again call for help and meet the ambulance after the child had collapsed. Telstra admitted that it had failed to fix her broken phone line in a timely manner despite her request that they do so (which she was only able to make with considerable effort by travelling

to a public telephone in a nearby town).²

This case is a tragedy but it does highlight important arguments about telecommunications service in Australia, and specifically what is considered a level of acceptable service. Access to essential services is made through the telephone. In this case the ‘essential’ service was not just an ambulance, although this was the most crucial, but also not without some sense of irony, a telephone was needed to report a fault in the telephone service. This access via the phone to these services is of greater importance in rural areas where there are fewer alternative forms of access to services that are provided through the telephone network,³ and fewer alternate locations to source access to the telephone network, such as public telephones.⁴

The fact that the family eventually travelled to a post office to access a telephone and to meet the ambulance also serves to illustrate the role of building and institution as both a point of access to public services, and also its historic link to telecommunications in Australia. Rose Boulding’s disability also highlights questions of access to the telephone network for those with disabilities and whose responsibility it is to provide these services. Finally, the perceived role of Telstra, a private company, albeit at that stage still half owned by the Australian Government, to provide telephone services to the Boulding family, and their failure to provide timely repairs raises the question of who bears social and economic responsibility for access to the telephone network in Australia and how services are delivered.

Five years later Telstra Corporation, the company that did not live up to the communities expectations in 2002, has just had its final shares transferred out of the control of the Australian Government and into the Northern Trust managed Future Fund,⁵ as its transformation from a publicly held asset to a fully independent private entity is completed. Some of the consequences of this are already highly visible in the increasingly acrimonious relationship between the government and the company’s management,⁶ as the corporation looks to put profit before any notion of public service, a not unreasonable position for an entity that exists to generate a return for its shareholders. The level of public service provided by the Australian telecommunications network is now, more than ever, dependent on competent government regulation.

At the same time previously separate areas of communications are beginning to converge digitally online. Government mediation of this ‘old media delivered in new ways’ is struggling to adapt to this new environment and the scope of what is derived through the telecommunications network. The telecommunications infrastructure that has until this point been used to deliver the Internet to households in Australia, is starting to reach the limits of its potential bandwidth. Both major political parties in Australia – leading into the federal election due later this year – have policies to promote the rollout of the telecommunications systems that will replace the existing copper wires first installed when telecommunications was still a public utility. The high level of geographic dispersion of the population in Australia creates distinctive problems for the rollout of any new infrastructure. While at the same time, both the greater number and quality of services potentially enabled through this network and the potential loss through exclusion to that network, is growing at a rapid rate.

New services require new types of regulation, if the objectives of the Universal Service Obligation are

to be met. Whereas in the past these objectives were seen as an implied mission of nationally owned telecommunications carriers, in the new deregulated and privately owned Australian environment there is no such mission. Telstra Corporation has already announced that it does not consider its new 3G service designed to provide access to telephony, fax services and broadband Internet to its rural customers, to fall under its universal service obligations.⁷ As such the fact that emergency calls on the 000 number will not be available soon after a power outage occurs is not considered a critical problem, or at least not one that breaches its legal obligation.

A relatively sparse population spread over a large geographic area is a particularly challenging environment for telecommunications services in Australia, especially with regard to maintaining services to remote and isolated small communities, as opposed to the populous centres around the cities of the country's eastern seaboard. Many of these communities would be difficult if not impossible to provide communications services to without some form of government intervention. There are insufficient economic drivers for services to be delivered profitably or affordably. Some kind of intervention beyond market forces will need to be applied if telecommunications services are to be made available. The USO has, in the past, been the mechanism that provides this impetus.

Telecommunications Provision and Regulation in Australia.

The first telephone exchange in Australia was opened in Melbourne in 1880 with 23 subscribers. This was taken over by the Victorian Government in 1887, at which time it had more than 1000 subscribers. In 1901, the first year of Federation, the new Australian Government passed the Post and Telegraph Bill 1901. In this Bill, telephony was made the responsibility of the Postmaster-General's Department (PGD).⁸ At Federation the national telephone system had a total of 33000 subscribers.⁹ Today there are over 10 million landline telephone subscribers,¹⁰ as well as more than 19 million mobile telephone subscriptions.¹¹ While there was no mention of any form of Universal Service Obligation in the Post and Telegraph Bill, the formation of the PGD prompted debate on this issue. Postmaster-General James Drake favoured a commercial approach, however others argued for better 'services to the bush'. With the excess cost paid for from consolidated revenue.¹² While the Postmaster-General's position prevailed, the subsequent spread of telecommunications across the country – particularly to rural and remote areas, rather than just the more profitable urban areas – indicates that some form of geographical universal service was an implied mission of the PGD.¹³

In 1975, the PGD was disbanded and the Australian Telecommunications Commission – trading as Telecom – was formed with the *Telecommunications Act 1975*. Telecom was given responsibility for domestic telecommunications services. While there was no explicit obligation under the universal service banner placed on this new entity, the Act specified that Telecom would:

Best meet the social, industrial, and commercial needs of the Australian people for

telecommunications, and shall, so far as it is, in its opinion, reasonably and practicable to do so, make its telecommunications services available throughout Australia for all people who reasonably require those services – section 6 (1).

The special needs for telecommunications services for Australian people who reside or carry on business outside the cities (section 6 (2) (b) iii).¹⁴

The newly independent statutory authority, taking over the role of telecommunications provider from the previous government department, was then free to determine its own priorities for providing access to telecommunications services to meet the needs of the Australian people.

In the late 1980s the *Australian Telecommunications Corporations Act (ATC) 1989* obliged Telecom to provide ‘standard telephone service’ to all Australians on an equitable basis wherever they lived or carried on a business. While this was not a dramatic change to existing practice, the Act began the more specific codification of telecommunications obligations expected from the service provider. At the same time it potentially narrowed the level and scope of services that were necessary and essential to be provided and accessed by all people. While the obligation was now officially in place for all Australians to have this access – which had not previously been explicitly stated – the network was now more tightly defined. Previously the type of network had not been specified. It was now codified in terms of the standard telephone service.

In 1990, the judiciary made its debut in the development of the USO in Australia. The plaintiff in the Yarmirr case, resided upon by the Federal Court, was a group of individuals who asked the court to enforce provisions of the Universal Service Obligation. In the *Yarmirr et al v Australian Telecommunications Corporation (1990)*, Justice Burchett found that the Universal Service Obligation was a ‘political duty’ of ‘general and indefinite character’ imposed by the Parliament, rather than a ‘right’ of the public, and as such the court was unable to enforce any requirements.¹⁵ There was according to this ruling no ‘right’ to these services for individual citizens or organisations outside the legislated framework.

The *Telecommunications Act 1991* introduced competition into the Australian telecommunications industry. A duopoly was fashioned in the telecommunications market with the introduction of Cable and Wireless, trading as Optus. At this time the Universal Service Obligation was defined specifically as access to the standard telephone service comprising both private lines and payphones. This Act placed the USO in the licence conditions of the telecommunications companies. The social welfare responsibilities of telecommunications were separated out from the USO, and were to be paid out of consolidated revenue.¹⁶ This moved the burden of funding for the USO directly to the increasingly privatised telecommunications industry, and once again tightened the definition of what the USO constituted and what it did not.

On 1 July 1995 Telstra became the domestic trading name of what had previously been Telecom.¹⁷ This was ostensibly done to prepare the industry for greater competition. It was argued that a new name would not cause confusion with other operators. The decision may also have been influenced by political factors:

distancing the organisation from the previous statutory authority (at least in name and public identity) would make it easier to privatise the company.

Prior to the name change in June 1995, there was an additional change to the way that the Universal Service Obligation was delivered. Rather than coming from legislation dealing specifically with telecommunications, it came from a Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) ruling on Telstra's compliance with its USO responsibilities under the *Disability Discrimination Act* 1992. The HREOC ruled in the case of *Scott and Disabled People's International (Australia) (DPI (A)) V Telstra* that Telstra must provide teletypewriters to deaf people as part of its commitments under the Universal Service Obligation, as outlined in the *Telecommunications Act* 1991. This was an important interpretation of the telecommunications legislation made in conjunction with the *Disability Discrimination Act*, 1992 which determined that Telstra's responsibilities were broader than the corporation's prior interpretation of standard telephone service provision. The courts having determined earlier in the decade that there was no 'right' to Universal Service now determined once again the primacy of the legislature in this area. Under this ruling the USO became more expansive, although ironically and concurrently, more tightly defined.

In July 1997, the telecommunications market was further deregulated when open competition was permitted in the sector. New providers were subject to the regulation of the Australian Communications Authority (ACA) and conditions of their operators licence. In November of this same year, the government sold 33.3% of its shareholding in Telstra through a public listing. In September 1999 a further 16.6% of the Commonwealth's initial ownership was sold. These sales, T1 and T2 as they were known respectively, attracted a large number of small investors who acquired shares for the first time. While T1 was a great success for those involved, T2 was less so.¹⁸ The final instalment of shares sold to market, T3 was completed in late 2006, and the remaining 17% of the corporation was transferred into the governments independently managed Future Fund in February 2007.

The sale had a number of important implications. Firstly the corporation now had a fiducial duty to its shareholders to generate a return on investment that would now take precedence over its duty to serve the citizens of Australia who had previously been the sole owners. Therefore any social obligation the organisation might have possessed within its mission would now require legislation to enforce. The company directors were bound by corporations' law to generate a return for investors. In addition to this, the sale of shares, especially through T1 and T2 were specifically targeted to be sold as small parcels of shares to numerous investors who were first time share buyers. These shareholders now form a large group within the electorate who will be directly affected by any changes to government policy that would impact on Telstra's share price. This reflected a change in the government's conception of citizens and citizenship which was reflected on both sides of Australian politics. The conceptualisation of the 'share-holding citizen,' holding their stake in the nation's wealth as individuals through share ownership in large institutions, came to replace the previous citizen who participated in collective management of government assets through public ownership and control. The potential for excluding individuals from this corporate view of 'citizenship' is obvious. This re-conception also serves to align the interests and wealth of these share-holding citizens, with the profitability of large public companies, and through them the wealth of the

economic elite in Australian society. The balance shifted between rights and responsibilities.

In 1999 while the sale of Telstra was proceeding, the Consumer Protection and Service Act 1999 was passed by Federal Parliament. This legislation once again defined the Universal Service Obligation and outlined how fees to meet this obligation would be paid by telecommunications providers in Australia. The new act outlined the plan to divide Australia into different areas for Universal Service provision. The delivery of services to these areas would be subject to tender from competing companies. The winner would then become eligible for the USO subsidy for that particular area.

Telecommunications began in Australia as a public utility. This seems appropriate due to the nature of the Australian environment of a widely dispersed and relatively small population that would require considerable investment, of limited return, to connect remote communities to each other, and the rest of the country through a common network. This is a situation that is unlikely to have been expedited by private investment, given the marginal economic nature of providing service to remote, small and isolated communities. From this situation, the government-run department became a statutory authority, and then a government-owned corporation. This was then privatised, while at the same time losing its position as the monopoly operator in this sector in Australia. A certain level of competition within this sector has been shown to produce good outcomes for consumers in other OECD countries.¹⁹ The privatisation of Telstra changed the corporation's focus to the 'duty to shareholders', replacing its previous 'duty to the citizens'. Ultimately it would seem that the debate in the PGD has been determined, with telecommunications in Australia operated as a business, rather than a public service. The Universal Service Obligation, that was previously inherit in the role of the government department, is now enforced on private operators through an industry specific tax that funds the cross subsidisation from more profitable services to areas where the competitive market would not be able to provide service. In this context, the USO is a mechanism designed to maintain the status quo, to maintain, but not improve the existing level of service. How such a process can be altered to meet with the requirements of new technology and services remains to be seen.

Changing Definitions. Shifting Paradigms.

Previous ideologies leave a residue in present institutions. Whatever is set in place at the origin of a discourse or framework is difficult to displace, particularly when institutions are formed on this foundation. When a discourse is established, at that point, the boundaries of that discourse will serve to limit the modes and types of expression that can be used within that discourse. Those who first establish the framework then determine the grammar or rules and limitations of the debate. In the case of the USO there are some added twists to this concept. This is due to the changing nature of the discourse, with different ideologies being introduced over time that are able to better stake out their position as the organisations in which they manifest change, or more accurately are replaced by new types of institution. While a trace of each incarnation of the telecommunications provider in Australia can be seen to have continuing influence, it has also been subject to greater change than might otherwise have been the case by the dramatic changes

in the underlying administrative and chartered structure of the provider of this service from government department, through to competing private companies in the deregulated marketplace.

There has been considerable debate within Australia about the changing nature of the USO, particularly leading up to the full privatization of Telstra, and concurrent debate around the development of national infrastructure able to deliver high bandwidth Internet access. Debates have revolved around the major changes to the structure and regulation of the telecommunications environment in Australia over the past century. The definition and evolution of the terms ‘Universal’ and ‘Service’ are central to these considerations. Meanings will change over time.²⁰ However it is important to also focus on the nature of ‘Obligation.’ How the meaning and understanding of this word can be seen to change over time is fundamental to tracking changes in the USO in Australia.

The Universal Service Obligation changes and technology transforms. Such a statement is not technologically determinist, but a recognition of how expectations of expected services change, along with the role of government in providing these services. Arguments could be postulated that the Universal Service Obligation is being met by each city having access to a single pay phone provided by a private company and unfretted market forces left to determine on the cost to users. At the other extreme, the USO could be determined as each person in the country having their own third generation mobile phone with universal coverage, high bandwidth Internet access, and operating with no charge, or more accurately the government paying as a public service from consolidated revenue. Within current definition of the USO, geography – rather than technology – is the dominant factor of consideration. However there are other considerations that can also be seen as an impediment to telephone access, including economic and social factors, physical disabilities, such as blindness or deafness that may impede accessing a normal telephone and may require additional equipment, and finally what telephony is actually used for by its consumers/citizens. To illustrate these issues better it is useful to separate the analysis of the changing nature of each aspect of the USO.

Service

Of the three components of the USO, the changes that have occurred to the meaning of ‘service’ are the most obvious and easiest to track. As new technology develops and others are rendered obsolete, what people expect, and need from telecommunications services will change. Thus ‘Service’ may move from an initial telegraph service to access to a dial tone and a limited quality voice line, through to high bandwidth data transmission. All can be viewed as service at some level. The minimum standard of service accessible to all will change as the demand for, and uses of, telephony and communications services changes.

These changes impact on two areas. As technology develops, previous systems become redundant and unsupported. There is no point in maintaining a national telegraph system when the technology has been superseded both in terms of sophistication of service and simplicity of use. More importantly, as that

communication format is no longer supported throughout the world such a network would be obsolete. At the other end of this spectrum, new technologies are developed. However not everything that is devised will necessarily be developed to the point where it is available to the public at large. New technologies may require government support or regulation before they are implemented. Within Australia, both pay and digital television are examples of technology that was only available after development of, and changes in, government policy.²¹

When new services become available, they are generally offered as a non-essential service with distribution limited by economics and geography.²² Over time, some of these services come to be considered universally available, and access to them is assumed for people who participate as full members of society. At this point one medium may be used by government to communicate messages to all their citizens, such as television and radio, with other technologies utilised for the citizens to communicate back, such as voice telephony. In addition, the government can be seen to have a responsibility to provide these services, or more specifically to ensure that all citizens have the ability to access this level of service so as to be able to fully participate in society. The use of services on the Internet by both major political parties leading up to the current federal election, particularly the use of you tube to announce government policies and decisions,²³ point to the Internet as a service that has now entered this realm.

With broadcast systems such as TV and radio, the government actively regulates the organisations that are responsible for broadcast and ensures that signals are available in remoter areas, and regulates the content that is available through those broadcasts.²⁴ The government does not provide access to the reception devices, television and radio sets. Within the voice telephone network however, partly because it is a network of individual nodes on a closed network rather than a radio wave broadcast system, the government legislation does allow for the provision of equipment to access the network, as well as the network itself.²⁵ Interestingly, government regulation of the Internet in Australia treats the medium far more like a broadcast system with a focus on content and geographic access, rather than a guarantee of access to the network.

Determining the level of communications technology needed to be a full participant in society, and thereby requiring government intervention, is necessarily a political decision, influenced by a particular view of what equitable membership of society entails. If the government does not act to provide access to an appropriate level of service then those who do not have this will become excluded from society, or non-citizens, as they are unable to meet the minimum requirement for citizenship. The definition of access to what type of service is required for this requisite level of participation is one that by its very nature will change over time.

The definition of service in relation to the USO has become more tightly defined over time. The initial PGD had no explicit type of technology or line quality it was mandated to deliver. Rather it was charged with the overreaching responsibility for the postal, telegraph and telephone network. As telecommunications regulation and provision and the USO have developed, this broad responsibility was narrowed further towards a standard voice line, either at a public payphone or at a place of residence or business.

Parallel to this change in definition of what was an acceptable level of service was the change in the nature of the provision of the service from a broad obligation to be provided, through to a cost to be paid for other agencies to deliver a specific product. This has also paralleled the change in the language of the debate from one where there was a public service approach to users, or citizens, to one of a market of consumers for telecommunications products.

This tighter definition has come into conflict with a broad range of new data and mobile telephony, both Internet mediated and other propriety networks. This is the friction point of when these new services may be seen as essential to participate in society, and thus create a role for, and obligation on, government to act to ensure that access to these services is adequately distributed. This 'new wave' of data and mobile telephony is at odds with the trend to a tighter definition of what service should be.

Can the current communications policy discourse cope with changing nature of service beyond voice telephony? The last 'big shift' in dominant telecommunication platforms from telegraph to telephone services happened prior to USO in an environment where the role of the PGD was widely interpreted. The government to date is treating the Internet similar to broadcast media. It regulates content, but not access. Is this an appropriate paradigm, and – if not – how could it be changed?

Universal

The notion of what is 'Universal' in regard to the USO changes in the different contexts of both services and obligation. Within Australia, access to the standard telephone service is guaranteed regardless of location, however this guarantee is dependant on your 'location' being at home or at work, both of which are tightly defined in Telstra's policy documents that respond to its Universal Service Obligations²⁶ and in many cases will be satisfied by a single shared pay phone to service entire remote Indigenous communities.

Prior to Federation in 1901, one of the areas of close inter-colonial cooperation had been in the telecommunications sector. As early as 1856, Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia had agreed to cooperate on an inter-colonial telegraph system and from the 1890s their were bi-annual post and telegraph or P&T meetings attended by the relevant politicians and public servants from all the Australian colonies, and New Zealand.²⁷ However while the delivery of telecommunications services was clearly an important priority in Australia after European colonisation the services provided would not meet any current definition of universal. All the colonies were eventually linked through the telegraphy system both to each other and then to the international network. The fact that this could be considered a form of universal coverage for the colonies (albeit to only the major population centres), serves to illustrate how the term is subject to change over time.

The Postmaster-General's Department took over the role played by the separate colonial administrations and while it had no chartered obligation to provide universal service, it is clear that it became part of

its implicit mission to broaden the reach of telecommunications services across the continent. In 1975, Telecom was given the more explicit mission to ‘make its telecommunications services available throughout Australia for all people who reasonably require those services’. In the Telecommunications Act 1989 this obligation became one where all Australians were to have equitable access to the standard telephone service, at least at their place of residence and business. This was essentially a ‘geographic’ guarantee to a phone connection, with little regard for other areas of exclusion. In 1991, new legislation determined that payment for this Universal coverage would come from the telecommunications companies as part of their licence conditions. In 1995 The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission ruling determined that there was more than just a geographic component to the Universal aspect of the USO with its ruling that special services for people with disabilities were also required to be delivered. The Telecommunications (Universal Service Levy) Act 1997 further defined how the now open telecommunications industry would fund the USO, and began the introduction of potential competition into the provision of these services.

As the service component of the USO has become more tightly defined, so too has the notion of what is considered universal, along with who is responsible for the funding for, and actual provision of, this service. Universal within the Australian USO context tends to focus on the geographic delivery of services to people, albeit with the inclusion of special access conditions for disabled telecommunications users. However not all people in Australia who want access to a phone line maintain this service. This is in part due to the USO being covered by the provision of public telephones, but also points to the fact that there is more to providing universal coverage than just the geographic aspect. While the historical perspective shows that for the PGD this may have been a major issue early on in the development of Australia’s telecommunications industry, it is not the only factor that will influence people’s ability to access the network. This is particularly important given the role that telecommunications plays in creating informed citizens. As technology becomes more sophisticated, and the ability to deliver this technology expands, then the demand for what is universally available will also change. What is Universal is ultimately inseparable from what is Service, however the level of sophistication of telecommunications delivered, how they are delivered, and by whom will depend on the changing understanding of Obligation.

Obligation

Service is becoming more narrowly defined, and provision of these services (who provides it, how much it costs) is being made more explicit. These are the trends in change to the understanding of Service and Universal. They can be best understood through the changing nature of Obligation in the USO. In many analyses, this is omitted. Indeed, Obligation often not included in the label.

In Australia, the USO becomes more tightly defined each time it is reinterpreted and reapplied. The role of the government has moved from one where it was the provider of these services to one where its role is to regulate these services as they are both provided and funded from the telecommunications industry. This can be understood as a change in the type of public good that government is using to inform its

telecommunications policy. In 1739, David Hume outlined the concept of public goods in his *Treatise of Human Nature*.²⁸ A traditional public good should have the quality that it is both non-excludable and non-exhaustible. An individual cannot be prevented from using a public good, and each additional individual accessing a public good will not add to the total cost of providing that good. Common examples of public goods are national defence and the environment. In both these cases the public good will effect all the people using it within the Nation State, either by having a military to ward off attack, or clean air to breath, and by and large each additional individual partaking of the good will not add to its overall cost.

Telecommunications was initially seen as a public good that was provided by government for the benefit of all. Such an open-ended deployment and definition reveals synergies with the defence of the country. The provision of services need not be tightly defined in this case, as the commitment is to an extent both open ended, and likely to change over time as technology develops. It also allows the government to regulate the provision of this type of 'good' in changing environments as it sees fit, to serve the interests of the nation at large. Thus the Royal Australian Navy can be used to turn back asylum seekers on the high seas, even though this is not the role for which it is constituted. Understanding telecommunications in this way also helps inform why the USO has been so geographically grounded. This is a reflection of the desire for everyone to have access to the network and fulfil the non-exclusion requirement of the public good. As it is provided by government this becomes a central feature of a successful outcome. Similarly, the defence forces are designed to defend all Australian territory, not just the easily defended areas of mainland Australia.

Government policy in relation to telecommunications over time has shifted. Earlier understandings of a good to be provided by government has transformed into a public good that must be regulated by the government, more analogous to the environment. This new understanding then relies upon a number of assumptions, the foremost of these is that these services are abundant or at least available everywhere. This premise is obviously not always the case as the Boulding family tragically illustrated.

The USO is now used as the mechanism that is supposed to make up for these areas where the resource is not so abundant as to only require regulation rather than provision. The other problematic assumption with this understanding of the telecommunications industry is that the technology does not change and is like the environment, a relatively static resource for government regulation.

The technology does change, and these changes can create different problems for access especially once they are established to the point where access can be seen to be essential to participate as an active member of society. In this aspect telecommunications services are still analogous to the changing nature of national defence as a public good both in terms of what technology is required and the changing environment in which it is applied. The failure of this understanding of telecommunications as a 'regulated' public good is not immediately apparent, as it takes time for any technology to reach the point where universal access to the service will be essential for full participation in society, however once it does reach this point this understanding will make the process of change difficult to administer.

This second type of regulated public good is much better suited to the neo-liberal small government ideology that informs the Howard Liberal/National government in Australia with its commitment to ‘small government’, than the previous understanding. Public goods that are government provided must be paid for out of consolidated revenues through taxation, whereas regulated public goods are largely revenue neutral, and may actually produce revenue through taxation and fines used as part of any regulatory regime. Once the obligation of government in relation to the USO is seen as one where it acts as a regulator, rather than provider, then there are obvious gaps that will appear in the areas that can be regulated, where no service currently exists, or will exist. It then becomes the role of the USO to be the mechanism that ‘fills’ these gaps, where the government pays for the service to be provided where it would not otherwise appear. This is different from the government providing the service itself, as it now becomes a package of telecommunications products that must be purchased and paid for from private companies with no open ended commitment to the citizens that the government serves, thus the products deemed essential must be tightly codified.

Home, Hearth, and Fibre to The Node?

The convergence of communications and media through the Internet is particularly significant in relation to the USO as a mechanism for ‘filling the gaps’ in an otherwise universally distributed resource that merely requires government regulation, rather than provision. The USO is limited by the role of historic discourse and residual ideologies from understanding or embracing these convergent media or technologies. Thus the idea of ‘future proofing’ telecommunications in regional Australia²⁹ is impeded by discourse that fails to understand the scope of the field it is dealing with currently, let alone into the future. As a mechanism designed to provide service to those who need it and would otherwise miss out, the USO, as it is currently constituted, will be the only service that these people most at risk will receive. The more tightly defined USO means that as potential services (those that fall outside this tight definition) increase, then those who rely on the USO for their telecommunications needs will necessarily be left behind. The more ambiguous the definition of the USO, the greater the reach it will have. The reverse of this maxim is also true. Finding a way to expand this discourse to confront this convergence of services in the future thus takes on a priority. If every new media is legislated on the basis of the mistakes made in the previous media, as is most often the case, then this task is made more difficult.

All technology is transitory technology. All technology is liminal, and all liminal sites are ambiguous. It is a fallacious notion that any technology is an end point, or an end game for public policy. The last major upgrade to service from the public telegraph to the private telephone took place when both forms of telecommunications were public goods provided through government via the Postmaster-General’s Department.

Both major political parties in Australia have policies regarding the future of high bandwidth Internet access for Australia. The government initially resisted any form of intervention, preferring instead market

forces to produce such a network.³⁰ By contrast labour proposed to spend A\$4.7 billion, partly funded from the money generated from the government's previous sale of Telstra shares, and currently in the Future Fund, in a joint venture with private enterprise to produce a A\$9 billion high speed broadband network that would cover 98% of the population. The government has since responded by proposing a A\$2 billion plan to provide 99% of Australians with broadband access including the use of wireless networks to cover regional areas, notably this investment involved the government working with a consortium of smaller communications companies rather than with Telstra.³¹ Meanwhile Telstra has announced that it has put plans to invest in its own A\$4 billion network indefinitely on hold until it gets a more favourable regulatory environment to enable it to protect its new network from being forced to provide access to its competitors, as currently occurs with the copper wire telephone network.³²

It seems that all involved share the understanding that any future telecommunications network will be constructed by private companies, although understandings of the type of network, how much, if any, government subsidies it will receive and the regulatory requirements associated with any new network vary between different participants in the debate. Significantly there seems to be no commitment to provide 'universal access', simply better access, and no linkage between these debates and the USO. While the understanding of Service has evolved with the new network, understandings of Universal have retreated, and those of Obligation are in dispute. How any new network is constructed and regulated is an issue of critical national importance.

On one level, the greater the penetration of access, the better the marketplace for buyers and sellers enabled through that medium, and the less potential for market distortions. To live in a consumer culture, the ability to consume is an important part of participation in society. Thus to be able to use the telecommunications system to allow for access to goods, and service, and indeed to consume the access itself is necessary in order to be a 'citizen' of a consumer society. As Lee articulated, 'Cultural capital must be seen through consumption'.³³ However on a more fundamental level the USO provides citizens access to their government, particularly in countries like Australia with its high levels of geographic isolation. This access provides an avenue to government services, fellow citizens, and critical emergency services. Access to telecommunications is inexorably linked to citizenship. As the new network is rolled out in whatever form it takes its construction and regulation will need to be carefully crafted to ensure there are no more tragedies like Sam Boulding, and avoid the risk of drifting to exclusion for those left outside of access.

Notes

¹ AAP. 'Fed: Switkowski promises on boy's death are just "platitudes": union', *AAP*. 14th March 2002.

² Price Waterhouse Coopers, *Report to Telstra Corporation Limited on improvements required to the provision of priority service based on an examination of the facts surrounding the maintenance and supply of services to Ms Rose Boulding*. March 2002.

³ Examples include banking services, access government services and information. ⁴ Katter, B. 'There's no way a privatised Telstra will maintain services to remote areas', *Online Opinion*. 21st July 2003.

⁴ <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=560> [accessed 12.8.2007].

⁵ The Australian Government has set aside the Future Fund in order to cover the future costs associated with the government's obligations to pay superannuation for retired public servants.

⁶ Best, J. 'Telstra: Govt broadband 'all about money and labor'', ZDNet. Australia. 20th August 2007. <http://www.zdnet.com.au/news/communications/soa/Telstra-Govt-broadband-all-about-money-and-Labor-/0,130061791,339281330,00.htm> [accessed 20.8.2007]; Murray, L. 'Leave the watchdog out of this says Telstra', *The Sydney Morning Herald*. June 8th 2007. <http://www.smh.com.au/news/business/leave-the-watchdog-out-of-this-says-telstra/2007/06/07/1181089236087.html> [accessed 20.8.2007]; Hewett, J & Sainsbury, M. 'Telstra ads to fight net impasse', *The Australian*. May 2nd 2007. <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,21657209-601,00.html> [accessed 20.8.2007].

⁷ Lewis, D. 'Telstra pulls 000 plug on bush', *The Sydney Morning Herald*. August 11th 2007.

⁸ The Federal Government is granted the power to make laws with respect to "Postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and other like services" in section 51 (v.) of the Australian Constitution.

⁹ Perth, the capital of Western Australia, would still not join the national network until the end of 1930, ironically as John Forrest the first Australian Postmaster- General was a Western Australian and former premier of that state (although he only held the position for two month before moving to defence following the death of James Dickson just two weeks into the inaugural administration, which given Forrest's strong views against the federalisation of communications services in the first place, may have ultimately aided the development of the national network).

¹⁰ *Telstra's Universal Service Obligation Standard Marketing Plan*. http://www.acma.gov.au/webwr/tel-comm/universal_service_regime/lr-378758%20uso%20policy%20statement%2024%20june%2005-%20clean%20version21.pdf [accessed 12.8.2007].

¹¹ *Snapshot of Industry: The Australian Wireless Industry*. Invest Australia, Canberra: Commonwealth of Australian. <http://www.investaustralia.gov.au/index.cfm?id=9A0C9842-D0B7-180C-16403701E984FDFB> [accessed 12.8.2007].

¹² Moyal, A. *Clear Across Australia: A History of Telecommunications*. Melbourne: Nelson, 1984.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Bourk, M. *Universal Service? Telecommunications Policy in Australia and People with Disabilities*.

<http://www.tomw.net.au/uso/laws.html> [accessed 12.8.2007].

¹⁵ Raiche, H. 'Universal Service in Australia', in B. Langtry (ed). *All Connected, Universal Service in Telecommunications*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1998, p. 11.

¹⁶ The proponents of this approach some 90 years earlier at the inception of the Postmaster-General's Department finally having some of their proposed policy implemented.

¹⁷ Senate Environment, Recreation, Communications and The Arts Reference Committee, *Telstra, to Sell or Not to Sell*. Canberra: Australian Government, 1996.

¹⁸ Webb, R. 'T3: the \$600M call', *The Age*. 30th January 2005. <http://www.theage.com.au/news/Business/T3-the-600m-call/2005/01/29/1106850157986.html> [accessed 12.8.2007].

¹⁹ Boylaud, O. & Nicoletti, G. *Regulation, Market Structure and Performance in Telecommunications. Economics Department Working Paper No. 237*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2000.

²⁰ Bourke, M. J. *Universal Service? Telecommunications Policy in Australia and People with Disabilities*. Belconnen: Tomw Communications, 2000. <http://www.tomw.net.au/uso/> [accessed 12.8.2007].

²¹ Although this example might better serve as a warning for how public policy can be hijacked by the industry it is meant to regulate, often with dubious outcomes for the public good.

²² Although when the analogue television signal, like the analogue mobile phone system before it is turned off, and enforces obsolescence on devices that rely on it, anyone wishing to have even the same level of service will be forced to upgrade.

²³ Murphy, K. & Catalano, C. 'Surgical Strike', *The Age*. 2nd August 2007. Howard, J. 'The Prime Minister John Howard's Tasmanian Hospital Announcement', *YouTube*. The Commonwealth of Australia 31st July 2007. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y1qU2nQ-1gY> [accessed 12.8.2007]; Cartrel, T. 'John Howard Asleep on Climate Change', *YouTube*. The Australian Labour Party, 16th July 2007. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IMnygl-VvYY&mode=related&search=> [accessed 12.8.2007]; Best, J. 'Rudd calls on Facebook mates in campaign', *ZDNet Australia*. 8th August 2007. <http://www.zdnet.com.au/news/business/soa/Rudd-calls-on-Facebook-mates-in-campaign/0,139023166,339281021,00.htm> [accessed 12.8.2007]; 'Howard pushes message on YouTube – again', *Mercury*. 1st August 2007. <http://www.news.com.au/mercury/story/0,22884,22170396-421,00.html> [accessed 12.8.2007].

²⁴ This is primarily done through the Australian Broadcasting Authority <http://www.aba.gov.au/>. There is no equivalent to the television licence fee in Australia. See Dick, N. 'The Road to Television Networking', *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture and Policy*. May 2001, number 99, pp. 67-71. Green,

L. '(Not) using the remote commercial television service to dispel distance in rural and remote Western Australia', *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture and Policy*. August 1998, number 88, pp. 25-39.

²⁵ Mobile phones that serve as an addition to the traditional phone network interestingly hold a position more like that of television and radio as the government invests and regulates to ensure greater coverage for their signal 'footprint', as well as regulating related content through anti SMS Spam legislation. At the same time there is no provision for guaranteeing access to this network for individuals.

²⁶ *Telstra's Universal Service Obligation Standard Marketing Plan*. http://www.acma.gov.au/webwr/tel-comm/universal_service_regime/lr-378758%20uso%20policy%20statement%2024%20june%2005-%20clean%20version21.pdf [accessed 12.8.2007].

²⁷ Livingston, K. T. *The Wired Nation Continent: The Communications Revolution and Federating Australia*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 16.

²⁸ Hume, D. *Treatise of Human Nature*. London: Oxford University Press, 1888. <http://www.class.uidaho.edu/mickelsen/ToC/hume%20treatise%20ToC.htm> [accessed 12.8.2007].

²⁹ 'Vaile stands by Telstra fund costing', *ABC Online*. 29th July 2005. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/news-items/200507/s1425759.htm> [accessed 12.8.2007]. Gratten, M. 'Nats set Telstra sell-off terms', *The Age*. 1st August 2005. Landers, K. 'Telstra sale could fund bush telco network: Nat's report', *PM*. 17th March 2005. <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2005/s1326109.htm> [accessed 12.8.2007]; Riley, J. 'Coonan cracks Telstra whip', *Australian IT*. 12th July 2005.

³⁰ Farr, M. 'Rudd skewers Howard on broadband', *Sunday Telegraph*. 23rd March 2003. <http://www.news.com.au/sundaytelegraph/story/0,,21428696-5001021,00.html> [accessed 12.8.2007].

³¹ Heywood, L. 'Howard aims at marginal seats', *The Courier Mail*. 19th June 2007. <http://www.news.com.au/couriermail/story/0,,21927999-5003418,00.html> [accessed 12.8.2007].

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The Theme of 'Futility' in War Poetry

By Ahmad Abu Baker

Abstract

This paper discusses the notion of the futility of war and its impact on the psychological state of the soldiers in a representative sample of W.W.I. and W.W.II poems. Futility expands to refer to the futility of war, the futility of institutions, as well as the futility of human existence. The article analyses several poems by major poets and does not attempt to include all the poems composed on the two great wars due to the fact that being so inclusive is beyond the scope of such a paper or the ambitions of its author.

Introduction

World War I and World War II caused the birth of many war poets who acutely describe the horrors of war and the terrible human loss. War poetry is classified as Modern poetry that is authentic, genuine, revolutionary and free from the tyranny of Tradition. Lesley Jeffries maintains that modern poets were experimenting with "new material" and "new methods of writing" (Jeffries 1993:10). Dennis Brown attributes the subject of experimentation in modern poetry to the "disorientation" caused by the shock of the Great War among other reasons (Brown 1989:11). Indeed, the First World War caused a drastic change in the poetry of the twentieth century. Poets who witnessed this war, like Siegfried Sassoon, Rupert Brooke, and Wilfred Owen, among others, could not simply write poetry which celebrated nature: the terrible experience of war left its thumbprint on their thinking as well as on their imagination. Many of them suffered from psychological problems during and after the war due to shell shock and/or the horrible scenes of mutilated bodies and human parts scattered on the battlefield. War poetry captures the physical and emotional lineaments of modern war: the pain, weariness, madness, and degradation of human beings under intolerable strain. It attempts to crystallize the moment as it offers images of young soldiers in action. Some poems of this era highlight the case in which a soldier survives war physically but remains obsessed with its bitter horrifying memories which drive him crazy. Samuel Hynes expresses the way the poets were affected by the war. He claims that "[a]ny one who reads war poets will sense at once the note of praise that comes through the violence, anger, and grief" and explains that "men may not perform Great Deeds any longer, but they can be tough, stoical, and humorous under stress, they can be loyal to each other, they

can feel pity, and they can perform their meaningless destructive duties faithfully and with skill". To him, the "myth" of war is "a Myth without the flags and the martial music, but not without values" (Hynes 1982:23). Hynes suggests that the poets' reaction against war was manifested in the search for the human element which unites all the soldiers even on hostile fronts, in their response to the meaningless destructive orders they performed, and in the psychological problems which they consequently suffered, either due to shell shock or to the horrible scenes of dead soldiers or even both as mentioned before. In his book *Up The Line to Death*, Brian Gardner explains how "the poets of 1914-18 found the nobility of man in war, even if they did not find much nobility in war itself. They found a brotherhood that transcended the barriers of class, strong at the time; of religion, of race, of every facet of society" (Gardner 1976: xx). So, the poets were looking for the shared thread of humanity that connects humans regardless of their ethnicity, religion, or political orientation, etc.

Michael Schmidt focuses on the "sense of aftermath" and on the effect of modern romanticism. He claims that:

Most of these poets share a strange sense of aftermath: the loosening of the historical ties of commonwealth and the translation of systems of values into systems of utility; the exaltation of expediency over truth; the consequent decay in language, institutions, culture and community, and the effect of this decay on the person. The power which reality has over ideas, the unbendable character of the given, has cured British poetry of utopian dreams. The pull of romanticism is still strong, yet it draws the poet who succumbs to it into the dark, not into the light of the imagined millennium. (Schmidt 1980:7)

Schmidt refers to the breakdown of the system of values, to the loss of faith and morality, to the harsh reality that shatters the fragile world of dreams. He, like Gardner and Hynes, deals with such issues that caused these poets to emphasize the soldiers' human dimension and the plight of the modern man regardless of class, religion, and race.

Thus, we find that most modern war poetry deals with the brutality and atrocities of war. The poets try to change the favorable attitude of some people towards war by exploring in depth the spiritual hell that war brings into being, and by describing the physical and the emotional pain which humans have to endure during and after the war. The terror, ugliness, and brutality of war became a major theme in the poetry of war poets like Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen, whose first-hand experience of war made their poems lifelike representations of the ugly face of war, which was looked at romantically by the young who were in search of heroism and glory. The focus of this article is the theme of 'Futility' which expands to mean the futility of war, the futility of institutions, as well as the futility of human existence.

Futility in War Poetry

Siegfried Sassoon was so excited about the war that he enlisted in its first day. Later, however, he lost his faith in it and became one of those poets who protested against war and stressed its sense of futility. In the first stanza of his poem “The Troops”, Sassoon describes how the soldiers who are doomed to die, as the dark imagery of the poem suggests, try hard to cling to life but in vain. They are “disconsolate men” with “dulled, sunken faces” that look at the sky “haggard and hopeless”. They are marching in the gloom tired and hopeless since they “who have beaten down/The stale despair of night, must now renew/Their desolation in the truce of dawn”. There is no room for peace since the soldiers’ actions are “[m]urdering the livid hours that grope for peace.” These soldiers feel the futility of their attempt to cling to life, and yet they feel a stronger futility: the futility of hoping that the sky, and God for that matter, might do anything to end their misery. Hence, they look at the sky “haggard and hopeless”. The poet protests against the inaction of those who are in charge and against God whose indifference to these actions indicates that He condones or does not care about the life of these soldiers. The protest is felt in the use of the word “murder”. This whole issue, to Sassoon, is like a conspiracy to murder peace and all the attempts to even “grobe” for it. In the second stanza, Sassoon describes the narrow escape these soldiers make through the claws of death. They “cling to life with stubborn hands” and manage to “grin through storms of death and find a gap/In the clawed, cruel tangles of his defence”. The soldiers take a journey into a hellish atmosphere. In the following lines, Sassoon describes this journey from safety to extreme danger:

They march from safety, and the bird-sung joy
Of grass-green thickets, to the land where all
Is ruin, and nothing blossoms but the sky
That hastens over them where they endure
Sad, smoking, flat horizons, reeking woods,
And foundered trench-lines volleying doom for doom.
(L. 12-17 in Sitwell: 1961: 99)

Their journey is more or less a journey into the heart of darkness, a journey into a wasteland where everything is ruined; there are no grass-green thickets where birds would sing with joy; rather, the only thing that “blossoms” is the sky, with its terrible rain of shells, bombs, rockets, etc. The situation of these soldiers, who already have to grapple with death in foundered trench-lines “volleying doom for doom” is aggravating beyond conception. Death is shelled over and over again from one trench into another, and this minimizes the chances of survival and makes death inevitable, and hence the use of the word “doom” in “volleying doom for doom”.

In the last stanza, Sassoon celebrates his brave companions whose souls “Flock silently away” as they die in large numbers. He says that the bravery of these “eyeless dead” soldiers shames the “wild beast of battle on the ridge” and that “Death will stand grieving in that field of war/Since your [the soldiers’] unvanquished hardihood is spent.” Like the many legions and battalions that were killed before them, the soldiers feel that they are doomed to die. Their only consolation is to make a good fight and to be strong

opponents who “have challenged death and dared him face to face”, and thus make death marvel at their bravery and stand in grief for them when they die. Sassoon marvels at the idea that death will grieve for his brave dead companions and stand in admiration for their heroic actions which “shamed the beast of battle” for being worthy opponents.

Sassoon moves on to explicitly describe this war as a journey into “hell” which scars the soldiers:

And through some mooned Valhalla there will pass
Battalions and battalions, scarred from hell;
The unreturning army that was youth;
The legions who have suffered and are dust. (ll. 23-26 in Sitwell 1961:100)

Here, he laments the death of young soldiers who go to the battlefield never to come back while simultaneously asserting that their souls will be in some sort of heaven, a “mooned Valhalla”. The use of words like “battalions” and “legions” emphasizes the vast numbers of soldiers who were killed in action. All of these soldiers were “scarred from hell”; this brings into mind yet another poem by Sassoon which deals exactly with this point. In his poem “They”, Sassoon writes in his ironic style about a bishop who addresses a group of soldiers who were in battle, and this bishop sees the war as a holy one fought “in a just cause” against those who are “Anti-Christ”.

The bishop talks about the soldiers’ comrades who “have challenged death and dared him face to face.” The bishop tells them that when their comrades come back from their holy war “they will not be the same”, and the soldiers’ reply reflects what Sassoon means by “scarred from hell”, and one feels shocked after hearing the bishop’s reply for what the soldiers had to say:

“We’re none of us the same!” the boys reply.
“For George lost both his legs; and Bill’s stone blind;
Poor Jim’s shot through the lungs and like to die;
And Bert’s gone syphilitic; you’ll not find
A chap who’s served that hasn’t found some change”
And the bishop said: “The ways of God are strange!”
(L. 7-12 in Sanders 1970:237)

War leaves an indelible mark on every soldier who engages in battle. The soldiers’ losses are stronger than the bishop’s rhetoric. As in his poem “the troops”, Sassoon in “They” makes an ironic protest against misleading the youth into fighting in war by calling it ‘holy’. One gets shocked to hear the bishop’s reply after all the soldiers have said, and one feels the futile attempt to change the official policy regarding war which utilizes everything, even religion, to serve its purposes.

Wilfred Owen’s “Futility” is another poem that deals with the theme of futility. In this poem, the soldiers try in vain to make the sun resurrect their newly dead friend whose body is still warm. The sun’s power

to bring to life the clays of a cold star or a plant from a dead cold seed, is contrasted here with its inability to bring back to life a body that is still warm. The poem begins a dynamic scene in which the soldiers are carrying their body of their dead friend. They want to “[m]ove him into the sun” and the following lines are dedicated to show how the sun gently awoke this soldier, who is now dead, back at home whispering to him about the fields which he has to sow. The sun has been awakening this soldier everyday “Until this morning and this snow” (l.5 in Sanders 1970:287). Accordingly, the persona asks his fellow soldiers to move the dead body of their friend into the sun; for “If anything might rouse him now/The kind old sun will know”. So, this soldier believes that nature, represented by the sun, is the one that can help his dead friend. Do the soldiers think that god is indifferent or will not help their friend, but nature will? Or are they starting to believe only in what they can see? C.B. Cox and A.E. Dyson believe that the soldiers are merely contemplating rather than acting; they are not moving the dead body; they are just wondering about the meaning and value of the individual even after his death as well as the futility of our existence. The sun in Cox and Dyson’s reading of the poem is a symbol of life, and the unsown fields stand for the rich promises of life has for the young men. However, the young men know with a bitter certainty that these unsown fields will never be sown (Cox 1979:54).

In the second part of the poem, the persona evokes the sun’s power to give life only to wonder with resigned fatalism why such a power is futile when it comes to a man’s dead body:

Think how it wakes the seeds, —
 Woke, once, the clays of a cold star.
 Are limbs, so dear-achieved, are sides,
 Full-nerved—still warm— too hard to stir?
 Was it for this the clay grew tall?
 —O what made the fatuous sunbeams toil
 To break earth’s sleep at all? (ll. 8-14 in Cox 1979:52)

This section in the poem expresses with a sense of sad despair the futility of the soldiers’ attempt. Yes, the sun is able to revive and resurrect cold dead seeds, and yes it can wake the clays of a dead cold star, but sadly, it can not resurrect a dead body, though its limbs and sides be “Full-nerved” and “still warm”.

Cox and Dyson claim that this poem is about “premature”. They state that:

‘Futility’ is not only a social protest but a religious questioning. It faces the mystery of life in sentiments that would remain profoundly true for the bereaved, even if war itself could by some miracle be abolished. The ‘futility’ of the title does not refer simply to human follies; it refers beyond these, also, to the human condition itself. It is one side of the tragic vision of man — the perception that if man is the jest and the riddle of the world, this is only because he is first and chiefly its glory. (Cox 1979:56)

Cox and Dyson highlight the futility of the human condition in this universe regardless of when or where

or how the human dies. The reference to the sun's generative power that fails to resurrect a dead body makes the human condition the center of interest in this poem. The religious questions in the poem strengthen this claim for they question the reasons for our existence and our role in and relationship with the universe. The scope of these questions goes beyond the mere lamentation of a dead soldier who, like Sassoon's soldier in "A Working Party", is not given a name to make him stand for each and every soldier who is killed in war. Consequently, the experience of loss is universalized for one imagines this soldier to be a potential dear relative or any human who is caught up in a frustrating chaotic universe. The last three lines in the poem conclude the theme of futility and give a sample of the existential questions about our condition in this world. Consider these questions: "Was it for this the clay grew tall? Oh, what made the fatuous sunbeams toil/To break earth's sleep at all?" Clearly these questions refer to the meaninglessness of human existence and the insignificance of human life. C.W. Gillam, in his book *Modern Poems Understood*, states that "the sight of the dead soldier makes the writer wonder why creation ever happened if it was to end only in such futility." (Gillam 1965:158). The persona wonders if we were created for this, and if this is the case, then our existence seems meaningless. The "Oh" indicates the bitterness and sourness of this discovery. This final question reveals a sad anger and a protest against the wisdom of creating people only to have them die like this.

Another poet who deals with the theme of the futility of war is Edward Thomas. Thomas was born in London in 1878, and was killed in action in 1917. He was best known for his prose work, but due to the encouragement of Robert Frost he started composing poetry. In his poetry, Thomas expressed "tensions related to aspects of his marriage, his poverty, and the War". He strikes us mostly as a "wanderer, closely in touch with the landscapes he traverses, yet repeatedly a stranger, and a little uneasy because of it. Restlessness and fear underlie many poems, especially where the images of night and forest recur" (Hunter 1968:68).

In his poem "As the Team's Head-Brass", Thomas expresses mixed feelings about the futility of war, his sense of duty towards his country, and his feelings of estrangement. The poem's setting reveals a farmer who is ploughing a field of charlock, two lovers going into a wood, and our persona like a wanderer sitting "among the boughs of a fallen elm/That strewed the angle of the fallow". The "fallen elm" stands for the poet's sense of his own wrecked life in which vision is 'strewed' so that one's vision becomes blurred, and this idea can also be found in line (34) in which he says, "If we could see all all might seem good." The farmer starts a conversation with the persona asking him about the weather and the war.

In the second stanza, a "blizzard felled the elm whose crest/I [the persona] sat in by a woodpecker's round hole". The farmer converses intermittently with our persona at intervals which last about ten minutes each. This shows the problem of communication between the humans especially at that time. The farmer asks, and our persona replies:

'Have you been out?' 'No.' 'And don't want to, perhaps?'
 'If I could only come back again, I should.
 I could spare an arm. I shouldn't want to lose

A leg. If I should lose my head, why, so,
 I should want nothing more... Have many gone
 From here?' 'Yes.' 'Many lost?' 'Yes, a good few.
 Only two teams work on the farm this year.
 One of my mates is dead. The second day
 In France they killed him. It was back in March,
 The very night of the blizzard too. Now if
 He had stayed here we should have moved the tree.'
 'And I should not have sat here. Everything
 Would have been different. For it would have been
 Another world.' 'Ay, and a better, though
 If I could see all all might seem good.' (ll.19-34 in Hunter 1968:79-80)

This dialogue exposes the persona's mixed feelings about his sense of duty, the futility of war, and fear of death. He is willing to go to war if he could come back alive without losing a leg, but it seems okay for him to lose an arm; he is sure, however, that he will be 'scarred from hell', because he can not enter war's dead zone and escape its deadly claws unscathed. This idea is similar to the one discussed in Sassoon's two poems "The Troops" and "They". Again like the previously discussed poets, Thomas laments the loss of those who die in battle. The death of the farmer's mate is a bad omen for Thomas especially since this dead soldier perished on "The very night of the blizzard too." Notice the use of the word "too" which implies that death will nail Thomas, too. The farmer's innocent expression of the humans' lack of clear vision in "If I could see all all might seem good" probably indicates that what might seem to us as evil or unjustified must in the total plan of nature (or God) be right and good. This idea echoes that of Sassoon's bishop in "They" who said, "The ways of God are strange!" (L.12).

This conversation, as can be inferred from the short answers and the unsaid interrupted statements, reveals the problem of communication the human has, Thomas concludes his poem with the lovers coming out of the woods, and the horses ploughing the field, and "for the last time/I [the persona] watched the clods crumble and topple over/After the ploughshare and stumbling team." The words "for the last time" betray the persona's restlessness and inner fright of death which devours everything.

The ploughed field is a symbol of hope. It is an image of life-through-death. The woodpecker's round hole symbolizes the female womb as C. G. Jung, in his book *Four Archetypes*, indicates (Jung 1972:16). Hence, the setting suggests spiritual transformation (Death and rebirth). Thomas looks at this place as if it is an enchanted place which offers so many possibilities of love, fertility, and rebirth. On the other hand, the negative context of war and death suggests the fatal attraction of war as embodied in the references to the fallen elm, the blizzard, the dead soldier who was sitting in the same spot Thomas is sitting and who died the night of the blizzard "too". Thus, futility lies in the fact that war, like fate, is inescapable and claims the lives of so many who die meaninglessly – a matter which we can not comprehend because we can not "see all". It is worth mentioning that Thomas himself could not escape war, and his fears were materialized for he died in action in 1917 in the same war he talks about in this poem.

The theme of futility was popular among the war poets probably because living in war conditions leads one to a kind of despair that renders everything around futile. Edwin Muir is another poet who addressed this theme in his poetry. Muir, a Scottish poet, lived in poverty and taught himself literature and politics while working in different jobs. Muir was interested by the passage of time, by the influence of ancient myths on modern culture, and by the problematics of identity and change (Abrams 1979:2243). Muir had a rather nightmarish vision of reality, and he wrote about the confusion and anxiety of the modern world. Muir associates divine law with rural life and human law with industrial society. To him, the world is a labyrinth (Mellown 1979:15). This view reminds one of Existentialism in which man is viewed as a rat in a maze without exit. It also suggests the insignificance of human life and. Like the previous poets, Muir was concerned with the situation of Man in this world. In his poem “The Usurpers”, he addresses the plight of modern man. From the beginning of the poem we are shocked with the painful truth of the futility of our existence:

There is no answer. We do here what we will
 And there is no answer. This is our liberty
 No one has known before, nor could have borne,
 For it is rooted in this deepening silence
 That is our work and has become our kingdom.
 If there were an answer, how could we be free? (ll.1-6 in Sanders 1970:259)

Muir directly states that there is no answer to our hopeless situation. In this line “there is no answer”, which is repeated twice directly in the first stanza and a third time in the conditional phrase “if there were an answer”, lies the stark bitter truth of the futility of both our existence and of our search for answers which will help us solve the riddle of our lives. The line implies the impossibility of reaching an answer.

This view of life is so similar to the one we find in Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*. *Macbeth* utters the following lines after hearing of Lady *Macbeth*’s death:

Life’s but a walking shadow, a poor player
 That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
 And then is heard no more. It is a tale
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying nothing.
 (*Macbeth* Act V, Scene V, Ll.23-27 in Keams 1987:182)

This reading of the poem is in agreement with Rosenthal’s. In his book *The Modern Poets*, he claims that “‘The Usurpers’ stares into the blank face of a world ‘liberated’ from every old concern and value and finds no answer but ‘black in its blackness’” (Rosenthal 1960:139). The question of freedom in the poem means that since we have freedom to “do here what we will” and there is no controlling force which guides us when we ask for guidance and punishes us for transgressions, then there is no answer. Consequently, life is absurd and meaningless and it is but vain to try to make sense out of nonsense.

In the poem, Muir refers the “ancestral voices” and the “old garrulous ghosts” which “are not missed that once were such proud masters”. This means that people live, die, and become forgotten no matter what their social rank was. Time and death level and swallow everything into their darkness. Since this is the case, Muir states that “In this air/Our thoughts are our deeds; we dare do all we think,/Since there is no one to check us here or elsewhere.”(l.11-13) These lines take us back to the idea of the absence of a controlling force which monitors our moves and rewards or punishes us whether “here” on this planet or “elsewhere” in heaven or in hell; the absence of this force turns our thoughts to deeds as there is nothing to fear, and “no one to check us”.

Our futile and meaningless existence, according to Muir, is also expressed in the following lines:

All round us stretches nothing; we move through nothing
Nothing but nothing world without end. We are
Self-guided, self-impelled and self-sustained,
Archer and bow and burning arrow sped
On its wild flight through nothing to tumble down
At last on nothing, our home and cure for all. (ll.14-19 in Sander 1970:259)

These lines surely focus on the idea that we are on our own in this universe, we are driven and guided by our instincts like animals, and that there is no end for this world, no hereafter, and that everything we do is like the burning arrow which speeds through nothingness and finally tumbles down on nothing. For Muir, the word “nothingness” stands for all what our ancestors did, all that we do and will do, and all what the future generations will do.

The remaining section of the poem (ll.20-49) deals with the relationship between light and darkness, and, consequently, the relationship between dreams and daydreams. Muir writes in this section about the ghosts which trouble us in our sleep and which “[l]ong since were bred in that pale territory”, probably the territory of our unconscious. These ghosts come to our imagination from the dark recesses of our unconscious. Some times these ghosts or fancies come to us in day light making us imagine, as Muir puts it, that “the trees look unfamiliar”, “the mountains judge us”, “brooks tell tales about us”, “the rocks looked strangely on us”, “the waves were angry with us”, and that we “Heard dark runes murmuring in the Autumn wind”. However, Muir concludes his poem with the assertion that “[t]hese are imaginations. We are free” which assures us that we are free and that these are games played by our unconscious on us. The assertion, as far as I am concerned, only adds doubt to the idea of freedom since it suggests that we are safe in our ignorance so we better just live the lie of being free. In effect, Muir seems to believe that our existence is futile, and everything we do to change it is futile.

In his poem “Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries”, A.E. Housman addresses the idea of the absence of God, or the absence of someone to “check us here or elsewhere” as Muir puts it. Notice this line: “What God abandoned, these soldiers defended” (l. 7 in Abrams 1979:1915). It is clear from this line that God created the world and abandoned it thus leaving people to destroy each other in wars. The poem is

dedicated to the soldiers who fought bravely “when heaven was falling” and died protecting earth’s foundations by holding with their shoulders the sky. These strong images indicate the apocalyptic destructive aspect of war in which the world seems about to collapse and everything will fall into pieces, and yet God is not doing anything to stop all this destruction as if He abandoned the world and made it the soldiers responsibility to protect it.

Like Muir, Philip Larkin deals with the nothingness which colors everything we do. Philip Larkin (1922-1985) is a British poet whose poems reflect his anxiety about death. In his poem “Ambulances”, Larkin depicts the ambulances as coffins. He does not consider the possibility that the patient might live. In the first stanza, he describes the ambulances as being “closed like confessionals”. This similarity associates death with the ambulance and connotes perhaps the spiritual death of the confessionals. Larkin then describes the ambulance as it cruises through the streets as “[t]hey come to rest at every kerb”, how people look at it, and how the ambulance gives back “none of the glances” which people make. The use of the word “glances” indicates the speed with which the ambulance carries one to his death which Larkin believes to be the only outcome of getting in the ambulance.

In the second stanza, Larkin claims that the children who are sitting on the “steps or roads” and the “women coming from the shops” see the “wild white face that overtops/Red stretcher-blankets momentarily/As it is carried in and stowed”. Larkin’s use of the word “stowed” indicates that the sick man who is carried into the ambulance is considered like cargo. Like Owen in his poem “Futility”, Larkin refers to the human condition, to the tragic vision of man who is caught in the chaos of time and is “not waving but drowning” to use Stevie Smith’s title.

In the next stanza, Larkin deals with the theme of futility of our existence morbidly. Larkin writes:

And sense the solving emptiness
That lies just under all we do,
And for a second get it whole,
So permanent and blank and true. (L. 13-18 in Thwaite 1983:73)

In these lines, Larkin writes about the moment of truth or epiphany when all the masks fall and the moment of discovery or enlightenment happens. The realization of life’s true value is the discovery. This “emptiness” that “lies just under all we do” is exactly in agreement with what Muir in “The Usurpers” states, “All round us stretches nothing; we move through nothing,/Nothing but nothing world without end” (ll. 14-15). This morbid truth of the nothingness we live in becomes apparent, “permanent”, “blank”, and “true” to the observers of the ambulance; after they realize this truth, the ambulance retreats as its “fastened doors recede”. These observers “whisper at their own distress” the words “poor soul”. The words “own distress” mark the common destiny which links us together.

In the remainder of the poem, Larkin describes how in this “deadened air may go the sudden shut of loss/Round something nearly at an end”, and how “the unique random blend/Of families and fashions there

at last begin to loosen". The fact that we share the same morbid destiny, as Larkin suggests, makes the people feel a sense of loss at the death of this stranger as if he is related to them since the "unique random blend of families and fashions" begins to loosen and fade away leaving only the threat of a similar fate as it "Brings closer what is left to come,/And dulls to distance all we are". Anthony Thwaite and John Mole have a similar reading of the poem. They state:

The unusual notion on which this poem is based is that ambulances are seen as messengers of death, not of mercy: they are reminders of 'what is left to come', 'the solving emptiness/ That lies just under all we do.' There is something sinister about them in their self-contained separateness, and they are described as if they were self-willed agents. The victim or patient is 'stowed' like a piece of cargo, or a corpse, as if life vanished; the air itself is 'deadened' or numbed, as if the ambulance were a coffin. (Thwaite 1983:86)

Larkin deprives the sick stranger from receiving these feelings of pity which the onlookers feel for him; the sick stranger is now "Far From the exchange of love" as he lies "Unreachable inside a room/The traffic parts to let go by". Like Sassoon's soldier in "A Working Party" the sick stranger is not given a name, which makes him stand for each and every human whether male or female, young or old, who is caught in a similar condition, and this makes the issue of loss of a dear one more universal, for one imagines this stranger to be a potential dear relative. Thus, futility in this poem is treated in almost the same way Muir and Owen dealt with it in their poems "The Usurpers" and "Futility". These three poems concentrate on the human bond which links us together, and on the pitiful state the modern man has reached as he lives in and lives for nothing.

W.B. Yeats is another poet who expressed the theme of futility in some of his poems. Yeats utilized a system of symbols from the Irish Literature, was concerned with the liberation of Ireland, and loaded his poetry with images of revolution. In his short poem "The Great Day", Yeats expresses the futility of war and how it backfires. In his four-line-poem, Yeats writes:

Hurrah for revolution and more canon-shot!
A beggar upon horseback lashes a beggar on foot.
Hurrah for revolution and cannon come again!
The beggars have changed places, but the lash goes on. (Sanders 1970:150)

M.L. Rosenthal, in his book *The Modern Poets* states that this poem "speaks to our world of one of its greatest fears- the ultimate futility of political action" (Rosenthal 1960:29). This poem, says Rosenthal, reveals how Yeats' questions that "callous demagoguery" which "battens on man's dearest hopes and ideals". What Rosenthal says is quite valid for wars and rebellions happen again and again; "A beggar upon horseback lashes a beggar on foot", but though places and faces may change, the effect remains the same: "The beggars have changed places, but the lash goes on." Notice the use of the word "lash" which indicates the harsh, cruel, and inhuman treatment of people (especially commoners), who are treated in this same harsh manner even though leaders change, and this is the political futility which consumes people's

dreams and aspirations.

A good example of this political futility is the French Revolution whose leaders managed to dethrone and kill Louis The Sixteenth and his family. The revolution, however, backfired since many people were falsely accused of high treason and killed. In effect the revolution leaders became tyrants and proved to be worse than their predecessors. In other words, the leaders change and the subjects remain the ones who suffer. Yeats' two-line-poem "Parnell" has the same theme of political futility. This poem is shorter than the previous one, but it is not less important. Yeats writes:

Parnell came down the road, he said to a cheering man:
'Ireland shall get her freedom and you still break stone.' (Sanders 1970:150)

This short poem expresses the state of the ordinary man who remains the slave of his circumstances regardless of the political changes that happen around him. This again shows Yeats' deeply rooted distrust in the political system which serves only its leaders' own best interests. The worker, in the poem, is still breaking stone, even when Ireland is about to gain its freedom. Apparently, the plain man's concerns do not go beyond his daily work, and that the only group who benefit from a rebellion is the one that leads it.

In effect, political futility makes any mission to change the status-quo in a country futile for each revolution will backfire and the layman will be the victim of this change. Consider for example the general theme of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* which deals with this issue; in the story, the animals dethrone man and kick him out of the farm, and the pigs become the leaders who enslave the other animals and treat them worse than Man treated them. Eventually, the pigs start wearing men's clothes and walking on two legs. Isn't this what Yeats is trying to say? The layman is like Hugo's animals only suffers from political changes without gaining any real benefits, whereas, the leaders reap the harvest of revolutions.

W.H. Auden also discusses the political futility in some of his poems. For example, in his six-line-poem "Epitaph on a Tyrant" Auden writes:

Perfection, of a kind, was what he was after,
And the poetry he invented was easy to understand;
He knew human folly like the back of his hand,
And was greatly interested in armies and fleets;
When he laughed, respectable senators burst with laughter,
And when he cried the little children died in the streets. (Mendelson 1979:80)

In the last two lines of the poem, one can sense a spirit of protest against and criticism of the futility of the political system. If the senators, who are supposed to represent the people are hypocrites and puppets moved according to the will of the leader, then the political system becomes futile. Thus, the "respectable" senators burst with laughter when this tyrant laughed for either they feared him or were thirsty for his gifts. At the same time, when the tyrant did horrible things that led to the murder of children in the streets

“when he cried the little children died in the streets”. The cry could be a shout for his soldiers to attack and kill people and innocent children or it could mean that when the tyrant was upset he would take it out on the innocent people and children. The cynically-called “respectable” senators have a passive attitude; they only stood, watched, and perhaps condoned such actions. Like Yeats, Auden expresses in his poem his distrust of the political system which serves only its leaders’ own best interests and condones their inhuman actions.

Conclusion

From the discussions of the selected poems in this article, one can see how these poets touch upon the same theme of futility each in his own way. Most of them lament the tragic condition of the modern man. Some of these poets also deal with the futility of religion by questioning the wisdom of our creation and of our creator who is seen as dead or indifferent to the human plight. Moreover, some of them deal with futility in the political sphere; they protest against the use of the political system for personal ends especially to suit the personal needs of leaders. They are different poets, but they are united in their shared sense of the futility of the world we live in, and their shared sense of the emptiness of our existence. The First World War had a drastic effect on the poetry of many poets of the twentieth century. Poets like Siegfried Sassoon, Rupert Brooke, and Wilfred Owen, as well as many other poets, gave us their pure firsthand experience of war and described the fatal effects whether physical or mental upon those who participate in war. Many of these poets suffered from psychological problems during and after the war due to shell shock and/or the horrible scenes of mutilated bodies and scattered human parts on the battlefield. Some of these poets address the existential questions regarding man’s role in this world and his relation with his creator, a relation that usually intensifies the tragic dimension of the characters in the target poems. A person who reads war poetry can understand why the poets strongly expressed their refusal of war. The poets criticized the blundering stupidity of their governments whose mission was to keep sending soldiers to battle to be massacred like cattle, and they were also against those who condoned the atrocious massacres that were committed during the World Wars. The poems express a sense of outrage at the horrors of war, and express feelings of pity for the soldiers, mostly young, who are killed in battle. All of these poets try to crystallize the moment and to put an end to war’s insanity which claims everything even the basic human emotions. Some of the poets try to emphasize our shared humanity regardless of nationality. In addition most of the poets in question lament the tragic condition of modern man and expressed the futility of religion by questioning the wisdom of our creation and of God who is seen as dead or simply indifferent to the human plight; they protest against the futile existence and the nothingness which wraps and colors everything in their lives. Furthermore, some of them expressed in their poetry the political futility of the system which is used by the authoritative body of the society to serve its personal ends. All the poets discussed in this article suffer from a shared sense of the futility of the world we live in and a shared sense of emptiness. In short, war poets tried to capture the physical and emotional lineaments of modern war, thereby revealing the pain, weariness, madness, and degradation of human beings under intolerable strain. This kind of poetry gives us images of young soldiers in action who suffer from the terror, ugliness,

and brutality of war.

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Academic Literacy and Communicative Skills in the Ghanaian University: A Proposal.

By Joseph Benjamin Archibald Afful

Abstract

In the last two decades academic literacy has received considerable attention in tertiary education in several English-medium universities. English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and similar writing programs have constantly been revised in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and Australia as a result of globalization, the increasing numbers of international students and the dominance of English as an academic language. In contrast, EAP programs in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa have experienced very little innovation and change. In this paper, I argue for a change in the curriculum of an EAP program (Communicative Skills) in an English-medium university in Ghana, advancing three key reasons. Such a curriculum, it is argued, should address issues of general and discipline-specific writing, foundation and remediation, and lastly the teaching approach. The paper then concludes with a discussion of some implications worth considering for both theoreticians and implementers of EAP in university education.

Key words: *academic literacy, Communicative Skills, curriculum, Ghana, proposal*

Introduction

The link between academic literacy and tertiary education (Lea & Strierer, 2000) is undeniable and has long engaged the attention of educationalists, applied linguists, and other scholars interested in the use of language by students. This has often been discussed by scholars in American, British, and Australian universities in contrast to postcolonial settings which increasingly, though, continue to use English not only in the academic domain but also in business and political spheres as a result of both globalization

(Block & Cameron, 2002) and the attendant use of English as an international language. The considerable attention that has been paid to academic literacy worldwide in the last three decades or so derives from the challenges posed by globalization, internationalization, “commodification” of tertiary education, and the increasing prominence given to English language education.

The term ‘academic literacy’ itself conjures all the multifaceted sets of complex skills that are required for a person to function effectively in various disciplinary communities in a university. Apart from the fact that these skills are required for students to interact effectively with a text (that is, print, visual, digital, or computer-mediated), they are perceived to be critical for high school students entering the university as pre-university institutions are seen to have a culture, practices, and values different from those of universities or tertiary institutions (Alfers & Dison, 2000). A key course that is taught in many English-medium universities to facilitate the acquisition of academic literacy skills is English for Academic Purposes (EAP). In recent times academic literacy has been redefined to encompass a complex set of skills and accomplishments required at ‘entry’ into tertiary institutions as well as skills required for an advanced learner to make an effective ‘departure’ from universities (Johns & Swales, 2002) as an independent researcher. This paper focuses on the academic literacy at the entry level (that is, undergraduate) of ‘peripheral participation’ in a public university in Ghana.

Known in tertiary institutions in Ghana as Communicative Skills (CS), EAP has not witnessed any systematic evaluation as in similar programs elsewhere (e.g. Kinkead & Harris, 1993; Lukmani, 1995; Hyland, 1997). This paper argues for a change in the CS curriculum at the University of Cape Coast (UCC). I focus on UCC as a case study in order to raise concerns that may be applicable to other English-medium universities elsewhere. To accomplish this task, I first describe the general landscape of the teaching of EAP and similar writing programs in English-medium universities. Second, I foreground the teaching of CS at UCC, placing it within the geo-political context of English language education in Ghana. Third, I provide a three-pronged rationale for the proposed change in the CS curriculum and follow it up with the proposed curriculum. The implications of such a proposal are then finally considered.

Teaching of English for Academic Purposes (EAP)

EAP is literally located in English-medium universities and universities worldwide. Whereas in the USA, it is usually labeled Freshman Composition or General Composition and lately a variant called Writing in the Disciplines, it is often referred to as English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in the UK and Canada. EAP in the UK arose in response to the increasing internationalization of tertiary education (Jordan, 2002), while Freshman’s Composition and other allied programs in the USA arose as a response to the obvious decline in the quality of writing of students (Bazerman & Russell, 1994). It may also be argued that given the international character of universities, instituting EAP programs in Africa, Latin America, and Europe is inevitable. Even more cogent as a reason for the widespread institutionalization of EAP programs and similar programs is the increasing role of English as an “academic lingua franca” (Duszak, 1997: 21).

Regardless of the region where EAP or similar writing programs are found, there is one fundamental assumption earlier suggested: writing at pre-university level is deeply different from the writing required at the tertiary level (Coleman, 1998; Alfes & Dison, 2000). As Bock (1983) and others (Martin & Peters, 1985; Drury & Webb, 1997) claim, students from high schools are likely to come to the tertiary level with a baggage of experiences, attitudes, and skills that are not properly suited to university work. EAP, therefore, assumes a preparatory, facilitative, and catalytic role for fresh students, ensuring their smooth transition from pre-university stage to the university level. Unfortunately, this crucial role of EAP is often treated in reductionist and denigratory terms as “remedial”, “study skills”, or “adjunct” in the literature.

Despite this common assumption, writing programs serve different groups of students with different needs in order to equip them to undertake various academic assignments and to participate in activities in the university, if even in a peripheral sense. In British universities, where EAP is traditionally directed towards non-native speakers of English, other skills such as reading, speaking, and listening and study skills are deemed fundamentally crucial. On the other hand, the writing programs in the USA tend to be diverse: Writing in the Disciplines (WID), Writing across the Curriculum (WAC), and the popularization of writing centers. While Composition for Freshman and WID in the USA basically target non-native (and other minority groups residing in the USA) and native speakers of English respectively, writing centers mainly support all students and sometimes members of the communities in which the universities or colleges are located.

One thing though which is common to both the UK and the USA where EAP and General Composition respectively are taught is the changes that have occurred in the last two decades. These have been noted in terms of curricula, methods, technology, and finance (Jordan, 2002). For instance, in the area of curriculum, issues of criticality, plagiarism, and cultural conventions have gained serious attention, as noted in the edited collection of Flowerdew and Peacock (2001). Additionally, the area of methods of teaching has foregrounded different forms of collaboration in the teaching of EAP and General Composition. Given that most English-medium universities in non-native settings have historical ties with the UK, one would expect their EAP programs to move in similar directions, as briefly outlined above.

Two further issues that provide interesting insights into EAP programs in non-native settings involve the labels by which they are identified and their content. In Singapore, for instance, while most tertiary institutions prefer to use the term *EAP*, or following ESP tradition, terms such as *English for Business* or *English for Engineering*, among others in order to situate the writing program in specific disciplinary contexts, universities in Africa generally use labels such as *Communicative Skills*, *Communication Skills*, or *Use of English*. Many universities in India prefer the term *Communication Skills*; and in Hong Kong, the situation is less clear: while several universities employ *EAP*, a few use *English for Communication Purpose*. These differences in labels implicate differences in the curriculum, pedagogy or even philosophical orientations. For example, in terms of curriculum, most writing programs in African or Indian universities emphasize the written aspect. Singapore on the other hand follows quite strictly the British models by incorporating speaking and listening components to a large extent, while offering a place for learner autonomy.

Communicative Skills in a Ghanaian University

Ghana has had more than three hundred years of contact with three European countries – Portugal, the Netherlands, and the UK. It is, however, the English language that has exerted much influence over Ghana, one of the countries in the world where English is the only official language; besides, it is an important means of inter-ethnic communication internally and a source of communication with the international community – politics, trade, and science.

In terms of education, English is used as a medium of instruction in Ghanaian universities, including the University of Cape Coast (UCC), the setting for this study. A public university established in 1962, UCC conducts its teaching, learning, and research through four faculties (Education, Humanities, Sciences, and Social Sciences), enabling it to provide several academic programs to over 15, 000 local and international students. UCC, where I was a student and Faculty member, is selected because of my familiarity with its academic and non-academic members. English, together with Mathematics and Science, remains a major requirement for entry into UCC as in other Ghanaian public universities. In addition, prospective university students in Ghana are expected to have been exposed to 12 years of English from the primary school level to the secondary school level. In addition, on entry into Ghanaian universities, students are required to take CS.

In general, the CS program in UCC is three-pronged, emphasizing remediation, study skills, and writing skills. The curriculum is briefly outlined below:

Note-taking and note-making (from lectures, textbooks; outlining)

Reading (skimming, scanning, summarizing, etc)

Conventions of Usage (spelling, grammar, punctuation, documentation, etc)

Writing (sentence patterns, clause patterns, paragraphs, types of essays, introduction, body and conclusion).

Related to the CS curriculum are issues such as the teaching staff, allocation of credit hours and writing guides. As a three-credit hour course, CS is taught over two semesters by Faculty members on part-time basis; the teaching staff are not necessarily members of the Department of English. And the first semester is devoted to key study skills and the micro aspects of writing while the macro aspects are taught in the second semester. To facilitate teaching and learning of CS, handouts are provided by the Course Coordinator's office. Materials deemed useful by various instructors and Opoku- Agyeman's (1998) *A handbook for writing skills* are also used. Needless to say, CS is compulsory for all first-year students in UCC, who are required to pass it, lest they be denied a certificate on completion of university education.

The underlying premise of CS as a foundation course is that language skills can be decontextualized from content and that academic language is unvarying across disciplines. Besides, given that the rationale for the CS course, which started in 1985 (personal communication, Gogovi, 2003), was partly to stem the downward trend in the quality of writing of students in various discipline-specific contexts, this focus of the CS at the time was well conceived.

The Case for a Change in the CS Curriculum at UCC

In this section, I argue for a change in the curriculum of CS at UCC based on three key issues: the change in notion of academic literacy, the “commodification” of tertiary education, and a preliminary study conducted among undergraduate students in UCC.

The first fundamental reason for proposing a change in the UCC’s CS curriculum stems from a shift in the notion of academic literacy. The earlier view of academic literacy as a homogeneous, monolithic or univariant set of skills which students are supposed to demonstrate has become a luxury. This acontextual notion presupposed the transferability of a generalizable set of skills and abilities from the EAP classroom to a disciplinary context (Hyland, 2002). Indeed, while it is acknowledged that certain skills are generalizable across all disciplines (Johns, 1997; Sutton, 1997; Kaldor & Rechecouste, 2002), it is overly simplistic to argue that one can transfer the same linguistic structures operative in one disciplinary community to another. The current notion of academic literacy takes cognizance of diversity, multifacetedness, and contextualism (Ballard & Clanchy, 1988; Dillon, 1991; Samraj, 2002). This view of academic literacy, I believe, is potentially acceptable and meaningful to students.

Second is the issue of “commodification” of tertiary education (Becher, 1989; Becher & Trowler, 2001, Block & Cameron, 2002). All over the world the financial support of various governments for tertiary education continues to dwindle. While in the advanced economies such as Australia, this has led to a closer collaboration between industry and universities in the commercialization of research (e.g. Zhao, 2004), in most countries this has often led to confrontations between university students, university lecturers, and non-academic workers on the one hand and governments on the other hand. If students are contributing towards their own education, as is the case at UCC, then the evaluation of the educational product and attendant issues such as accountability and quality assurance need to be addressed. Such reconfiguration or recontextualization of education (and for that matter curricula) as a commodity implies the need for the service providers (university authorities, government, or other stakeholders) to regularly evaluate their curricula, including CS, to make it functional to society’s needs. Moreover, many stakeholders in university education in Ghana have questioned the products that are being turned from the country’s universities, especially in their communication skills at workplace.

The final reason for advocating a change in the curriculum is the report of findings from a study that forms part of a wider study (Afful, 2005) exploring the interface between rhetoric and disciplinary variation

(focusing on three departments). Views of students and faculty from departments of English, Sociology, and Zoology regarding their writing and CS were obtained. While some Faculty members felt that CS was useful and that students themselves were not appropriating it partly because Faculty members were not reinforcing the skills learnt, other Faculty members questioned its usefulness. Indeed, some other members even suggested that CS be replaced with Writing Centers, modeled after those in universities in the USA. On the other hand, most students felt that CS was useful although they were of the view that the program has to be restructured in terms of curriculum, teaching staff, and duration. While it is not claimed that the views obtained from the above study are representative, it suggests the need for a systematic evaluation of the current CS course.

The Proposed Curriculum

The proposed change in the CS curriculum takes into account three issues: a) foundational or remedial ramification (b) a balance between general writing needs and specific writing needs, and c) pedagogical approach.

Foundational or Remedial

The question of CS as a foundational or remedial course is crucial in tertiary education in Ghana and other countries. The foundational stance seeks to present CS as an empowering device to enable students to function effectively in the university community in terms of their ability to perform various academic tasks. In contrast, the remedial perspective, from a deficit viewpoint, seeks to deal with the language deficiencies of students. My initial stance would have been an outright rejection of the remedial aspect of CS, while declaring an unquestioned preference of the foundational dimension. However, on hindsight I realize that a pragmatic stance will be to embrace fully the foundational viewpoint, while taking cognizance of the remediation and study skills aspects. In other words, I advocate an unequivocal emphasis on the foundational while recognizing that the benefits to both the undergraduate students in their later university work and their discipline-specific teachers would be better enhanced, if attempts are made to get students to improve on their study and language skills.

There are two key reasons that call for continuing emphasis on the foundational aspect of the CS curriculum. The first concerns the fact that university work, as pointed out earlier, is different from high school work and requires some general as well as specific skills. In my own experience in teaching EAP in both Ghana and recently South Africa, first year undergraduates find university culture 'strange', 'weird', and 'difficult'. It is necessary, therefore, for fresh students to be helped to appreciate and adapt to this so-called 'weird' culture. Concerning this issue, Kapp (1994: 114), while admitting the context-dependent nature of academic discourse, opines:

... there are many features such as the practice of critiquing one's assumptions, arguing with detachment...posing questions, providing evidence and referencing, engaging in processes of selection and organization which are indeed across the disciplines

The second issue has to do with language skills, often highlighted in the remedial aspect of most EAP programs. The role of language in reflecting and constituting epistemology is not in question; language is inextricably intertwined with the epistemology of a discipline. In fact, it is now being argued that EAP (here, CS) should be a course of language (Turner, 2004). As well, in Ghana there is a wide gap between the rich and the poor, the result being that children of the rich have access to well-endowed high schools while children of the poor often attend the less-endowed schools (Oteng, 2000). CS in tertiary institutions in Ghana thus could be seen as a leveler, in respect of its potential in assisting a greater number of students to acquire the relevant language skills needed for university work.

General Writing and Discipline-Specific Writing Needs

A further crucial point to note in the proposed CS curriculum is the need to achieve a cautious balance between generalist (Johns, 1997; Jordan, 1997) and discipline-specific (Dillon, 1991; MacDonald, 1994) requirements in tertiary literacy to meet practical considerations. A number of studies conducted by scholars such as Linton *et al* (1994) Sutton, (1997), and Hyland (2002), have taken the lead in showing that this apparent tension is resolvable.

Following from the work of Linton *et al.* (1994), Johns (1997), and Kaldor & Rochecouste (2002), the proposed CS curriculum can draw on the general features of academic discourse to direct students to a more independent study and awareness of discipline-specific features in their various departments. Linton *et al.*'s exposition is by far the most succinct and insightful, alluding to generic features such as content, structure, and language use. For instance, in the proposed CS curriculum, content can be examined as a generic feature of all disciplines; disciplines revolve around certain salient phenomena in the construction of knowledge. At the same time, these phenomena can be used as the basis to distinguish disciplines. Content can be used in the CS class to distinguish Chemistry and History: for instance, Chemistry takes non-living organisms as the object of its inquiry while History takes human beings or human-centered events for the same purpose.

Similarly, structure can also be highlighted as a generic feature in a CS program to prepare students for their disciplinary communities. This generalist perspective of structure could draw students' attention to fundamental issues such as (a) organizational features (b) genres (both spoken and written) utilizable in the university and (c) conventions of usage. Concerning organizational features, it is possible that most first-year students at UCC are familiar with rhetorical modes such as description, narration, expository, comparison, and argumentation from their pre-university days. A study of the EAP program in the University of the Witwatersrand, a leading South African university, reveals that students' attention can

be drawn to argumentation as the valued form of writing in academia, while helping them to see how it differs from other forms. It is possible that some students may not have had a firm grasp of cohesion and coherence in their high schools. Providing students, therefore, with such knowledge and the varied ways in which these organizational aspects are utilized in various disciplines could be revealing and empowering to them.

Further, introducing fresh students to the concept of academic genres, whether spoken or written, can be useful. For written genres, discussions can focus on the title, abstract, literature review, book review, long essay or dissertation, course paper, term paper; discussion on spoken academic genres could include seminar, presentation, tutorial, conferencing, and workshop. Students can be led to discover spoken academic genres by directing them to the MICASE project in Michigan University devoted to research and description of various spoken academic genres, which can be easily assessed on the internet, given the improved student accessibility to the internet at UCC. At the outset, it is necessary to point out that the essence of introducing the concept of genres in the proposed CS curriculum is not to teach fresh undergraduates these genres as rather to alert them to the possibility of their encountering them as they move horizontally and vertically in the university. Of course, the extent to which specific spoken and written genres are used will depend on various disciplinary communities.

In addition, depending on how structure or form is conceived, the proposed CS curriculum could convey useful information on conventions of usage such as references/bibliography, citation, spelling, and punctuation. In particular, the underlying rationale for bibliography and citation as means of enforcing shared construction of knowledge, ownership, and deterring plagiarism could be a useful general point, while drawing attention to differences in disciplines or even lecturer preferences regarding APA, MLA, or Chicago house styles. Moreover, Lynch and McGrath's (1993) exposition on the five features of effective bibliographic build-up could be an illuminating basis of introducing students to bibliographic documentation, a skill required in later years of the undergraduate student's academic work in the university.

Apart from content and structure, language offers an illuminating basis for incorporating generalist and discipline-specific perspectives in a revised CS curriculum in UCC. Linguistic and rhetorical features that are generally utilized by academic discourse include the following: formality (detachment versus writer's voice); citations; linear development; lexical, collocational, and phraseological features; hedging, and information management. Within the broad category of linguistic features, the CS curriculum can focus on, for instance, formality as it is conveyed through the personal pronoun "I" and lexical features such as reporting verbs. The use of the personal pronoun "I" can be an interesting issue for discussion, given the numerous discourse analytic studies on it (Chang & Swales, 1999; Tang & John, 1999). Rather than being prescriptive, insights from these studies can indicate to students the extent to which the personal pronoun "I" can be used and within which sections in a piece of genre it can be effectively deployed.

Also, an important element in academic discourse is reporting verbs such as "argue", "suggest", "claim", and "report". To equip fresh students with this general knowledge of reporting verbs, a more useful strategy will be to lead them to understand the underlying force of claim of such verbs. This necessitates

a semantic analysis of these reporting verbs on either a cline of positivity and negativity or a cline of weakness and strength. Once students grasp these two fundamental points – occurrence and semanticity – concerning reporting verbs, the issue of discipline-specificity can more easily be dealt with. Exercises that require students to find out what reporting verbs are used in their individual subjects as well as how they are used may be incorporated into the CS program.

Pedagogical Approach

The last issue concerns the approach in teaching the proposed CS curriculum. This can be seen from three inter-related perspectives: the skills-based approach, the theme-based approach, generalist-based/discipline-specific based/ interactive teaching.

A skills-based approach first conjures reading, listening, writing, and speaking. An integrative and holistic approach involving these four skills will be useful to students rather than an approach that is isolationist. Of course, by talking about an integrative approach, I do not ask for equal attention for these four skills, as this may not be practicable. The point is that the current CS curriculum at UCC places far more emphasis on writing and reading. The result is that oral communication is hugely marginalized. In this proposal, I suggest a more serious view of oral communication together with listening if all students are to be assisted in their discipline-specific courses. Students need to be given opportunities to engage in spoken discourse in CS classes, granted that class sizes are small.

By drawing on recent research on listening (e.g. Flowerdew, 1994; Rost, 2002) the proposed CS program can introduce students generally to various forms of listening (e.g. deliberative, interactive, and aesthetic), depending on the forms of academic discourse involved. It must be noted that this approach can be meaningful only when students are made aware of the various forms of speaking (e.g. impromptu, extempore, scripted, and dialogic) or speech events (e.g. lecture, presentations, seminar, academic advise/academic counseling session) that they are likely to encounter in both their horizontal and vertical movement at the university. Here again, drawing on data from the MICASE project, the envisaged CS curriculum can be enhanced greatly as the spoken academic genres can be systematically and sufficiently explicated.

The theme-based approach can complement the skill-based approach. In one sense, reference to the theme-based approach has already been made in earlier sections such as the exposition on content, structure, and language use. Another way is to consider the topics that are treated in class. Given the usual complaint of the difficulty of students in appropriating academic discourse, there is need to exercise caution in the selection of passages meant to highlight various aspects of academic writing. In post-apartheid South Africa, for instance, passages that are chosen in EAP programs reflect national issues such as HIV/AIDS, diversity of races, equality, and violence. This has the advantage of holding the attention of students and facilitating their understanding of pertinent issues in academic writing. Similarly, a theme-based approach in the proposed CS in UCC can draw on the socio-cultural and historical circumstances of Ghana to select

passages that deal with ethnicity, language and gender, as well as sports.

The third, and last, issue to consider under teaching approach concerns the relationship between discipline-specific teachers and academic literacy teachers regarding students' acquisition of the epistemology and rhetoric in their respective disciplines. The literature on academic literacy identifies three forms. The first is team teaching often credited to Dudley-Evans (1995, 2001) and others such as Jones (2004). Here, both the discipline-specific teacher and the academic literacy teacher collaborate in teaching various aspects of writing valued and privileged in specific disciplines. For instance, in a Psychology class, the discipline-specific teacher can focus on the writing of cases, while the academic literacy teacher focuses on the effective use of passive constructions or other aspects of formal language. Another approach advocated by scholars such as Johns (1992) and Zhu (2004) suggests the centrality of the discipline-specific teachers in EAP courses. Such a position is in consonance with an earlier study conducted in University of Ghana, in which Adika and Owusu-Sekyere (1997) suggested a greater role for the discipline-specific teacher in students' enculturation in a department-based writing program, which was to replace a general academic writing program

In this paper, I advocate a third approach, which I consider more pragmatic, given the logistical and human resource constraints that inhere in the earlier two approaches. This approach resonates with Carter's (1990) interactive approach that marries the generalist writing approach and the discipline-specific approach. It, however, maintains the centrality of CS instructors, demanding that by virtue of his/her training s/he draws on research on undergraduate writing in, for instance, Geography (Hewings, 2002), Biology (Chimbanda, 2000; Drury, 2001), Philosophy (Geisler, 1994), Dentistry (Lawe-Davies, 1998), History (Coffin, 2002, 2004), and Sociology (Starfield, 2004). Like Johns (1992), I am of the view that the effort of the CS instructor has to be complemented by the subject teacher in the discipline-specific context. Such a caveat is not without basis because, as North (2003), for instance, argues, if disciplinary skills are learnt through participation in a situated activity within a disciplinary course, then it would appear to be difficult to see how CS can foster this. In this light, the approach proposed here should eventually give way to the more central role envisaged for the discipline-specific teacher in the second approach once UCC is ready to provide the necessary logistics.

Conclusion and Implications

In this paper, I have sketched the landscape of EAP courses in the native and non-native settings, focusing on the teaching of a similar program (CS) in a Ghanaian university. The thrust of the paper is a proposed change in the CS curriculum at University of Cape Coast, from three perspectives. Suggestions have been made regarding content and pedagogy.

There are theoretical and practical implications that emerge from this proposal. In terms of theory, I have argued that a proposal for a change in the CS curriculum of University of Cape Coast derives from the

current theory of academic literacy, which foregrounds a multivariate position. This multivariate view flags multiliteracies, discipline-specificity, and context. (Jolliffe & Brier, 1988; Prior, 1998; Hyland, 2002), arguing for the inextricable link between language and content. That is, content makes a significant contribution in how discourse differs from one discipline to another. As this monistic view of academic literacy is currently driving the gradual changes in most EAP programs all over the world, Africa stands the risk of being marginalized if its EAP curricula are not systematically evaluated and subsequently redesigned.

Such a theoretical imperative in turn implicates practical considerations. These include staff training or refreshment courses as well as innovation in curriculum, institutional capacity and pedagogy. Indeed, a major requirement for the successful implementation of the proposal being advocated here involves a retraining of staff of CS. In Ghana, where CS staff are not only English or Linguistics lecturers but other faculty, this could be Herculean. In the short term, without disrupting the CS program, a refreshment course that flags academic literacy as a multivariate set of accomplishments and skills should be offered to CS staff. In the long term, however, the English Departments in African countries and other nonnative settings could incorporate courses such as Writing in the Disciplines, English for Academic Purposes, Academic Writing, Rhetoric and Composition, Discourse Analysis, and Theory and Practice of Writing in their postgraduate programs. Postgraduate students from these programs could then in future be counted upon to fill the positions being occupied currently by other Faculty members with no specialization in English or Applied Linguistics.

Additionally, with the continuing dwindling financial resources of most universities, especially in Africa, the implementation of the proposed change in CS curriculum rests largely on the institutional capacity of the universities. There is need for African universities to reassess their mission statements or goals and to reflect on how far these goals are in tandem with their curricular goals. If indeed universities are to be seen as social partners and in economic terms 'sites of marketization' in the provision of quality life, then this proposal should be taken as a challenge.

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Into the Night-Time Economy: Work, Leisure, Urbanity and the Creative Industries.

By Tara Brabazon and Stephen Mallinder

Abstract

The goal of this paper is to investigate the shape and challenges of urban and economic development. We continue the analysis of Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands in *Urban Nightscapes*, to reveal the contradictions between the production, regulation and consumption of nightlife. Their research discussed nocturnal urban history as, “a story of corporate power, greed, domination and marginalization, not to mention hedonism / pleasure, dissatisfaction and resistance across city streets at night.” Noting their study with intellectual respect, we continue their ‘story’ to probe the role of nocturnal practices, behaviours and attitudes in an attempt to understand and map the margins of work, leisure and urbanity after dark.

On Tuesday May 24, 2005, *The Guardian* newspaper reported an announcement by the British Beer and Pub Association (BBPA), which represents 32,000 clubs and bars, that cheap alcohol deals offered by its outlets were to be curtailed.¹ More than half of Britain’s pubs promised to stop selling cut-price alcohol through drink promotions and happy hours. Concerns for health and social issues, exacerbated by a growing culture of binge drinking supposedly encouraged by such promotions, lead to this sudden self imposed restriction. The changing face of the leisure and entertainment industries had emerged as a residual effect of a developing night-time economy and made conspicuous through issues of social and urban management. Manchester, a city with a thriving entertainment industry, has approximately 550 licensed premises and, according to Phil Burke of the Manchester Pubs and Clubs Network (MPCN), “up to 120,000 people come in to the centre every weekend to enjoy its night life.”² In their investigation of security at licensed venues - *Door Lore* - Hobbs et. al. estimated around 75,000 people visited Manchester on Friday and Saturday nights, where 30 police and 1,000 bouncers were responsible for regulation and management.³

Two weeks later and on the other side of the world, Australia’s ABC television current affairs programme *The 7.30 Report* detailed concerns about the security personnel employed by clubs and bars in Adelaide, South Australia in the light of new controversial state laws aimed at restricting security licensing.⁴ South

Australian Attorney General Michael Atkinson claimed that, “the police tell us that eight out of ten licensed venues in the central business district have crowd controllers supplied to them by companies associated with outlaw motorcycle gangs.”⁵ In response, Adelaide hotel manager Lou Klement said: “As long as they’re doing the job right here, I’m happy with those particular individuals.”⁶

In response to the buzzwords of ‘drinking,’ ‘violence,’ ‘security’ and ‘regulation,’ the goal of this paper is to investigate the shape and challenges of urban and economic development. We continue the studies of Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands in *Urban Nightscapes*,⁷ to show the contradictions between the production, regulation and consumption of nightlife. Their research revealed “a story of corporate power, greed, domination and marginalization, not to mention hedonism/pleasure, dissatisfaction and resistance across city streets at night. The book is driven by a concern for who loses and who wins in the constant ‘merry-go-round’ of urban change, renewal and gentrification.”⁸ Noting their study with intellectual respect, we continue this ‘story’ to probe the role of nocturnal practices, behaviours and attitudes in an attempt to understand and map the margins of work, leisure and urbanity after dark.

Another day in paradise

I have never seen so many restaurants, coffee shops, so many places to go to buy things, so much to consume; yet London has never seemed so dull. The cappuccino bar culture that Tony Blair raves about looks set to dominate the whole of central London’s lifestyle. Its insidious proclamations – ‘mission statements’ – written across shop windows tell us that we should be following their corporate line and tell us how we should work, how we should drink our coffee, how we should enjoy ourselves. Are we to become part of what I would call a ‘fake’ London? A London that alienates Londoners and tourists alike? London focuses all of us to spend more on the simplest of conveniences that any other city in the world. This is not progress, this is a corporate takeover of our very lives and city, and can only be stopped by a mayor who refuses to toe the party line.⁹

Malcolm McLaren

When Malcolm McLaren affirms the value of ‘the real,’ then the rest of us should be really worried. He is concerned that consumption has replaced experience, continuing a critique of work, urbanity and alienated production that has spanned over one hundred and fifty years. Certainly, corporatization and digitization have punctuated and transformed urbanity. Mobile technological platforms carry other places and times with us as we walk through our present lives. Townsend referred to the effect of the mobile phone as increasing the “real time urban metabolism.”¹⁰ Such platforms increase the flow of information and reduce the scheduling necessary to ensure coordination of social and personal spheres in our daily and nightly

lives. Yet how this ‘urban metabolism’ aligns with McLaren’s ‘real London’ is a piquant problem.

Most of the contemporary definitions of urbanity were derived from the 19th century transformation in time, space, work, education and leisure: the industrial revolution.¹¹ The impact of steam, power and mechanization transformed the labour process, made goods cheaper and opened up new markets. The deployment of men’s and women’s time became more productive and efficient. Work was hard. Leisure was short. The labour force was exploited.

The use of the label of ‘revolution’ to describe industrial transformation suggests a sharp, radical jolt of change. Yet industrialization is a process, not a single event. This process fundamentally shifted understandings of work and leisure. Irregular hours could not be sustained after mechanization, where discipline and precision was required. The machine determined how and when the worker completed the task. When Josiah Wedgwood formed the factory system, he separated labour into different processes. Workers were trained in a particular task and did not move from that task. While the quality of Wedgwood’s pottery improved, the skill level of workers was low. This model of pottery production changed men and women from artisans to hands of the machine. When Henry Ford built on Wedgwood’s structures and strategies to instigate his moving assembly line in 1913, higher wages were given to workers to attract them to operate under pressurized industrial rhythms. The new systems of discipline instigated through the moving assembly line guaranteed worker patterns that were also enforced by a bell to commence work along with a primitive clocking in system.

One filmic residue and representation of these alienated working conditions is Charlie Chaplin’s *Modern Times*. Chaplin’s startling iconography means that we carry forward indelible images of the exploitative nature of capital. Indeed, the aura of the industrial revolution – in terms of the structures and routines of work – has survived long after this economic system. Work still conveys the connotations of useful effort, which is valued and paid. Yet the Wedgwood and Ford interventions, which focused on how to produce goods in an efficient way and not on the people who produced the goods, have been translated and transformed - but survived - in the post-Fordist service sector, where the ‘goods’ produced have become ‘the experience’ of the customer.

While Fordism chained labour tasks to external rhythms, Post-Fordism displaced much of what was previously termed ‘work.’ The acceptance of part-time and casual employment would be rare, even thirty years ago. Aronowitz described this phenomenon as, “millions of people take whatever part-time work is available regardless of its content and do not expect to be fulfilled by it, except in relation to income it yields.”¹² What has enabled this transformation is the movement from an identity formed through work to an identity shaped by consumerism. Shopping is the pay off for the highly exploitative employment without security. While manufacturing still exists, hospitality, tourism and retail are the growth areas of the economy, providing the foundation and framework for the night-time economy. A small and skilled core workforce is outnumbered by a large group of temporary, casualized and deunionized workers. Post-Fordism encourages worker flexibility, autonomy and responsibility. It also creates cyclical poverty for many and builds a ‘service economy’ of cleaners and waiting staff.¹³ Non-standard employment

has increased, encompassing underemployment, over-employment and self-employment. These positions have few benefits and little job security.

There is a clash between the older theories and modes of work and the non-standard employment of the creative industries, particularly in the night-time economy. As Stanley Aronowitz has argued, “the labor movement focused on the struggle over the working day.”¹⁴ The working *night* was not a focus. For example, Mark Jayne’s researched the remarkable case of the failed regeneration of Stoke, the home of Wedgwood’s innovation in employment and industrial processes.¹⁵ This working class city could not transform its social structure, identity and work practices for the new creative industries of flexible hours, customization and ‘Independents.’¹⁶ While pottery may seem the archetypal commodifiable craft through the value adding of branding and design, the older definitions of work, leisure, time and discipline have been difficult to dislodge in this new economy, at least in Stoke.

Richard Florida wrote *The Rise of the Creative Class*¹⁷ at the very point that there was a lack of discussion about the working class that no longer worked within Fordist rhythms. Why were theorists, policy makers and governmental legislators drawn to the creative class and not a discussion of the service industry? Why did the nighttime economy gain more attention than daytime un(der)employment? Part of the answer is found in a simple desire to find alternative, optimistic narratives of work and leisure that suited progressivist, New Labour and Third Way agendas. Labels like *24 hour cities*, *creative cities* and even the *night-time economy* offer positive inflections and blinkered views of an economy that no longer requires a large number of the former working class. Instead, Florida assembles a creative class that he argues makes up a third of the workforce. It includes those working in design, information technology, educators, musicians, architects and artisans. But the service sector is also enfolded into this grouping. They serve food, clean buildings and (wo)man telephones in call centres. This is the group that Polly Toynbee believes reveals a simple fact about this ‘new’ economy: “the better off pay too little for these services.”¹⁸ In other words, the focus on music, galleries, museums, restaurants and cafes as the engine of the creative economy actively forgets about the people who clean the floors, distribute tickets, cook the food, wash the glasses and make the coffee.

The positive inflection on these changes is that work is more flexible, and can be fitted into a lifestyle, rather than being chained to a machine’s timetable. Married women fuelled much of this growth in labour supply. In fact, Aronowitz draws strong parallels between female clerical workers and the male Fordist assembly line worker.

Far from suggesting a new era in which worker autonomy corresponds to multivalenced labor (workers performing a variety of different tasks under their own control), computer-mediated clerical labor chains the workers to a machine and the most crude industrial conceptions of productivity. The repressive managerial programs associated with such arrangements produce a Fordist worker mentality. However, these women are not paid well enough to afford the durable consumption of traditional assembly line workers. On the other hand, the work itself is not satisfying enough to make clerical labor meaningful.¹⁹

The decline of manufacturing has had a profound effect on how men think about their lives and identity.²⁰ The rise of repetitive administrative jobs that are coded as feminine ‘office work,’ such as feeding databases, forwarding emails, compiling minutes, have not lessened the alienation in – and from – the day-time economy. The types of jobs in which many women and men are placed to earn extra money to operate a household are not remotely creative. At its most basic, the ‘new’ economy is filled with low paying jobs where a stationary computer keyboards has replaced the moving assembly line.

The definition and applicability of creativity when attached to a class is of great concern. In the last decade, politicians, policy makers and academics have ‘celebrated’ in an evangelical fashion the ‘benefits’ of creativity. Such enthusiasms are explicable, and Florida’s passion for those who live a creative and artistic life is understandable and valuable. He welcomes the idea of global citizens making money from ideas.²¹ He values creativity over consumerism. But he does maintain the assumption of entrepreneurialism, that underemployed and poorly paid workers can magically become creative and obtain a supplementary income. Film makers, musicians, writers and fashion designers work in low economic return environments. There is also an incredible array of low-skilled repetitive labour, completed by workers who have few choices about how their timesheet is organized. While recognizing the agitation of working rhythms and how the word ‘creativity’ often masks the old exploitations in these new environments, we now watch the metaphoric sunset and enter the temporal phase of nocturnal employment.

The night shift

Concerns with regulation serve to emphasize the extent to which the perception of night-time economies have become synonymous with social management and the degree to which these economies, once a seeming panacea for the revitalization of moribund post industrial and post-colonial centres, are now symptomatic of an alcohol fuelled mono- culture. The promised café culture has failed to arrive and in its place are representations of a more hedonistic and elemental lifestyle. In observing night-time economies in Manchester and Sheffield in comparison to Australian cities like Perth and Adelaide, it is possible to determine factors of commonality and areas of divergence, which in turn help to understand an evolving and dynamic component of the contemporary urban economy.

The Future Foundation, a market and consumer research group, detailed in a 2004 report the growing significance of this economic activity. The findings suggest that by 2020 a quarter of the UK population – thirteen million people - will be “economically active” between the hours of 6pm and 9am, compared with seven million at present.²² The figures, regardless of the accuracy of the prediction, not only track the service industry’s growth in the increasingly fragmented ‘first world’ labour market, but also the extent to which the rhythm of daytime/night-time production and consumption continues to synchronize. This evolving economy provides an important dichotomy where employment for some is signified by a suspension of work for others. Similarly, spatial factors delineate the urban economy more markedly at night. Those who are denied access or legitimacy through consumption are significantly marginalized.

Defined by Hobbs as the “legion of the banned” - or those who roam²³ - these individuals and communities deploy night-time behavioural codes that not only symbolize broader social practices but mark them as different. This global phenomenon of the nocturnal economy, signified by the appropriation of night-time urban spaces by the leisure and entertainment industries, is symptomatic of broader social and cultural patterns. In turn, these patterns of activity reinforce the temporal gulf between night-time and daytime economies. This inferred polarity raises a number of issues: access and regulation of private and public space, problems associated with formal and informal modes of urban control, corporate and private entrepreneurialism symbolized through mainstream and niche economies and the role of regional governance. Importantly, these issues are contextualised by national and local policies, regulations and laws. The need to prioritize local strategies to determine a suitable balance between an ergonomic city environment and a thriving cultural, night-time economy whilst supporting adequate services is fundamental to the development of responsible and functional urban centres that synchronize social and economic development.

Patterns of movement by urban populations, within the context of regional economic anomalies, have largely followed a path of decentralization brought on by residential shifts towards suburban peripheries with the attendant development of highway networks and an increased reliance on auto-mobility. Consequently, as observed by Thomas and Bromley, a decline followed in the status of the city centre through a focus on retail, business, entertainment and cultural activities in surrounding metropolitan regions, which has been a widespread feature of most advanced Western countries.²⁴ Many post-industrial cities became characterized by “long-term vacancies, lower-status stores replacing market leaders, the emergence of charity shops and the development of a general air of dilapidation.”²⁵ Perth, in Western Australia, followed the trends of other capital cities in the world where the doughnut effect was experienced during the 1960s followed by a return of population in the 1990s. The common effect of this process has been one of fragmentation of city centers, in turn impacting upon the functioning urban economies, highlighting issues of residence, access and safety.

Urban regeneration through production and consumption in cultural and night-time economies which took place in many British cities after the late 1980s, and later mirrored in other centres, displays a paradigmatic change in regional planning. Specifically, it denotes a shift in the relationship between local authorities and regional entrepreneurialism, akin to municipal corporatisation, in an effort to provide not only traditional services but also to become more proactive in seeking solutions to unemployment through cultural and leisure economies. Enacted policies capture the desire to embrace a more European or cosmopolitan urban lifestyle through what Bianchini refers to as “night time animation.”²⁶ This phrase is an acknowledgement that urban spaces are reactivated not only as a response to increased disposable time and income but also as a civic response to unemployment and an ageing population to re-appropriate spatial vacuums and nocturnal “dead time.”²⁷ Also underpinning this strategy is the need to account for – and market - local and national idiosyncrasies. Overstressing ‘modelling’ or ‘city imaging’ can underestimate the consequences of specific histories. For example, embedded social and cultural practices in many European centres are not replicated in British cities, nor do they perform local economic, political or climatic factors in subsequent revitalised urban centers. The need to apply local and national parameters to the growing global significance of night-time economies is paramount to constructive analysis. Nightlife experiences emerge

from specific localities that are unique to each urban centre. Despite similarities in night-time economies in a global context, for most activities, location and socio-temporal conditions are vital. These economies may be modeled on earlier attempts at urban regeneration and frame similar cultural activities that occur within the liminal zone. For employers, employees and consumers alike, interaction and participation is distinctly localised. Night-time economies embrace experiences of the immediate, the current and the specific that are both symptomatic of and dependent upon local cultural and social context.

The concept of the 24-hour city is fundamentally a problematic cliché. Most urban areas, despite having continuous public access, require an understanding of function and an appropriate degree of delineation. The realistic objective is an extension of the city's social, economic and cultural efficacy. Any accommodation of night-time economic activity implies an acknowledgement of scheduling and mutual accommodation of space and time for consumers and producers alike. Daytime and night-time economies require a high degree of consensus with regard to access, control and cultural representation. Yet the city of the day is marked by different patterns of consumption and production from the city after dark. In Hughes words, "in Western society, 'light' and 'dark' have become metaphors for the dominance of reason and the passions respectively."²⁸ Similarly, public interaction is structured within local and national cultural factors. When Leeds City Council followed up on their '24 Hour City' initiative in 1994 with the objective of providing, "an annual programme of events and entertainments and to create a city centre that is safe, accessible, and friendly to all parts of the community,"²⁹ the key was to relax licensing restrictions and extend opening hours to pubs and night-clubs. This initiative brought residual issues associated with increased use of alcohol, a perennial problem for the night-time economy.

In Britain, the 24 Hour City became synonymous with spatial segregation and formal and informal methods of control. In theory, the imagined or idealized 'Euro citizen' was catered for in the new economy. A marketing construction, it was reliant on a benign, cosmopolitan consumer who would access the revitalized urban centre, with disposable income evenly spread through daytime shopping and after dark leisure and entertainment. This new utopia summoned a cultural consumption framing urban and personal identity, but failed to take account of existing social and cultural fissures which would not be eradicated but increased by developing service economies. Britain, long shackled by licensing regulations that were linked to archaic industrial practices unlike those in other parts of Europe, did not facilitate a smooth transition to a café style model of economic activity. Long embedded signifiers of nocturnal activities identified by Bianchini included, "a culture of heavy drinking behind opaque glass windows, with little communication between the pub and the street."³⁰ The metaphors of separation, isolation and secrecy proliferate. The new economy would be characterized, in the words of Hobbs et al as, "[the] colonization of after dark urban spaces by the leisure industry."³¹ It would be constructed around the embedded pub and club culture, which - through consolidation of national ownership - would display increasing patterns of franchising and corporatisation.

Metaphorically and socially, the night-time economy has become an important component of a global leisure industry, a recipient of disposable income and an increasingly vital part of the overall national and local economy. Nocturnal cultural activities are a statement of lifestyle. Night-time activities function as

an expression of both group and personal identity. Specific activities become analogous to different socio-economic, age and gender groups. Nevertheless, for those seeking symbolic capital through consumption, but unable to participate in this after dark economy, it has also become a region of exclusion. Most analyses of night-time economies focus on mainstream or more corporate representations of economic activity, a continuation of pre-consumer hegemony, whereas Harvey points out, “cities ... are founded upon the exploitation of the many by the few.”³² Urban public spaces may be inclusive, however night-time economies are symptomatic of existing social, economic and cultural divisions where not only newer segregations are defined but also older inequalities are reinforced.

The apparent leisure industry hegemony, targeting students and youth groups, encourages increased alcohol consumption with residual social problems. This approach to lifestyle marketing results in many groups, particularly young males, being both participants and protagonists within the night-time economy. This need to contain intrinsic social problems through the regulation of human movement and to establish behavioral codes has not only led, as Hughes argues, to the night-time economy being, “the latest manifestation in the history of social management,”³³ but also becoming symbolic of the social divisions within each specific urban environment. Embedded classifications of race, class, age and gender are fused with consensus codes of behaviour. Physicality becomes the key determinant of who is allowed or denied access. For example, Northbridge in the City of Perth announced its intention of imposing a late night curfew in 2004, a means of social regulation aimed specifically at reducing the number of local indigenous – Noongar - youths in the area. They were regarded as an inhibitor to the area’s night-time economy. When the initiative failed to gain community support, it was shelved.

This evolving convergence between formal and informal methods of social management is reified by technology. Police, security services and employees within night-time industries are signified by complex and rapid modes of communication and surveillance. This ‘constant eye’ culture is normalized, not simply through urban scrutiny and supervision but also through media representations. The ‘Big Brother’ reality television culture has standardized constant observation as being prescriptive of social procedures, where being seen is validation of an authenticity and legality necessary to activate the protocols of citizenship. An erosion of the delineation between fame and infamy is collateral to this perpetual inquiry. Within an urban context, technology’s most recent and insidious development is through CCTV, which within twenty years Graham argues could “become the fifth utility.”³⁴ Already in shopping malls in the USA, “[those who] simply sit down or ‘loiter’ for periods deemed by power holders to be too long for the imperative of maximum profitability and commercial throughput.”³⁵ Technology was instrumental to spatial demarcation, where Graham’s “failed consumers” become an unnecessary liability. Urban spaces are subjectively sanitized to facilitate zones and patterns of consumption, with classification based upon the ability to engage with the daytime or night-time economy. Australia was one of the first nations to embrace these observational technological platforms. The City of Perth’s CCTV surveillance network was the first in the country to be installed and overseen by a local government authority. By 1994/95, the system was extended to incorporate the nightclub precinct in West Perth and the Northbridge area.³⁶ The encroachment of surveillance technologies into urban areas is a seemingly necessary procedure to revitalize local economies and tie issues of public safety to tenets of visibility. The residual effects of surveillance and urban management

are becoming manifest in the application of informal methods of control where acceptance or exclusion become arbitrarily enforced and symptomatic of embedded social and cultural schisms.

Night-time economies, by encompassing creative and service industries, have the capacity to obscure the distinction of work and worker. In the cases of the DJ, bar worker, theatre or cinema employee, their identities are constructed not only through the value of work and production but also through another's leisure and consumption. Within this construction, Hochschild argues that, "employees expend emotional labour. Their work is a mix of mental, manual and emotional labour."³⁷ Often depicted as aesthetic labour - where a subject's physical appearance plays an important role - night-time economic practices involve a high percentage of flexibility but also economic marginalisation. High risk and with little long-term economic security, underemployment and unemployment become an economic norm. In Ball, McGuire and McRae's view, this mode of work incorporates, "an inherent instability and uncertainty which condition the identities, values and 'planning' of the young workers who service and represent these economies in practice and which encourage a sense of detachment."³⁸ Networking and locally-embedded knowledge are integral to building night-time community capital - not only at a local level, but also on a national and regional level. Many cultural industries - journalism, design, DJ'ing and club promotion - operate on informal and social levels to capitalize on employee mobility. Patterns of engagement in these niche economies also serve to blur the distinction between cultural consumption and creative production; a nexus of identity, mobility and consumption symbolized through economic activity. Hollands identifies the economy's metaphorical function as, "more mature and upwardly mobile section of local working-class populations, who view such places as sites to express their perceived mobility, status and maturity."³⁹ Alternatively others lose such significant capital, "due to economic and geographical marginality, racism, or merely feelings of disenfranchisement."⁴⁰ They are excluded from areas of participation as either producers or consumers with regard to specific genres of music, club cultures and styles, defined through fashion, sexuality or ethnicity.

The characteristic growth of the cultural and night-time economies for Australian cities traces an inevitable effect of the nation's demography. Despite its continental mass, Australia is the most urbanized nation on earth, with 58% of its population concentrated in five main cities.⁴¹ In Perth Western Australia, the night-time economy operates as an ancillary component of the wider service economy. Climate and environmental factors are the focus of tourism through beaches, regional travel and daytime consumption. Perth's urban development has been shaped by a low population density, a characteristic suburban sprawl and reliance on auto-mobility. Public transport infrastructure has reinforced spatial and social divisions that overlay differences through leisure and night-time activities. The city's development has also inhibited spatial cohesion with separate CBD, shopping, restaurant/café and cultural zones exacerbated by a rail network, which dissects these zones. Consequently the night-time economy also impacts on suburban satellites and cultural industry clusters where secondary centres, such as Subiaco, Leederville and Mount Lawley, have developed in response to patterns of low-density population spread.

The need to address the broader use and access of urban centers lies in initiatives that incorporate a wider social spectrum and develop strategies that seek to integrate public and private space. Finding approaches to accommodate private business, personal safety and suitable public access rather than segregation

requires a dynamic and appropriate dialogue between business and local authority sectors. The night-time economy is in most cases incorporated into, and contingent upon, the broader classification of cultural industries, where representations of both group and personal identity are locally contextualised. Middleton, in delineating resident and tourist experiences, likens the city to a metaphorical text, “a repository for [people’s] memoirs, recalled events and accumulated cultural symbols.”⁴² In an attempt to accommodate social change, “modernization of urban space unifies the physical form with social demand.”⁴³ This need to embrace both resident and transient representation requires strategies that incorporate not only requirements of the consumer but also the producer - the local economic infrastructure. Shorthose identifies these strategies as being one of two types: either ‘engineered’ downward, with an extrinsic “formal rationality geared towards devising universal means with which to achieve cultural objectives,” or a ‘vernacular’ upward means, which capitalizes on intrinsic DIY activity “that may both create and sustain a vibrant cultural life.”⁴⁴ Shorthose identifies Leicester as an engineered development which, like the pioneering efforts of local authorities in Sheffield, sought to revitalize the local economy by instigating and funding cultural activity. Nottingham, in a mirror of Manchester in the 1990s, is recognized as ‘vernacular,’ a paradigm of informal urban economic practices and “an inherent part of everyday social and cultural networks.”⁴⁵

The City of Perth has embarked on a path of revitalization through a fusion of these extrinsic and intrinsic strategies. The goal has been to develop a clearly defined cultural quarter in Northbridge through a structured synthesis of high and popular culture in a zone where existing state and national galleries and libraries blend with the traditional club, bar and restaurant area. This ‘project’ is now part of an extensive overhaul of the state’s transport infrastructure and a proposed development to submerge a railway line, which has symbolized the division between this informal cultural zone and the established CBD and shopping district. Links between urban development bodies and local entrepreneurialism hope to progress organic growth in the area, with local governance providing the appropriate framework to assist revitalization and social interaction. The advantages of informal cultural activity, at the expense of mechanistic strategies enables what Shorthose describes as a “continual redefinition of cultural production based on new forms of interaction and collaboration,”⁴⁶ and avoids the intrinsic flaws of engineered approaches which threaten to “relegate culture to a passive cultural consumerism.”⁴⁷

Tim Brown, an active member of Northbridge Business Improvement Group which is the focus organization involved in the redevelopment of the area’s cultural quarter, draws attention to the spatial and chronological relevance of the strategies:

There is a conscious attempt to take the development seriously, the [adjacent] galleries have become very aware of high art drawing from street culture and the need to build links. Cities become defined by when they accumulate wealth; physical and cultural footprints are laid. Perth’s time is now.⁴⁸

The need to provide an adequate infrastructure to encompass appropriate social management is for Brown part of a broader agenda to de-regulate areas of the economy. He states that, “the licensing laws are frankly draconian with costs prohibitive to outsiders, in comparison to Melbourne for example. Many people want

change to enable development through cultural rather than business forms, it's counterproductive, [existing] laws keep the industry in the hands of the few."⁴⁹ Aware of issues of social management, he believes that the media has served to reinforce public perceptions of the area:

Gays and Asian people don't see any problems with Northbridge, many white suburban people do however. Interestingly many of these will go to King Cross, Sydney or parts of Paris but never venture into Northbridge. The curfew issues go too deep, but regardless the Noongar are very much part of what goes on here. Diversity is what should attract people to this area, there's valid territorial ownership for many groups you shouldn't deny this, we don't want to pull culture down to a tight band.⁵⁰

His awareness of the delicate textured surfaces of the night time economy, which may be shattered by the interventions of social regulators with specific concepts of value, taste and propriety, is revelatory and important. Diversity is part of the attraction of night spaces. To suburbanize and standardize this space culturally, economically or socially is shortsighted, particularly for the development of creative industries.

The 24-hour city did not – and could not – become a reality. There are costs and consequences of agitating the patterns of work and leisure, day and night, regulation and liberation. The hot spots of 'binge' drinking, knife crime, 'yobs' and personal safety,⁵¹ jut from the uneasy liminality. It is through this legislative, social, economic and temporal twilight that creative industries' debates must now turn. Discussions of Putnam's 'social capital'⁵² or Florida's 'flight' of the creative class⁵³ is masking a social dysfunction: between citizens with their clocks set at different times and their minds filled with either the exuberance of the night or the calm predictability of morning.

Notes

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An Evaluation of *Intensive English* (Book I) as a Coursebook for English as Second Language in Nigeria.

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Abstract

Many education experts claim that there is “uncritical 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”. (Ohia and Adeosun (2002), paraphrasing Ubahakwe [1979]). Judging from the evaluation of *Intensive English (Book 1) For Junior Secondary Schools (New Edition, 1983)*, the revelation is that the authors of the coursebook provide relevant instruction to guide the learners through the contents of the four sections—speech, comprehension, language structure and composition. The overriding principle of presenting these contents is hinged on audio-lingual method with structural and situational approaches forming the background or “nuclei”. The approaches of “Do and Learn, Think and Learn, Game Time and Homework” as well as other exercises and activities make provision for learner-centredness. However, since there is no single coursebook that can adequately provide for the needs of the learners from varied language backgrounds, learners should, therefore, be exposed to supplementary reading textbooks or printed materials. Also, it is recommended that teachers should understand the psychology of foreign language acquisition and utilize it to provide effective learner-centred learning activities backed up with appropriate and effective teaching methods in the classroom situation. If the recommendations are acceptable, the inadequacies of contents in terms of ecological, pedagogical and technological considerations will be addressed by the teacher who is supposed to act as academic counsellor.

Introduction

A look at the educational system in Nigeria as well as other developing countries reveals that textbooks have come to assume quite a disproportionate importance in the overall scheme of things. Roberts (1958) observes that the curriculum developer will readily admit the importance of books and other materials in

implementing the curriculum. He further states that:

The organization of the contents could affect English language learning in a large degree because textbooks constitute the main source of information to which most teachers are enslaved. The organization of textbooks could affect the teaching methods and alternatively the improvement of instruction. The way teachers use textbooks affects the curriculum.

Ubahakwe (1991), therefore, posits that language-teaching methods are determined by:

- goals and educational content of the target language;
- level of students to whom the language is taught; and
- the topic to be taught.

However, it is generally believed that the choice of methods must agree with specific approaches which are anchored on concepts of language and learning. Most curriculum reforms over the years have sought to make a critical re-examination of aims, goals, objectives, method and materials. In fact, one school of thought in curriculum development states that the achieved curriculum is the effective one. To determine whether or not the curriculum is achieved, evaluation is the yardstick. Evaluation, therefore, is an indispensable factor in curriculum development and implementation. We are able to evaluate the curriculum through appraising the textbook and its approaches and methods of achieving the educational aims, goals, objectives. Therefore, the teaching and learning strategies adopted by the authors of *Intensive English for Junior Secondary Schools (Book 1)* are examined in this paper.

Procedure

A sample survey of the units of *Intensive English for Junior Secondary Schools (Book 1)* was carried out by Oluikpe, B.O., Obah T.Y., Okole, M.K., Onuigbo, S.M. and Anasiudu, B.N.

The decision to choose the JSS1 coursebook was informed by the fact that the class is an academic bridge between Primary School and Secondary School where learners are expected to be guided through instructional activities in the coursebook by the teacher. Again, the class is the preparatory stage in the trilogy classes of Junior Secondary Schools. Therefore, learner-centredness is the focus of the learner activities. The role of the teacher is that of a counselor, hence we have guided composition and guided comprehension as aspects of the contents of the book. The coursebook comprises different units on speech, comprehension, language structure and composition. These units are broken down into various activities that are specifically designed to enhance linguistic and communicative competence.

Learner-centredness in language teaching

There exist many theories on learner-centredness in language teaching. These diverse views arise as a result of individuals' perspectives in approaches and methods in language teaching, resulting from changes or shifts in the emphasis of what learners' needs are. Learners' needs are theoretically of great importance in the current learner-centred approaches in teaching generally and language teaching in particular. Needs analysis is therefore very fundamental to the planning of an effective language education programme (Richards, 1990).

Dewey (1992) opines that the child is the starting point, the centre and the end of all curriculum instruction. While teacher plays the role of the learning counsellor. According to Tudor (1993), learning is more effective if methodology and study mode are geared around students' preference. This view is in contradiction with the traditional classroom situations where the teacher assumes the role of the knower and activity organizer (teacher-centredness) Closely following the trends in learner-centredness in language teaching, Toshen (1994) recommends that learner-centred programmes should provide learners with effective learning strategies and encourage them to adopt skills needed to navigate the curriculum.

Approaches and methods of language teaching and learning

Language experts have developed, tested and used various methods over the years. Their activities are informed by their conceptions of the nature of language and how it can best be taught or learned. Anthony (1963) defines approach as "a theoretical or ideological concept which underlines a particular way of teaching language. This indicates that a particular approach has some underlying principles of language and learning. Some of these approaches include Classical, Structural, Cognitive, Situational and Functional-Notional approaches. These approaches serve as "neclei" of language methods and have their peculiar features, which make them distinctive.

Methods on the other hand, according to Ohia and Adeosun (2002), refers to an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts and all of which is based on a selected approach. Some of these methods are Grammar, Translation, Direct, Audio-Lingual, Silent-way, Cognitive-code Learning and Communicative Competence Methods. These methods have evolved as a result of syntheses of approaches manifesting into rule generalization, questioning, substitution tables, drilling, repetition, group activity, role playing and dialogue techniques which textbooks have adopted in presenting their contents in line with the aims, goals, objectives and curriculum in Nigeria.

In relatively recent times, a "newly improved" method called "Whole Language" has evolved. Weaver (1990) summarizes its features as:

Language is kept whole, not fragmented into skills, literary skills and strategies are developed in the context of whole, authentic literacy events; while reading and writing experiences permeate the whole curriculum; and learning within the classroom is integrated in the whole life of the child.

The central point of the whole concept, among other things is the integrated approach of skills of language by “teaching skills and strategies of language not as isolated or artificially contrived skill, but within the context of reading a variety of genres and writing for a variety of purposes and audiences” (Ohia) and Adeosun, 2002).

The whole scenario of “rising and falling methods”, according to Oderinde (2005), that leads to arriving at a “newly improved” method has behind it powerful findings sometimes forged from faultless empirical research” He concludes that “the ocean waves of methods”: does not remove that fact that the changes that come with the findings in language teaching are unsettling. Perhaps, the best antidote in the circumstances is the statement: “There is no method there are only methods.”

Evaluation of the authors’ approaches and methods of presenting contents in *Intensive English I* by Oluikpe et al (1983).

According to the preamble of the Language Curriculum (1985), English Language Curriculum is an integrated English studies syllabus. The curriculum contains the essential elements as vocabulary development, comprehension (listening and reading) grammatical structure, spoken English, writing and literature. The idea of the curriculum integration is to promote a systematic development of both the language skills and the literary knowledge that are considered essential for effective use of English in oral and written communication as well as in learning other subjects in the school curriculum. The curriculum considers the level of the secondary school education, which influences the selection of the contents.

The study considers the following in the discussion of the English textbook:

- The aims/objectives of the English Language curriculum.
- The contents and presentation of contents in “*Intensive English I*”
- Evaluation of the authors’ approaches and methods of presenting the contents.

Aims/Objectives of the Language Curriculum

The general objective of any systematic instruction is to enable learners of language, especially in a second language situation, to acquire a working knowledge of the rules of grammar as well as of the structural patterns of the language as an aid towards developing their skills in speaking and writing.

The objectives of the curriculum are to:

- i. provide students with a sound linguistic basis for further learning
- ii. equip school leavers with a satisfactory level of proficiency in the English language in their places of work.
- iii. stimulate a love of reading as a pleasurable activity
- iv. promote the art of spoken English as a medium for national and international communication.
- v. enhance and develop further the various skills and competences already acquired.

The book writer is guided by the requirements of the prescribed curriculum of Junior Secondary School and pays particular attention to the students' needs in the acquisition of the language skills.

Contents and Presentation

The book is organized into twenty units. Each is divided into four main sections:

- (i) speech
- (ii) comprehension
- (iii) language Structure
- (iv) composition

The four sections are designed to occupy the students for two periods of English learning activities weekly. The first two sections, that is, speech and comprehension which clearly stress Oral English, make up one period; the other two sections, language structure and composition, which focus on written English, occupy the second period. The authors of *Intensive English 1* make the combination in the way to balance instruction on the two broad skills the book attempt to develop, that is, spoken and written English.

This arrangement re-emphasizes the aim of the English Curriculum which is to ensure that students become competent users in both speech and writing in the English language. In the following sub-sections, each of the sections will be evaluated in terms of contents and methods or approaches of presentation in the classroom situation.

Speech: There are principles and approaches or methods of acquiring a foreign language. One of such principles is that of assimilation.

Sounds in a foreign language are naturally assimilated to the nearest similar sounds in the mother tongue and are pronounced accordingly. This causes a lot of problems where two or more sounds in the target language are assimilated to one sound in the mother tongue. The students therefore always encounter pronunciation problems in terms of differentiating between different sounding words in the target language.

To overcome this difficulty or problem, the speech sections of *Intensive English 1* adopt the following approaches:

- (a) description of the different vowels and consonants of English
- (b) imitating/practicing using minimal pairs, that is, pairs of words that differ only by one sound.
- (c) drilling of students through repetition in order to ensure that sounds are acquired and produced correctly.

The above items (a-c) can be illustrated as follows:

Unit 1

Learn: The vowel /i:/

Approaches used to teach and learn the above sound are as follow:

- (i) describe (ii)imitate (iii)practice (iv)contrast (v)spell (vi)test

Going through i-vi above, it is obvious that the approach adopted by the authors is centred on the behaviourist theory of second language acquisition which asserts that language learning is habit formation and learners learn best through imitation, practice, repetition, drills, etc.

The essence of teaching and learning is to achieve some achievable objectives and these objectives are ensured by way of testing which serves as feedback to the teachers in terms of evaluating the objectives of lessons, contents, instructional media etc. This aspect is taken care of in the last step of the approach which is “test”. The steps of the approach adopted are illustrated as follows:

The vowel /i:/

(i) Describe

Look at the diagram showing how to pronounce the vowels /i:/. The vowel /i:/ is pronounced by pressing the sides of the tongue against the upper teeth with just a little space between the middle of the tongue and the roof of the mouth as though you are going to say the “y” in yes. The mouth is slightly open and the lips are spread.

(ii) Imitate

Imitate your teacher as he makes the sound /i:/ in the following words.

bee chief key leaf

(iii) Practice

Listen as your teacher pronounces the following words which contain /i:/

be	sea	we	tree
need	beat	these	free
machine	chief	seize	police
kerosene	thief	deceive	margarine

(iv) Contrast

Listen to your teacher for the differences in sounds. Then to repeat after him before practising on your own.

/i/	/i:/
sit	seat
pick	peak
dip	deep
fit	deep
knit	neat

Integrated approach is introduced after the above stage whereby students are exposed to sentences e.g.

- (a) Peter is easy to please.
- (b) The police freed the meat thief

(c) Please take my seat and leave me alone

(v) Spell

At this stage students are given the opportunity to recognize /i:/ in different spellings of words.

I	ee	ie	ea
machine	been	piece	bean
police	feel	field	bead

(vi) Test

Lastly, students are evaluated as follows:

Pronounce the word which does not rhyme in each column.

1	bread	2	team	3	piece	4	deed
	creed		beam		seize		dead
	breath		head		cease		bead
	breeze		seem		thread		heed

At every stage of the approach adopted by the authors instructional media such as phonetic charts, pictures, real objects, tape recorder are encouraged to provide for adequate activities for the students to acquire a second language through a lot of learning activities as in i-vi. Besides pronunciation, the speech sections in the later units introduce the students to stress and intonation in order to assist them to acquire listening and spelling skills with confidence. Drills in chorus, that is, in group, are introduced before picking on individuals to carry out learning activities in order to speak correctly. The approach also encourages the teacher to serve as a model to the class whereby the teacher repeats the model him/herself after each repetition by the class or group or by an individual. In this way reinforcement is introduced to the correct pronunciation, stress and intonation.

Comprehension

This section has four parts:

- (i) comprehension tips
- (ii) a passage followed by comprehension question
- (iii) a summary of the passage (where application)

(iv) vocabulary/building

In carrying out class activity based on the contents of *Intensive English I*, the following skills or approaches are systematically integrated:

- (i) following topics sentences
- (ii) following directions
- (iii) skimming and scanning
- (iv) reading poems and plays.

The above can be illustrated as follows: Topic sentences as in Unit 1.2 COMPREHENSION

- (a) The twins grew tall.
- (b) Sometimes their mother took them to the town to see their aunt.
- (c) Then, one day when the twins were nine years old, they went to live with their aunt in town.

These are the important ideas in the story:

Ngozi and Emeka (Unit 1.2)

Then the authors introduce some instructions that students must follow in order to locate the topic sentences in the passage. In doing this, the students skim and scan for the location of the correct answers.

Reading poems and plays is also introduced as in Unit 7.1. Here the students do not have to look for topic sentences but look for pictures. Each detail in the poem suggests a picture. In the poem below, pictures appear in every two lines:

Somebody

by *Walter de la Mare*

Someone came knocking
at my wee, small door,
someone came knocking
I'm sure - sure- sure,

I listened, I opened,
I looked to left and right
But naught there was a-stirring
In the still, dark night.

Only the busy beetle
Tap-tapping in the wall,
Only from the forest
The screech-owl's call.
Only the cricket whistling
While the dewdrops fall,
So I know not who came knocking
At all, at all, at all.

When students read the above poem, the authors of *Intensive English 1* make the students see all the pictures, for instance, in the following lines:

- (a) Someone came knocking
at my wee, small door,

The teacher will now ask the students the following question:

What do you see there?

- (b) I listened, I opened,
I looked to left and right,

The teacher will also ask the students the following question:

What do you see there?

When the students read and can imagine the pictures as contained in the actions of the poem, they will surely want to guess who came knocking and this will give them the meaning of the poem. This approach leads to self-discovery or inductive or inquiry method of learning.

The authors also use guided-comprehension of approach whereby extracts from narratives, poems and a play will form the contents of the guided-comprehension. Looking at it critically, there are three main objectives that the authors want the learners to achieve through this approach, they are to:

- (i) to give pleasure;

- (ii) to allow for the teaching of basic reading and comprehension skills; and
- (iii) to allow for the teaching of vocabulary items and idiomatic expressions.

The guided-comprehension approach is designed by the authors to develop:

- (a) listening skills
- (b) speaking skills cognitive skills
- (c) The above skills are integrated in the comprehension passages

throughout the textbook in order to encourage the students to participate in a lively, informal, and relaxed atmosphere so that the comprehension passages will serve as relevant examples from real life situations.

This section of the contents of the book allows group and individual activities in the classroom situation. This approach is used in Unit 1.2.2, Unit 2.2.2, Unit 3.2.2 and so on.

Obika (3.2 COMPREHENSION)

“Obika was one of the handsomest young men in Umuaro and all the surrounding districts. His face was very finely cut. His skin was like his father’s, the colour of a golden pumpkin. People said of him (as they always did when they saw great comeliness) that he was not born for these parts among the Igbo people of the forests; that in his previous life he must have sojourned among the riverine folk whom the Igbo called *Olu*.

“But two things spoilt Obika. He drank palm wine to excess and he was given to sudden and fiery anger. And being as strong as rock, he was always inflicting injury on others. His father, who preferred him to Edogo, his quiet and brooding half-brother, nevertheless said to him often: “It is praiseworthy to be brave and fearless, my son, but sometimes it is better to be a coward. We often stand in the compound of a coward to point at the ruins where a brave man used to live. The man who has never submitted to anything will soon submit to the burial mat.

Not very long ago Obika had come very close indeed to committing murder, his half sister, Akueke, often came home to say that her husband had beaten her. One early morning she came home again with her face all swollen. Without waiting to hear the rest of the story, Obika set out for the village of his brother-in-law. No one knew where Obika had gone until he returned a later before noon with his friend Ofoedu. On their heads was Akueke’s husband tied to a bed, almost dead. They set him down under the *ukwa* tree and dared anyone to move him. The women and the neighbours pleaded with Obika and showed him the ripe

fruit on the tree, which were as big as water pots.

“Yes, I put him there on purpose, to be crushed by the fruit-the beast”. (Adapted from Arrow of God by Chinua Achebe)

Guided Comprehension

Now choose the answers for the questions in Column A from Column B

- | A | B |
|--|--|
| 1. What did people admire about Obika? | a. Obika was loud and fiery but his brother was quiet and moody |
| 2. What things did they not admire about him? | b. He almost killed his brother-in-law |
| 3. How were Obika and his brother different? | c. He often beat his wife |
| 4. What advice did the father give to Obika? | d. People said that Obika drank too much and had a very bad temper. |
| 5. Why did the people say that Obika did not belong to their area? | e. Because he resembled the people of the riverine areas. |
| 6. What belief about death did the people hold? | f. No, for he was often getting into trouble and hurting others. |
| 7. What serious trouble did Obika get into? | g. People admired his great handsomeness. |
| 8. What was the offence of Obika's brother-in-law? | h. The people believed that a person lives more than one life. |
| 9. Did Obika follow his father's advice? | i. He told him that it was better to be a coward and be cautious than a brave man who could have himself killed because of his recklessness. |

10. Do you think that Obika was a cruel man?

Another approach used by the authors to comprehension are summarizing the story and vocabulary building, for instance, action-packed pictures are provided in almost all the units of the textbook whereby students will discuss verbally the actions in these pictures and summarize the story after such discussions which the teachers will guide in the classroom. After this activity, students may be required to fill in the blank spaces in the sentences generated from the pictures with the correct answers given. For instance, in Unit 5.2.3 a picture of a village is given where two children are playing football and at the end, suggested answers are given and questions are asked as follows:

5.2.3 SUMMARIZING THE STORY

Fill in the blank spaces in the sentences below with the words given:

peaceful	orderly
good place	not
lent	guests
helped	lose

1. Lubwa was a ----- to live in.
2. It was ----- and -----
3. Mary ----- often stayed in our house.
4. When my father died, I ----- mother around the house.
5. Education was ----- free.
6. That first year, a kind neighbour----- us the school fees.
7. In those days, a child could----- his education for small things.

Language Structure

In the language structure section the approach adopted by the authors stresses that the teacher should be the observer and to be involved only as the occasion demands. This approach suggests that all learning activities in the class are centred around the learner, which makes learning activities learner-centred. The students are expected to work on their own and seek help from the teacher whenever occasion demands. By this approach, it is hoped that the teacher will be able to:

- (i) help the students understand and master each structure by a process of self-discovery;
- (ii) develop their interest in written work, as all the graded exercises are meant to be written; and
- (iii) develop in them the art of independent study.

The contents of this section are organized under four sub-headings. They are:

- i. Do and learn
- ii. Think and learn
- iii. Game time, and
- iv. Home work

Do and Learn

In using this approach to teach language structure, based on graded exercises, students will learn the rules governing the various structures.

This approach to English language structures is more or less based on Grammar Method of teaching English whereby students are given instructions to be followed while exercises are given to provide enough learning activities for the reinforcement of grammatical rules. This approach helps to achieve three goals namely:

- (a) it makes the students actively involved in the learning process;
- (b) it enables the learner to discover his errors before they are internalized; and
- (c) it helps the learner to grasp and master the structure he/she is learning.

For instance, Unit 7.3.1 uses **Do and Learn** approach to learning verbs: transitive and intransitive verbs. Pictures are provided to show various actions of verbs indicating transitive and intransitive verbs.

Exercises also follow and the grammatical analysis indicating which verb takes direct object, indirect object or without object.

Finally, the grammatical explanations are provided regarding what a transitive verb is and what intransitive verb is as follows:

A verb which must have a noun for Column C always acts on something. Such a verb is called a transitive verb because it passes its action onto something. The noun on which it acts is called an object. So, “kick” and “kill” are transitive verbs. “Kick” acts on “ball” and “kill” acts on “snake”. “Ball” and “snake” are objects of “kick” and “kill” respectively in the following sentences:

- i. A boy kicks a ball.
- ii. A farmer kills a snake.

Look at the table below:

A	B	C
Jibrin	buy	a car
Bolaji	steal	the money
She	forget	the
Chika	dust	the chairs
My mother	scrub	the floor
Okon	iron	the clothes
My sister	wash	the plates

Now, do the following:

1. Fill in the headings of the three columns.
2. Write correct sentences using the words in the table. For example: Jibrin bought a car.
3. What type of verb does this table illustrate?

Now, look at the table below:

Subject Who/What did something?	Verb What did the subject do?	Object On what was the action done?
Bolaji	laughed
Chika	smiled
Okon	cried
We	
They	travelled
She	went
The dog	talked
The child	died
	lived

Now, do the following:

1. Change the form of the verb. For example:
laughed – laugh(s)
2. What do the blank spaces in Column C tell you?

This table tells you that you cannot fill in any noun in Column C. The verbs do not act on any noun. Such verbs are called *intransitive verbs*. Intransitive verbs do not have objects as the table tells you.

Think and Learn

In using the Think and Learn approach, the authors emphasize that language structure is designed to teach, apart from the rules governing each structure, the exception to the general rules instead of having the exceptions stated, the students are provided with examples which contradict what they have already learnt. Through a lot of exercises which the approach emphasizes, the students are led to deduce the contradiction.

The teacher, therefore, is to help the students at this level by explaining the exceptions of the rules to the students; by this way, students are stretched to their limitations of structural rules in English. However, the approach also suggests that both the examples of contradiction and with rules governing the exceptions

are provided so that students will not waste too much time or weight down. The approach provides for a variety of learning activities. For instance, Unit 3.3.2.

Instruction

Read the following sentences. What do they tell you about the use of “some” and “any”?

- (i) There are some books in the room.
- (ii) There aren't any books in the room.
- (iii) Are there any books in the room?
- (iv) Aren't there some books in the room?
- (v) Aren't there any books in the room?

Sentence 4 shows that you can use “some” in questions containing “not” (n't). When you do so, you mean to indicate that you expect a “yes” answer because there's no doubt in your mind that there are some books in the room.

Game Time: This approach is adopted for the teaching and learning of the English language structures because having worked independently in the first two sections, that is, speech and comprehension sections, the students are expected to work together as a group by playing some games:

The aims of this game are to:

- (i) reinforce the structures learnt;
- (ii) Correct any training-induced errors;
- (iii) develop team spirit;
- (iv) develop leadership qualities; and
- (v) make the learning of structures a pleasurable exercise.

Unit 5.3.3 clearly illustrates teaching English language structure using a buying and selling approach whereby the teacher creates a market scene while the students bargain for: meat, rice, pepper, salt, using

the following frame:

Buyer: How much do you want for this $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{large} \\ \text{small} \end{array} \right\}$ quantity of.....

Seller: I will sell it for..... naira. (Seller provides the amount.)

Buyer: That's $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a lot of} \\ \text{plenty} \\ \text{a great deal} \end{array} \right\}$ money. (Teacher gives the cue.)

Seller: How much will you pay for it?

Buyer: naira (buyer makes an offer.)

Seller: I can't sell it for that.

Buyer: What's your last price?

Seller: Pay..... naira. (Seller gives the amount.)

Buyer: O.K. Here is the money.

The game helps you practise the use of the words denoting quantity for uncountable nouns.

Homework

Homework approach is introduced by the authors in order to provide an extension of language activities at school to home. It implies that students will do in their sphere time the assignment at the end of each language structures sections. The assignment inform of exercise are not meant to test the students but to reinforce the essentials of structures learnt in schools. This approach is adopted throughout the textbook.

Composition

In this section the age, maturity of the students are put into consideration just like in other sections. At the foundation stage of acquiring English as a second language, students in junior secondary schools are inexperienced to write on the most of the technical subjects or to present detailed information on some

topics considered to be above their age and their educational level or class. Therefore, guided-composition is designed to give students enough practice in using the sentence structures and grammatical elements which they have learnt in the language structure sections. The first topics for composition are controlled by the teacher with little freedom open to the students. Subsequently, where students are invited to write more freely on the topic, the teacher is to ensure that the students have enough knowledge of the structures and grammatical points which the topic is designed to accomplish in teaching this section. Throughout the textbook, the teacher must take into consideration the background of the students. In this section substitution table is provided to aid students to acquire different grammatical structures and in a variety of constructing sentences. For instance, Unit 19.4:

Guided-Composition

My Family

Write a composition about your family, describing who the different people in it are, where you all live and what each person does. Remember to use the simple present tense of the verb and to make the verb agree with the subject. Although there is no frame to help you this time, you can look back at what you wrote in earlier units. Units 7, 8, 11 and 12 may give you some ideas.

Conclusion

The evaluation of the textbook reveals that the authors provide relevant instruction to guide the learners through “**Do and Learn, Think and Learn, Game Time and Homework**”. In short, the overriding principle of presenting the contents of the four sections-speech, comprehension, language structure and composition- is hinged on audio- lingual method with structural and situational approaches backing the method up. Therefore, the authors of the coursebook use what Rivers (1964) calls **informed eclecticism**, that is, a combination of harmonious approaches and methods in order to achieve the educational aims, goals, objectives and materials serving as inputs to English Curriculum at the junior secondary schools in Nigeria. But whether or not the method has helped to achieve the educational purpose is outside the delimitation of this paper.

However, since there is no single coursebook that can provide adequately all the needs of the learners from varied language backgrounds, they should, therefore, be exposed to enrichment supplementary reading textbooks. It is recommended in this paper that teachers should only provide a guide to the learners and make the textbooks learner-centred and understand the principles and psychology of a foreign language acquisition and utilize the method and approaches of presenting the content of the book judiciously. Teachers should not misunderstand the role modeling approach in terms of “listen and imitate, listen and

do” to mean that the teacher should turn the whole activities to lecture method or teacher-centredness.

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There is No (such) Place Like Home: Rhetoricizing Kansas after Oz.¹

By Carra Hood

Final Scene.

Remember the last scene of *The Wizard of Oz*? Following Glinda's instructions, Dorothy closes her eyes and clicks the heels of her red slippers together three times, repeating "There's no place like home." She opens her eyes moments later, startled, to find Auntie Em, Uncle Henry, Professor Marvel, Hunk, Zeke, and Hickory standing beside her bed, smiling. Trying to comfort her, Auntie Em coos, "There, there, lie quiet now. You just had a bad dream." "No," Dorothy insists, "it wasn't a dream – it was a place." Pointing at Professor Marvel and her Uncle's three workmen, she adds, "And you – and you – and you – and you were there." But Dorothy quickly corrects herself, as if she spoke too quickly, before thinking, "you couldn't have been, could you?" Auntie Em makes a second unsuccessful attempt to calm her niece: "Oh, we dream lots of silly things when we..." Dorothy interrupts her. Emphatically, "No, Auntie Em – this was a real, truly live place. And I remember that some of it wasn't very nice but most of it was beautiful." Disappointed by her Aunt's incredulity, Dorothy pouts, "Doesn't anybody believe me?" Her Uncle assures her, patronizingly, "Of course we believe you Dorothy." The film ends with Dorothy hugging her dog Toto and Auntie Em hugging Dorothy who teary, but beaming exudes, "Oh, but anyway, Toto, we're home! Home! And this is my room – and you're all here! And I'm not going to leave here ever, ever again, because I love you all! And – oh, Auntie Em – there's no place like home!"

I watched *The Wizard of Oz* every year of my childhood when it was broadcast on television – for this ending. I cried; tears welled up at precisely the same point in the final scene every year: when Glinda waves her wand over Dorothy, and Dorothy, cradling Toto, begins reciting the magic words that transport her from Oz back to Kansas. There's no place like home. There's no place like home. There's no place like *home*?

Home is not always the best of places, even for Dorothy. The sparkling, clean, bountiful, magical Oz certainly outdoes gray, dusty, meager, stormy Kansas. Besides, the citizens of Oz treat Dorothy like a

Queen; in Kansas, Dorothy further burdens an already burdened household. So why does Dorothy yearn for Kansas when she has the opportunity to thrive and laugh and live comfortably in Oz? Well, it's not because of love. The citizens of Oz love Dorothy, and she loves them. In the final scene, the Cowardly Lion tries to persuade Dorothy to "stay with us" because "we all love you," and "we don't want you to go." Dorothy replies that "it's going to be so hard to say goodbye"; to her companions and the citizens of Oz, she explains, "I love you all, too." So it's not because of love, and it's not because Kansas is a particularly desirable place.

In response to the Lion's appeal to "stay with us," Dorothy, apologetically, refuses, "Oh, that's very kind of you – but this could never be like Kansas." She adds that "Auntie Em must have stopped wondering what happened to me by now." These two passages reveal Dorothy's reasoning. One, there's *no place* like *home* since Oz can never be like Kansas, and Kansas can never be, like Oz, no place. Two, there's no place like home since, at home, Auntie Em will wonder what happens to her, but if Dorothy stays in Oz, Auntie Em will stop wondering. In other words, Kansas is both place and what the place represents (home); Oz is a place; however, Oz can only represent a negation (no place, not home, not like home).

Dorothy's second reason revisits the cliché "out of sight; out of mind." She does not want, and perhaps fears, being out of her Aunt's mind. Staying in Oz, she would be. Dorothy sees her Aunt when she is away from Kansas with the help of a crystal ball. However, Oz can never be like home since Auntie Em can see Dorothy only when Dorothy is in Kansas. This characteristic limitation defines home for Dorothy and, throughout *The Wizard of Oz*, seems more important than the two most common associations with home: familiarity and love. Although Dorothy's companion's matter, as does their love for each other, Auntie Em and Uncle Henry matter differently. Unlike Dorothy's companions, her Aunt and Uncle live in Kansas and are not transported with her to Oz. Auntie Em cannot imagine a "real, truly live place" like Oz, and Dorothy cannot imagine her Aunt and Uncle in such a place. When Dorothy sets her sights on returning to Kansas, she anticipates missing her companions; however, she does not express concern or fear that they will stop worrying about her after she leaves The Emerald City. Home is geographically fixed; for Dorothy, it's Kansas and no place (Oz) else.

Geography replicates genetics in this film; Dorothy's Aunt and Uncle, blood relatives, *like parents*, come from there, work the land there, and worry what happens to her there. The residents of Oz, like Dorothy and her companions, migrate to The Emerald City, following their dreams and the yellow brick road. Work is fun, nothing like the drudgery of farm work in the Midwest; workers smile, singing "Hahaha, Hohoho" as they perform their tasks. And no one in The Emerald City worries; there's simply nothing to worry about. Finally, Dorothy can imagine a perfectly marvelous place, a place like no place else, and no place like home. On the other hand, Kansas, an immutable given, pulls Dorothy back with the same force that the tornado threw her out – and for the same reason.

To Stay or to Go

Dorothy imagines places other than Kansas. She dreams of Munchkins and witches, yellow brick roads and glistening, green palaces. She travels outside of Kansas in her mind. She experiences a full range of emotions for people and things beyond her own backyard. She likes much of what she sees there, too. Yet, home remains special. And, clearly, Dorothy comes to desire it, compulsively, in the film. By the end of *The Wizard of Oz*, she wants to return to, and vows never to ever leave again, the same drab, gray, cheerless Kansas she escapes at the beginning. Why? When what makes home special is nothing particularly special? Unlike her unhomely creation, Oz, Dorothy does not create or even choose to live in Kansas; she arrives there, an orphan, from an unidentified someplace else, under unexplained circumstances, to live with relatives as “sober gray” as their surroundings, whose hardscrabble existence has “taken the red from [their] cheeks and lips” (Baum).²

Despite its dreariness, and despite her intentional departure, Dorothy chooses to return to Kansas. In *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, L. Frank Baum’s Dorothy explains her decision to the Good Witch in economic terms. If she stays away, “Aunt Em will surely think something dreadful has happened to me, and that will make her put on mourning; and unless the crops are better this year than they were last, I am sure Uncle Henry cannot afford it” (Baum). So rather than the bonds of love, friendship, family, the connection to place, or Dorothy’s desire not to be forgotten, some of her reasons for returning to Kansas in the film, the antecedent text portrays a character motivated by parsimony. She seeks a way back to Kansas to prevent her Aunt and Uncle from spending their meager funds on her funeral. Dorothy anticipates feeling guilty if she remains in Oz, in other words, and she wants to avoid that at all cost; Baum’s Dorothy, a thrifty child, cannot enjoy her luxurious life in The Emerald City knowing that it might cause her Aunt and Uncle financial hardship. Home, then, in this version of Dorothy’s story, connects to a broader cultural narrative about the virtue of sacrifice and obligation at the expense of selfish enjoyment, happiness, and whimsy, temptations offered to Dorothy in Oz. By resisting them, Dorothy shows the worthiness of her trip; she learns an important lesson, as a result, and returns to Kansas a stronger, more moral individual than she was when she left. Baum’s Dorothy inhabits a Kansas that despises waste, where even dreams must have practical uses. The ending of Baum’s text, too, lacks the exuberance and emotional mushiness of the film’s closing scene. Dorothy, deposited in front of her Aunt and Uncle’s farmhouse, “gravely” explains to her Aunt that she has just returned “from the Land of Oz,” adding “Aunt Em! I’m so glad to be at home again!” (Baum).

I shared Dorothy’s stoicism and her frugality when I was a child; my parents instilled these values, too. “Picking yourself up by your bootstraps” and “putting something away for a rainy day” had purposes; to do both could offer a buffer against disaster during hard times and could provide a means to take advantage of unexpected opportunities in the future. And although I associate these lessons with home, I would not have cried reading the last page of the book for the same reason that I cried watching the final scene of the film. The final scene of the film muddies its domesticating message with emotional content. All that talk about love confuses a child viewer into believing that, even if it does not always seem so – and it did not for Dorothy or for me – home is the sole place of love, pure and unconditional love, the sort of love that cannot be found anywhere else. I cried not because I believed this moral but because I thought that I

should.

The ending of Baum's text lacks the film's ambiguity and, as a result, also lacks its emotional content. Dorothy makes a calculated, fiscal decision to return home; neither Aunt Em nor Dorothy utters the word "love" when they reunite. Dorothy explains "gravely" – as if returning constitutes her interment – that she was gone, now she's back, and she's glad to be home. Like all repentant prodigals, Dorothy returns to the place she belongs. That's that, and life goes on as before. Baum intends to eliminate a moral from *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*; in the "Introduction," he points out that the story "aspires to being a modernized fairy tale," and therefore, he "gladly dispenses" with "devis[ing]...a fearsome moral" ending (Baum).³ He accomplishes this goal to an extent. The moral to the story convention is absent from the book's ending. In particular, Glinda facilitates Dorothy's return to Kansas, without requiring the girl to repeat what she learns from her travels to Oz. However, the film reintroduces a moral. In response to Glinda's remark that Dorothy "had to learn...for herself," the Tin Man asks, "What have you learned, Dorothy?" She replies with the moral to the film: "If I ever go looking for my heart's desire again, I won't look any further than my own backyard. Because if it isn't there, I never really lost it to begin with." Although the book does not contain these words, Baum's Dorothy becomes the vehicle for an even harsher, lesson: stay home; there's work to be done. In addition, Baum's Dorothy really has no choice; home – more precisely, the obligations of home – binds her. I would have cried at this ending, empathizing with Dorothy's plight, my own as well, saddened by the prospect of ongoing drudgery, no choices, a future identical with today. Whether a brutal realist or extremely cruel, Baum fashions Dorothy's return to a functional home, an efficient economic unit, the place where she belongs and where she has a job to do.

The film presents a more frivolous Dorothy, a child who plays with her dog, gets in the way of working adults, and imagines other worlds. The only child in the film, adults ignore her, coddle her, or shoo her away; unlike Baum's Dorothy, this child does not work. At home, though, farm work has priority over Dorothy's concerns. When she tries to tell her Aunt, her Uncle, Zeke, Hickory, and Hunk about Miss Gulch's threat to destroy Toto, for instance, the adults, too busy to listen, brush her off; they all consider their work more important than Dorothy's clash with the town's "sour-faced old maid." Her Aunt urges Dorothy to leave them alone: "Dorothy, please! We're trying to count!" She then commands Dorothy to "stop imagining things" because she "always get[s]...into a fret over nothing," adding "just help us out today, and find yourself a place where you won't get into any trouble."⁴

Dorothy worries (bothers) her Aunt when she is at home, chattering about trivial, non-work related, issues, so her Aunt encourages the child to go some place else, yet when Dorothy leaves, her Aunt also worries (agonizes) until, of course, Dorothy has been out of her sight for too long. This contradiction – stay here; go away or I want you where I can see you; I want you out of my sight – circumscribes the relationship between many parents and their children. Absent from the book, the contradiction – more precisely, Dorothy's struggle with a home producing such a contradiction – frames the film version of her trip to Oz. At the beginning of the film, Dorothy tries to figure out where she can go to stay out of trouble. She asks Toto, "Do you suppose there is such a place?" After traveling there, though, she resolves that "there's no place like home." Home is the place for Dorothy to leave in the opening scene, yet by the end of the film,

home is the place to stay.

New Farmhouses

Home looks different to Dorothy at the beginning of the film than it does at the end. The physical characteristics of home remain the same from beginning to end of the film; however, in the book, Baum literalizes the transformation. Before the tornado, the farmhouse appears as sun baked and uninviting as the landscape. It “was small...[with] four walls, a floor and a roof...a rusty looking cookstove, a cupboard for the dishes, a table, three or four chairs....a big bed in one corner... and a little bed in another corner...no garret at all, and no cellar—except a small hole dug in the ground...[and] the sun blistered the paint and the rains washed it away, and now the house was as dull and gray as everything else.” Although lacking the specificity of this description, Baum explains that upon Dorothy’s return home, “sitting on the broad Kansas prairie...just before her was the new farmhouse Uncle Henry built after the cyclone had carried away the old one.” Dorothy wakes up in the final scene of the film to a new home in her mind, in fact the same physical structure she left at the beginning, after traveling with companions who resemble her Uncle’s farmhands to no place like home, vowing never “to leave here ever, ever again.” Home, and those who reside there, looks different to Dorothy because she attaches new emotional content to the place at the end of the film (represented as “the new farmhouse” in the book), emotional content associated with Dorothy’s ambiguous relationship to home: both the place to leave and the place never to leave.

Sigmund Freud considers this sort of experience uncanny. In his essay “The Uncanny,” Freud describes uncanny experiences as those that produce unfamiliarity, at times frightening, within the context of “something which is secretly familiar” – that is, “which has undergone repression and then returned from it.” His examples of this experience emphasize “that an uncanny affect is often and easily produced when the distinction between imagination and reality is effaced,” for instance, when events in a dream seem to be really occurring. In addition, uncanny experiences call up “infantile element[s],” typically associated with “the over-accentuation of psychical reality in comparison with material reality,” as when a well-known person, place, or thing seems at once unrecognizable and strangely, or secretly, familiar.⁵

The uncanny, an imprecise English translation of the German *unheimlich*, contains canny (*heimlich*) content. As Freud concludes, following a lengthy analysis of their definitions, “what is *heimlich* (like home) thus comes to be *unheimlich* (not like home).” Consequently, the effaced distinction between imagination and reality means that there is none: as Dorothy insists, “No, Auntie Em – this was a real, truly live place.” As well, experience of a familiar, yet strangely unfamiliar or an unfamiliar, yet strangely familiar person, place, or thing produces profound uncertainty about the material status of reality. Dorothy hesitates, although only momentarily, after identifying Professor Marvel, Hunk, Zeke, and Hickory as her companions to Oz: “And you – and you – and you – and you were there. Oh –. But you couldn’t have been, could you?” They “couldn’t have been” not only because they are now in Kansas but also because they remain behind in Oz, as the Wizard instructs before his departure, to “rule [The Emerald City] in my

stead.” Dorothy may come to appreciate all the love there is at home after she returns; however, even more importantly, there’s no place like home for Dorothy after Oz since she brings enough of The Emerald City back with her to change Kansas forever, make it like new, no place like home (was) ever again.⁶

Oz-ing Home

I have not watched *The Wizard of Oz* since writing this essay. Truthfully, I have not been able to, a resistance I can best attribute to knowing that I will not cry this time when Glinda waves her magic wand and Dorothy starts to click her heels together. And if not tears, then what?

In her article “Strategic Credulity: Oz as Mass Cultural Parable,” Helen M. Kim, uninterested in viewers’ emotional reactions to *The Wizard of Oz*, argues that viewers – including myself, I assume – return home with Dorothy having learned that home is as constructed as Oz. This pedagogy succeeds, according to Kim, through manipulation “that must provide the means of its own subversion” (231). In other words, the resolution at the end of the film, which Kim claims inaugurates Dorothy’s power to control her own life, occurs as the result of a trick, “the film maker’s art” (225). Subverting such a trick, however – that is, acting with knowledge of the manipulation – empowers viewers only to the extent that they use what they have learned to ““escape from the real world”” (231); viewers do not acquire, as Kim would like them to, the means to change the “givenness” of and “the power at work in the ‘real world’” (230). There is no evidence that Dorothy does either. In fact, she appears more willing to capitulate at the end of the film than at the beginning; hugging Toto, and giving up trying to convince her Aunt and Uncle that Oz “was a real, truly live place,” Dorothy prefaces “there’s no place like home” with “Oh, but anyway, Toto,” a way of communicating exasperation analogous to “you’ll never understand,” or in contemporary parlance, “whatever.”⁷

Freud also discusses the manipulative potential of imaginative productions. Fictional stories are, he acknowledges, “a much more fertile province than the uncanny in real life” – in other words, there are more possibilities to create the *unheimlich*, places not like home, in fiction – because imaginative work “contains...something that cannot be found in real life.... [but which] depends for its effect on the fact that its content is not submitted to reality-testing.” According to Freud, even fiction that “pretends to move in the world of common reality,” such as the Kansas sequences in *The Wizard of Oz*, “deceives us by promising to give us the sober truth, and then after all overstepping it.”

Audiences respond to deception, Freud concludes, “as we would have reacted to real experiences; by the time we have seen through...[the] trick it is already too late and the author has achieved his [or her] object.” A diluted achievement, however, since “we retain a feeling of dissatisfaction, a kind of grudge against the attempted deceit.” An author can deter this audience reaction, Freud suggests, by “avoid[ing] any definite information on the point to the last,” that is, by retaining an indistinct boundary between the imaginary and the real, by mapping the *unheimlich* on the *heimlich*, another sort of trick that, because it

requires readers or viewers to make their own meaning, potentially entices audiences to act as Kim theorizes, for different reasons, they do. *The Wizard of Oz* is just this sort of text.⁸

If it were not, viewers would resent “the film maker’s art” and “retain...a kind of grudge” against the aesthetic decision for Dorothy to return to Kansas. Instead, the ending of the film produces an uncanny difference evident in the intentional polysemy of Dorothy’s mantra. “There’s no place like home” carries her back to Auntie Em and Uncle Henry’s farm, providing a magical solution to her dislocation in a magical story while also hinging Oz to home. As a result, the transporting language balances fantasy (Oz is *no place like home*) with a Kansas interpolated by Oz (*Oz is no place*, there is *no place* like home, *no place is like home*, therefore, Oz is like home). There is nothing to cry about after all; plopped back down in Kansas, Dorothy’s rhetorical skill, a demonstration that a child viewer could surely miss, conveys her successful design of a mediating framework through which to return.

Notes

¹ Since I was a child, *The Wizard of Oz* has been my favorite film. So first I must thank L. Frank Baum for writing *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and all of the individuals involved with the screenwriting, filming, production, and distribution of the movie. I am also grateful to Terry Hanson and Megan Macomber who read more than one draft of this text and patiently listened to me whine about one thing or another throughout the writing process, always encouraging me to keep on going. Without their nudges, I suspect I might have melted somewhere along the way.

² Helen M. Kim points out that the film “grounds Dorothy’s magical adventures in the land of Oz firmly in the context of ‘real’ life,” post-Depression, 1930’s America (221). In “Strategic Credulity: Oz as Mass Cultural Parable,” Kim suggests that the consumerist appeal of fantasy balances “the harsh economic realities of ‘ordinary,’ ‘everyday’ American life” at that time (221). “Nature, as represented by the land and the weather, dictates the limits circumscribing human existence. The Kansas setting represents the extreme of the natural and the unmediated, against which Dorothy’s ‘wild’ flight into the fantastic, utopian, and ultimately mass cultural realm of Oz constitutes an entry into the possibilities of the artificial, mediated, or constructed – possibilities, in other words, which provide the necessary means to critique, contest, and demystify the category of ‘the natural,’ which underpins the power of hegemony” (221). Furthermore, Kim argues that Dorothy’s trip to Oz represents a “dis-place[ment]” to “‘no place,’” offering Dorothy an (uneasy) “antidote to the inadequacies of ‘real life’” (223), inevitably empty of meaning (229). Although I am sympathetic with Kim’s position, I draw a different conclusion. I agree that Oz presents Dorothy with a new conceptual posture from which to experience “the natural;” however, I am not entirely persuaded by Kim’s argument that Dorothy returns from Oz with “the necessary means to critique, contest, and demystify” Kansas. In other words, Kim and I disagree about the extent to which Oz is just a dream (Kim) or, for Dorothy, a “real, truly live place.”

³ Megan Macomber guided me to the connection between Baum's instruction to readers and Mark Twain's "Notice," which precedes the first chapter of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. In that "Notice," Twain "orders" readers not to construct a moral; those who do so "will be banished." Baum read and admired Twain and, Macomber suspects, may have responded to Twain's writing in his series of books about Oz.

⁴ Dorothy's trip to Oz can be interpreted as an attempt at obedience; her Aunt asks her to "find yourself a place where you won't get into any trouble," and Dorothy "finds" Oz. Leaving Kansas, then, exemplifies her good girl motives and willingness to submit to adult authority. Huck Finn, one of Dorothy's male literary precedents, informs readers at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* that he "reckon[s] I got to light out for the Territory ahead of the rest" for precisely the opposite (and gender-meaningful) reason: "because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me, and I can't stand it."

⁵ Reference to Freud's essay is not frivolous. Published in 1925, "The Uncanny" appeared in between the publication of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) and the premier of *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). In other words, the essay raises issues important for understanding cultural practices and motives at that time for translation – and transformation – of book to film. Finally, Freud's first venture into literary criticism, "The Uncanny" specifically addresses the status of fairy tales, their cultural (domesticating) and psychic uses, as well as interrogates authors' ability to create or replicate "real life" experiences for readers (i.e., to produce uncanny effects).

⁶ In her article "Strategic Credulity: Oz as Mass Cultural Parable," Kim argues that Dorothy's compulsion to return home follows from "know[ing] that as marvelous as Oz is, she, as a 'real person,' does not belong there and cannot really remain there" (225). This message, Kim insists, "registers the audience's own awareness that the marvels of Oz have been purchased entirely conditionally on the film maker's art" (225). Dorothy's return to Kansas, though, "by no means a return to the status quo or a choice of the stable 'real' over the paradoxical 'fantastic'," resolves the film's initial conflict between Dorothy and Miss Gulch (230). According to Kim, Dorothy realizes that "the power at work in the 'real world' is...constructed, opposable, and not natural" by the end of the film (230). And viewers, who see themselves in Dorothy's position, also "learn to subvert the 'givenness' of the discourses which control their own lives" as a result of their exposure to forms of mediation (230). I am not convinced that the film teaches viewers this lesson. Nor am I convinced that the film maintains the categorical distinctions "real" and "fantastic" throughout.

⁷ Dorothy passes into Oz with her three male friends, all transients from elsewhere, looking for a place to be, untroubled by social conventions with which all of the four are uncomfortable. In *The Empress is a Man: Stories from the Life of Jose Sarria*, Michael Robert Gorman explains that this friendship appeals to gay men: "Most of us little gay boys felt as if we were growing up in black and white Kansas, when what we really wanted was to live in that Technicolor place where people wear funny hats and pink taffeta and burst into song and dance whenever they wanted without anyone thinking it was weird or sissy" (255). The appeal of Dorothy and Oz in gay male culture is also historical since Judy Garland's death coincided with the riot at the Stonewall Inn in New York City, the event that has come to signify the beginning of the gay rights movement in the United States. Furthermore, the use of "friend of Dorothy" to signal homosexuality

embeds a rhetorical connection between gay culture and the character Garland played in the film. A friend of Dorothy, never at home in a Midwest like that depicted in the film, according to Gorman, imagines a home like Oz to replace a Kansas just as soon forgotten and left behind forever. Dorothy's resolution, conceptual layering that invests "there's no place like home" with more than one meaning, enables her return, however, does not facilitate her friends' return to a Midwestern home. However, her friends employ the same rhetorical logic that informs Dorothy's return to create another home. "Friend of Dorothy" works by the same layering mechanism that, in this case, instantiates agency in the speaker and marks the audience as friend or not friend. A friend will read "friend of Dorothy" as disclosure of homosexuality, bonding speaker and audience through language. However, an audience that does not understand the reference will also, presumably, not read the disclosure. In this case, the language operates as a form of rhetorical prophylaxis: an audience that doesn't "get it" will not know enough to threaten, to physically harm, or to slander the speaker. Ultimately, "friend of Dorothy" is intended to forestall gay bashing; an audience that doesn't recognize Dorothy's friends will, therefore, leave them alone. But no figure of speech perfectly predicts audience behavior; an audience that doesn't "get it" could still engage in gay bashing. Finally, "friend of Dorothy," can be read as a vexing or unsettling rhetorical marker since it constructs a female child as the protector of adult gay men. Just this implication, though, furthers success of the rhetoric in dangerous social situations, the type of situations that might erupt in Kansas but that would definitely not, in Oz. Dorothy's resolution, therefore, which does not enable her friends' transport back to Kansas, where they would continue to need her aid, fixes their place in Oz where her protection is not necessary, where her friends can rule in the Wizard's place after her departure. Dorothy's insistence to Auntie Em that Oz is a "real, truly live place" carries crucial social meaning in this context. Dorothy's resolution permits her to remake Kansas, after experiencing Oz, as her (new) home. Her friends, though, who are not similarly compelled to return, find in Oz an opportunity to create new homes that offer what Kansas does not, safety – once the Wicked Witch is dead, of course – and a place where they fit in. Clearly, this topic deserves more substantial critical treatment than I can offer here. I anticipate that Dee Michel's book-in-progress on the appeal of *The Wizard of Oz* for gay boys and men (see <http://www.umass.edu/umhome/events/articles/22379.php>) will contain additional insights into the issues that I have raised.

⁸ Salman Rushdie explains in *The Wizard of Oz*, that the film appeals to cultural migrants and those, like him, in forcible exile. Dorothy creates an Oz-ic lens for Kansas and, in Rushdie's reading, shows up the adults in her life. She takes control of her destiny and, consequently, upon returning, remakes home, by reimagining Kansas. Her experience, therefore, supports Rushdie's nuanced interpretation ("there is no longer any such place as home: except, of course, for the home we make") of what she actually says. Furthermore, my contention that Dorothy deploys Oz to mediate Kansas offers a general mechanism for Rushdie's recontextualized one. To Rushdie, Dorothy represents explicitly, and as a result, the experience of this cipher for all forms of difference models migrants' both in and outside their homelands not only because Mumbai is not London, for example, but also because an exile's home is not fully London, or Mumbai, either. Rushdie's specific use of the film to metaphorize this uncanny effect of migrancy, an effect exceeding the explanatory reach of cultural hybridity, suggests that the homes exiles "make for [them]selves" alter areas larger than the individual residential spaces they call home. Similarly, because Kansas appears as homely as it does unhomely, America too, after Dorothy returns from Oz, she might

have uttered the line marking her arrival in Oz at the end of the film: “Toto – I’ve a feeling we’re not in Kansas anymore.” If the final scene is read as Rushdie encourages, “there’s no place like home” translates Kansas, through its uncanny double, as “the home we make...in Oz,” which he emphasizes “is anywhere, and everywhere, except the place from which we began” (57).

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In Search of a Remedial Philosophy: A Consecutive Study of Hafez and Goethe.

By Ismail Baroudy

Abstract

Despite a sharp gap historically segregating Hafez and Goethe from each other, the researcher justifiably finds them to merit sharing common spiritual, social, cultural and literary characteristics. This advocacy mainly stems from the fact that the former (Hafez) exercised an unfathomable strand of multi-dimensional impact on the latter (Goethe). Admittedly, based on findings approached in this study, the occidental Europe, at the time of Goethe, bitterly suffered from the absence of a remedial philosophy to make up for the ethical disadvantages befall upon the Europeans then.

The researcher accordingly asserts that Goethe intelligently took Hafez's oriental and Islamic tenets and values and had them frankly and furtively included in his mystical and transcendental expectations in poetry. He efficiently worked them out as a healing remedy for the losses and damages incurred upon the fellow-Europeans due to some utilitarian wars almost ravaged the whole continent. On the whole, exponent gurus such as Hafez and Goethe are undeniably privileged to be the inevitable product of some historical, cultural and social exigencies. They themselves have been indispensably trapped into such a narrow shave to eventually emerge in the scene as a couple of unforeseen sublimes consecutively matching up each other in every true sense of the word and practice.

Never was the saying "great men think alike" more aptly rendered applicable than it is of the immortal Hafez of Persia (Iran) and Goethe, the multi-dimensional genius of Germany. Hafez was born about the year A.H. 720/C.E. 1320¹ in the city of Shiraz the capital of Pars (from which the name of Persia itself is derived) at a distance of about 38 miles (about 57 Kilometers) from the ancient Achaemenian Capital, Perspolis (Takht-e-Jamshid). He then lived there all his life of above 70 years till his death about the year A.H. 792/ C.E. 1390. Goethe, on the other hand, was born in 1749 (28th August) at Frankfurt-am-Main and

died in 1832 (22nd March) at Weimar, formerly in East Germany. Although there is a time gap- distance of about four and quarter centuries between the two, there is a remarkable likeness of thinking amongst them. Further, the circumstances of their life-spans are also notably similar. For instance:

1- Both Hafez and Goethe lived during periods of great political turmoil and disturbance. About half a century earlier Shiraz, and for that matter, the whole of Iran had seen the devastations of the Mongol invasions, and their wars of consolidation. Even the local dynasty (the Injus) had indulged in much fratricidal wars, and his patron Shah Shuja to whom he has made references in his poetry, was himself the product of much intrigue, crime and bloodshed. Then the vicinity of Shiraz was infested by bands of ferocious and heartless robbers who presented a great problem of law and order to the local rulers. To crown, above all, hardly had Shah Shuja settled down to a peaceful life when the country had to face the ravages of the invasions of the world conqueror, Timure-Lang. Goethe, in this respect, was far more fortunate than his 'twin' Hafez, whose began when he was about 45 (in 1364 A.D.), and ended nearly twenty years later when his patron Shah Shuja was deterred by the expanding empire of Timur (early 1380s). Based on poems and anecdotal accounts during Shah Shuja's reign, Hafez served as a teacher at the local madrasa, to provide a modest living for himself, and some additional revenue from the panegyric in his oeuvre. Thus, similar to Goethe, he enjoyed a reasonably stable pattern of occupation. Hafez and Goethe both enjoyed considerable international reputation in their own lifetime, and the privilege with which he was sought after by rulers as far abroad as Baghdad and India.

Equally tumultuous were the conditions in Europe during Goethe's age and the boundaries of the countries were constantly changing. There had been wars of the Polish succession, the Restoration of large territories to the Turkish Sultan, the bloody consequences of the claims of the stubborn Maria Theresa which dragged on till seven years in Europe (1756-63): Russian troops invaded East Prussia; and Hanover (North Germany) was attacked and occupied by France. In the mean time, the storm of the French Revolution was brewing and although it brought ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity amongst educated classes in Germany, but it brought it also tiding of untold horror, across their border and of slaughter; guillotine and bloodshed in France, which tended to propagate anarchical ideas in the rest of Europe and which seemed to present serious problems of law and order. Force let loose in consequence of the French Revolution culminated in another force which enveloped the whole of Europe in the shape of Napoleonic Wars.

2- It has been observed that great epochs in literature, so rare in their occurrence, have had a peculiar relationship to periods of extra ordinary political commotion. Both Hafez and Goethe were not only inheritors of sublime literary tradition but themselves became the culminating points in their respective literary achievements unsurpassed by posterity. Hafez as preceded by the luminous stars of the unmitigated glory in the galaxy of the Persian sky like, Anwary, Sa'adi, Attar, Sanai, and the towering personality of Rumi. Moreover, the atmosphere of Shiraz in which he was born and bred was itself permeated with literary genius.

Western scholars, during the enlightenment phase, endeavored to impartially view east to prove that the world of east is no longer a world of war and bloodshed, violence and invasion, and anti-Christian or

anti-European. On the contrary, they invited their audiences to review their position and discern east as a world of beauties, narratives, expectations as well as wonders (Schimmel, 1990). In the same vein, Goethe who was a sublime close to the versatile and fertile genius of Renaissance Period lived and moved in a highly intellectual atmosphere. His direct constant with classical culture during his Italian sojourn of 1786 deeply influenced him. A part expression of this can be seen in the shaping of his plays 'Iphigenie auf Tauris' (1793) and 'Torquato Tasso' (1790) and the poems 'Romische Elegien' (published in 1793). His friendship and correspondence with the poet Schiller sharpened his aesthetic theories, heightened further by his sensitive mind so amenable to female beauty. In addition, far more important, was his receptivity to foreign literature including the English poet Shakespeare and many Iranian poets out of whom the great Hafez of Shiraz cast a peculiar spell on him and resulted in the production of the immortal 'West-östlicher Divan.' Moreover the influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau, Edward Young and James McPherson were also profound influence over him. But the chief impetus came from the oracular utterances of Johann George Hamann (1770-88)², the "Magus in Norden" wherein he observed that the basic varieties of existence are to be apprehended through faith and the experience of senses and pointed out the value of primitive poetry. Poetry, he declared, was the mother tongue of the human race and not product of learning and precept. Similarly, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803)³ who regarded, and no thinker before him, the idea of historical evolution, likewise interested Goethe in foreign literature including that of the East. Thus, Goethe's intelligence, so free, insatiable and unconfined, set the ideal for comparative study and he predicted a Welt-literature in which all nations have a voice.

3- Both Hafez and Goethe deeply impressed the powerful conquerors of their times. Thus, Hafez impressed Timur-e Lang while Goethe impressed Napoleon.

The following famous couplet of Hafez has been the subject of much interest and many are the versions of an interview of Hafez with Timur about it:

اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آرد دل ما را به خال هندویش بخشم سمرقند و بخارا را

(If that Shirazian Turk is able to capture my heart, I will give the entire territories of Samarqand and Bokhara in return for the black mole on her face)

About the interview, which seems to have taken place between Hafez and Timur and in which Timur seems to have questioned Hafez about the above couplet, the account given by Dr. Zarinkub in his 'Dar Kucheye-Rindan' seems to be more worthy of credence. It is said that Zaynu'l Abidin, the younger brother of Shah Shuja, who assumed the reigns of authority over Shiraz after the sudden death of Shah Shuja, while all the princesses of the territory acknowledged Timur as their overlord, Zaynu'l Abidin still held out his own. Therefore, three years after Shah Shuja's death, Timur came to chastise him in A.H. 789, and stayed in Shiraz for two months. In spite of his illiteracy and violent temperament, the world conqueror had the habit of showing the utmost regard and deference to men of learning and piety. He used to converse with them kindly and freely and every one in locality believed that if Hafez meets Timur, the poet will be well received had he been deeply moved by the ravages of the Samarqandian Turks (armies of Timur-e-Lang)

over the territories of the Khwarezm. Consequently he had written a ghazal deprecating the cruelty and faithlessness of the Timurid forces. Also, in order to gain favour with the recalcitrant Zaynu'l Abidin, who had not submitted to Timur, he wrote his famous couplet already, quoted. In this, Hafez means to call Zaynu'l Abidin as the Shirazian Turk *ترك شيرازي* as against Timur whom he called Turk-e Samarqandi. The rightful ruler of Samarqand and Bokhara (Timur) summoned the aged poet to his presence. As was his wont in Ispahan and elsewhere Timur, says the contemporary historian Abdur-Razak, demanded ransom from Hafez for the lives that had been spared in his locality. Hafez, who was leading a life of abject poverty pointed to his tattered clothes and said he was so poor that he had nothing to offer. At this, Timur reminded him of his couplet and said, "How can one, who can give away Samarqand and Bokhara in return for a mole, be penniless." At this, Hafez wits seemed to have returned to him and he replied "It is my unbounded bounty, Sire that has led me to this condition." The witty answer not only spared Hafez of any demands, it won for him a robe and a generous amount of money.

As for Goethe, Napoleon was likewise not too happy with him because of Goethe's outright condemnation of the use of force by Napoleon in subduing and chastising the greatest European emperors of his time and in the wake of persistent wars, bringing about misery to people, whom Napoleon himself once pitied and called "Bleeding humanity"⁴. Napoleon regarded Goethe with his towering intellect and pervasive pen, as one of his greatest enemies. When in 1808 Napoleon granted an interview to Goethe, they discussed many subjects including religion and philosophy. Napoleon was mightily impressed with Goethe's political opinions; he said, "Our enemy is wiser than us. He is a real man⁵ in all implications of this world."

Napoleon had himself a great faith in the powers of the human intellect, and deprecating brute force he had once said, "It is not arms that win the battle. In war, all is mental. It is the mind that wins the war". Goethe and Napoleon talked about thought and belief concerned with the inter-related concepts of God, reason, nature and man. They talked about Islam and Holy Muhammad, and both expressed great reverence for the greatest man (Muhammad) and affirmed the truth of the Message of God as in Holy Quran. They condemned those ill-informed men like Voltaire who had talked irreverently and scoffingly about the Holy Messenger of Allah. The interview was a great enlightenment for Napoleon, who continued to have great regard not only for Islam but also for Goethe. Later Goethe wrote his play "Muhammad" and therein gave details of his interview with Napoleon.

4- The enduring quality. Both Hafez and Goethe have that profundity of thought and feeling, that deep comprehension of the facts of life, which has an enduring and a lasting effect. The grand power of their poetry is its interpretative power; the power of so dealing with ideas, to use the words of Wordsworth-'on Man, on Nature, and on Human life' as to awaken in use a wonderfully full, new and intimate sense of them, and the relation of the individual to them. Mathew Arnold rightly observes that "the poet ought to know the life and the world than an average poet and this accounts for their lasting effect. Every person, who knows Persian tight from the highest scholarly adept to the humblest villager, sings the songs of Hafez, and the same is true of Goethe. The greatest scholar of German literature to the humblest beginner takes pleasures and pride in knowing and reading Goethe. Both are inspired poets and are the "Lisanul Ghayb" [the Tongue of Mysteries (Unknown)] of the East and West respectively.

5- Both were heavy wine-drinkers. Goethe drank wine to an excess and did not desist the admonitions of his friends to the contrary. So did Hafez. In his Divan metaphorically and figuratively begins addressing the waiter a couplet rehearsed as:

الا يا ايها الساقى ادر كاساً و ناولها كه عشق آسان نمود اول ولي افتاد مشكلها

(Hello! O Cup-bearer, pour the wine in to the cup and let us drink; for though love seems easy first it soon embarks on hazards.)

so does Goethe say in Wanderer's Equanimity:-

“We must all be drunk! Youth is wineless drunkenness and old age that drinks itself young again is marvelous virtue. Life, bless if, takes care to supply us with cares, and the caster, out of cares, is the vine (grape plant from which wine is derived). As long as we are sober, we like what is inferior, but when we have drunk, we know what is what. Yet excess, too lurks near at hand; oh teach me Hafez, what your wisdom thought you”.

For I hold not unjustly, that if a man can not drink, neither should he love ... If a man can not love, neither let him drink.⁶

To the Waiter

Don't slam the jug down in front of my nose like that you curmudgeon ⁷ I want friendly looks from any one who brings me wine...etc. And so says Hafez:-

مکن به چشم حقارت نگاه در من مست كه نيست معصيت و زهد بي مشيت او

Don't cast a glance with contempt on a poor intoxicated fellow like myself. Please realize that no vice or virtue can take place without God's will.

حديث چون و چرا در دسر دهد اي دل پياله گير و بياساز عمر خویش دمي

All these talks about 'how and why' gives you a headache! O heart, hold the cup and let your life rest for a moment.

In fact, Hafez's poetry in reference to wine is so voluminous that it would be idle to recount the whole of it. It should almost amount to rewriting the Divan. He even wants to merge the distress of his poverty, want, and worldly afflictions in the intoxication of wine when he says:

هنگام تنگدستي در عيش كوش و مستي كاین کيمياي هستي قارون کند گدا را

(In times of want and poverty, strive to drown your worries in wine and intoxication. For this alchemy is such that it can make a Qaroon ⁸ out of a beggar).

6- Be that as it may, both Goethe and Hafez regarded wine as their sincerest friend and confided in their respective cups as in no one else.

Goethe acknowledges in one of the pieces in *Ranj-Nama* (Tale of Woe) and *Saghi-Nama* (the story of the cup-bearer), both of which are chapters in Goethe's *Divan*, which is used to keep his innermost feelings hidden from the hypocrites and self-seekers. The cup of wine was his only companion. Precisely in the same manner, Hafez says,

روز واقعه غم با شراب باید گفت که اعتماد به کس نیست در چنین زمینی

(We relate our grieves only to wine; as we can not rely on any one else in such matters)

7- Both Goethe and Hafez had a stoic forbearance of the sufferings and miseries wrought by wars and bloodshed. Von Hammer wrote in his introduction to Hafez, "During the life-time of Hafez, the land of Pars saw repeatedly upheavals and fluctuations. Kings and chieftains recurrently fell out with each other; and as a consequence, lost their governments to one another. And, in these ups and downs; comings and goings, blood was inevitably shed in profusion.

With all this Hafez did not lose the composure of his temperament, nor his native good honour and maintained his interest in the song of the nightingale, the sweet-smell of the flower, the intoxication of the mystical wine and his love for beauty. He saw divine beauty in every comely form and these faculties of his nature never faded till the last.

Goethe, in this approach of Hafez to the things of life, saw a reflex of his own nature. He too had, since his earliest youth till his most advanced years, appreciated beauty and light of the sun, the song of the Nightingale and felt the intensity of love very much like what Hafez says in the following verse:

به گوشه آ و بنشین سرخوش و تماشا کن ز حادثات زمانی و رخ شکر دهنی

Of Hafez's celebration of wine and love, it was disputed from the onset whether they should be interpreted hedonistically or mystically. As for Goethe, certain passages in the *Divan* suggest that he found the oriental style and setting particularly appropriate to the expression of a sense (increasingly characteristic of his old age) of dissolving of boundary between earthly love and the love of God.

(Come into the secluded corner, sit merrily and watch the happenings of the world with a contented, smiling face)

8- From this flows another conclusion namely that both Goethe and Hafez, although optimistic, were not

necessarily optimists as Hafez beautifully sums up.

ده روزه مهر گردون افسانه است و افسون نیکی بجای یاران فرصت شمار یارا

A few days' love of the revolving sky is just a matter of fiction or a magical spell. Thus if the friends show kindness towards you, you may just take it a brief spell of good fortune.

9- Both believed in a life of freedom of thought and action and waged an endless war against cant and hypocrisy. When Goethe first thought of collecting together poems and verses inspired by Hafez and naming them the 'Divan' (14th December 18th), he wrote as under:

"I want to produce this Divan in the shape of a world reflecting mirror, like a cup as that of Jamshid, where I would see the reflexes of the eternal world as distinguished from the world of cant and hypocrisy; and I will discover the way to that everlasting paradise which is the abode of Ghazal-singing poets, so that I may be able to find my place by the side of the Hafez of Shiraz".

Here Goethe speaks in much the same way as Hafez did in the following couplet:

جام می گیرم و از اهل ریا دور شوم یعنی از خلق جهان پاکدلی بگزینم

(I take my cup and seek aloofness from the hypocrites. In other words, I choose a pure-hearted companion out of all the things of the world)

Hafez goes on to say:-

زاهد و عجب و نماز و من و مستی و نیاز تا ترا خود زمیان با که عنایت باشد

Again he says:-

ریا حلال شمارند و جام باده حرام زهی طریقت و ملت زهی شریعت و کیش

They regard hypocrisy as permissible and the cup of wine as forbidden by religion. What a path and a community! What a law and a belief!

تو خرقة را ز برای ریا همی پوش تا به رزق بری بندگان از راه

You wear the cloak to hide your hypocrisy. So that you may earn your living and yet keep God's men away from the Divine path.

خدا زان خرقة بیزار است صد بار که باشد صد بتش در آستینی

God is displeased a hundred times with the cloak, which has a hundred, idles up its sleeve.

or

آتش زهد و ریا خرمن دین خواهد سوخت حافظ این خرقة پشمینه بینداز و برو

The five of Cant mixed with prayer will burn off the property of Religion. Hafez, throw away this woolen cloak and go your way.

or

خرقة پوشی من از غایت دینداری نیست پرده ای بر سر صد عیب نهان می پوشم

My donning of cloak is not due to my excess of religious-mindedness. I am only throwing curtain over hundreds of my hidden faults and sins.

or

بیا که رونق این کارخانه کم نشود به زهد همچو تویی یا به فسق همچو منی

Come! So that the hustle-bustle of this workshop may not diminish and let there be the playfulness of men like you and the sinfulness of men like me.

or

نام حافظ رقم ننگ پذیرفت ولی پیش رندان رقم سود و زیان این همه نیست

Name of Hafez got somehow connected with sinfulness, otherwise in the code of the merry-makers, the writing of good and bad is not there.

Sometimes Hafez feels that his community is unable to appreciate his ways and says;

معرفت نیست در این قوم خدایا مددی تا برم گوهر خود را به خریدار دگر

These people lack insight and understanding. Help me O God so that I may take my genius to some other buyer (customer).

Happily this buyer came out to be Goethe himself.

10- Both Hafez and Goethe are passionate lovers and see the reflex of Eternal Beauty in the worldly beauty. To both, to use the words of Keats, "beauty is truth, truth is beauty" and likewise to them "a thing

of beauty is a joy for ever”.

Goethe says:⁹

“I will remember you, Holy Hafez in both abodes and taverns; then my sweetheart.¹⁰ lifts her veil and shakes the sandalwood scent from her hair. Yes, the poets’ whisperings of love shall fill the very hours with desire.

And if you would envy him this, or even try to spoil his pleasures, let me tell you that the words of poets are for ever hovering round the gate of paradise, softly knocking on it, begging and winning everlasting life”.

Though you may hide yourself in a thousand shapes, yet, All-Beloved! at once I recognize you. You may cover yourself with magic veils, at once, all present one, I recognize you.

In the young cypress-trees purest upward growth, all-shapeliest one, at once I recognize you; in the pure living moving waters of the canal, All-Flattering one, How well I recognize you.

When the leaping fountain-jet unfolds, All playful one, joyfully I recognize you; when clouds form and re-form themselves, there too, All-Manifold one, I recognize you.

In the flowery veil, the tapestry of fields, All-Starry-Many-coloured one in your beauty, I recognize you; and when ivy stretches forth its thousands arms, there, All embracing one, I know you

When morning catches fire on the mountains, at once All Gladdening one, I salute you; then the sky grows pure and round above me, and then, lifts of All Hearts, I draw breath in you.

All that I know by outward and inward sense, teacher of All Men, I have learned from you; and when I name the Hundred Names of Allah, each of them is echoed by a name for you.

To this Zuleikha adds:

“The mirror tells me I am beautiful! You all say I am also destined to grow old. Before God all things must stand still for ever. Love Him in me for this moment.”

What a likeness the above is to an immortal thought expressed by Keats in the ‘Ode to the Grecian Urn’, where the poet consoles the forward bending lover on the Urn, the lover arrested and presented in immortal relief by the sculptor’s hand before he can kiss, with the line, “for ever wilt thou love and she be fair”

Similarly Hafez says:

ما در پیاله عکس رخ یار دیده ایم ای بی خبر ز لذت شرب مدام ما¹¹

Listen, O one, who is so unaware of the bliss of our continuous drinking, we have seen the reflex of the face of The Beloved in our cup.

Again he goes to say:

در نظربازی ما بی خبران حیرانند من چنینم که نمودم دگر ایشان دانند¹²

The un-initiated are in wonderment about our eye's interest in beauty. Actually I am what I look; as for the rest, they all know best.

When Hafez was writing this fond verse, the bird of his fancy had been caught up in the slip-knot of Divine Love.

Goethe also saw his own picture in the above writing of Hafez, as he himself said in his "Memoirs" I have appreciated beauty, youth and sunlight right till my eldest age, and seen Divine Beauty and Love in the sweet smell of flower, the song of the nightingale and the love of the world of beauty

And a most burning verse of Hafez opens up the floodgate of great spiritual knowledge. It says:

از آن به دیر مغنم عزیز می دارند که آتشی که نمیرد همیشه در دل ماست¹³

They hold me in high esteem in the Fire-Temple for this specific reason, that the fire that never dies resides within my soul always.

He is thus proud of the eternal fire of love within his heart. At another place Hafez says:

بعد از این نور به آفاق دهم از دل خویش که به خورشید رسیدیم و غبار آخر شد¹⁴

Hereafter, I will draw light from my heart and shed it on the expanse of the horizons as the dust subsided when we reached the sun.

حسن روی تو چو در آینه جام افتاد صوفی از خنده می در طمع خام افتاد¹⁵

When the reflex of the face fell into the cup, the Soofi became confused for the bubbles in the wine showed him many faces.

At yet another place, he explains the same idea in these words.

عکس روی تو به یک جلوه که در آینه کرد اینهمه نقش در آینه او هام افتاد¹⁶

Your face had only one appearance in the mirror but the multiplicity of mirrors caused it to appear in the shape of so many faces.

Again, deeply conscious of his own spiritual height, Hafez says:

غزل سرايي ناهيد صرفه اي نبرد در آن مقام كه حافظ برآورد آواز¹⁷

The music of the stars can not make a mark at those heights where Hafez reaches his voice.

He sums up his mystic comprehension with great self-confidence, which the following verse explicitly, reveals:

كس چو حافظ نگشود از رخ اندیشه نقاب تا سر زلف عروسان سخن شانه زندند¹⁸

No one lifted the veil of doubts and errors and reached the Ultimate Reality as did Hafez, but this truth could not dawn upon their minds until the seekers of truth combed the hair of the brides of my speech.

11- The above also shows that both Hafez and Goethe are mystics of a very high order, and this fact is fully illustrated above.

12- Both are profoundly lyrical poets. This perhaps needs no illustration so far as Hafez is concerned, because the ghazal style of poetry is essentially lyrical. The following verses may however be quoted as an illustration:

صد ملك دل به نيم نظر مي توان خريد خوبان در اين معامله تقصير مي كنند
مي خور كه شيخ و حافظ و مفتي و محتسب چون نيك بنگري همه تزوير مي كنند

A hundred realms of heart can be purchased by half a glance of the eye. Only the beautiful ones are miserly in giving the glance.

Drink wine, because if you observe a little more closely, all are guilty of this sin of hypocrisy whether there be the scholar, the Hafez, the Judge or the city police Chief himself.

Authors and poets of romantic school highly aspired for recognizing the root of languages. Moreover, they came to accept and prove to see that all natural languages of the world are deeply rooted in the east. The poets and authors of this period were in search of their lost self and Human being's essence and innateness amongst classical eastern works (Hadadi, 2006:9). Admittedly, lyrical poetry, in its broadest definition, is basically romantic due to the fact that it tends to give a colouring of its own mind over a basic reality, as has been claimed:

“Distance lends enchantment to the view.”

or

“distance presents the object fair.”

But there is subtle difference between the two: in as much as ‘lending enchantment to the view’ is true romanticism; but when an object is relevant there and only the distance is presenting it fair, it is wonderfully poetic, has a romantic element but it can not strictly be called romantic as romanticism does not predominate in it but is subdued. Goethe was a poet who falls in the latter category. Goethe did not like romanticism due to its unreality and he defined it in ‘das Romantische’ in a much quoted saying, as a disease (das Kranke). Nevertheless a substantial part of the West Ostlicher Divan as also that of “Faust” can be called as much romantic as are the work of poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge. Goethe’s unique production, “Faust” has an exceptionally pervasive lyricism.

A significant point to mention is that Goethe in his terminal literary chronology, coinciding with Romantic period in Germany, paid meticulous heed to literary works of other countries, in particular the oriental literature. That is why besides “Sturm und Drang”¹⁹, encounter with letters of other nations and alien cultures occupied a particular position within his literary activities (Hadadi, 2006:6).

13- That both Goethe and Hafez are freedom lovers and much aggrieved with the fault- finding “traders in religion” has already been partly explained and will be explained more fully when we discuss ‘The West Ostlicher Divan’. In passing however a few of Hafez’s verses may be quoted to illustrate his bitter resentment of the intolerant Sufi and Hafez’s revenge of him. He says:

نقد صوفي نه همه صافي و بي غش باشد اي بسا خرقه كه مستوجب آتش باشد

the quality of Sufis is not always purity and piety. There are many a cloak that deserve to be burnt off outright.

گر چه با دلق ملمع مي گلگون عيب است مکنم عيب کز آن رنگ ريا مي شويم

Although even with a hypocritical cloak, to drink red coloured wine looks highly objectionable; but at least I do no sin, I wash off the colour of cant with that liquid.

The above is somewhat apologetic. But Hafez falls heavily on his fault finders in the following verses:-

به کوي ميکده دوشش به دوش مي بردند امام شهر كه سجاده مي کشيد به دوش

The same chief imam of the city (who leads prayer in the Cathedral mosque) and was carrying his prayer rug on his shoulders, was himself being carried by people on their shoulders the day before in the tavern lane.

بیا به می‌کده و چهره ارغوانی کن مرو به صومعه کانجا سیاه کارانند

Come to the tavern and let your face flush with drinks of wine. Don't go to the prayer-house (mosque) because there are men of black deeds there.

در میخانه ببستند خدایا می‌پسند که در خانه تزویر و ریا بگشایند

They have closed the door of the tavern. O, God, also disapprove the keeping open of the door of cant and hypocrisy.

گر پیر مغان مرشد ما شد چه تفاوت در هیچ سری نیست که سری ز خدا نیست

If the Magian priest (here it means the old man of the tavern) became our guide and instructor, what is the harm? After all every one, apparently even the most sinful, can still have a spark of Divine Inspiration in his head. And Goethe in his *Divan* (*Wanderer's Equanimity*) says: let no one of forces. It rules amid rottenness with great profit to itself, and manipulates righteousness exactly as it pleases. We must be drunk! Youth is wineless drunkenness and old age which drinks it self into youth is a great virtue etc.

14- Both Hafez and Goethe are international poets. They stepped far beyond the bounds of their own countries and have achieved universal appeal. We all know that Hafez has been translated into nearly all the languages of the world, and his poetry is read and appreciated in all the nooks and corners of this globe. The very fact that his *Divan* could inspire as great a genius as Goethe and because a direct cause and source of Goethe's *West-Ostlicher Divan* which is itself proof-conclusive of Hafez's Universality of appeal. Goethe has left indelible marks on the sands of time and is by Universal consent a man of all times and of the whole world. His fame transcended the boundaries of his country and time due to his, (to use the words of T.S. Eliot), "amplitude, abundance, universality, representatives and wisdom. "in his *Divan* Goethe's language reaches never surpassed heights of sensuous power. Professor Barker says, Goethe's was probably "the most wide ranging body of lyrical poetry that ever came of a single mind", although his humanism was even greater than his poetry; which Goethe in his wonderful statement said, "what you lose at a poet, you will gain as a human being" (*Der Mensch gewinnt, was der poet verliert*).

Goethe never rested at familiarising himself with learning only the poetry of his time. He mastered classics of all countries and of all times-Latin, Greek, Indian, Persian, Arabic and even Chinese. He undoubtedly, in the words of Matthew Arnold, "knew a great deal of life, without doubt a great deal more than his contemporaries". And as genius can not soar, to use the words of Maulana –e Rumi, without "the wings of knowledge"²⁰, Goethe took his art to a perfection due to this all-pervasive knowledge which he always sought after and reached closest to perfection. Besides being an unsurpassed poet, and a genius whom even Shakespeare can only equal when he is at his highest Goethe is versatile and many sided. He is the sage and the aphorist: one of his most famous aphorisms is, "I place the faculty of speech at the pinnacle of all human arts. It is undoubtedly the greatest of God's gifts to man." Goethe is a great many things more. He is the scientist, the critic, the statesman, the theater and director, and the man of the world.

In the field of poetry however, he not only holds a most eminent place in the European elite but also in the world elite. And nevertheless, Goethe the poet is the least European of all because he crossed all frontiers and obtained a place of glory amongst the world galaxy of poets.

Goethe's great love of Persian poetry can also be seen diverging from the conventional rhyming and prosody of European Writers and attempting some versification like that of Hafez as in the ghazal couplets [though in Goethe's poetry rhyme is observed, but it is merely the recurrence of rhymes that are utilized, not what usually seen in ghazal. They can be accounted for nothing but as quasi-ghazal (2003:70)].

GOEHTE

VERSUKKEH

Here is an example:

Voll Lochen Kraus ein Hauot so rund:-
Und darf ich dann in solchen reichen haaren
Mit vollen Handen hin und wider fahren,
Da fuhl ich mich von Herzensgrund gesund.
Und kuss ich Stirne, Bogen, Auge, Mund,
Dann bin ich Irisch und immer wieder wund.
Der funfgezackte Kamm, wo sollt er stocken?
Er Kehrt schon wieder zu der locken.
Das ohr versagt sich nicht Haut,
So zart zum scherz, so liebeviel!
Doch wie man auf dem kopfchen kaut,
Man wird in solchen reichen Haaren
Fur ewig auf und nieder fahren.
So hast du, Hafis, auch getan,
Wir fangen es von vornen an.

Immersed

A head so round and full of curly locks!-And when she lets me fill my hands with this abundance of hair and run them to and fro in it, I am filled with well-being, from the bottom of my heart. And when I kiss her

forehead, her eyebrows, her eyes, and her mouth, I am stricken afresh and ever again. The five-pronged comb, where should it come to rest? Back it goes to her hair already, her car joins in the game too; this is no flesh, this is no skin, delicate to the playful touch, so rich with love! He who strokes this little head will be moving up and down in its abundance of hair forever. All this, Hafez, you also did, here we are, doing it all over again.

Having said this much about the various similarities between Hafez and Goethe we may now directly touch upon the manner in which the former's thought lyricism influenced the later and which ultimately led Goethe to write his immortal *Divan* (*West-östlicher Divan*) wherein his personality into the East. He broke off from formal Christianity and read the Holy prophet of Islam.

Communicating Vessels: Goethe Herder, Hamann and Hafez

As we have already said, Goethe was since his Strasburg days, interested in literature of other countries and had in fact, predicted a *weltliteratur* (World literature). The idea of historical evolution²¹ was firmly believed in by Herder and he too was instrumental in Goethe's oriental studies. Goethe, under the influence of Herder, sees poetry not merely as the spontaneous outburst of an isolated soul, but as the natural outgrowth of individuality that uses for its own ends the rich inheritance of culture and tradition. To belittle, learning rightly used would be to belittle the food we eat and the air we breathe. There is no clash of issues here, but rather the problem of a working adjustment. The question of originality versus imitation as it was posed in Goethe's day called for tact rather than dialectical subtlety. Against the mechanical imitation of the neo-classicists it was necessary to present one front; against the robust fellows who proclaimed themselves invincibly original it was necessary to present another.

It is characteristic of Goethe's career that he usually found the teachers he needed, in science, literature, and the fine arts. During the months when he sat at the feet of Herder in Strasburg, he was learning how a poet might rightly draw inspiration from the literature of the past. Herder was an enthusiast for the primitive. He had learned from older contemporaries the gospel of a return to nature. But the modern way of returning to nature is not to reject tradition altogether, but to seek the recovery of an uncontaminated tradition. It was in this spirit that the early Renaissance had exalted Greek literature; it was in this spirit that the leaders of the Reformation had tried to return to the very letter of the Bible. Moreover, to Goethe's generation, the generation that came after the Enlightenment, the Renaissance itself offered a great tradition to which ardent youth might return. The enthusiasts of the late eighteenth century were continuing the quest for an art that should be not merely artistic, but the original and authentic utterance of humanity.

The Renaissance was one of the great foci for Goethe and his comrades of the Storm and Stress. But the Renaissance was also the period of heightened national feeling. In all this welter of themes, those that

were both Renaissance and German took the strongest hold on the poet, and came so close to him that he hid his concern with them even from his master Herder.

I most carefully concealed from him my interest in certain subjects that had rooted themselves within me, and were, little by little, molding themselves into poetic form. These were **Gota oon Berlichingen** and **Fauri**. The biography of the former had seized my inmost heart. The figure of a rude, well-meaning self-helper, in a wild anarchical time, awakened my deepest sympathy. The significant puppet-show fable of the latter resounded and vibrated many-toned within me. I too had wandered about in all **sorts** of science, and had early enough been led to see its vanity. I had, moreover, tried all sorts of ways in real life, and had always returned more unsatisfied and troubled.

So were the oracular utterances of Hamann, who among other things had pointedly emphasizes the value of primitive poetry. But it was on the 7th of June 1816 that he first heard the name of Hafez. Johann Von Hammer who had been working in the Austrian Embassy in Istanbul a number of years picked up a fairly good knowledge of Persian, and on his return to Wein, West Germany he produced in 1812 a translation for the first time, of the whole of "Divan of the Ghazals of Muhammad Shamsuddin Hafez, the poet of Iran". The publisher of Goethe's works, Kota, sent to Goethe (probably for review) two complimentary copies of the translated Divan-e-Hafez. As in the case of all the other new publications, Goethe began to browse the book with interest and care. But hardly had he gone through a few pages of the book when a spontaneous cry of approbation burst forth from his lips. In his own words "he had come across a poetic masterpiece that like of which his eyes had never seen till that day". He in fact, had discovered the rare and talismanic "Cup of Jamshid"-the mirror of the whole world, which he had been seeking after, all his life, and which, in the words of Nietzsche, "Was a versatile wonder of human art" and which literally bewitched Goethe.

Hafez was to Goethe a new world, a new inspiration, a new message that come from the Best and which acquainted him with the real spirit, the real thought, the Philosophy of the East as Heina, a German-Jewish philosopher had remarked, "Having been despaired with cold spiritualism of the west, Goethe's soul thirsted for the spiritual warmth which he discovered in the bosom of the East": Goethe says:

There, where life is pure and good, I will go back to the deep origins of the races of men, to the time when God still taught them heavenly wisdom in early tongues and they didn't have to rack their brains; when they paid high honours to their fathers and resisted all foreign bondage. I will enjoy the limitations of that youthful age.... Those lands where the world carried such weight, because it was a spoken word.

I will mingled with herdsmen and refresh my self at oases, as I travel with caravans and trade in shawls and coffee and musk; I will tread all the paths between the wilderness and cities....

Up and down rough mountains tracks your songs, Hafez, give consolation, when the train leader, high on his mule, rapturously sings to wake the stars and scare the robbers."

Perhaps the desire to flee from the atmosphere of the turbulent West and look for the serene peace of the East could also be likened to Hafez's own desire to leave Shiraz and go over to Baghdad when Hafez had said,

آب و هوای فارس عجب سفله پرور است کو هم‌رهی که خیمه از این ملک برکنم

(The climate of Fars is curiously favourable to the cads. I wish I could find a companion in whose company I could pull off my tent from this country) and

ره نبردیم به مقصود خود اندر شیراز خرم آن روز که حافظ ره بغداد کند

(I have never, in Shiraz, been able to tread the path of success the achievement of my objectives. Blessed would be the day when Hafez takes his way towards Baghdad.

Nevertheless the beauties and attractions of Shiraz were too dear to be given up and he says”

نمی‌دهد اجازت مرا به سیر و سفر نسیم باد مصلی و آب رکن آباد²²

the aromatic breeze of the flower bower of Mussalla (A tranquil location in the vicinity of Shiraz) and the charm of the Ruknabad stream do not permit me to undertake any kind of Journey from here.

Similarly, Goethe writes in his biography. “I wanted at any cost to flee from the world of reality which had become unbearable for me and seem to draw my body and soul into a rack. I wanted to take refuge in a world of fancy, which was my foremost objective: a world in which I wished to draw my breath in peace and to enjoy the beauty and tranquility of the Eastern atmosphere. Also he once wrote to Luise on of his lady-friends. “East is indeed acting like a balm which I am using as an anesthesia for my soul in these days of great mental affliction.”

Under the little ‘Hejrat²³ in Mughni-Nama (A songster's epistle), a chapter in Goethe's Divan, he says: “North, West and South are in turmoil, crowns are tumbling down and empires are shaking. Come, leave this Hell and commence your journey to the peaceful East, so that its spiritual breeze may blow on you; and in the assembly of love and wine and the pleasing sound of the Caspian sea may revive you to youthfulness.” It may be mentioned here that the West Ostlicher Divan of Goethe which was conceived in the sequence of a direct inspiration from the Divan of Hafez, comprises twelve chapters as under: Mughni Nama, Hafez Nama, Ishg-Nama, Saghi Nama, Suleika (Zuleykha) Nama, Parsi Nama, Timur Nama, Khuld Nama, Takfir Nama, Ranj Nama, Hekmat Nama and Mis'l Nama.

It is already evident that there was an unusual spiritual likeness between Hafez and Goethe. He was, in fact, the Hafez if his age in matters of love for beauty, wine and his lyricism. Like Hafez he too loved deeply and passionately. At least nine ladies can be named who attracted his amours during the various periods of his life. These were (1) Fridderike, the daughter of the country parson. This was rather early

in 1770-71. (2) Sudden passion in 1824 for Ulrik Von Levetzow who inspired Goethe's poem Marienbad Elegy, a beautiful meditation on Schillers exhumed skull (1826). (3) Louise Snedtler whom he wrote in 1816 about his desire to flee from the disturbed atmosphere of the West, and to look for peace in the East. (4) Lotte Kestner, (5) the elegant Lili Schonmann (Belinda) and above all (6) sisterly Lida, also (7) Christine Vulpius, (8) Frau Von Stein, who loves like a wife with him and caused a scandal in Weimer. (9) Christine was his lawfully married wife (10) But the lady who has created history and appeared as Suleka (zuleykha) in Goethe's Divan is Mme. Marianne Von Willmer an opera actress in Frankfurt on Main, a poetess of considerable merit, whose poems have adopted and included by Goethe in his Divan under the heading "Suleka Spracht". She was the wife of a banker of that city. It would be interesting to note that although Frau Marianne Willmer created such an impact on Goethe's heart and inspired some of his finest verses in addition to contributing some wonderful pieces to Goethe's Divan, the fact of her friendship was mentioned by Goethe all his life. As a matter of fact, it remained a complete secret for several years even after his death. He did not disclose his attachment for Frau Marianne even to his closest friends. The fact came to notice for the first time in 1869 when Harman Grimm, a nephew (sister's son) of Marianne, who was himself an eminent writer and critic, disclosed in his article 'Preussische Jardduche' the real name of "Suleika" of the West Ostlicher Divan of Von Goethe. He also produced documentary proof to substantiate that certain pieces of the Divan was sent to Goethe by Marianne herself. In this way, the purely imaginary "Suleika" of the Divan become a tangible, living reality. Frankly speaking, "West Ostlicher Divan" is the most crucial letter of confessions that has been uttered by a westerner towards oriental values" (Schami, 2005).

When Marianne was 14 years of age, her mother had taken her to Frankfurt (am Main) where she learnt ballet dancing and became an opera dancer and actress of considerable repute and popularity. In the height of her fame as an opera actress, an eminent banker, Herr Von Wilmmer proposed to her and they were married. All this time Marianne was only seventeen years of age while Wilmmer was seventy-five. Goethe, who was an old friend of Wilmmer was at that time sixty five. During the courtship of Marianne and Wilmmer, Goethe was staying in Wilmmer's house; when in 1814 and 1815 he had re-visited the Rhein am Main and seen of his youth and had occasion to meet Marianne several times. This developed into a great mutual regard and friendship between the two. Her romantic nature, her intelligence, her poetic talent, and her personal charms and beauty completely bewitched Goethe. But as she became the wife of another man, who was incidentally a great friend and also host of Goethe, the whole affair assume the nature of purest love and personal regard, as will be seen from the fact that although Marianne returned his love, this belief idyll was ended by renunciation and permanent withdrawal on Goethe's part. This sentiment is perhaps very beautifully explained in an Urdu quatrain of Iqbal:

پريشان كار و بار آشنائي پريشان تر مري رنگين نوايي²⁴
 كبهې مين دهوند تا هون لذت وصل خوش آتاهي كبهې سوز جدائي

(This business of attachment (love) is full of bewilderment and confusion. Even more confusing is my colourful verse. There are moments when I yearn after the bliss of Union; yet at others. I equally thirst after the burning desire, be gotten by separation.)

Nevertheless, the unending fire kindled by love continued to smother unabated even up to his very last years and they continued to write to each other with the full knowledge and permission of Marianne's husband, Von Wilmmer, the poem *Dem Aufgehenen vollmonde* written in 1828 refers above all to Marianne; and finally the eight line *Vermachthis* (1831) accompanied the letters which she had written to him and which he returned to her shortly before his death.

Both Marianne and Goethe had a great liking for Hafez and, as has already been said, Marianne was herself a poetess of no mean order. In the *Divan*, when we read verses under the heading 'Suleika speaks', the same were written by Marianne herself and adopted by Goethe with slight alterations, which not necessarily improvements although it is true that Marianne's poetry did get an impetus under the guidance of Goethe.

In the summer of 1814, Goethe shut himself up from every one and devoted himself to the exclusive study of Hafez. He read every ghazal of Hafez once, twice, even ten times, until he thoroughly familiarized himself with the spirit, the thought, and even style and prosody of Hafez, as also his rhetorical devices, his metaphors and smiles etc., which he started adopting in his own poetic expression. Towards the end of summer, he wrote as follows in his autobiography;

I think I will go mad if I do not give expression to my powerful feelings about Hafez. I find myself simply unable to bear the impact of the thought of this extraordinary man who has so suddenly set his foot in my life."

Soon Goethe began to compose some verses whereof the inspiration was drawn from Hafez. At first he had no intention of collecting them in the form of a book, soon their number swelled so that he began to conceive of publishing a German *Divan*. In his own imagination he undertook, a vicarious journey to the East and thought he would carry himself a present to be offered to Hafez. In his autobiography he again says, "I prepared myself to visit Shiraz spiritually and to make that city as my permanent abode; whenever the potentates and chieftains of Iran, move their armies around Shiraz to undertake their military campaigns there, I would stage a temporary exit from that city and move back to it again when peace is restored. As regards his intended book he said,²⁵ "I want to produce my *Divan* as a mirror of the world or like the world reflecting cup, in contra-distinction to the thinking of the hypocritical and the outwardly religious, I will see the reflex of Beauty and ultimate Reality and will take my place by the side of Hafez in that heart of paradise where the souls of the singing poets rest in eternal peace."

And now to quote from Goethe's *Divan*:²⁶

"And though the whole world sink to ruin, I will enjoy you Hafez; you alone! Let us, who are twin spirits share pleasure and sorrow; to live like you, and drink like you, shall be my pride and my life long occupation.

"That you can not end is which makes you great and it is your destiny never to begin. Your song moves

like the vault of the stars, its beginning and ending is for ever the same...you are the true poetic fountain head of delights; and waters unnumbered flow from you. A mouth for ever shaped to kiss, a deep-voiced sweetly flowing songs, a gullet ever thirsty, a heart of self-out flowing kindness.”

“My wandering leads me into confusion, but you can straighten me out. When I act and when I write, may you be the guide of my ways.. he adds, “you weakened this lock in my mind, you gave it to me; for the words I spoke in delight and from your sweet life, rhyme answering rhyme as look answer look.” And may you still hear them even from afar; words reach their goal, though voice and sound may have died away.”

Ideas in Goethe’s Divzn as inspired by Hafez-Shiraz

I
IN MUGHNI-NAMA
HEJRE (HIJRAT)²⁷

“The North, The West and the South are disintegrating, thrones are bursting, empires are trembling; make your escape, and in the pure Orient taste the air of the patriarchs! Amid loving and drinking and singing, let Khiz’r’s fountain (Chisers Quell) renew your youth.”

The expression “Chashme-ye-Khiz’r” or “Ab-e-Khiz’r” used by Hafez in the following couplets:

فيض ازل به زور و زر ار آمدي به دست آب خضر نصيبه سکندر آمدي

If the eternal benediction could be bought with gold or by worldly might, the water of Khiz’r would have fallen to the lot of Alexander. (thought taken from Nizami –e- Ganjavi’s story of Sikendar Zu’l-Qarnain’s search for the water of immortality and his failure.)

انفاس عيسي از لب لعنت لطيفه اي آب خضر ز نوش دهانت کنایتي²⁸

The breath of Christ is but a reflex of a fine utterance from your red lips. Similarly Khiz’r’s water of immortality is a symbol of the sweetness that drops from your lips.

In another Couplet; (which is not authentic), Hafez is said to have written as under:

نسیم گلشن فردوس و آب چشمه خضر بخاک پات که از خاک پات میجویم²⁹

The breeze of the Garden of paradise, and the water of the fountain of Khiz’r emanates from the dust of your footsteps.

Another reference to the water of immortality can be seen in the following famous couplet:

دوش وقت سحر از غصه نجاتم دادند واندر آن ظلمت شب آب حیاتم دادند

(Yesterday morning I was freed from mortification and frustration and in the darkness of night I was given the water of immortality.)

Goethe's following verses in Hejre (Hajrat): -

"I will remember you, holy Hafez, in the bath-houses and taverns, when my sweet-heart lifts her veil and shakes the sandalwood-scent from her hair," remind us of the following couplet of Hafez which seems to have inspired the thought:

اگر رفیق شفیقی درست پیمان باش رفیق حجره و گرمابه و گلستان باش³⁰

(If you are a friend inspired by true love and sincerity then be steadfast; be my companion in my hermitage, in the bath-house and in the flower garden (where I be) and;

به بوی نافه ای کاخر صبا زان طره بگشاید زتاب جعد مشکینش چه خون افتاد در دلها³¹

Imagine the sweet smelling musk, which the morning breeze releases from her locks; witness, how hearts bleed to see the curl of her scented hair.

An English poet, Arthur J. Arberry, has translated the above in the following verses:

"So sweet perfume the morning air
Did lately from her tresses bear.
Her twisted, musk-diffusing hair-
What heart's calamity been there!

(The above is a fine translation except for the fourth line which somewhat spoils the effect.)³²

"Love is like a fire which can not be concealed. In the day-time, its smoke discloses, its presence and at night its flames reveal the secret of the lover that tries to hide his sentiments, his looks proclaim his heart's emotions."

Similarly Hafez in the sixth couplet of the first poem says:

همه کارم ز خودکامی به بدنمایی کشید آخر نهان کی ماند آن رازی کز او سازند محفلها³³

(All my affairs proceeded from festivity and success to disgrace and infamy. After all how can an affair,

which is itself the subject of so much gaiety in merry parties, remain a secret?)

As a direct inspiration from Hafez, Goethe lays down the following four pillars of good poetry in his Divan:

Pillar No. 1- The poet should adopt love as the main subject of his poetry. As Hafez says:

گنج عشق خود نهادي در دل ويران ما سايه دولت بر اين گنج خراب انداختي³⁴

(In the wilderness of our heart, O God, Thou endowed us the Treasure of Thy Love; and shedst the radiance of Thy love in this desolate corner.)

Pillar No.2- One should praise the rose coloured wine.

مبادا جز حساب مطرب و مي اگر نقشي زند كلك ضميرم

(May it never be that the pen of my heart should ever write anything other than the account of the musician and the wine.)

Pillar No. 3- The power of the poet's speech should be victorious in its mission, so that the fiery crown that he places on his head should lend him a divine majesty.

This reminds us, unmistakably, of the following couplets of Hafez, who evidently has inspired the thought contained in the above writing:-

بر در ميکده رندان قلندر باشند که ستانند و دهند افسر شاهنشاهي³⁵

The saintly wine drinkers stick to the door of the tavern. And such high in their thinking that they can take or give away the kingly crowns.

در خرقه چو آتش زدي اي عارف سالک جهدي کن و سر حلقه رندان جهان باش³⁶

(O Worshipper who knows and treads the path of divine knowledge, know that you have set fire to the cloak of piety, strive hard and become the chief of the circle of the merry wine-drinkers of the world.)

Pillar No. 4- The poet should eschew evil and put up a fight against it. Because it is the duty of the poet to rid the world of the darkness of Ahriman and lead them on to the light of Yezdan.

This reminds us of the following couplet of Hafez:

کس چو حافظ نگشود از رخ اندیشه نقاب تا سر زلف سخن را به قلم شانه زدند³⁷

(No one lifted the veil from the face of doubts, as did Hafez. This applies to all who combed the locks of poetry with their pens.)

As for his fight against evil, the study of the following couplet of Hafez would be pertinent:

بر این رواق زبرجد نوشته اند به زر که جز نکویی اهل کرم نخواهد ماند³⁸

(It has been written in golden letters on this blue sky that nothing shall subsist except the good deeds of men of noble nature.)

Concluding his compliments to the poetry of Hafez, Goethe says, “if a poet is able to achieve the above qualities in his verse, he will be able to produce poetry of everlasting appeal, as that of Hafez; and would find a place in the hearts of all mankind.”

The above also reminds us of the great calibre of Goethe as a critic. But I have deliberately omitted this aspect of Goethe’s genius as may also appear from couplets like the following”

دوش دیدم که ملائک در میخانه زدند گل آدم بسرشتند و به پیمانه زدند

I saw yesterday (before Man’s creation) that the Angels were knocking at the door of tavern, thus creating the clay of man and with the same they likewise molded the wine- cup.

خاک مرا چو در ازل با می سرشته اند با مدعی بگو که چرا ترک وی کنم

As the clay from which my body was molded in the eternal past, was kneaded with wine, I ask my opponents as to why I should give up a thing, which has crept into my creation itself.

In the *Ishq-Nama* (story of Love) Goethe addressed Hafez in these works;

“Forgive me O teacher if I lay down my heart at the feet of a love-some toddling cypress (Die Wandelnde Cypress)”

This thought seems to have been derived from the following hemistiches of Hafez:

سرو چمان من چرا میل چمن نمی کند همدم گل نمی شود یاد سمن نمی کند

(Why doesn’t the Cyprus of my heart get inclined to visit the garden.... etc.

or

(It is the cypress which rises vertically)

سروی است چنین که می رود راست

In Mughni-Nama sub-section “Mandane existence” Goethe says:

“O Hafez when you sing your song in the memory of your beautiful beloved, how delightedly you tell the tale of the dust of the path leading to her house!... The very breeze which blows in her path and scatters its dust, smells for you sweeter than the scent of the musk and the rose.” The above thought is inspired by the following couplets of Hafez:

اي صبا نكھتي از خاك ره يار بيار بيار اندوه دل و مژده دلدار بيار³⁹

Oh morning breeze, bring the sweet smell of the dust which lies in the path of the friend, take away the agony of my soul and bring the welcome message from my sweetheart.

In another passage in the chapter of (Moghni Nama), Goethe says “die that you may love”.

Curiously, Hafez also lived in a cultural climate which permitted a certain religious latitude in its poetry, due in particular to the mystical vein of amatory poetry that had been epitomised by his predecessor Rumi and to some extent by his fellow Shirazi Sa‘di, but exactly to what effect Hafez exploited this latitude, and hence just what manner of poet it was that Goethe chose as the locus and inspiration for this encounter with Islam, is to this day a matter of debate (Fennell, 2005: 238). As a point of fact, inspiration from the Holy Quran’s verse It is also directly derived from the following couplet of Hafez:

حافظ صبور باش كه در راه عاشقي آن كس كه جان نداد به جانان نمي رسد⁴⁰

(Be patient Hafez! and realize that whosoever did not surrender his life, did not reach the beloved).

In “Ishq-Nama,” the chapter on “Love” Goethe says: “O Hafez, in the same manner as a mere spark is enough to ignite and burn away the capitals of Emperors, your fiery speech has caused such a conflagration in my soul, that the whole person of this German counterpart of yours seems to be in tumult.”

In the like Manner Hafez says:

برق عشق آتش غم در دل حافظ زد و سوخت يار ديرينه ببينيد كه با يار چه كرد⁴¹

The lightening of LOVE ignited the fire of sadness in the heart of Hafez and burnt it off to ashes. See! What an old friend did to his sincerest friend.

In the same chapter, elsewhere, Goethe says, “O Holy Hafez, you have learnt the secrets of life and of mysticism without adopting the methods of the hypocritical and of the seemingly pious; and led men on to their eternal welfare even though your success in this path will not be acknowledge by the temporal heads of law enforcing agencies.”

This again has been suggested by the following verse of Hafez:

زاهد ظاهر پرست از حال ما آگاه نیست در حق ما هر چه گوید جای هیچ اکراه نیست⁴²

(The worshiper who concerns himself only with ostensible virtue; is unaware of my inner self, let him say about me whatever he likes. I can't force him to change his ideas.)

In the poem IM GEGENWARTGEN VERGANGNES (The past in the present) Goethe himself acknowledged his debt to Hafez in these words:

“Roses and lilies full of morning dew blossom in the garden near me; and behind and beyond it the friendly bush-covered rocky slope rises... And at this point in our song we come back to Hafez; for it is fitting to share the joy of the day's completeness with masters of experience.

In Suleika-Nama Goethe says: “I asked for but little.... I have often sat happily and content in a tavern or in a small house. But as soon as I think of you, my spirit expands like that of a conqueror.” This is again inspired by the following couplets of Hafez:

من که ره بردم به گنج حسن بی پایان دوست صد گدای همچو خود را بعد از این قارون کنم⁴³

“I who has been endowed with the limitless treasure of beauty of my friend, can now turn into the richest Kings (Qaroons) a hundred beggars like myself.”

Goethe goes on to say: “The kingdoms of Timur-e-Lang should serve you, his all-mastering away obey you, from Badakshan you would receive a tridente of rubies, and of turquoises from the Caspian Sea.

You would have dried fruits sweet as honey from Bokhara, the land of the sun; and a thousand sweet poems from Samarqand, written on the pages of silk. All the above is inspired by the couplet”

اگر آن ترک شیرازی به دست آرد دل ما را به خال هندویش بخشم سمرقند و بخارا را

But, Goethe goes on all this kingly riches will sadden your heart and sicken your soul. Because the truly loving hearts get no pleasure except when they sit by the side of their sweethearts! These following verses of Hafez inspire this:

اگر به هر دو جهان يك نفس زخم با دوست مرا به هر دو جهان حاصل آن نفس باشد

If in both worlds I can draw one breath in the company of my friend, I will consider that one breath is my most valuable acquisition from the two worlds.

Goethe blesses Hafez in these words in the fine poem PHANOMEN (phenomenon):

“When the Sun-God mates with a curtain of rain, an arching rim shaded with colours at once appears.

I see this same circle drawn in the mist: your hair may be white, yet you will love.

شاهد عهد شباب آمده بودش به خواب باز به پیرانه سر عاشق دیوانه شد

As a curtain line, following sublime verse of Goethe as contained in his ‘West Ostlicher Divan’, it is a wonderful lyric depicting the great personalities of Goethe and Hafez-e-Shiraz. Moreover it serves as an immortal production that has evoked not only unparalleled learned commentary but has also created unequalled interest both in East as well as West. Obviously, it has inspired Iqbal’s Payame-Mashriq and is as unsurpassed as Goethe’s other masterpiece ‘Faust’.

The East is God’s, The West is God’s, Northern and Southern lands rest in the peace of His hands. He alone is just, wills what is right for every man. Of his hundred names let this one be high-extolled. Amen!

Conclusion

One can accordingly conclude that Hafez served as an archetype that Goethe intelligently adopted to assimilate. He accepted to creatively imitate, flattering someone deserving the act. Goethe, in fact, grasped the happy idea, seized the day, made the best of the occasion, met the moment of truth, by means of which he identified himself to belong to a category of great men; Hafez privileged the rank of an exponent. He discovered who he was precariously and what he vicariously strived for.

A great man should be the product of the past he chose to be ascribed to. Someone who cares about his omni-presence and looks forward to staying in the borderless future truly benefits from a communicating past. Occasionally, whirling wind and shifting sands create versions of great men but some voluntarily try to *become* the historical variety made available to them. Goethe did so tracing his past in Hafez. He could not find it in India, China, Greece or somewhere else. He eventually ran across that justifiable expectation, somewhere serene, the Shiraz of Pars. He perceived the cure for the infectious malady, the reconciliation for the wounds and deformities war made Europe suffer from. How lucky he was, to heal the mass he roamed around, to love the way he felt to survive.

ای حافظ
سخن تو همچون ابدیت بزرگ است
زیرا آن را آغاز و انجامی نیست
کلام تو چون گنبد آسمان به خود وابسته است

میان غزلیات تو و تو فرقی نمی توان گذاشت
چه همه آن در حد کمال است
ای حافظ
تو آن سرچشمه فیاض شعر و نشاطی
که از آن هر لحظه موجی از پس موج دیگر برون می تراود
دهان تو همواره برای بوسه زدن
و لببت برای نغمه سرودن
و گلویبت برای باده نوشیدن
و دلنت برای مهر ورزیدن
آماده است
اگر هم دنیا به سر آید
آرزو دارم که تنها حافظ آسمانی
با تو باشم
و چون برادری توام در شادی و غمت شرکت کنم
همراه تو باده نوشم
و چون تو عشق بورزم
زیرا که این افتخار زندگی من و مایه حیات من است .
گوته، دیوان شرقی

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Notes

¹ The abbreviation C.E. stands for the Christian Era

² Hamann had a profound influence on the German 'Storm and Stress' movement ,and on other contemporaries such as Herder and Jacobi; he impressed Hegel and Goethe (who called him the brightest head of his time) and was a major influence on Kierkegaard. His influence continued on twentieth century German thinkers ,particularly those interested in language. His popularity has increased dramatically in the last

few decades amongst philosophers, theologians, and German studies scholars around the world. (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)

³ German philosopher, critic, and clergyman, b. East Prussia. Herder was an enormously influential literary critic and a leader in the *Sturm und Drang* movement. After an impoverished childhood, he studied theology at Königsberg and came under the influence of Kant. During an appointment at Riga, Herder gained attention with his *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur* [fragments concerning current German literature (1767)]. In 1776 he became court preacher at Weimar through the influence of Goethe, whose work was greatly affected by Herder's ideas, particularly by his *Über den Ursprung der Sprache* [on the origin of language] (1772). In this treatise Herder held that language and poetry are spontaneous necessities of human nature, rather than supernatural endowments. At Weimar, Herder became the leading theorist of German romanticism and a contributor to the most brilliant court of the era. There he produced his anthology of foreign folk songs, *Stimmen der Völker* (1779–1784) and also made some of the earliest studies of comparative philology, comparative religion, and mythology. His vast work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1785–1791) tr. *Outlines of the Philosophy of Man* (1800), developed a major evolutionary approach to history in which he propounded the uniqueness of every historical age. (*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 2004: 21789)

⁴ From J.S.C. Abbot's translation of Napoleon's letter to king George III of England of Napoleon's assumption of his office of the first consul of France, when Napoleon wrote as under, "called, Sire, by the wishes of the French people to occupy the first magistracy of this illustrious nation, I do hereby deem it fit to address your Majesty in person and to appeal to you in the name of bleeding humanity to put an end to this war"

⁵ For knowing the implication of "real man" we have to go to the most ancient thought-back to the days when Greek philosophers discovered a regularity in nature and concluded that its governing principle was reasoning mind. And, when under the prompting of Socrates, they turned to consider man and ascribed a high value to his intellectual powers. During the 17th and the 18th centuries, a period which overlaps the age Goethe, there was a movement of thought and belief. It claimed assent among Europeans intellectuals of that known as "Enlightenment", and which attacked established ways of European liege and in its conviction that right reason could discover useful knowledge, aspired to the conquest of man's happiness through freedom. This movement was concerned with the inter-related concepts of God, reason, as seen through the light of ancient thought and philosophy. By calling Goethe a 'real man' he praised his right reason and high intellectual power.

⁶ See also the following couplets from Hafez.

عاشقي را كه چنين باده شبگير دهند كافر عشق بود گر نشود باده پرست

Nightly drinks of wine are the food of lovers. If a lover is not fond of drinks, he is an unbeliever in the domain of love.

⁷ Curmudgeon is a bad tempered, miserly person. Goethe is referring to the dislike of others for his over drinking. When he asks for more wine the angry waiter almost bangs the jug in front of him.

Goethe enters, with sympathetic ease, into the spirit of Hafez's drinking songs, for he was a heavy and enthusiastic wine-drinker even by the standards of his age.

⁸ **Korah, named Qaroon** in the Quran, was one of the **Levites**, as was Moses, and shared a grandfather, **Kohaith**. This meant he was one of Moses' cousins. He was a leader among the rebellious Levites, according to the Bible, because of his immense wealth. He was so wealthy that even the keys of his treasury needed several men to carry them. He was also an arrogant person given to spreading mischief and corruption among the people. According to the Bible, he went as far as to incite his followers to question Moses' authority, claiming that he usurped the priestly right to transmit God's message to the people. According to the Quran and Prophetic narrations, he assumed he had been blessed with wealth because of his intrinsic worthiness as a man of knowledge.

⁹ West-Ostlicher Divan Hejra-migration. Translation by David Luke P. 232 from Her Omnipresence

¹⁰ The sweetheart Goethe is referring to is Frau Marianne Von Willmer. As the visit he is talking about is vicarious, he imagines Marianne also in the garb of an eastern beauty

¹¹ Ghazal 142, couplet 2

¹² Ghazal 237, couplet 1

Divan-e-Hafez, Reza Jalali & Nazir

¹³ Ali Dashti's Naghshi az Hafez

¹⁴ Ghazal 170

¹⁵ Ghazal 194 couplet 1, Diwzn Hafez, Reza Jalali & Nazir

¹⁶ Ghazal 194, couplet 2

¹⁷ Ghazal 255, couplet 11

¹⁸ Ghazal 157, couple 7

¹⁹ Storm and Stress, movement in German literature that flourished from c.1770 to c.1784. It takes its name from a play by F. M. von Klinger, *Wirrwarr; oder, Sturm und Drang*. (1776) The ideas of Rousseau were a major stimulus of the movement, but it evolved more immediately from the influence of Herder,

Lessing, and others. With Sturm und Drang, German authors became cultural leaders of Europe, writing literature that was revolutionary in its stress on subjectivity and on the unease of man in contemporary society. The movement was distinguished also by the intensity with which it developed the theme of youthful genius in rebellion against accepted standards, by its enthusiasm for nature, and by its rejection of the rules of 18th-century neoclassical style. The great figure of the movement was Goethe, who wrote its first major drama ,*Götz von Berlichingen*, (1773) and its most sensational and representative novel ,*The Sorrows of Young Werther* .(1774) Other writers of importance were Klopstock, J. M. R. Lenz, and Friedrich Müller. The last major figure was Schiller, whose *Die Räuber* and other early plays were also a prelude to romanticism. (*The Columbia Encyclopedia,2004: 45694*)

²⁰ Ref. To Rumi's famous poem beginning with *گمان را يك پر است، علم را دو پر* in which he explains that mere talent has but one wing whereas knowledge has two wings and that talent without knowledge is like a bear-shouldered flying creature which faces all the horrors of falls and pitfalls; but whose wings are fledged when he gains all pervasive knowledge and he goes into space with ease and felicity.

²¹ An early explanatory proposal of development by Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744 - 1803), is an analogous model for historical evolution, presented in the book *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1791). He explained that human history is to be regarded as a set of independent "cultures" which are born, grow up, bloom ,decay and die.

²² Ghazal 199, Couplet 7, *Divan-Hafez*, edited by Reza Jallali & Nazer

²³ Migration (David Luke's translation)

²⁴ Rubaiyat-e-Bal-e-Gibreel, Iqbal

²⁵ Translated from Persian translation of Dr. Shuja'ud-Din Shafa

²⁶ Translation by David Luke, P. 237

²⁷ Page 231, *The Divan*, edited by David Luke

²⁸ Couplet No.2, Ghazal 428, *Divan-e-Hafez*, Reza Jalali & Nazer

²⁹ On the meter of Ghazal 300 *ibid*

³⁰ Couplet No.1., Ghazal No.263 Reza & Jalali & Nazer

³¹ Ghazal No01, Couplet No.2, *ibid*

³² This is the author's own comment

³³ Couplet 6, Ghazal 1, Divan-e-Hafez

³⁴ Ghazal 429, Couplet 6

³⁵ Couplet No. 3

³⁶ Ghazal 265

³⁷ Divan-e-Hafez, Reza Jalali and Nazer, Ghazal 157, couplet 7

³⁸ Ghazal 166, Couplet 7, *ibid.* Another fine on this subject also appears in ghazal 157 and reads as under

³⁹ Divan-e- Hafez, edited by Reza Jalali and Nazer, Ghazal 240, couplet 1

⁴⁰ Ghazal 197, couplet 7

⁴¹ Ghazal 162, couplet 7

⁴² This scene is very much like the flower-bower of Mussalla, so often described by Hafez; as also the landscape of the rising hills of Shiraz beyond Hafezieh

⁴³ Ghazal No. 328, Couplet No. 6, Reza Jalali and Nazer (Divan-e-Hafez)

Aspects of the Phono- Graphological Design in Soyinka's 'Faction.'

By Ayo Ogunsiji

Introduction

The term 'faction' is a portmanteau word, which according to Tulloch (1991), was coined in the late sixties in the United States to refer to novels based on real or historical events. But in the eighties, the term was extended to dramatized television documentaries sometimes called docudrama or drama-docs.

Also, Emenyonu (1991:133) takes 'faction' to be the art of "juxtaposing facts, real and identifiable, with fiction". He asserts that faction is the latest trend in Nigerian novel and that it is evident in Soyinka's *Isara* (1989). According to him, Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* (1988) also shows some traces of faction. Specifically, he attributes the emergence of the genre as a dominant feature in contemporary Nigerian fiction such as Kole Omotoso's *Just Before Dawn* (1988). As this critic reasons, the desire to satirize in a more direct and clear manner in order to reform the society more effectively may have been one of the motivations for the growing popularity of faction in the Nigerian literary scene. But I am apprehensive of the trend of turning fiction into the documentation of social history, with a shift of emphasis and focus from the imaginary to the factual. In this paper, I examine some phono-graphological aspects of meaning-making in Soyinka's *Ake*, *Isara* and *Ibadan* – the texts that can be regarded as 'factional' works.

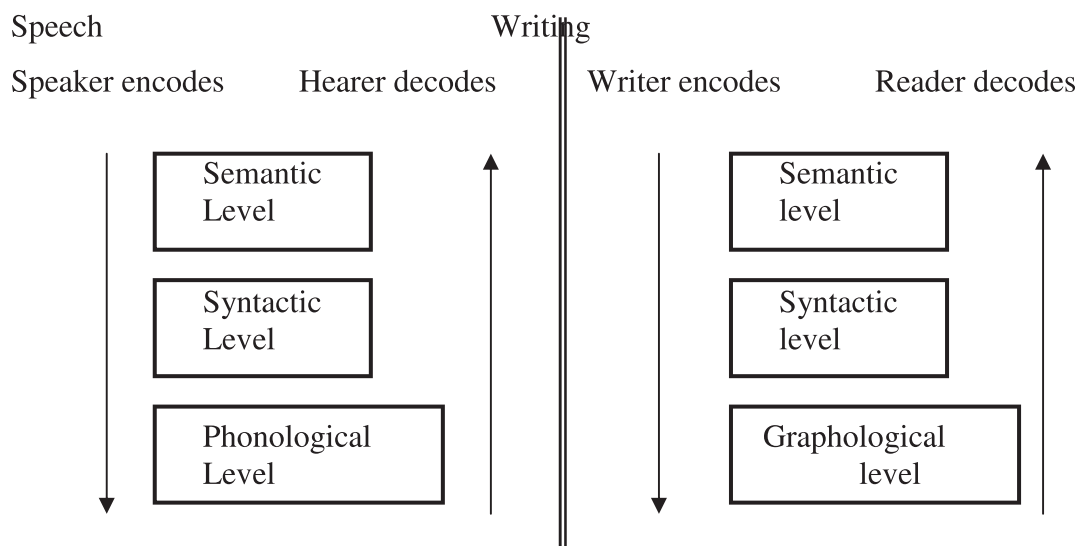
Theoretical Framework

This paper is linguistic stylistic in orientation and it is hinged on the principles of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (see Halliday 1985). Within this tradition, linguistic events are approached and explained at some inter-related levels, incorporating the primary levels of substance, form and context. Substance is made up of the phonic and the graphic materials of language realized by phonology and graphology respectively; form incorporates grammar and lexis while context relates language form to the

non-linguistic features (Tomori 1977:44-45).

Systemic functional linguistics recognizes the formal and the situational dimensions of language description. At the formal level, meaningful patterning at phonological/graphological, grammatical and lexico-semantic sub-levels are accounted for, while at the situational level, the contextual variables of language events are brought to light. In other words, the systemic functional model is both structural and functional (Martin, Matheissen and Painter 1997).

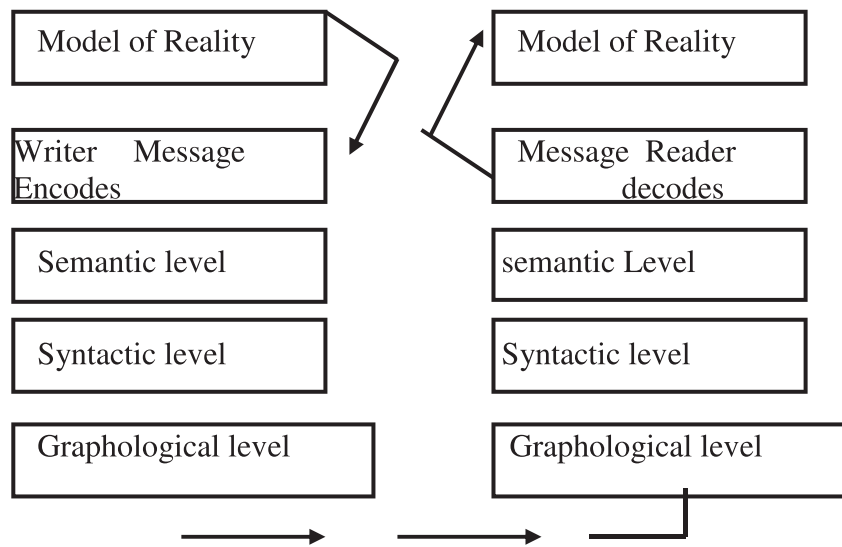
Working within this tradition, Leech and Short (1981) identify four levels of language description: syntax, semantics, phonology and graphology. Syntax and phonology form the expression plane and interact to bring out meaning which is the pre-occupation of semantics. According to them, graphology is an alternative form of realization to phonology. Although phonological features can be said to be remote in a written text, they are still not irrelevant. Spellings can be exploited to suggest some phonological features and these will be more prominent when the text is read aloud. Leech and Short describe the levels of organization in speech and writing thus:



(Leech and Short 1981:121)

In speech and writing, the process of encoding is top-down – the speaker or writer has some meaning to express and puts it in words in a specific order realizable by sounds or letters. The process of decoding is the other way round, from sounds or letters arranged in a specific order to the level of meaning. This process is bottom-up.

With specific reference to the analysis of fiction, Leech and Short (1981:126) defines the levels of language organization thus:



I interpret Leech and Short's 'model of reality' as being subsumed under contexts of situation and culture. In text encoding, the writer, based on a model of reality, conceives of a message expressible in the form of meanings realizable by syntax and graphology. In text decoding, the procedure is turned round. The Systemic Functional Grammar is very relevant to this scheme because it directly focuses on meanings. Language, as far as Halliday is concerned, is a system of meanings, and people's language acts exhibited in language use are manifestation of meanings (Bloor and Bloor 1995:1). In accounting for meaning, Halliday, according to Phillips, (2007:7-8) "charts a triadic boundary between ...substance (phone or graph), text (grammatical and lexical organisation) and context (linking the text to the "extra- textual" environment of the event itself). Necessarily, in order to capture the manifestations of meanings, a pluralistic approach – the type advocated by the Systemic Functional Linguistics – becomes a desideratum. As Fairclough (1995:4) observes, the written texts are "increasingly becoming multi-semiotic", exploiting photographs, diagrams, sound effects and other forms of graphic design.

Soyinka's *Ake*, *Isara* and *Ibadan* Contextualized

Ake (1981) is a narration of the childhood experience of Wole, the child of Ayodele and Eniola Soyinka. The story covers the first eleven years of Wole's life, up to the time he is about to enter the Government College, Ibadan. In addition to being the childhood story of Wole, *Ake* is also the story of the people, events and places that have some effects on Wole Soyinka's early life experience. The story tells about the Christian family background of Wole Soyinka represented by the parsonage at *Ake* and the traditional background which is symbolized largely by his grand-father called 'father' as well as the small town of *Isara*. The text is a good background to the life and personality of Wole Soyinka as well as his later writings.

Isara (1989) goes back to about ten years before the birth of Wole to tell the story of his father who is called Akinyode Soditan (Essay). The narrative is therefore a biography. It is a reconstruction of the lives of Akinyode Soditan and other members of the circle – the educated elite of Isara, the products of Ilesa Teacher Training Seminary, styled “Ex-iles”.

In *Ibadan* (1994) Soyinka resumes the narration of his life experience, this time covering his boyhood and manhood experiences, right from his government college days in Ibadan, his studentship at the University of Leeds up to his return to Nigeria as an activist to face struggles against what he considers to be repressive forces, both within the University and the larger Nigerian society.

The three texts blend fact with fiction, making references to real historical events, real people and places etc. But the events, people, and places are imaginatively rendered to the extent that they cannot be seen as mere historical documentations.

Phonological Analysis

As a poet, Soyinka exploits some sound devices to achieve certain effects and create aesthetic appeal in his ‘Faction’. An examination of how this is done is our pre-occupation in this section.

Sound Repetition

Repetition of sounds is one important poetic feature that re-echoes throughout *Ake*, *Isara* and *Ibadan*. This is largely in form of alliteration and assonance. For example, in *Ake* the features show up in such expressions as “*Strode Straight*” (p.1); “falling off faster and faster” (p.77). Examples also abound in *Isara* as seen in “wide, wild world” (p.19); ‘Psalming Soundlessly’ (p.170); ‘Stood stock-still’ (pp.190, 232). And in *Ibadan* we have such instances as ‘bolder than the boulders’ (p.16); ‘bloated British bourgeoisie’ (p. 26); ‘British breed’ (p.39); ‘big black buck’ (p.60); ‘far from family’ (p.89). With such an artistic deployment of alliterations and assonance, the narratives achieve effective and vivid descriptions besides the aesthetic joy they offer us. In addition, they appeal to our sense of hearing, especially when read aloud. A similar effect is created with sound duplications that are onomatopoeic e.g. ‘Kitipa-kitipa’ (*Ake* p.7); ‘garapa-garapa’ (p.142); ‘bente-bente’ (p.181). In *Ibadan*, while describing a man’s beer drinking from the bottle, Soyinka writes ‘glug-glug-glug’ (p.31). This is an effective onomatopoeia that serves a descriptive purpose.

Reinterpretation of Sounds

In Soyinka's 'faction' some sounds of English are re-interpreted in the light of Yoruba sounds. In *Ake*, the name Mccutter is rendered as 'Makota' (p.39) to conform to the Yoruba consonant – vowel sequence and avoid consonant clusters. In this process of sounds re-interpretation, the phenomena of sound substitution and vowel insertion are embedded. The central vowels /ɪ/ and /ə/ in the name are replaced with /o/ and /a/ respectively, while the vowel /a/ is also inserted between the bilabial nasal /m/ and the voiceless velar /k/. The child, Wole, is used to the Yoruba version or rendition of the name i.e. Makota, until he encounters the original spelling of the name as Mccutter when he ventures outside *Ake* parsonage to follow a band to town. In a similar manner, the Hausa traders who used to patronize *Ake* parsonage also render the word 'trousers' as 'torosa' (p.47). This may have been as a result of the influence of the Yoruba language on them.

Similarly, in *Isara*, the European name 'Gollmer' is said to be reduced to 'Goloba' (p.160) in Egbaland. Rev and Mrs. Gollmer are said to have accompanied Rev. Henry Townsend during his second visit to the area. The rendition of Gollmer as 'Goloba' is to avoid the consonant cluster in the name and replace it with the Yoruba phonological feature of consonant – vowel sequence. The rendition – Goloba – may also be suggestive of the physical configurations of the bearers e.g. in terms of hugeness. In like manner, Tugwell is rendered as 'Togiwe' (p.210). And in *Ibadan* there is the rendition of 'French' as 'faranse' (p.350).

In *Isara* sound re-interpretation attains a very humorous dimension. For example, in expressing perhaps the unfamiliarity of foreign names, Efuape renders Wade Cudeback (Soditan's pen-pal) as 'Cade Wooden back' (p.232). This creates humour and, in addition, may be indicative of the Yoruba people's somewhat negative attitude to the European 'intruders'. Efuape's comment that follows the rendition: "... or whatever he calls himself" tends to support this interpretation. It is along this line that we can also interpret the rendition of Mr. Carter as 'Mr. Kata-kata', which seems to suggest confusions or problems and may also imply the Ijebu people's negative and uncomplimentary attitude towards Mr. Carter, a colonial officer in Ijebu area (208).

In the text, the citation of a list of names of foreign companies (probably Italian) also reflects humorous sound re-interpretation. Such names include 'Signore Porta Agostino & Co.' 'Messers Beila, Instituto Americale Lanieri X Italiano, via Allesandro Manzone Milano', 'Montarnari Caro Esq.; 12 via Morigi..' (p.102). 'Benito Paserelli' and 'Padua' are reinterpreted in the light of the Ijebu dialect of the Yoruba language (p.103) thus: 'B'eni to p'ase r'eni p'adua ('As one who feasts us so dead tired, we fall to prayers'). Such is the way Sipe Efuape reinterprets such names of his Italian trade partners as 'Benito' – 'B'eni to se' ('As one who can do it...'); 'Milano' – 'emi sipe re me lano' ('indeed it is I, sipe who blazes the path') (p.52). Such a humorous sound re-interpretation also occurs in *Ake* as seen in Wole's grandfather's reduction of the standard six certificate usually called 'As Amended' to 'Asamende' (p.142). This phenomenon is common among the old illiterate speakers of Yoruba as examples such as 'Adonka' (I don't care), 'monowaa' (man-of-war) etc in real life situations illustrate. Such is also the case with a driver's rendition of 'Gentleman' as 'Genturuman' in *Isara* (p.68).

Observe here that sound re-interpretation is a phenomenon of language contact situation in which there is a strong tendency to interpret unfamiliar sounds in the light of the familiar ones. Also sound re-interpretation is seen here as being akin to what Allan (1986:247) calls ‘folk etymology’. But at times, sound re-interpretation may be employed for satirical purposes as seen in Chief Akintola’s punning with the names of some Igbo politicians and the public figures in *Ibadan* e.g. ‘Ikiniani, Ikejiani, Iketaani... Ikefaani... s’omo t’iwa na o gbodo ni ni’ (p.20). Soyinka translates this thus: the first will own, the second will own, the third... the ...! Is there any law which says that our own children also should not own? (p.201). Chief Akintola’s re-naming of the politician, S. G. Ikoku, as ‘Ikoko’ (Hyena) also illustrates re-interpretation of sound, with vowel mutation (p.201). A similar re-interpretation of names based on sounds is reflected in Chief Akintola’s reference to such Yoruba names as ‘oredeyin’ ‘Ademeyin’, ‘Oguntimeyin’, ‘Lanlehin’...’ as a bunch of losers, those doomed to come last in all things’ (p.20). This last example illustrates the fact that familiar sounds can be given another interpretations so as to create some effects.

Elongation of Sounds

There is in our data a phenomenon that may be described as elongation of sounds. It functions as a feature of speech as well as an indication of emphasis. The phenomenon is realized by unusual spellings such as ‘We-e-ll’ (Ake p.56); ‘Oge-e-ee’ (p.200); ‘Ze-e-e-e-k’ (p.200); ‘Bee-e-e-e-e-e-re’ (for Beere – Mrs Ransome Kuti) (p.210); ‘Dao-o-o-o-o-o-o-o- o’ (for Daodu – Rev. Ransome Kuti) (p.171). This process of sound elongation also recurs in *Ibadan* e.g. ‘A-zee-kee-e-we’ (p.731), occurring in Madame Evanti’s special song rendered in honour of Azikiwe; ‘dooo’ (p.74), in the manner of Madame Evanti’s pronunciation; ‘... a ba-a-a-d son’ (p.7) etc. More properly, perhaps, we can describe this phenomenon as lengthening of vowels.

Sound Elision

The phenomenon of omitting a unit of sound or even a syllable; which I regard here as a feature of speech can be identified in *Ake* and *Isara*. Apart from being a feature of speech, we take it as a way of achieving economy of form (or sound). Some examples in the texts include ‘Ma’am’ (Ake p.84); ‘His’ry’ (*Isara* p.215); ‘Ba’tola’ (p.190); ‘Ba’tune’ (p.34).

Addition of the Vowel /o/ at the end of an Utterance

This phenomenon of adding the vowel /o/ at the end of an utterance seems to be a feature of Nigerian English and it is an attempt to create an emphasis. Examples of the feature are discernible in *Ake* and

Ibadan e.g. ‘come and hear this o’ *Ibadan* (p.142). ‘Sorry o’ (p.210); ‘Hey look o, just look this man o’, (p.338). When they carry their protest against economic exploitation to Alake, a representative of the women in her speech affirms; ‘special o, ordinary o, levy o, poll o... the women of Egba say, NO MORE TAX... (Ake p.208).

Graphological Analysis

Relevant graphological features that we shall consider relate mostly to punctuation marks and these include capitalization, italicization, hyphenation and dotting. Other relevant features of graphology are spelling and cartooning. The utilization of these features in the texts under consideration has some semantic and stylistic implications as shall be revealed in the following analysis. In fact, the stylistic deployment of certain graphological resources of language is a common feature of African literary works. For example, Okunoye and Odeunmi (2003:293) have also observed that Achebe makes special use of some print marks like italicization and capitalization, among others, in *A Man of the People* and *Anthills of the Savannah* to achieve some stylistic effects.

Capitalization

In our texts, capitalization is a common graphological feature used as a foregrounding device. In *Ake* some expressions are foregrounded in capital prints for prominence and emphasis. Such include inscription on sign-posts bearing place identification: ‘MRS. T BANJOKO LONDON – TRAINED SEWING MISTRESS’ (p.40). (Ironically, the dresses worn by the pupils of this institute which must have been sewn there are said to be ‘shapeless’). Some other sign-posts include those bearing ‘LAFENWA’, ‘IGBEIN’ (p.41) ‘ABEOKUTA GRAMMAR SCHOOL’ (p.43). Also, appearing in capital letters are the inscriptions on the embroidered, framed and glazed homilies hung on the wall at Soyinka’s residence at Ake among which read thus: ‘REMEMBER NOW THY CREATOR IN THE DAYS OF THY YOUTH; ‘EBENEZER HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US’, ‘HONOUR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER’ etc (p.94). These homilies are not mere decorations – the inscriptions they bear are more or less religious injunctions which produce some effects on the children; they help us define the religious mood at Soyinka’s residence at Ake.

Also, for emphasis and perhaps thematic purpose, the word CHANGE(S) is capitalized on pages 82, 93, 94 and 95 of *Ake*. It refers to-physical changes like the arrangement of household objects as well as emotional changes like that caused by the death of Folasade on her first birthday.

In a similar way, the expression “NO MORE TAX” (p.208) which is more or less the catch – phrase of the woman protesters against any form of taxation is foregrounded in bold prints to underscore its

significance. In addition, capital letters occur in some unusual places in *Ake* e.g. ‘Birthday’ (pp.29, 30) and ‘Temperature’ (pp. 66, 80). The initial capital ‘B; of ‘birthday’ when it is not at the beginning of a sentence seems to personify the word and express the importance which the children attach to it. The same thing applies to the word ‘Temperature’, treated as if it were a proper noun.

It is with the same thematic and stylistic purpose that capitalization is employed in *Isara*. While on board a train to the seminary teachers training college at Ilesa, with Damian, the Edo boy, accompanying him, Akinyode’s mind flashes back to Damian’s suicide attempt not long after his arrival at *Isara* – he attempts to purchase raw soda and drink. Damian’s reason for this is not known but ‘THE QUESTION’ (p.140) motivation for the suicide attempt. Foregrounding “THE QUESTION” in capitals continues to agitate Akinyode’s mind – he wants to find out from Damian his expresses the heavy weight which it carries. The same thing also applies to the instruction in the train ‘NEVER LEAN OUT OF THE WINDOW!’ (p.16).

Another instance of the use of capitalization for emphasis is seen in Mr. Beckley’s statement ‘I am NOT sitting down...’ (p.119) addressed to Mr. Soditan. The former had visited the latter to complain about the beating of his son. Upon being requested to take a seat, Mr. Beckley makes this response. The capitalization of NOT in the response indicates the placement of the emphatic stress on the item – it indicates Mr. Beckley’s unwillingness to accept the offer and expresses his disapproval of Mr. Soditan’s action in punishing the young man. Also in *Isara* unconventional capitalization is adopted to show Tenten’s low literacy level (p.79).

In *Ibadan*, there is the continuity in the use of capitalization for emphasis e.g. ‘PARTY POLITICS’ (p.198); ‘SWANSTON ... SWANSTON’ (p.111). Just as the words “Birthday” and “Temperature” are treated with initial capitals, “Freedom”, a common noun, starts with an initial capital letter to indicate its significance and draws attention to it (p.88). Also in this text, capitalization is employed to indicate abbreviations e.g. SGNN (p.64), meaning ‘Self Government for Nigeria Now’ ‘NCNC’ (p.65) meaning ‘National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Abbreviations for the names of some other political parties in capital letters include NNDP (p.336); UPGA (p.336); NPC (p.240); NEPU (p.24); NNA (p.241). As Adejare (1992:65) says, the use of capital letters other than in their conventional places is a features of philosophical texts. Thus, Soyinka’s *Ake*, *Isara* and *Ibadan*, like most of his works, are philosophical to some degree.

Italicization

Loan words and expressions are foregrounded in italics in the three texts, especially Yoruba words and expressions e.g. *egungun* (*Ake* p.1); *iwin*, *igbagbo* (p.7); *agidi*, *saara* (p.11). In *Isara* examples also abound e.g. *akowe* (p.12); *abiamo* (p.17); *edan* (p.1213); *arodan*, *osugbo* (p.235). In *Ibadan* the same style continues e.g. *agidigbo* (p.183); *opelenge* (183); *ewedu* (p.182); *adire* (p.182); *oge* (p.151); *awawi* (p.25) etc. Some expressions from other languages like French also appear in italics e.g. *cherie*, *tricitteuse*, *Monsieerur* (*Ibadan* p. 62) *boum – boum* (*Ake* p.2); *eloi*, *eloi lama sabaktani* (Greek) (*Isara* p.67). In

addition, titles of journals, dailies and magazines are italicized. Examples include the *Mail*, *Times Pilot*, *The World Review* (*Isara* p.177); *Daily Times* (*Ibadan* p.169). Marian's letter to her son, Akinyode, is also put in italics to set it out from the rest of the narrative (*Isara* pp 77- 80).

Like quotation marks, italicization is adopted at times to mark off direct speech as it is the case with 'Iya Agba's speech while talking about the way she wishes to be buried.' (*Isara* p.30). The use of italics and quotation marks to indicate direct speech provides stylistic variation – free direct speech appears in italics while dialogues are put in quotation marks. (*Isara* pp.30-31). In *Ake*, italicization also serves the purpose of indicating what goes on in the mind of a character but which is not articulated (p.99).

Asterisks

In the three texts, the author employs the asterisks in the glossary to make the translations or interpretations of non-English expressions (these appear as footnotes). The use of asterisks in this manner is a common feature of the texts.

Dots

Dots appear as another common graphological device in *Ake*, *Isara* and *Ibadan*. In these texts, dots indicate ellipsis and serve to achieve economy of space e.g. "He hides among the bougainvillea..." (*Ake* p.8); 'The others took it up, Osiki supplying a ko-ko-ti-ko- ko...ko-ko-ti-ko-ko-beat' (p.31); 'In... out ...in ... out ...breathing deeply' (p.77); 'Wait wait wait... padua...padua' (*Isara* p.103); 'Gossypium Brasillewe... Ishan type Gossypium... South African US\$... Vinifera Afr...' (*Isara* p.14); 'Aim... hat's it.. and press..' (*Ibadan* p.211); 'I mean, technology is not all bad when you think of it...' (*Ibadan* p.280). Throughout the texts, dots perform both dialogic and narrative purposes; dialogic when occurring in dialogues and narrative when appearing within the authorial narrative.

Hyphenation

Compounding with hyphenation features prominently in Soyinka's 'Faction'. He utilizes hyphenation to form both simple and complex compound words. Examples include: "No size in London" (*Ake* p.14); "LONDON-TRAINED" (*Ake* p.40); "win-de-War" (p.111); "strictly – between – parents" (p.85); "more – than willing" (*Ibadan* p.11); 'barman-cum- bouncer' (p.31); 'that – which – grows – tall – without-sense' (p.127); 'Lesser – than – grandshi-d-of-theirs' (p.172); 'boy-meets-girls-familiars-embrace-one-another' (p.224). There is syllabification also done with hyphenation to create emphasis e.g. "ig-no-ra-mus" (*Ibadan*

p.205).

Omission of the full-stop

In *Ake* the omission of the full-stop where it should be is observable in the speech of one of the boys of Abeokuta Grammar School, nicknamed 'IKU' (Death) when he assumes the role of a lawyer before Rev. Kuti, the Principal of the school. The following illustrates this:

I concluded principal, and there no time like now because action speaks louder than words, time and tide waited for no man opportunity once lost cannot be regained a stitch in time saves nine... (*Ake* p.174)

The omission of the full-stops in this question is to make it resemble law discourse which the speaker attempts to imitate. The scanty use of the stop is characteristic of legal documents.

Spellings

As observed under elongation of sounds, unorthodox spelling is employed to create certain sound effects e.g. doo for do (*Ibadan* p.74); ba-a-a-d for bad (*Ibadan* p.7); we-e-ll for well (*Ake* p.56). Apart from this, unorthodox spelling is used to mark out some characters as it is the case with Tenten, the carpenter whose incompetent sign-writing skill is brought out by the way he spells some words e.g. "ADEbabs FATUKA-LETTER WRITER AND CoffeeDetial SPECKeries. All epistolary and DocUMental MATTERS UnderTaking" (*Isara* p.79). The author goes to reveal that Tenten's sign writing venture had attracted only two patrons and the 'results showed very clearly that he was neither gifted nor more than barely literate' (*Isara* p.82)

Also in *Ake*, unusual spellings perform a similar function. For example, the white officer that Wole meets when he ventures outside Ake parsonage to follow a police band to town, addressing Wole, says; "... That is venhrry clenver..." "What can I doon for you" (p.46). Here, Soyinka utilizes spelling to show the white man's habit of using the intrusive alveolar nasal /n/ after a vowel to nasalize the vowel. The white man is thus said "to speak through his nose" (p.46). In addition, the man renders Wole as "Wonlay" and realizes "what is your name". As 'Whaznnamee'?' (p.47). A similar thing happens with a humorous character who is almost a glutton, nicknamed "You-Mean-Mayself" as a result of his mannerism of responding: "Oh you – mean-may self? Ny-ou" whenever asked "Have you had your breakfast? He renders "Myself" as "Mayself" and "no" as "ny-ou" (p.117) and the author captures this in the spellings. This is an instance of spelling and sound interacting to indicate some peculiar mannerisms and create humour. Such is the manner in which Soyinka records the peculiar pronunciation of Maren's Cameroonian student friend in

Ibadan. To the boy, “money” is “monee” and “big” is “bee” (p.44) and “is” is rendered as “eez” (pp.40, 41). Madame Eventi’s peculiar pronunciation is also captured in the same way as shown thus: “But that eez eemposseablay. The tribute would be ruined. It seems one single piece. The spirit will be destroyed eef...” (*Ibadan* p.74).

Cartooning

At the end of Soyinka’s *Ibadan*, a cartoon is used as a graphic illustration of the ‘penkelemes’ that engulfs the western region. The cartoon is that of a chief regarded by the people as a collaborator in the Ijero massacre and consequently nailed to a tree. Ironically, the cartoon bears the title ‘greetings’ and below it there is the inscription ‘No blood flows’ which ridicules or satirizes the government’s claim at the press conference after the massacre in Ijero that “No blood flows”. Soyinka writes a poem of six stanzas with three lines each on the episode, alluding to Christ’s crucifixion on the cross. But unlike Christ, the nailed chief is said to be a “Saviour self-elect” (p.381). The chief is nailed with a six-inch nail and Soyinka’s poem on the episode is in six stanzas.

Conclusion

Meaning permeates all the levels of language description. In this paper, I have shown how Soyinka exploits some aspects of the phonic and the graphic substance of language to achieve some specific thematic and stylistic effects in *Ake*, *Isara* and *Ibadan*. Considering the phono-graphological devices in the texts, it becomes apparent that the texts are multi-semiotic in nature, with multi-layered meanings which can be better appreciated within the tradition of the formal-functional perspective of language description. The combination of phono-graphological features in the texts appeals to our sense of seeing and hearing and confirms Eagleton’s (1983:128) observation that:

...Meaning is scattered or dispersed along the whole chain of signifiers. It cannot be easily nailed down; it is never fully present in any one sign alone...

Moreover, the aesthetic deployment of phono-graphological features in the texts contributes to the “genre-bending ...force” (Jeyifo 2004:39) that is discernible in Soyinka’s works. His prose writing, for example, is imbued with poetic and dramatic echoes.

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Cyborg Ontology in *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* On the Road to Consciousness: The Red Shark, The White Whale & Reading The Textual Body.

By Tom Murphy

Introduction

In *On The Road*, Jack Kerouac's 1957 text, exploration and understanding are integral aspects that lead to enlightenment.¹ The road per say, is the location of divinity that unfolds before their eyes, providing *understanding*, in which the steering wheel that Dean and Sal use to drive forward in cars is itself the wheel of life and the altar of enlightenment. On their final road trip, Sal relates conscious moments of enlightenment as they drive in Mexico.

Dean and I had the whole of Mexico before us. "Now, Sal, we're leaving everything behind us and entering a new and unknown phase of things. ...and *understand* the world as, really and genuinely speaking, other Americans haven't done before us" (emphasis texts 226).

I was alone in my eternity at the wheel, and the road ran straight as an arrow. Not like driving across Carolina, or Texas, or Arizona, or Illinois; but like driving across the world and into the places where we would finally learn ourselves among the Fellahin Indians of the world, the essential strain of the basic primitive, wailing humanity that stretches in a belt around the equatorial belly of the world. (229)

Kerouac unfolds "*understanding*" as a combination of the road and the wheel coming together as divine events that allows enlightenment. However, the quest for enlightenment in cars changed with two cultural events: first, the invention of the integrated circuit by Jack Kilby in 1958 and separately by Robert Noyce in 1959² and second, the assassination of JFK in Dallas in 1963. The fallout of these two events

not only lead us to, but also enhanced Hunter S. Thompson's 1971 *Fear and Loathing In Las Vegas: A Savage Journey to the Heart of the American Dream*. The characters Raoul Duke and his lawyer Dr. Gonzo journey in "the Red Shark" and "the White Whale," two cars that have named loci in which the counterculture's consciousness becomes not only grounded but accessible as we read these mobile hybrid human/car texts. Indeed the car has become monstrous in "Part One" and shifts towards a cyborg identity in "Part Two."

The intergraded circuit is the linchpin of cyborg ontology and Thompson's text illustrates the specification differences of the red Chevrolet convertible (the Great Red Shark) and the white Cadillac Coup de Ville (the White Whale). The intergraded circuit modifies the human/car automaton actions that become a closed loop system, which allows data flow throughout the cybernetic system and consequently permits the White Whale, Dr. Gonzo and Raoul Duke to become a single cybernetic system more causally called a cyborg. This paper's triptych aim includes discussion of a fundamental change in the third machine age that includes consciousness—the new cyborg consciousness, mapping Thompson's place in cyborg ontology, and the importance of the human/car hybrid shift in postmodern texts.

Part I

Earlier, I mentioned a change in the third machine age that includes consciousness—the new cyborg consciousness—that enhances Thompson's classic text. First, I believe that I need to ground these terms before proceeding. In Frederic Jameson's *Postmodernism: Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, he states that Ernest Mandel "outlines" three steps of Capitalism based on technology:

The fundamental revolutions in power technology—the technology of the production of motive machines by machines—thus appears as the determinant moment in revolutions of technology as a whole. Machine production of steam- driven motors since 1848; machine production of electric and combustion motors since the 90s of the 19th century; machine production of electronic and nuclear- powered apparatuses since the 40s of the 20th century—these are the three general revolutions in technology engendered by the capitalist mode of production since the 'original' industrial revolution for the later 18th century.³ (Mandel as qtd. 35)

Jameson equates each of these Machine periods with capitalism and literature, and for our purposes, he links the third Machine age with Late Capitalism or Multinational Capitalism or as the term Postmodernism. On a completely different vector, Social Science and Technology (SST) experts Mimi Sheller and John Urry claim "Automobility is a complex amalgam of interlocking machines, social practices and ways of dwelling, not in a stationary home, but in a mobile, semi-privatized and hugely dangerous capsule"⁴ (739). This "dangerous capsule," colloquially known as a car, is much described as a "cocoon" and the human drivers as "monsters" in Deborah Lupton's "Monsters in Metal Cocoons: 'Road Rage' and Cyborg Bodies."⁵ Americans understand "road rage" as possibly an ephemeral moment; but what does really take

place and how does this map American character and, moreover, what do these constellations of violence indicate about American culture? American culture isn't cloaked in some densely woven fabric that can be lifted up to digitize the anatomy of the beast as the great American novel through metanarrative and yet it can be datatized through medical and military means of information system theory by using what Donna Haraway describes as "the metaphor C3I, command-control-communication-intelligence, the military's symbol for its operations theory" (164). Moreover, the cyborg consciousness even in the most mundane of circuits is always political, always economic, always libidinal and always productive.

Part II

In brief, *Fear and Loathing* is a post sixties tale of Raoul Duke, a freelance journalist, and Dr. Gonzo, his Samoan lawyer. The two characters cover two cultural events for journalism (3, 137)⁶. To travel from Los Angeles to Las Vegas, they rent a car on Duke's expense account. As most people are aware, the road trip is also a means and a reason for ingesting massive amounts of alcohol and drugs that contribute to the monstrous aspects of the car. Within Thompson's text, Duke identifies the cars they rent as amphibious animals he names the red Chevrolet convertible the *Great Red Shark* and the white Cadillac Coup de Ville convertible the *White Whale* (3, 106). Duke's name designations come about as a result from witnessing an auto accident early in the adventure. "[A] Stingray in front of us killed a pedestrian on Sunset Boulevard" (12-3). Duke consciously realizes that corporate America has taken a monstrous underwater killer and transformed it into a sleek amphibious killer that prowls the road. Moreover, Judith Butler states that "the name...functions as a kind of prohibition, but also as an enabling occasion" Duke and Dr. Gonzo's amphibious representations name the violent nature of the cars they rent. These car names have been chosen with great care; the first one represents a prehistoric predatory beast that never sleeps, and the second one represents Ahab's nemesis, God in the guise of the white whale, in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*.⁷ A shark and a whale are large sea monsters that have a history of killing people; even so, their becoming amphibious marks their body politic of difference.⁸

When the body politic converges as beast or as savage, as in the subtitle of the text, *A Savage Journey*, we witness the instability of the evolutionary cycle, cars and people becoming *unnatural* and *uncultured*. The monstrous body politic creates a codified commentary written upon its body. To understand this new car/human entity, we must examine how it is a body of difference, or as being monstrous. The Latin root of monster is the noun *monstrum* that means "sign, portent, wonder; warning; monster, monstrosity."⁹ Monsters are codified glyphs that indicate categorical crisis; monsters or the monstrous signify ruptures in dichotomous thinking.¹⁰ Even though the text breaks down into two parts, "Fear" and "Loathing," and the two cars coincide with this bifurcation,¹¹ The road binds the cultural/natural divisions together as the car/human monstrous body that finds it has not only achieved motility but now mobility as well and prowls the boundary. In "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," Jeffrey Jerome Cohen argues that to read culture through monsters one must first identify the bimodal narrative, "one that describes how the monster came to be and another, its testimony, detailing what cultural use the monster serves."¹² Monstrous

human/cars function as a warning in Thompson's text; a warning of "blood, torture, death and terror," as Jameson characterizes "the under belly of the global or the American economy."¹³ The bimodal narrative difference lies between the two cars' function in their spatial capacity; the *Great Red Shark's* narrative is one of interior projections that represents "how the monster came to be, while the *White Whale's* narrative is one of exterior projections that represents "what cultural use the monster serves."¹⁴ When speaking of projections, I literally mean all projections from a body, whether they are matter, as in solid, liquid, or gas; and/or language, as in verbal, written and thought. Each one of these types of projections is codified, that is they can be read as signs of the postmodern crisis of the American cultural body. These projections represent the monster's ability to be abject. That is to say, the all-consuming and contemptible monster is "quite close," but the cultural body cannot assimilate the monstrous body to silence or cloak its hideous being.¹⁵ In other words, the novel's characters and readers cannot avoid these monsters or their messages.

In the beginning of *Fear and Loathing*, Duke tries to tell their story to a hitchhiker they have picked up in the *Red Shark*, but his inarticulate condition caused by drugs and alcohol only scares the hitchhiker (3-8; 17-19). However, their story is *its* story, "how the monster came to be."¹⁶ *Its story* is the text that describes the birth of the two-headed monster with red shark body, as it grows together piece-by-piece and moves from L. A. to Vegas. Rather than grasping their story, the hitchhiker does not read the text of the monstrous birth. The hitchhiker lacks the cryptographer's key to interpret the monstrous narrative of the *Shark's* coded beginning and cannot hear the text "detailing what cultural use the monster serves," or the warning of the monster. Duke's inability to articulate within his coded language makes him self-conscious and thus makes conscious evaluation while speaking.

I leaned around in the seat and gave him a fine big smile...admiring the shape of his skull. [...] Was he gritting his teeth? "Can you *hear* me?" I yelled. He nodded. "That's good," I said. "Because I want you to know that we're on our way to Las Vegas to find the American Dream." I smiled. "That's why we rented this car. It was the only way to do it. Can you grasp that?" He nodded again, but his eyes were nervous. "I want you to have all the background," I said. "Because this is a very ominous assignment—with overtones of extreme personal danger. ... Hell, I forgot all about this beer; you want one?" He shook his head. "How about some ether?" I said. "What?" "Never mind." [...] I laughed and ripped open a beer can that foamed all over the back seat while I kept talking. (6)

Duke's communication breaks down by coding the monstrous car/human discursive projection with indecipherable terms that is indicated by the hitchhiker uttering the question "what?" when asked about "ether." In an attempt to somehow communicate, Duke tries another approach in which he exhibits inhuman strength in ripping the metal can open to project foaming or frothing that he pays no attention to because of his excitement of having an audience. However, the undercurrent here is that the hitchhiker has to pay attention to the monstrous foaming, in which the whole backseat that he occupies becomes completely engulfed and soaked by the beer. The beer projection as an attempt of communication serves only to push the hitchhiker further away until he leaves, in fear for his life. In this scene, the monstrous car/human body tries to incorporate a new piece unto its body, but quickly realizes that it will not fit and

rejects the piece (while at the same time adding the hitchhikers failed assimilation story to the cultural body). Furthermore, the fluid projection stays within the body and remains internalized until a catalyst exists. The *White Whale* becomes that catalyst because it contains “its testimony,” a warning of full cyborg consciousness.¹⁷

The hybridity of organism and machine through a cybernetic interface means nothing less than that the *White Whale*/Duke & Gonzo are a singular cyborg with data flowing communication as it roams the roads. Furthermore, Jameson states, “the most energetic postmodernist texts, and this is the sense that beyond all thematics or content the work seems somehow to tap the networks of the reproductive process and thereby to afford us some glimpse into a postmodern or technological sublime.”¹⁸ To unpack this concept, we should start with the differences between the *Shark* and the *Whale*. During the *Shark* for *Whale* exchange, Duke signifies that the *Shark* “manually” operates while within the *Whale* “everything was automatic” and “electric” (104, 119). The text describes the *White Whale* from the interior outward, “The dashboard was full of esoteric lights & dials & meters that I would never understand—but there was no doubt in my mind that I was into a *superior machine*” (text emphasis 104-5). The word “into” indicates that Duke is beyond the interior of the *Whale*, immersing himself into the whole body of the “*superior machine*.” Indeed, Duke’s immersion is not completely comprehensive, but he finds it more than acceptable as an interface. What Duke does not understand of these lights, gadgets etc., becomes clearer after examining the 1971 Cadillac Brochure.¹⁹ Some of the most interesting accessories are “Automatic Climate Control,” “Automatic Level Control” and “Track Master”; Track Master is the 1971 “Cadillac’s computerized rear-wheel skid-control braking system.”²⁰ In addition to Track Master, another interesting item is Cadillac’s first time offering of a generator with an “integral regulator.”²¹ The generator of a car regulates the electrical impulses throughout a car’s engine and electronic instruments much like the synaptic impulses of the human brain.²² As much as the human/car cyborg is a *closed-loop system*²³ so has Las Vegas become unto its own.

Duke’s narrative identifies the cultural situation of Las Vegas as “a Time Warp, a regression to the late fifties” in which the movements of the 60s: free speech, civil rights and Vietnam war protests had not existed; Vegas is a rare location that still holds onto so-called traditional white patriarchal values in 1971 (156). However, in the 1972 landmark text *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, Robert Venturi argues that the Las Vegas “Strip” is a complex system of communication. “This architecture of styles and signs is antispacial; it is an architecture of communication over space; communication dominates space as an element in the architecture and in the landscape. [...] The mechanical movement of neon light...on the Strip as well as the tempo of its movement is greater to accommodate the greater spaces, greater speeds, and greater impacts that our technology permits and our sensibilities respond to.”²⁴ Duke and Dr. Gonzo have mutated with the *Whale* before they enter this regression space and yet also a complex communication system, they become harbingers of the monstrous difference of the new age of cultural crisis. Dr. Gonzo’s *emergence* from the shell of the *Whale* contains an assortment of categorical cultural crises as he verbally abuses two Oklahoma couples in a blue Ford along the Vegas Strip, who are assumed to be in Vegas for the cop Drug Conference.

[T]hey found themselves next to a white Cadillac convertible all covered with vomit and a 300-pound Samoan in a yellow fishnet T-shirt yelling at them: “Hey there! You folks want to buy some heroin?” No reply. No sign of recognition. [...] “Hey Honkies!” my attorney screamed. “Goddamnit, I’m serious! I want to sell you some pure fuckin’ *smack!*” He was leaning out of the car, very close to them. [...] I glanced over, very briefly, and saw four middle-American faces frozen with shock, staring straight ahead. (151)

What becomes important here concerning the car/human identity is the emergence or the breaking of boundary surfaces to interact or in Gonzo’s case, to attack.²⁵ The singularity of Gonzo’s attack incorporates the verbal warning of the violent changes to come. As a lawyer, Dr. Gonzo boards on being part of the establishment, however, within the complex system of communication of the “Strip” his data flows as a deranged dark skin fisherman who has usurped white patriarchal control. Indeed, posing as a drug dealing Vietnam veteran of color, a reality to some vets, dashes away the God and country consciousness of the corn fed Oklahomans he demeans. Furthermore, the open space of the “Strip” and the convertible allows Duke and Gonzo to freely interface while the Oklahomans are compressed and enclosed. From the perspective of the reader, Lupton’s notions of “Monsters in Metal Cocoons” are possibly the cyborg Whale or more likely the Oklahomans in the Ford car. The Ford car is a two door with a couple (male & female) in the back, which means that the front seat has to be folded to open the same in the space in the back seat, giving the back seat an overtly feminine sexuality as the folds of labia as being opened up. When the man lunges “across his wife” to yell back at Dr. Gonzo and Duke, it is an attempt to escape the feminized backseat to place his head/mouth in the masculinized driver seat next to the other man and yell through a single window. The image can be mapped as phallogocentric inveigh through the one eyed vision of the white heterosexual (with latent homosexual overtones) bourgeois patriarchy control—these men’s thoughts have been surmised by Raoul Duke’s narrative as to show their wives a good time on “The Strip.” The privacy of the backseat in this scene would have been the promise of intimate location for gazing. That is the promise of lights—the fantastic—the stars—the coitus—the fantastic being *on* “the strip” is to strip inhibitions. “What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas,” as the over used phrase that localizes taboo as long as it stays localized to Las Vegasization. However, the Oklahoma Bumpkins as enforcement to the patriarchal society headed by Dick Nixon are disenfranchised by the topless white whale, its vomit crusted side, the lead foot Duke, the Samoan fisherman lawyer called Dr. Gonzo, whose own verbiage begins with questions concerning drugs, Vietnam, prostitution, people of color—everything the Okies are not. In which the hierarchical dichotomy of the same and the other has been rhetorically reversed

The car represents an embodiment of American culture and the vomit is a corrosive rejection of the car/human’s guts as an action of the horrific cultural conscious being written upon the body as scaring in progress, while simultaneously giving birth to itself as monster. In “Approaching Abjection,” Julia Kristeva claims that self-birth is signified by the violence of vomit.²⁶ Also suggestive of a birthing process is *Fear and Loathing’s* epigram from Dr. Johnson: “He who makes a beast of himself gets rid of the pain of being a man.” These statements contain fluidity and communicate the warning to the reader, whether that data flow is moving away from being man to being another, it is the automobility towards difference or monstrous. The *White Whale’s* difference of integrated circuits shifts the monstrous space into a cybernetic

spatial interface.

Part III

The integrated circuit has covertly entered a contemporary American car for the first time in Thompson's text. Duke's speaking of immersion with an integrated system suggests an interface of machine and organism as becoming cyborgs within a complex system of communications. In "A Cyborg Manifesto," Donna Haraway states that cyborgs are "couplings between organism and machine, each conceived as coded devices, in an intimacy and with a power that was not generated in the history of sexuality."²⁷ Once integrated circuits enter into automobile production, car/human shift from being monstrous to cyborgs because of communicating in code. However, the coded communication between *Whale* and Duke & Gonzo happens at the autonomic level. That is to say, that during the process of automobility or self propelled motion, automatic functions within the car occur beyond the knowledge of the car/human. The human consciousness lacks knowledge of such actions as the neurological synapses function to keep the heart pumping or to deplete a toxin. In "Man A Machine," David Paul asserts that, "Signal flow between organic and mechanical units linked in a system gradually becomes continuous and unbroken."²⁸ In other words, Duke and Gonzo are hardwired into the *Whale* and each other. As the text states at one point, "We are all wired into a *survival* trip now" (text emphasis 178).

After *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* there are two profoundly human/car texts. The search for wholeness includes merging or even ingesting in Henry Crews' 1972 novel *Car*. *Car* explores family life that centered on an auto-wrecker compound until the son decides to strikeout on his own by publicly eating a Ford Maverick square inch by square inch. His sister only has sex in the back of her boyfriends police cruiser at crash scenes and when they finally engage in coitus on a bed they are unable to perform because of the cruiser ambience is missing. In *Crash*, J. G. Ballard's 1973 novel documents a disenfranchised community that prowls the freeways to crash their cars into other cars as fetish transference of sexual energy. Characters fetishistic rewrite their bodies in which the car body penetrating their body during the staged crashes. Literally rewriting the body by orgasmic machine penetration. *Car* and *Crash* understate the shift towards merger of human/car cyborg conscious as a new textual paradigm. Briefly, other emergences of the human/car cyborg are not as obvious in texts and need to be mapped in a larger schematic of cyborg ontology.²⁹

Notes

¹ Jack Kerouac. *On The Road*. 1957. NAL-Signet: New York, nd. I will use this text's page numbers from here on.

² Bellis, Mary. "Inventors of the Modern Computer: The History of the Integrated Circuit (IC) - Jack Kilby and Robert Noyce." About.com. 8 April 2006. <<http://inventors.about.com/library/weekly/aa080498.htm>>.

³ Mandel as qtd. 35. Jameson, Frederic. *Postmodernism: Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*.

⁴ Sheller & Urry, 739. Sheller, Mimi and John Urry. "The City and the Car." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24 (2000): 737-757.

⁵ The idea of a cocoon manifests itself in E. L. Doctorow's *The Book of Daniel*, in which during a conversation about rain between Phyllis and Daniel: "'I love rain,' Phyllis said. 'I especially love warm rain in the summer when there's no lightening or thunder.' 'No, I mean now, in this car,' Daniel said. 'The rain has the effect of a cocoon, it encapsulates us'" (emphasis mine 56). Sheller and Urry also bring up the term cocoon as well: "People are trapped in congestion, jams, temporal uncertainties and health-threatening city environments, as a consequence of being encapsulated in a privatized, cocooned, moving environment that uses up disproportionate amounts of physical resources" (744).

⁶ Hunter S. Thompson. *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*. 1971. New York: Warner-Random House, 1982. I will use this text's page numbers from here on.

⁷ Olson, 55. Olson, Charles. *Call Me Ishmael: A Study of Melville*. New York: Evergreen- Grove P, 1947.

⁸ Donna Haraway goes farther than Derrida's *différance* by her definition. "The evidence is building of a need for a theory of 'difference' whose geometries, paradigms, and logics break out of binaries, dialectics, and nature/culture models of any kind. Otherwise, threes will always reduce to twos, which quickly become lonely ones in the vanguard. And no one learns to count to four. These things matter politically" (129). While Jeffery Jerome Cohen believes that, "the monster is difference made flesh...but for the most part monstrous difference tends to be cultural, political, racial, economic, sexual" (7). In the case of Thompson's text, the *Red Shark*, the *White Whale*, Duke, Gonzo are components that make up the body, but there are other components as well, such as the different radios playing simultaneously two different songs ("One Took Over the Line" and "Sympathy for the Devil"), the cache of drugs and alcohol, the guns, knives, mace, etc. Cohen's whole essay, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)" is a discussion on what constitutes monsters or a monstrous body. Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)." *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*. Ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. Minneapolis, MN, London, UK: U Minnesota P, 1996. 3-25.

⁹ Haraway and Cohen each have their own spin on the Latin root of monster. "Monsters share more than the word's root with the verb 'to demonstrate'; monsters signify" (Haraway 226). "The *monstrum* is etymologically 'that which reveals,' 'that which warns,' a glyph that seeks a hierophant" (Cohen 4). However, Haraway and Cohen's glossing work well for their texts but is incomplete. The Latin root of monster and monstrosity is the noun *monstrum* that means "sign, portent, wonder; warning; monster, monstrosity"

while the transitive verb *monstr-o-are* means “to show, to point out,” however, the root of monstrous, the adjective *monstruos-us-a-um* “unnatural, strange” (New College Latin & English Dictionary 186).

¹⁰ Haraway and Cohen discuss this limits, but in different ways. “Monsters have always defined the limits of community in Western imaginations” (Haraway 180). “The monster notoriously appears at times of crisis as a kind of third term that problematizes the clash of extremes” (Cohen 6). However, the postmodern monstrous body indicates it has evolved since Hiroshima & Nagasaki, in which it has become more impervious to all boundaries, straddling all bimodal systems in which it works to create a new form of code that combines analog and digital; as *diglog* for no other better term.

¹¹ Robinson, Sally. “Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas.” Paranoia, Conspiracy and Gender in Postmodernism Seminar. Texas A&M University, College Station. 19 April 2000.

¹² Cohen, 13. Cohen also states that “the monster’s body is a cultural body,” such that “behead the corpse, so that, acephalic, it will not know itself as subject, only as pure body. The monster is born only at this metaphoric crossroads, as an embodiment of a certain cultural moment—of a time, a feeling, and a place... the monstrous body is pure culture. A construct and a projection, the monster exists only to be read” (4).

¹³ Jameson, 5.

¹⁴ Hayles, N. Katherine, 162. Hayles states in *How We Became Post Human: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics*, “...the struggle for freedom often presses itself as an attempt to get ‘outside’ this corporate encapsulation. The ultimate horror for the individual is to remain trapped ‘inside’ a world constructed by another being for the other’s own profit” (162).

¹⁵ Cohen discusses Julia Kristeva’s discussion of “Approaching Abjection.” However, Kristeva takes the abjection much further than Cohen elaborates on. Kristeva delves deeper into the physical in conjunction with the psychological attributes. Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror*. Leon S. Roudiez trans. New York: Columbia UP, 1982. 1; Cohen, 19-20.

¹⁶ Cohen, 13.

¹⁷ Cohen, 13.

¹⁸ Jameson, (37).

¹⁹ A couple items here: first off, Thompson and Oscar Zeta Acosta, an LA Chicano lawyer, traveled to Las Vegas together twice during April 1971; *Fear and Loathing* part I & II appeared in *Rolling Stone* issues of 11 November 1971 and 25 November 1971. “Hunter S. Thompson’s Works – Chronologically: 1970-74.” Fear and Loathing with Hunter S. Thompson. 26 June 2002. <<http://www.cornboy.com/hst/works/chrono.html#70>>.

Secondly, the text indicates that the white Coupe de Ville is a brand new vehicle, “it is not often that a man gets a chance to run terminal experiments on a virgin Cadillac” (154), although the 1971 Cadillac Brochure indicates that they did not specifically offer a Coupe de Ville as a convertible. However, the 1970 Cadillac Brochure does offer a convertible for the Coupe de Ville model. In addition, the normal dollar amount for the 1971 Coupe de Ville factory price was “\$6264” (one source states that the 1970 FP was “\$5,884” another “\$6,068”) and even so, if it were the special edition as the text indicates by a sticker price of “ten grand” it is quite possibly that GM did construct 1971 Coupe de Ville convertibles rather than add four thousand dollars worth of “gimmicks and high-priced Special Effects” (co71.html; Coupe.html; 104). “1971 Cadillac Overview.” Cadillacs and Cruise Brothers. 8 August 2000. 26 June 2002. <<http://www.fleetwood.demon.nl/cf/co00/co71.html>>.

“1970 Cadillac Coupe de Ville.” 1970’s Cadillac’s. 11 March 2002. 27 June 2002. <<http://hem.passagen.se/brynaren/Coupe.html>>.

²⁰ Automatic Level Control “Helps keep car level for best appearance and excellent handling” “... Automatically compensates for passengers and luggage compartment (sic.) loading.” “1971 Cadillac Fleetwood Eldorado Coupe.” Cadillacs and Cruise Brothers. 19 June 2001. 26 June 2002. <<http://www.fleetwood.demon.nl/cf/cf71/cf71h.htm>>.

²¹ “1971 Cadillac Specifications.” Cadillacs and Cruise Brothers. 18 June 2001. 26 June 2002. <<http://www.fleetwood.demon.nl/cf/cf71/cf71spc.htm>>.

²² This method of mapping is much like Descartes mapping the cardiovascular system of the body. Descartes, René “Part V.” *Discourse on the Method and Meditations on First Philosophy*. Trans. Desmond M. Clarke. London: Penguin, 1998.

²³ Virilio, 150. Virilio, Paul. Open Sky. 1995. Translated by Julie Rose. London-New York: Verso, 1997.

²⁴ Venturi, 8 & 116. Venturi, Robert, Denise Brown & Steven Izenour. *Learning From Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*. 1972. Cambridge, MA & London: MIT P, 1977.

²⁵ Incidentally, eight years later in the film *Alien*, (1979) a similar birthing scene is played out when the alien pops out of John Hurt’s torso, verbalizes and then scurries off.

²⁶ Kristeva, 3.

²⁷ Haraway, 150.

²⁸ David Paul’s discussion starts off “When driving a car, one’s nervous system becomes linked with the vehicle in a very basic way,” which leads him to assert that humanity is on the brink of creating cyborgs. However, he claims that this evolutionary process means that man and tool evolve together, not as separate

identities. Of course, he quotes Spengler to suggest the origins of his basis. "Man A Machine." *Apocalypse Culture*. Adam Parfrey Ed. New York: Amok P, 1987. 169.

²⁹ In Diane Johnson's *The Shadow Knows*, the narrator N. is raped in her car, pp. 274-6; In T. Coraghessan Boyle's *The Tortilla Curtain*, the unnatural birth from a woman that combines a truck and a man is described, p. 129; In E. L. Doctorow's *The Book of Daniel*, Daniel tortures his wife Phyllis by using a cigarette lighter to burn her genitals while driving, pp. 58-60; In Mark Leyner's *Et Tu, Babe*, the Piranha 793 is a car that "not only protects its passengers in the event of a collision, but ensures the death of the passengers in the other car," p. 52. These are some of the more brutal aspects of the human/car cyborg but not the only episodes in these texts.

Sheffield is not Sexy.

By Stephen Mallinder

Abstract

The city of Sheffield's attempts, during the early 1980s, at promoting economic regeneration through popular cultural production were unconsciously suggestive of later creative industries strategies. Post-work economic policies, which became significant to the Blair government a decade later, were evident in urban centres such as Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield in nascent form. The specificity of Sheffield's socio-economic configuration gave context, not merely to its industrial narrative but also to the city's auditory culture, which was to frame well intended though subsequently flawed strategies for regeneration. Unlike other cities, most notably Manchester, the city's mono-cultural characteristics failed to provide an effective entrepreneurial infrastructure on which to build immediate economic response to economic rationalisation and regional decline. Top-down municipal policies, which embraced the city's popular music, gave centrality to cultural production in response to a deflated regional economy unable, at the time, to sustain rejuvenation through cultural consumption. Such embryonic strategies would subsequently become formalised through creative industry policies developing relationships with local economies as opposed to urban engineering through regional government.

Building upon the readings of industrial cities such as Liverpool, New Orleans and Chicago, the post-work leisure economy has increasingly addressed the significance of the auditory effect in cities such as Manchester and Sheffield. However the failure of the talismanic National Centre for Popular Music signifies the inherent problems of institutionalizing popular cultural forms and resistance of sound to be anchored and contained. The city's sonic narrative became contained in its distinctive patterns of cultural production and consumption that ultimately resisted attempts at compartmentalization and representation through what became colloquially known as 'the museum of popular music'. A personal narrative that is inextricably bound up in the construction of the city's sound has informed many aspects of the article, providing subjective context to the broader discourse, that of sound and the city image.

How to Retune a City

Attempts to resurrect a cultural phoenix from the extinguished ashes of Sheffield's moribund industrial past were unsympathetically derided by the words of Conservative Member for Parliament, Michael Fabricant. Unwilling to acknowledge the growing momentum of the leisure economy in urban regeneration, Fabricant's headline-generating assessment that, "Sheffield is not sexy, it is old and dirty"¹ reinforced

the perception of sclerotic post-work northern cities that defy restoration. The politician's belief that an engrained deficit of glamour held back the city's pursuit of the World Athletics Championships in the early 1990s suggested that cities like Sheffield, once the engine room of the nation's manufacturing hegemony, had atrophied irredeemably. The city's push for global interaction, through an international sporting event where commerce and service are deemed high-end goals, was compromised by the unfashionable image of an archaic and corroding landscape. The struggle for control and re-branding of its urban image is one that provides a narrative of well-meaning, but flawed, urban engineering in which the city attempts to negotiate its popular cultural present through its industrial past. The process also signifies the centrality played by the cultural industries, of leisure, sport and music, in redefining post-industrial economies and infrastructures. Sheffield sought cultural redemption in and through a sonic landscape continually shaped and stretched through osmosis by the once relentless rhythms of the city's industrial pulse and emerging popular pastimes. Sheffield's working class consumption and production practices grew from the dancehalls and working men's clubs, through sixties' northern soul, to eighties electronica and millennial super-clubs, refracted through the sardonic pop and rock from Pulp to the Arctic Monkeys and Richard Hawley. In the hiatus of post-work Britain popular music forms began to occupy the tarnished shell of Sheffield's disappearing economy to become valuable collateral in the push for its sustained regeneration.

The indivisibility of the city's political and economic narrative from its social and cultural history inevitably resulted in Sheffield's creative production and consumption being built upon the bones of its past. The significance of this auditory culture, turned bankable commodity, is in the city itself. Sheffield's municipal infrastructure, in the absence of any effective entrepreneurial mechanism, became inevitably enmeshed in the reification of the city's sound and unconscious celebration of its popular cultural forms. The sonic landscape, constructed upon its urban topology capturing the sound waves and rhythmic eddies, shapes their movement, reception, incubation and production within the community's shared past. Emerging from its embryonic industrial and wartime soundscapes, Sheffield's cultural narrative became most clearly identified in the 1980's where the effects of industrial deceleration spectacularly encountered the dialectic force of accessible technology and its promises of modernity. The centrality of music as cultural currency, and as a solution to urban regeneration, lies at the heart of the pioneering attempt in the development of Sheffield's Cultural Quarter. Significantly the city elected to regulate and administer nascent creative industry strategies, in a deflated economy with a meager history of local entrepreneurialism. The subsequent failure of the city's talismanic National Centre for Popular Music signifies the inherent problems of institutionalizing popular cultural forms and resistance of sound to be anchored and contained.

Metal Machine Music

A subjective assessment of the transformations that have taken place in the configuration of the city's popular music requires justification. Therefore, I confess to a personal narrative that is inextricably bound up in the sound of Sheffield. Born and raised in the city, I had, through working in the traditional steel mills, first hand knowledge of the strident, though decelerating rhythms of the city's primary industry.² I

led a dual life from 1982 commuting on an almost weekly basis from London to work and record before finally severing physical ties in 1995 when I moved to Australia. I returned frequently, and permanently returned to the United Kingdom in 2007. However, my periods of absence could not erode a perception of me being identified with a specificity of time and place. My musical heritage has rendered me hermetically sealed and subsequently experience schizophrenic feelings of dislocated personal identity. An increasingly connected and mediated world has left a 'past' self orbiting as a perennial present; my musical legacy has been re-packaged, re-marketed and commodified to the extent that I, like many others, have fallen prey to a sonic and visual 'reverse Dorian Gray' syndrome. Digital simulacra has left, as with most first-world people today, a virtual-self untarnished by the encroachment of linear time, free to move through an on-line world. Nevertheless in my case this simulated self has been a *virtuality* fixed largely at the point of others choosing. It has however left me with a sense of my personal embodiment of sonic mobility, a paradigm of human movement – sonic consumption, incubation and translation – transcending time and space. I am like, like everyone, a mobile encoder and decoder, the sum of my social and cultural interactions, which manifest themselves, in the sonic realm, through music production. Consequently, I have become synonymous with a spatial and chronological Sheffield, significantly one that has been central in informing the construction of the contemporary, self-regenerating city.

Sheffield's form, as a northern industrial city, has been mythologized through function. The footprint of heavy industry has remained despite the encroachment of economic rationalization, which left behind its steel mills and factories as empty husks, a reminder of an earlier model of globalization and industrial hegemony. However, as a city it has redefined itself aurally, characterized through a bricolage of archaic industry and shiny technology, the city's rhythms have reverberated through popular music forms. A paradoxical fusion – the sounds of metal and soul, steel and electronica, industrial bleeps and lyrical mockery – popular culture wrapped in the tarnished glamour of self depreciation: the noise of iron and irony. 'Sheffield Steel' became not only a manufactured label for the city, but also a convenient brand, which encapsulated the reification of an urban sound that somehow embraced everything from the post-soul of Joe Cocker and heavy metal of Def Leppard to early techno of the Warp label. The arcane bleeps of The Forgemasters and Sweet Exorcist fused the soulful affections of Detroit and Chicago with sonar pulses of an industrial city in its death throws have continued through to Sheffield's present incumbent, the specific 'niche' sound³. However this construction of a mythologized city and its onomatopoeic sound fails to address the heterogeneous cultural makeup of an urban centre impacted by cultural forces both real and commodified. A city with a diverse ethnicity, compounded by industry to produce a strong working class bias, Sheffield's inclusivity has produced complex cultural production and patterns of consumption.

The perception of Sheffield's totemic sound as being self-referential, internally constructed upon industrial idiosyncrasies, problematizes all meanings of the mobility of sound. The city had been mono-cultural in its economic construction, however it was more diverse and complex in its social and ethnic make up. Sheffield, as regional web chroniclers *ayup.co* observe, had shown an acceptance of cosmopolitan sounds in the pre-war period, where the 'big band' sound had been swept aside by the influx and impact of Jazz on the city.⁴ Subsequent post war colonial shifts were beginning to characterize the demographic make up of many urban centres. In the case of Sheffield, the bias towards a primary, rather than secondary, consumer

manufacturing, meant that industry did draw fewer and later migrants. Research by Sheffield University's Paul White indicates early resistance to post-war migration and an untypical ethnic composition, in which migrant figures still lag behind the national average.⁵ Figures infer but perhaps fail to account for the true cultural effect of migration into industrial regions, which until the post-war period remained largely homogenous. The most recent 2001 census indicated a population of almost one million with 3.7% Black, 7.9% Asian and significantly a full-time student population of 25.6%.⁶ The use of statistical evidence to quantify social and cultural effect is inherently problematic. Within urban centres the very visible and frequently pro-active roles played by migrants in the city's social milieu and subsequent creative industries are contextual, not merely statistical. During the embryonic period for Sheffield's popular music in the sixties and seventies, the West Indian Social Club, ironically situated in the industrial heartland of Attercliffe, suggested a nascent cultural fusion and the beginnings of an adjustment to a perceived exotic alterity. With rising purchasing power, white working class youth progressed popular music's cultural cachet. The city's position in the Northern Soul circuit was clearly being recognized. Dave Berry, a local R&B singer and an established pop star in the 1960s, acknowledged the growing allure of youth, music and status, describing *The Mojo Club* as "wild and fashionable", *The Esquire* as "sophisticated and jazzy", and *The Black Cat* as, Peter Stringfellow's "thriving club."⁷ The predominantly black American music played in these clubs was progressed through fringe scenes such as Sheffield's, where the post-war growth of a specific consumer demographic, working class youth, in manufacturing regions. Built upon the dancehall and record culture of the big band era, the flow of records through ports into northern cities, where new surplus income encouraged, for both white and migrant communities, increased consumption. Soul, ska, and blue-beat, sold through independent record shops with the most iconic being Voilet May's⁸, became a significant component of the city's cultural collateral.

My epiphany, in respect of music's mobility and cosmopolitan potential, emerged at an early age. Growing up on the adjacent street to my own was a young basketball player, Michael Grudge, who despite failing to make the grade on college circuit, remained in the USA to become a founding member of seminal funk band Brass Construction. An acknowledgement emerges that music, though spatially defined, was nevertheless built upon a more chaotic cultural collision. Music that I perceived to be cosmopolitan was being created by something as prosaic as a local boy; an innate fluidity that enabled sound to transcend the limitations of geographical place, here reified through the movement of people. Soul music, through its global dissemination, had created a community that reached from the California to South Yorkshire through the shared experiences of consumption and dancing. As a teenager my identity was purposely built upon reggae and soul music; the clubs previously mentioned by Berry were off limits to a high school pupil, but tantalizing nonetheless. *The Mojo* club was not only on my route to school, taunting me daily with the nocturnal pleasures of soul music, but was also enshrined when at 15 years of age – my age at the time – Stevie Wonder had apparently bewitched the crowd with his piano and harmonica skills. Little surprise then when a year later I risked ejection from the Sheffield City Hall by walking up to the stage to shake hand with soul singer Martha Reeves as she performed with her Vandellas. The need to find some way of grounding this distant and esoteric music was done through a display of physicality that could supersede mere consumption. I was unaware that I was being acknowledged by someone who was from a fragmenting urban environment and comparable economic mono-culture – 'Motor-City', Detroit – which

would later negotiate a parallel sonic path to Sheffield in its techno evolution.

If the dissemination and consumption of sounds and rhythms from America and the West Indies, of ska and soul, were evidence of social and cultural mobility, then they were symptomatic of increasing media incursions into urban spaces to fuse with the internal sounds of the city. The reduction of music to merely popular cultural phenomena risks excluding a broader sonic context. The complexity of our reception of sound invariably overlooks the peripheral, environmental and subconscious which can become manifest in local and regional nuances. Urban ambience can instinctively inform regional sounds and permeate through to popular texts. Traditionally environmental sounds have been translated into cultural forms, indigenous and folk music have grounded their authenticity by their incorporation. Jon Hassell's⁹ reading of South East Asian gamelan gives recognition to the sounds of the elements, in this case water, in indigenous music, and so the elements of the urban environment become more obliquely incorporated into popular music's syncretic form. The need to find meaning in sound requires wider contextual reading, the incursion of auditory place into the spaces of production becomes part of this constructed meaning. Anthony McCann, in addressing a tangential issue of copyright, cautions against music's homogenous labeling, to enable convenient compartmentalization suggesting, "in many disciplines, 'music' is often analytically separated and abstracted from social context in order to justify the validity of using the category as a universal label."¹⁰ If social and personal components play a formative part, we must avoid, in McCann's words:

A systematic exclusion of people, relationships, power, meaning, emotions, and the dynamics of social interaction from all relevant discussion.¹¹

The construction of sounds and rhythms is contextual, encompassing all aspects of daily life not merely confined to the perpetuation of existing paradigms. The Sheffield soundscape is as much defined through its work environment and historical narrative as its patterns of social interaction and consumption; the 'sound' of the city is framed by its industrial corporeality, its elemental essence contained in rolling mills and blast furnaces.

Growing up in the city like my peers who produced music and formed bands in the late seventies and eighties,¹² I was suffused with stories of the Sheffield's recent past. Along with London, Liverpool, Coventry and other strategic centres, the city had been a target for German bombers during World War II, primarily focused on the industrial epicenter, the Don Valley, but with several incursions into the city's commercial heart.¹³

Mythologized by a war time generation, the raids has emanated largely from anecdotal stories of the community spirit fashioned, particularly in blitz torn London¹⁴, by a collective identity constructed through adversity. The residual effect of these stories was a sonic implant, an urban and industrial landscape mediated by the unpredictable rhythm of technological warfare. The Blitz not only produced an onomatopoeic punctuation to existing aural delineation of steel and heavy industry but in Sheffield it became mythologized by its collision with the city's social and cultural life when a bomb hit the Marples, a talismanic

hotel and dance hall in the city centre.¹⁵ The accepted tenet, that visual images help form an integral part of spatial and chronological narratives, seems to be marginalized with sonic counterparts. Aural and olfactory idiosyncrasies of a particular location should be a vital part of that constructed landscape and not fall prey to sensory hierarchies. Conversely soundscapes should not be assembled through purely cultural representations. The city's image is structured within the context of its built environment, its history inextricably linked to the commercial and industrial infrastructure that, in the case of Sheffield, would eventually accommodate the creative businesses and cultural industries of re-generation, still resonating with sounds of the past.

The People's Republic

The Sheffield epithet: "The Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire."¹⁶

Any analysis of Sheffield's cultural narrative must acknowledge the region's economic and political heritage, which frames its social interactions and fashions its sense of community. Geographically situated along the perimeter of the Yorkshire– Nottinghamshire coalfield and at the confluence of the Don and Sheaf Rivers, Sheffield's pre-industrial history dates back to the Roman settlement, Templeborough, the heart of the subsequent steel industry during the 19th and 20th centuries. The city's primary production base generated a predominantly working class demographic, which to the present day remains embodied in its two football teams and through close ties to the Labour Party. Apart from two years in the late 1960s, the Labour Party has controlled the city since 1926.¹⁷ This engrained self-perception of an industrial heritage, of identity through work, of a community constructed through labour and its political representation shaped the city and its surrounds. Regional disengagement from Tory rule became signified by the slogan, referenced by Ian Gazely and Andrew Newell, "The Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire". The sense of localism intended to produce meaning for a region, which was in actuality incorporated into a wider dynamic. The micro politics of the city were emerging from the macro economics of a globalizing world.

Sheffield's economic and political history is symptomatic of the residual effects imposed by broader mechanisms, of policies and structures externally driven. The city became amongst the first to feel the consequences of global economic shifts, national economic policies, anomalies of demand and their subsequent impact on patterns of employment throughout the last hundred years. A fundamental component of Britain's industrial growth, the city provided the raw steel for the regional and global manufacturing industries. However, as an industrial mono-culture and primary producer. Sheffield and its local feeder coal industry were to become economic canaries as globalization and monetarism elicited regional downturns and shifts in demand. The labour-intensive economy of the city and its adjacent region were to be foremost amongst the communities scarred by national policy, and trans-national structures, with residual human effect. The significant economic and social displacement began during the 1970s with global monetarism and national policies consolidating the decline of Britain's manufacturing base. To reduce the national condition to a series of currency movements, market fluctuations and short-term government policies is

spurious economic determinism. The complexity of Britain's industrial decline remains deep-seated and contentious. As Dinfontass emphasizes the complexity of dynamics at work in market economy resist reduction to single formula. The nation's long term industrial sclerosis comes as a result of multiple factors, many institutionalized in the political economy of Britain as a nascent industrial and manufacturing force. Dinfontass logs significant factors of decline from entrepreneurial conservatism, early embedded practices, lack of education and training with consequential skill shortages, entrenched family business structures, post-war free trade practices, union-management relationships¹⁸ and, significant in regional disparities, a movement of investment towards finance and commerce in London at expense of northern manufacturing.¹⁹ Post-war Sheffield, a mixed economy of nationalized industries and private companies, would embody the transformations in late-capitalism Britain.

Loadsa Money, We Got Loadsa Moneeey ...

Football chants during the 1980s and 1990s frequently involved traveling fans from London teams like Chelsea, West Ham and Tottenham, waving, and on occasion, anecdotally claimed, burning, bank notes in front of their rival northern supporters. In reference to a character from comedian Harry Enfield, fans boast of the easy money available in the supposed affluent south. They had, they claimed, "loadsa money ...". The national perception was of a divided country, the banking and consuming south, the unemployed and impoverished north. The long established term of 'two nations' is divisive, initially a criteria of class²⁰ it has been appropriated as a metaphor for spatial division between the industrial north and commercial south or even a demarcation of the capital and the remainder of the Britain.²¹ Nevertheless, despite its ambivalent use, behind the term lies an entrenched regionalism, an expression of social and cultural difference, deriving in part from economic specialization and subsequent patterns of employment. These spatial and economic divisions were more clearly defined in times of depression, and significantly during the period from the 1970s to the early 1990s when employment patterns became the human consequence of industrial decline and national policy, markedly during the Conservative governments of the 1980s²². National unemployment rose through the 1970s and 1980s, peaking at 13% in 1986 in response to a sequence of macro-economic shocks. The effect of the OPEC oil crises of 1973 and 1979 caused governments of all the major Western economies to adopt firm deflationary policies in the early 1980s,²³ and in Ian Gazely and Andrew Newell's words: "undermined the post-war settlement and destroyed the Keynesian paradigm."²⁴ Despite by the 1990s recession, unemployment no longer biased towards the north²⁵, regional patterns were long established, with sustained perceived divisions.

The city's reliance on a single industry would reflect the shortcomings of such a mono-culture through large scale unemployment during this period. The industrial workforce fell by 187,000 (60%), between 1971 and 1997 and even in 1999 unemployment in Sheffield was 2% above the national average; 33% of the population existing on state benefit.²⁶ The re-organisation of the steel industry in the UK, lead ultimately to a national strike of steelworkers in 1980 and the subsequent loss of 50,000 jobs in the industry in Sheffield alone.²⁷ The significance of these patterns of unemployment lies firstly to the degree to which they reflected regional demarcation shaping subsequent local policy for re-generation, and secondly they illustrate the impact on new entrants to the labour market. In the 1970s and 1980s, about a third of all male

unemployed were young workers aged less than 24 years, whilst by the mid-1970s one third of all unemployed men and two-thirds of all unemployed women were under twenty-four years old.²⁸ The implication was that the burden and solutions to unemployment were shifting to a new generation.

The immediate reaction to the social situation, directed through creative channels would become manifest through sub-cultures and popular modes of expression. The nihilistic rhythms of punk, although quickly commodified, were a spontaneous reaction from a section of the community who were capable of providing a response. A youthful demographic felt increasingly disconnected by social and economic forces over which they had no control but connected through the common language of music and its ability to translate this dislocation. Sheffield's punk scene was visible and varied, but interestingly many were quick to adopt more electronic modes of expression, early manifestations of bands such as the Human League and Clockdva articulating their non-conformity through modernist forms. With a drum machine, sequencer or super-8 projector, frequently cheaper or more available than a guitar amp or drum kit, access and affordability gave modernity an ironic appeal. A translation of disaffection through the panacea of technology would appear to summon, albeit unlike Aldous Huxley's application, a brave new world. The political and economic reality nevertheless shaped social interaction and expression. Very few musicians were immune to an awareness of their position within the local and national polemic, most were actively involved through fundraisers and benefit shows and records²⁹. The dismantling of the steel industry and subsequent miners strike provided daily reminders of the direct effects of government policy, punctuated by didactic speeches that warned of 'the enemy within'³⁰ and offered solutions to unemployed workers by telling them 'to get on their bike.'³¹ The sonic nexus of electronic technology and regional dysfunction seemed analogous of the city's duality - global industry juxtaposed with local social forms. The consequence of this conflation of micro and macro determinants became a distillation to a perceived generic 'Sheffield sound'. The evolution of this 'sound,' resistant but still nevertheless responsive to local factors of physical environment, economic practices and social interactions and infrastructures. The complexity of creative production forging subjective dynamics with contextual effect; the dialectic of conscious intent and unconscious consequence. It should perhaps be termed the Sheffield 'effect' where such local factors frame the creative process and permit license for generality.

If macro-economic forces were producing local, urban outcomes for creative expression, then they were mirrored in some northern cities by political non-conformity. Although perhaps not as vitriolic or combative as Liverpool's response, where the Trotskyite Militant Left confronted Conservative centralizing policies directly. Sheffield's long established Labour City Council saw local initiatives were paramount in structuring policies to negate the process of de-industrialization. The rapidity of the process saw the city transformed from 24-hour shift-based practices to abandoned post-industrial wastelands, reinforced by the subsequent dismantling of the region's coal industry during the mid-1980s. Parts of Sheffield, like other older city centres, were left abandoned with, in Andy Lovatt and Justin O'Connor's words:

The consequent shattering of local and regional identity brought on by this economic crisis and which this dereliction powerfully symbolized.³²

Lack of national strategies to counteract the economic and social consequences of this urban decline led to the cessation of accountability to the national government. The previously mentioned epitaph, known locally as, The People's Republic of South Yorkshire,³³ a symbolic strategy to cauterize the wound inflicted by government monetarist policies.

The combatant climate of this period frames the strong regionalism that permeated community attitudes, fashioned creative responses, and significantly the music sector's sense of inclusion. The Thatcher administration, as part of the overhaul of local government structure, effected budget restrictions and created a number of quasi-national government organizations, quangos, which assumed responsibilities previously administered by local authorities but now came under the jurisdiction of government-appointed boards dominated by private-sector representatives. This effectively undermined the city council's ability to continue on its path of social reform³⁴, with the Metropolitan County of South Yorkshire abolished by the central government in 1986.³⁵ National initiatives fell short of needs and expectations, in 1981, Sheffield City Council set up the first ever Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED) in local government in the UK. This was as Linda Moss has pointed out, "the first manifestation of UK local government attempting to take responsibility for shaping the future prosperity of the city".³⁶ However the resources available to the employment department, £18 million in its first seven years of existence, were minute in comparison to the massive disinvestments in steel and heavy engineering.³⁷ As Alan DiGaetano and Paul Lawless observed, if Sheffield were to perpetuate a radical program of local economic intervention, "it would travel a lonely road."³⁸ The path that the city followed was one which became constructed upon the specificity of its political economy. In contrast to other regional centres, such as Manchester, the absence of an effective entrepreneurial infrastructure subsequently required municipal strategies to catalyze regeneration through local creative production.

The Cultural Quarter Shall be Built

Solutions during the 1980s and 1990s to the economic ills of de-industrialization in urban centres catalogue not only defiant regionalism in response to national policies and global forces, but also the important synergy between local entrepreneurialism, political infrastructures and creative currency. Sheffield, an early victim of economic rationalism, became a pioneering model of attempted solutions. The shift from manufacturing to service and creative industries could never be immediately effective, or implemented as a simple paradigm of economic and social regeneration. Nevertheless Sheffield's lead would provide an advanced if somewhat premature modality for urban reconstruction through embryonic cultural industries initiatives. The significance of music's role in this regeneration was its capacity to effect media attention facilitating wider audience response to municipal initiatives. Additionally the city's music was a proven success at a time of local economic deceleration - estimates show that Sheffield achieved a 5% share of the singles market in 1982.³⁹ The city's cultural production, rather than being an arbitrary economic indicator appropriated during a period of stagnation, was proving to be a sector of vitality at a time of transition.

Although the policy rationale was fundamentally economic - to find workable solutions to long-term unemployment, implemented policies were symptomatic of a nascent shift in the working culture. Casualization, where flexible and temporary forms of employment often involving fixed-term contracts, seasonal, casual or part-time employment, signaled transformations to urban working practices.⁴⁰ It was also intended to address the broader issue of community and identity, with city centres acting in Justin O'Connor and Andy Lovatt's assessment.

As focal points for, and as symbolic of, a specifically urban way of life seemingly eroded in the 1970s.⁴¹

Music would quickly become currency in negotiating urban renewal through nighttime economies and a return to urban clusters within cities, but Sheffield's early initiatives would structure a cultural quarter that focused not on consumption but rather on production, therefore developing strategies with inherent shortcomings. The deflated local and regional economy would require economic strategies that, in their initial stages, were not dependant upon high levels disposable income or subsequent consumption. Sheffield, a city with an entrenched working culture, saw employment and production as the mechanism of regeneration.

Music production accommodates the post-fordist model of cultural industrialization and de-regulated patterns of employment. Frequently sole traders, such as those in creative industries, inevitably fit into the casual, short-term employment infrastructure. The dominant [mis]conception remains that of art being its own reward. As a consequence, the creative process involves little or no pay and seeks no long term security or conditions. Subsequently, strategies designed to involve local producers was somewhat arbitrary and attempted to construct regeneration on cottage industry policies which suggested niche involvement doing little to encourage broader community access or consumption. The appropriation of disused city centre space – the Kennings Building – as the focus for local music production in a nascent cultural quarter involved offering lucrative studio space to established producers, The Human League, Comsat Angels and Fon Force,⁴² plus the community recording facility of Red Tape and spaces for local photographic and film production collectives. As O'Connor has pointed out, "the economic aspect [of cultural industries] was mostly used opportunistically by arts agencies or city cultural agencies concerned to bolster their defences against financial cuts and ideological onslaught by the conservative government."⁴³ Nevertheless the expedient use of music's assumed ability to create wealth in a revitalised economy stemmed from a desire to acknowledge the importance of popular culture, specifically technology-based music, in redefining Sheffield's image in a local, national and global context.

Officially, the Cultural Industries Quarter in Sheffield was set up in 1981. A local government initiative at the time anecdotally referred to as an extraordinary leap in the dark, either an ambitious or potentially reckless use of public funds. The initial stage saw the opening of the Leadmill, as an all-purpose music venue, in 1982. The appropriation of an abandoned industrial shell seemed allegorical for the city's re-industrialization and was funded by a partnership of the City Council and UK Urban Programme.⁴⁴ Red Tape Studios opened in 1986, with the express purpose of job creation and music production training,

followed by the leasing of space to existing producers, film and photographic collectives previously mentioned. The strategy of accommodating nationally recognised artists and producers, whilst providing much needed community facilities, appealed to parochial sentiments, whilst disarming critics of popular production being a purely confined to London's media epicenter.

Importantly, for the organization and development of the cultural quarter its configuration and co-ordination was fragmented due largely to local government restructuring and national government encouragement to contract out services. The closure of the Arts Department of the City Council occurred in 1997 and was replaced by a Museums Trust. Significantly municipal perceptions of the most suitable infrastructure in which to accommodate the new creative industries had moved from 'arts' to 'museums'. The position of popular culture was lost in government restructuring and inappropriate branding. In Moss's analysis, "no public body had overall responsibility for the Quarter, despite its continuing dependence on public funding."⁴⁵ It was therefore in this disjointed and uncertain bureaucratic climate that plans to open the cultural quarter's apogee were declared. The hub of the city's regeneration would be its most nationally and globally recognized product of the post-industrial period, its symbol of regional resilience and its most effective economic cultural tool – music.

From Panacea to Pariah: The National Centre for Popular Music

The story of the ill-fated National Centre for Popular Music encompasses not only issues of cultural policy and urban regeneration but also challenges any conjecture of music's relationship to the creative industries. The Centre's dramatic account questions music's function within the community and role in regional identity, highlighting the delineation of production and consumption, and raises issues of where the divide between creative production and leisure consumption is drawn. It is fundamentally bound in issues of mobility and identity - human and sonic movement within urban spaces and the construction of post-work identity, through use and access of the revitalised 'cultural city'. As an ironic echo of the environmental residue left behind from the 1970s and 1980s de-industrialization, the NCPM today stands, in the real world, an architectural folly, and, in the virtual world, as an empty shell. As an embodiment of Sheffield's re-industrialization strategies, this state-of-the-art construction and cornerstone of a cultural quarter whose expressed intention was to appropriate the abandoned infrastructure of the city's past, has itself in turn has been acquired by Hallam University in February 2003 to house its student's union. Log on to any number of websites to tour not only the cultural quarter⁴⁶ but also move through a 'virtual' empty husk of the deserted site where it is possible to feel cyber tumbleweed brush past the online visitor, a memento of its ephemeral existence.⁴⁷ Opened in March 1999, with £11million UK Lottery funding, the Centre was in financial trouble before the close of the year and closed by 2000, a brief and baffling lifespan, the Centre committed cultural seppuku before most people had chance learn of its existence.

The Centre's free-standing design⁴⁸ was based around four drums each housing a separate concept instillation: dance music, religion, love and rebellion, and unique singers – curiously including Pavarotti – with

the opportunity for visitors to stick their ear to a hole and guess the singer. Interestingly although the title was specific – Centre – the building since its inception was known locally as the ‘museum’. The latter term denoted a perception of a static, sedentary space that despite its intention of being highly technological and interactive, instead exuded a mausoleum ambience. The Centre operated as a curiosity, thematically closer to a science park that institutionalized rather than aestheticised popular music. As Nicholas Barber reported in *The Independent*,

The fact that it offers you the chance to edit a Phil Collins live video only confirms my worst suspicion: this millennial celebration of popular music is stuck in the 1980s.⁴⁹

Barber went on to add, “I can’t see what the NCPM has to do with Moloko, Babybird or the rest of Sheffield’s current bands. And I shudder to think what Jarvis Cocker would make of it.” Not surprisingly Cocker was prepared to announce to an audience at the Doncaster Dome at the time of the Centre’s opening that, he regarded it, “a complete waste of money.”⁵⁰ Practicalities of access and use reinforced the unsuitability of sound, even through translation into popular cultural texts, to an institutional environment. Providing the facilities of tactile manipulation and play fails to appreciate the largely discrete levels at which most sounds and rhythms are processed. Writer and journalist Martin Lilleker expressed his disappointment, “at £7.25 per head, it wasn’t cheap, especially when you consider that if you were lucky you could manage an hour and a half in the place without running out of things to do.”⁵¹ He added

What was glaringly missing was the lack of any celebration of Sheffield, a city with a long history of producing innovative music. The final exhibition, and the most popular, was of Sheffield’s history, from the Sixties, Seventies and early Eighties with photographs, Sheffield records, fanzines and various other bits of nostalgia.⁵²

The rapid demise of the Centre was symptomatic of a lack of public support, both local and national, the inability of a bureaucratic infrastructure to firstly construct a facility that adequately reflected popular music’s function in the community and secondly to incorporate appropriate long term strategies to combat short term recalcitrance. Importantly the Centre also mirrored the cultural quarter’s inherent defects, most notably location and objective. Lack of support and failure to attract the anticipated numbers⁵³ was fundamentally due to the Centre itself misreading the public perception of popular music, its representation and consumption. Cosmo Landesman describes the experience:

The NCPM is being promoted as an ‘education and arts centre’ devoted to popular music. But in reality it just mixes the button-pushing, learning-can-be-fun experience of the Science Museum with the trivia treasures of the Hard Rock Café.⁵⁴

Whilst Nicholas Barber in *The Independent* highlighted the impracticality of the Centre’s design,

A virtual encyclopedia is nice to browse through on your home computer but you’re not going to get much reading done with 500 people pushing behind you.⁵⁵

The need to address music's functionality, its social engagement, its mechanisms of reception and consumption, were clearly absent in the centre's design. The subsequent transformations in media technology reinforced sound's resistance to its anchoring in time and place. The appearance of MP3s, digital downloads, shared software, social network sites, driven by *MySpace* and *YouTube*, and the ubiquitous presence of mobile technologies would signify early attempts by the Centre to contain, regulate and regionalize music's use as prosaic and parochial.

In providing guidance and instruction into music's meaning fails to respond the listeners need for subjectivity. To inadequately address music's esoteric nature and reduce the creative process to a series of mechanical prompts marginalizes music's contextual effect and cultural potency. The pressure of public funding, the need to be immediately effective and populist, resulted in a lack of strategies in response to any public inertia. Alternative approaches did exist, offering options as to how popular music and cultural texts could be used to best serve the community. The Manchester Institute for Popular Culture's more academic approach, without the pressure of populist engagements and consumptions, offered alternative trajectories to the presentation and discussion of music and/in policy. The increased mobility and multiple nodes of access for music necessitates greater awareness of both movement and context. Any attempt to construct popular culture through provincial or regional platforms requires it to embrace music's increasingly trans-national nature rather than spatial and chronological compartmentalization, in which music appears as a series of loosely related events.

On a functional level, there were intrinsic local and regional factors which inhibited not only the Centre, but also the cultural sector of which it formed a part. The quarter's location to the south of the city centre was within access of rail and bus stations, but historically comprised of small self contained industrial units. Similarly, regardless of the proximity to Hallam University, the area had little or no passing trade, which was in turn inhibited by a road network designed to by pass the city, offering little pedestrian incentive to access from other areas. On the margins of traditional retail and leisure facilities, bars, gardens and cinemas, the human movement into the quarter was largely destination driven offering few other incentives to encourage activity in the sector. Local producer and DJ Winston Hazell summed up the quarter's lack of animation and cultural consumption:

You've got no reason to go there unless you're called to a boring meeting or to have an office there.⁵⁶

The area does not conform to John Montgomery's criteria for successful regeneration, where "cultural quarters will share the attributes of good urban places in general, offering beneficial and self-sustaining combinations of activity, form and meaning."⁵⁷ Rather the quarter was primarily focused on production whereas the city and the south west, the West Street – Division Street area, offered multiple facilities like shops, bars and cafés with the latter close to Sheffield University and related residential zones. This unofficial cultural quarter provided the necessary leisure and retail potential with an evolving night-time economy. Benefiting from higher density and mobility through the city tram network, the area was the result of proactive 'bottom up' strategies by commercial and entrepreneurial sectors as opposed to

municipal infrastructure top down' policies actively pursued in the official cultural quarter.

If local movement into the official cultural quarter was moderate, then nationally and regionally incentives deemed the area even less attractive. Despite the Centre's intention of heralding its national strategy to attract visitors from around the country, other than the venue itself there were few other attractions. By comparison, nearby Manchester with a higher density population had not only more comprehensive transport facilities, but also an international airport which moved it up in the regional hierarchy. A long established cultural melting pot, augmented by a media infrastructure including Granada Television and a creditable newspaper industry incorporating *The Guardian*, Manchester was well positioned to capitalize on its own popular music boom of the late 1980. A traditional manufacturing region, with greater economic diversity and an embedded entrepreneurial culture, Manchester was positioned to capitalize on growing service and creative industries. With a blossoming nighttime economy, the city's subsequent cultural sector development (North Quarter), was propelled by local entrepreneurialism and a hands off approach from municipal policy makers. Steve Redmond, editor of *Music Week* argues that Manchester's approach represented:

A much more laissez faire one than Sheffield [to] suit the nature of the music industry, which thrives on being left to its own devices.⁵⁸

Manchester, in short, provided an appropriate modality, not only for cultural production and consumption, but also for accessing music within the context of the cultural and built environment. From nationally renowned clubs and bars, such as The Hacienda and the Dry Bar, through to universities and cultural collectives (MIPC and MDMA) Manchester effected a more cosmopolitan infrastructure. Reinforced by music-centred events and forums such as In the City, the integration of Manchester's urban economies and popular cultures indicate an organic growth symptomatic of the city's social and economic diversity. A commercial centre with a diverse economic base, it contrasts markedly with the Sheffield's mono-cultural make up that required strategies that required financial public support to initiate the city's re-imagining and de-industrialization.

In Linda Moss's analysis of left-wing politics, giving centrality to employment was conditioned by a culture reliant on public funding which subsequently encouraged the cultural quarter to develop upon a narrow model of cultural regeneration.⁵⁹

In comparison, Manchester and other cities have developed:

Cultural quarters, which embraced a broader mix of social and economic activity leaving the Sheffield experiment as anachronistic.⁶⁰

The publicly-funded early strategies, symptomatic of the city's unique economic and political make-up, also point to more deeply entrenched attitudes to such infrastructure driven solutions. Despite adoption of the term 'creative industries' as a direct attempt to counteract the traditional belief of the arts and culture

as a financially dependent activity the perception remains. Music clings to its dogma of being ideologically unsolicited. In an interview with Adam Brown, Dave Haslam - a Manchester DJ and writer - argues that:

There's cities, like Sheffield, where the Council has taken years trying to figure out how they can develop the music scene and where's it got them? The minute the Council started getting involved in Sheffield, no-one was interested in the city.⁶¹

Such critiques of cultural policy are also suggestive of music's reluctance to be compromised by accountability to national and regional party policies. Scepticism towards the inherent provincialism of regional regeneration strategies was acknowledged by Steve Beckett, one of the founders of successful Sheffield label Warp Records, who argued that in terms of accessing development funds:

It's always much quicker if you need investment money to go to Warners or someone because accessing public money tends to be very slow. Warners can give you it immediately."⁶²

Beckett's inference was that music is accepting of its role within the market and on the whole more comfortable with commercial as opposed to ideological compromise. The label's subsequent move to London also delivered a major blow to the Sheffield's spatial currency by rejecting the image of the city as an accessible and networked location in favour of London's centrality. The music industry's desire to be distanced from public funding appears to be more successful in the Manchester experience where in Brown's assessment:

Actual investment has been generic and not targeted at music; it has built on existing, organic growth; and the area was already an important site for music production and consumption.⁶³

Conversely, in Sheffield, the investment has been highly visible and sought to publicly profile links between funding and music initiatives to establish its measurable effect.

Underlying this need to separate creative production and direct funding is the question of the unholy alliance between culture and industry. Specifically, the capacity of popular culture to stand outside public agency is a function which is problematized by visible funding. Bianchini points out "the strategies of the 1980s emphasised political consensus, the importance of partnerships between business and public sector agencies."⁶⁴ The implied loss of agency to critique through the appropriation of the creative process, in Elly Tams's view, "feeds into a wider culture in which it is becoming more and more difficult for people with dissenting views to be heard," reinforcing the belief that, "the rise of enterprise-led cultural and creative policy since the 1980s is part of a rise of right-wing politics across Western societies."⁶⁵ The reduction of the creative process, in this case music, to 'craft' like status risks rendering any critical message redundant or to forcibly push such voices towards inaudible margins. Making the consumption and interaction with cultural industries somehow synonymous with creativity itself blurs the space between culture and commerce, subsequently marginalizing areas of dissent. In Charles Leadbeater's view "settled, stable communities are the enemies of innovation, talent, creativity, diversity and experimentation."⁶⁶

Sheffield's music forms, constructed in an environment of non-conformity, risks an erosion of social and cultural relevance through the gentrification of its urban spaces

The Future Sound of Sheffield

The conflation of Sheffield's sonic delineation and strategies of cultural funding conveys the role of sound in the representation of contemporary urban culture. Popular music operates as cultural collateral and agent of change to continually prescribe identity and community. In the words of Brown, O'Connor and Cohen:

[Music] has provided some of the most powerful, complex, innovative and disturbing cultural products of the last 40 years ... it never received a penny of direct public subsidy and operated completely outside the circuits of official culture"⁶⁷

Nevertheless, urban economies in the past twenty five years have appropriated music to varying degrees to revitalize and re-image the contemporary city through the nighttime economies and cultural industries. The Sheffield model of regeneration reflected the embedded economic and social make-up of the city, fashioning a cultural quarter on old micro-economic practices of the industrial period. Although seemingly a victim of its pioneering status, it is simply the result of city's specificity. Sheffield's social, economic and cultural circumstances required the implementation strategies, which addressed issues of high unemployment and economic implosion. The policies were, by necessity, prescriptive, indicating the shift in local government roles from traditional servicing, to one of engineering social and economic change. Significantly strategies were to be instigated and channeled, rather than simply monitored.⁶⁸ The absence of a dynamic commercial or entrepreneurial sector necessitated a visible and pro-active role from the municipal sector and considerable public funding. Such approaches fed into planned strategies and specific zoning rather than the organic, laissez faire procedures, built on existing areas and economies which characterized Manchester's later regeneration.

The significance for Sheffield's policies of regeneration is not only economic, but also social. Strategies implemented were symptomatic of the construction of a post work identity. The city's early de-industrialization required premature economic solutions strategies that also addressed the residual impact of the community's loss of purpose. The economic transformations effected a search for identity brought on by the casualisation of labour where loss of work required a re-defining of personal and community identity. Music's role as an expression of such social dislocation became central, manifested through both cultural production and consumption. Sheffield's early strategies understandably compartmentalized these two components. The development of a specific cultural quarter framed by the potency of the city's music production but also contextualized by income levels were sufficiently low as to preclude the necessary kind of leisure spend for most of the city's population. This kind of reflexive consumption described by Mike Featherstone as, "the aestheticisation of everyday life,"⁶⁹ would evolve as the city's economy became

revitalized through a growing service sector but would be too late to revive the production based cultural quarter which lacked an adequate flow to sustain cultural consumption, paradoxically leaving the area for a period, with its totemic Popular Music Centre, as semi-derelict.

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¹ Source: *Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport Minutes of Evidence*. Examination of Witnesses (Questions 20 - 39) 16 October 2001 B. Kerslake and S. Brailey <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmcmumed/264/1101607.htm> Accessed: 15.11.05.

² On leaving school, in 1973, I spent a year as a labourer in the city's oldest cutlery manufacturers,

Sheffield Metal Company, which closed as a smelting works and relocated in the early 1980s. The brand name is still used and retails through an outlet in central London: Sheffield Metal Company, 5 Cavendish Place, London, W1

³ Emerging from the garage, 2-step and dub-step rhythms, the city's Niche Club has developed a minimalist sound that has become branded the 'niche sound'.

⁴ Source: www.ayup.co.uk.

⁵ The 1951 census showed only 32 people born in Jamaica and by 1981 ratios of Pakistani and Indian migrant considerably above and below the national average respectively. The 2001 census indicates Sheffield's migrant population of 5.8% born outside the EEC is below that of comparable cities for example Manchester, Nottingham and Birmingham. Source: P. White and Dr S. Scott, *Migration and Diversity in Sheffield: Past, Present and Future*, (Department of Geography, University of Sheffield, Monday 20 November 2006)

Accessed online: <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/EasySite/lib/serveDocument.asp?doc=92399&pgid=106674>
Viewed: 06.08.07.

⁶ Source: <http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/guide/seat-profiles/sheffieldcentral> Accessed 06.08.07.

⁷ Interview with journalist Martin Lilleker - www.ayup.co.uk

⁸ Violet May's Record store remained the chief stockist of rock and roll, R&B, soul and reggae in South Street in the city's market area between from the 1950s. Moving in the early 1970s to a city centre location, the store finally closed in the late 1980s.

⁹ Jazz musician Jon Hassell, spent considerable time incorporating the indigenous music of South East Asia into his recordings. The most notable being *Earthquake Island* (Tomato Records, 1978) and *The Dream Theory of Malaya* (EG Records, 1981), which utilized the sound of the region including water as percussion.

¹⁰ *Beyond the Term "Music"* November, 2002 Anthony McCann, p.2 Accessed online: 22.08.07 <http://www.beyondthecommons.com/aaa2002.pdf> p.2.

¹¹ *ibid.* p.3.

¹² In this period my partners and I in Cabaret Voltaire – Chris Watson and Richard Kirk – were part of a close knit community with others who went on to form bands such as, The Human League, Clockdva, Heaven 17, BEF, Comsat Angels, Chakk and ABC

¹³ The first Bomb fell in Sheffield on the night of August 18th, 1940, and the last fell on July 28th, 1942. The raids on Sheffield is really the story of the blitz nights of December 12th and 15th, 1940 when German aircraft dropped somewhere in the region of 450 high explosives bombs, land mines and incendiaries. During these two nights 668 civilians and 25 servicemen were killed. A further 1,586 people were injured and over 40,000 more were made homeless. A total of 3,000 homes were demolished, another 3,000 were badly damaged and 72,000 properties suffered some damage.

Source: www.freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com

¹⁴ “ Nightly, a community of 60,000 would convene underground in London.”

Source: www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwtwo/blitz

¹⁵ Marples Dancehall was hit on the night of December 12th 1940. The most accurate estimate is that 77 people were in Marples at the time of the explosion and 70 died as a result of the injuries they received.

Source: www.chrishobbs.com/marples1940htm

Note: The hotel reopened after the war and became an occasional venue for electronic bands in the 1980s.

¹⁶ I. Gazeley and A. Newell, *Unemployment in Britain since 1945* (School of Social Sciences, University of Sussex, 1999) p.212.

¹⁷ A. DiGaetano and P. Lawless *Urban Governance and Industrial Decline: Governing Structures and Policy Agendas in Birmingham and Sheffield, England, and Detroit, Michigan, 1980-1997*

(Urban Affairs Review, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1999, pp. 546-577).

¹⁸ M. Dinfentass, *The Decline of Industrial Britain 1870-1980* (London, Routledge, 1992) p.13-67.

¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 68.

²⁰ The term derives from Benjamin Disraeli's 19th Century novel and social critique *Sybil*, or *Two Nations*.

²¹ This uneven spatial impact of unemployment in the United Kingdom has lead some to speak of 'two nations': roughly speaking, a line drawn between the Bristol Channel and the Wash.

Source: I. Gazeley and A. Newell, *Unemployment in Britain since 1945* March 1999 (School of Social Sciences, University of Sussex) p.3.

²² Margaret Thatcher's period in office, 1979-90, was marked by a dismantling of nationalized industries

(regionally British Steel Corporation and the Coal Industry), a push for privatization and reduced public spending.

²³ I. Gazeley and A. Newell, *Unemployment in Britain since 1945* March 1999 (School of Social Sciences, University of Sussex) p.3.

²⁴ Ibid. p.1.

²⁵ Ibid. p.4.

²⁶ Figures from the South Yorkshire Objective 1 Single Programming Document, 1999, quoted in L. Moss, *Sheffield's cultural industries quarter 20 years on: what can be learned from a pioneering example?* "International Journal of Cultural Policy," (Routledge Vol. 8, No. 2 / 2002 Pages: 211 – 219).

²⁷ Ibid. p.213.

²⁸ ibid. pp.4-5.

²⁹ Example- Keith Leblanc, *Enemy Within* (Rough Trade Records, 1984)– see below. Miner's benefit shows were a constant in most cities during the strike.

³⁰ Margaret Thatcher's reference to the miners as 'the enemy within' polarized the community subsequently became the title of an electro track released to raise funds for the striking miners, produced by Keith Le Blanc and with a locally produced film clip, which myself and Richard Kirk helped edit.

³¹ In a quote by Employment Minister Norman Tebbit the problems of unemployment could be resolved by lazy workers simply moving to another city – by pushbike if necessary.

³² A. Lovatt & Justin O'Connor, *Cities and the Night-time*, Economy Planning Practice and Research, (Vol. 10, No. 2, 1995) p.127.

³³ Described by Linda Moss as the Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire. L. Moss, *Sheffield's cultural industries quarter 20 years on: what can be learned from a pioneering example?* International Journal of Cultural Policy (Routledge,/Taylor & Francis Group (Vol. 8, No. 2 / 2002) p.212.

³⁴ A. DiGaetano and P. Lawless, *Urban Governance and Industrial Decline: Governing Structures and Policy Agendas in Birmingham and Sheffield, England, and Detroit, Michigan, 1980-1997* (Urban Affairs Review, Vol. 34, No. 4,1999) p.553.

³⁵ Ibid. p.553.

³⁶ L. Moss, *Sheffield's cultural industries quarter 20 years on: what can be learned from a pioneering example?* International Journal of Cultural Policy (Routledge,/Taylor & Francis Group (Vol. 8, No. 2 / 2002) p.213.

³⁷ A. DiGaetano and P. Lawless, *Urban Governance and Industrial Decline: Governing Structures and Policy Agendas in Birmingham and Sheffield, England, and Detroit, Michigan, 1980-1997.*

(Urban Affairs Review, Vol. 34, No. 4,1999) p.565.

³⁸ Ibid. p.566.

³⁹ A. Brown, Research Fellow, MIPC *Music Policy in Sheffield, Manchester and Liverpool* (Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University and Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool August 1998) p.2.

⁴⁰ D. Hobbs, S. Lister, P. Hadfield, S. Winlow, and S. Hall, *Receiving shadows: governance and liminality in the night-time economy.* (British Journal of Sociology, Volume 51, Issue 4, 1 December 2000) p.701.

⁴¹ A. Lovatt & J. O'Connor, *Cities and the Night-time*, Economy Planning Practice and Research, (Vol. 10, No. 2, 1995) p.127.

⁴² Fon Force was a successful production team during the 80s and 90s based around Robert Gordon, founder of WARP records and Mark Brydon of Chakk and later Moloko. Axis studio was developed by members of Comsat Angels.

⁴³ J. O'Connor, 'Cultural Intermediaries and Cultural Industries', in J. Verwijnen and P. Lehtovuori, (eds.) *Creative Cities*, (Helsinki, University of Art and Design Publishing Unit, 1999) p.14.

⁴⁴ L. Moss, *Sheffield's cultural industries quarter 20 years on: what can be learned from a pioneering example?* International Journal of Cultural Policy (Routledge,/Taylor & Francis Group (Vol. 8, No. 2 / 2002) p.214.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.215.

⁴⁶ Source: see Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter - <http://www.ciq.org.uk/>

⁴⁷ Source: <http://www.made-in-sheffield.com/places/landmark.asp?PlaceName=NMusic>

⁴⁸ The centre designed by Branson Coates Architects was designed by Branson Coates Architects.

⁴⁹ Quoted from interview with writer and journalist Martin Lilleker 14.05.05.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ The Centre predicted it would attract 400,000 visitors in the first year. Source: L. Moss, *Sheffield's cultural industries quarter 20 years on: what can be learned from a pioneering example?* International Journal of Cultural Policy (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group (Vol. 8, No. 2 / 2002) P.218.

⁵⁴ From interview with journalist Martin Lilleker.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Dr A. Brown, *Music Policy in Sheffield, Manchester and Liverpool* Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University and Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool, August 1998.

⁵⁷ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 2: A Review of Four Cultural Quarters in the UK, Ireland and Australia* Planning, Practice & Research, Vol. 19, No. 1, February 2004. p.10.

⁵⁸ A. Brown, *Music Policy in Sheffield, Manchester and Liverpool* Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester, Metropolitan University and Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool, August 1998.

⁵⁹ The Centre predicted it would attract 400,000 visitors in the first year. Source: L. Moss, *Sheffield's cultural industries quarter 20 years on: what can be learned from a pioneering example?* International Journal of Cultural Policy (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group (Vol. 8, No. 2 / 2002) P.211.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*.p.211.

⁶¹ Dr A. Brown, *Music Policy in Sheffield, Manchester and Liverpool* Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University and Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool, August 1998.

⁶² *ibid.* Interview with Adam Brown.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ F. Bianchini, "Introduction", in F. Bianchini and M. Parkinson (eds) *Cultural Policy and Urban*

Regeneration: The West European Experience, (London, Routledge., 1993) p. 2.

⁶⁵ E. Tams, *Creativity, Entrepreneurship and Gendered Inequality—A Sheffield Case Study* (City, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2002) p.397.

⁶⁶ C. Leadbeater, *Living on Thin Air*. (London, Penguin 1999) p.15.

⁶⁷ A. Brown, J. O'Connor & S. Cohen, *Local Music Policies Within a Global Music Industry: Cultural Quarters in Manchester and Sheffield*

Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University; Manchester, UK Institute for Popular Music, Liverpool University, Liverpool, UK.

⁶⁸ Sheffield's cultural quarter continues to develop with 7.2% of Sheffield's working population employed in the creative industries, well above the national average of 4% Source: Sheffield City Council Statistics, 2004.

The sector is also home to a cluster of some 300 small businesses related to film, music and TV, design and computers.

Source: Montgomery, J. *Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 2: A Review of Four Cultural Quarters in the UK, Ireland and Australia*, Planning, Practice & Research, Vol. 19, No. 1, February 2004. p.10.

⁶⁹ A Brown, J. O'Connor & S. Cohen: *Local Music Policies Within a Global Music Industry: Cultural Quarters in Manchester and Sheffield*

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Mississippi: An Emerging Democracy Creating a Culture of Civic Participation among Formerly Oppressed Peoples.

By Rickey L. Cole and Kimberly S. Adams

Abstract

From the establishment of statehood in 1817 until the 1965 enactment and subsequent enforcement of the federal Voting Rights Act, African Americans were systematically excluded from any meaningful participation in civil society, except for a brief interregnum during the post-Civil War federal occupation of Mississippi (1866-1877). Persons of African descent were denied their rights as citizens, usually under color of the law, but often through means of quiet intimidation or brute force. This paper analyzes within an historical context, the recent efforts at inclusive democracy in Mississippi. Many Mississippians have worked to create a culture of participation and diversity, develop civic literacy and participate fully in civic life, in an often-hostile environment.

United States Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney wrote in 1857 that no blacks, whether slave or free, were citizens and that they were “so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect” (Shenkman, 168). A Civil War, two world wars and nearly a century later in 1949, Professor V.O. Key observed that blacks in Mississippi had “no hand in the voting, no part in factional maneuvers, no seats in the legislature” (229). Even in 2003, when highly qualified African American Democratic nominees sought the lieutenant governorship and the state treasurer’s post, a newspaper analysis of their defeats headlined “Race Seen as Factor in Mississippi Elections” (Byrd, 2003; Adams, 2005). Such is the slow progress of the march toward full participatory citizenship for African Americans in Mississippi.

The Long March Towards Red

Political scientists have produced mountains of data that indicate that political party identification is a

major determining factor in voting behavior. In Mississippi, race and party have slowly become almost interchangeable over the last forty years (Adams, 2005). For most of Mississippi's history, Mississippians who were allowed to vote consistently, prior to the 1960s, (i.e., white male Mississippians who could afford to pay the poll tax) cast their votes overwhelmingly in favor of Democratic candidates for public office. After Reconstruction, Mississippi was a part of the "Solid South," regularly sending Democratic electors to the Electoral College and Democratic senators and representatives to the Congress for nearly a century. As long as the Democrats at the national level did nothing to challenge racial discrimination in the South, they could depend upon the continued loyalty of the region (Lamis, 3-4). However, when Democratic President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he commented, "I am handing the South to the Republican Party for the next fifty years" (Reedy, 23).

White voters in Mississippi began to move away from their traditional loyalty to the Democratic Party with the presidential election of 1948, when the Mississippi delegation bolted the Democratic National Convention rather than going along with a mildly pro-civil rights plank in the platform introduced by Hubert Humphrey (Adams, 2005; Glaser, 1996; Lamis, 1984). In the 1948 general election, Mississippi gave its electoral votes to Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Thurmond was the nominee of the States Rights or "Dixiecrat" Party, and chose as his Vice Presidential running mate, Mississippi's Governor Fielding Wright. Rather than support John Kennedy in 1960, the virtually all-white Mississippi electorate endorsed an unpledged slate of state electors who ultimately supported independent candidate Harry Byrd of Virginia (Chohodas, 1993; Lamis, 1984). In 1964, for the first time since Reconstruction, a large majority of Mississippi voters (87.1 percent) voted for Republican Barry Goldwater, over the pro-civil rights Lyndon Johnson. Although many Southerners voted for the Republican candidate, only 19 percent identified themselves as Republicans in 1964 (Glaser, 1996). In the following ten presidential elections, Mississippi has voted Democratic only once, in 1976 for fellow Southerner Jimmy Carter.

Federal registrars began the process of implementing the Voting Rights Act in Mississippi in time for African American voters to have some impact on the state and county elections held in 1967. Robert G. Clark, a teacher and civil rights worker in Holmes County, was elected as the first African American member of the Mississippi House of Representatives since Reconstruction (Andrews, 2004; Glaser, 1996). Like virtually all newly enfranchised African American Mississippians, Representative Clark was a Democrat. By the next election for state office in 1971, African Americans had attained sufficient voting strength to play a key role in the election of a Democratic, racially moderate white governor, Bill Waller. A self-proclaimed populist, Waller, rewarded African American support by appointing persons of color to state positions (Adams, 2005; Lamis, 1984). In addition to being the first governor to appoint African Americans to key governmental positions, Waller was the first governor in living memory that did not run for office on a platform of segregation of the races. Waller's term was followed by the election of another governor by a bi-racial coalition. Cliff Finch and the bi-racial Democratic coalition delivered the state electors to Jimmy Carter in 1976, the first Democrat to receive electoral votes from Mississippi in twenty years (Lamis, 1984). It seemed to some observers at the time that Mississippi's newly-unified coalition of traditional white Democrats and pro-civil rights African American Democrats might be able to return Mississippi to the Democratic column and stunt the fledgling Mississippi Republican organization before

it could become a threat.

Wink, Nod and Win

It had long been an established practice of segregationist Democratic politicians in Mississippi and elsewhere to pander to white racism to win an election. The notorious racist Theodore Bilbo rose to the governorship of Mississippi and was elected to serve in the United States Senate by “spreading nigger dust,” as he put it. After losing his first run for high office in Alabama in the 1950’s to a more vocal segregationist, George Wallace vowed never to be “out-niggered” again (Cohodas, 1993; Goldfield, 1990; Lamis, 1984). Throughout the 1970’s most of the segregationist diehards in Mississippi remained at least nominal Democrats, under the leadership of longtime (1941-1978) segregationist Democrat Senator James O. Eastland. As the Mississippi Republican Party began to organize and field candidates in the 1970’s, it appeared for a time that they might build a bi-racial coalition committed to racial cooperation. Eastland was challenged for his last re-election bid in 1972 by a racially moderate Republican, Gil Carmichael (Adams, 2005). Carmichael worked to build a bi-racial coalition behind his candidacy, and despite active opposition from his fellow Republicans in the Nixon White House, Carmichael gained nearly 42% of the vote against the legendarily powerful Eastland. Carmichael was the Republican nominee for Governor in 1975, gaining 45.1% of the vote in that outing (Lamis, 1984). After losing twice with the moderate Carmichael, Mississippi Republicans began an active effort to reach out to “conservatives” (i.e. segregationists and white supremacists) who were still clinging to the old Democratic label. These efforts accelerated after Eastland’s retirement in 1978 and Carmichael’s third statewide defeat as Republican nominee for Governor in 1979. Carmichael garnered a mere 39.1% of the vote against the Democratic nominee, former segregationist-turned-racial moderate William Winter (Adams, 2005; Lamis, 1984). By 1983, the former segregationist Democrats who had switched parties to become Republicans were able to nominate one of their own, Leon Bramtlett, a former chairman of the lily-white Democratic faction of the 1960’s. The ex-Dixiecrats had eclipsed the racial moderates among Mississippi Republicans for good, and they knew exactly what it would take to win in Mississippi... Bilbo and Eastland had taught them well (Lamis, 1984).

On a sweltering summer day in 1980, Republican Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan chose a symbolic venue for an early foray into the Southerner Jimmy Carter’s home turf. Reagan chose the Neshoba County Fair in Philadelphia, Mississippi, a site within a few miles of an infamous happening of only sixteen years before. In 1964, three civil rights workers named Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney had been murdered and buried in the red clay mud of Neshoba County (Crespina, 2007; Cohodas, 1993; Goldfield, 1990; Lamis, 1984). They were murdered for having the temerity to work to register African Americans to vote. They were murdered by the Ku Klux Klan. They were murdered by a key element of the voting constituency of Bilbo and Eastland. With Eastland retired to his plantation and the Democratic Party in the hands of the hated “blacks”, this constituency was up for grabs. Lyndon Johnson had signed away their loyalty when he signed the Civil Rights Act the same year that Goodman,

Schwerner and Chaney were murdered. Reagan and his Mississippi minions reached out and grabbed that constituency as Reagan uttered a subtle phrase that sent up rebel yells that shook the red clay dust: “The South shall rise again!” Reagan’s 1980 campaign was laced with references to “welfare queens” in Chicago who drove Cadillacs paid for with undeserved and overly generous welfare checks (Crespino, 2007; Zucchino, 1997; Lamis, 1984). In Mississippi, that was like throwing red meat to starving wolves. White racism had found a home in the Republican Party, especially the Mississippi Republican Party.

The partisan shift moved slowly, but steadily. In 1981, forty-six percent (46%) of white Mississippians identified themselves as Democrats. By 1998, that number had declined to thirty-one percent (31%). In 1998, twenty-seven percent (27%) of white Mississippians believed that the Democratic Party was protecting their interests, while seventy-three percent (73%) of African Americans believed that Democrats were protecting their interests. By 2003, only eighteen percent (18%) of white Mississippians identified with the Democratic Party (Morgan, 2004). Exit polls indicated that seventy-seven percent (77%) of white voters voted for Republican Haley Barbour in the 2003 gubernatorial election, while ninety-four percent (94%) of African American voters voted for Democrat Ronnie Musgrove (Morgan, 2004).

In 2003, the Mississippi Democratic Party nominated, in the primary elections, a well-qualified and experienced African American candidate for lieutenant governor and another well-qualified African American candidate for state treasurer (Mitchell, 2003). While many factors affect any election campaign, state pundits and election observers agreed that the race of these nominees did play a role in their defeats. The treasurer-nominee, Gary Anderson, stood in stark contrast with his under-qualified Republican opponent. With more than a decade of experience in state government, including service as chief financial officer for the state, Anderson stood head-and-shoulders above the young Republican candidate, who had never had any involvement with state finances (Mitchell, 2003). The Republicans featured photographs of the Democratic nominee in their negative television advertisements in the last days of the campaign, making sure that the die-hard racist element in the Mississippi electorate remembered that Anderson was black when they went to the polls (Salter, 2002). Anderson garnered forty-five percent (45%) of the vote, more than any African American candidate has received statewide since Reconstruction, but the under-qualified Republican won the election. Republican gubernatorial nominee Haley Barbour made his subtle appeals to racism, first by equating the homes of Head Start children to something worse than a “whorehouse”, by sporting the confederate flag on his lapel throughout the campaign, and by allowing his photograph to remain featured on the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens website. The Reagan-style “wink and nod” strategy was still working in 2003.

A House Divided

Partisanship is not the only measure of the gulf between white and African American attitudes in Mississippi. A 1998 social research report conducted by the Social Science Research Center at Mississippi State University showed that sixty percent (60%) of African Americans in Mississippi supported preferences for

African Americans in hiring and promotion due to past discrimination, while only eleven percent (11%) of white Mississippians held that view. In the same survey, ninety-two percent (92%) of African Americans believed that the federal government should make every effort to improve the black socio-economic position, while forty-six percent (46%) of whites held that view (Shaffer, Jackreece, and Horne, 1999).

In 1987, an amendment to the state constitution repealing a ban on interracial marriage (a law previously nullified by federal action) was approved by popular vote in a general election by a slim majority of only fifty-two percent (52%). In March of 1995, at the urging of African American legislators, the Mississippi Legislature ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, the amendment outlawing slavery in the United States. Mississippi was the final state to do so, but of course the state's ratification was merely a symbolic action by 1995. In 2001, a popular referendum on the design of the state flag resulted in a sixty-four percent (64%) popular endorsement for the continuation of the current state flag, which prominently features the Confederate battle flag (Orey, 2004).

Mississippi has more African American elected officials per capita than does any state in the Union. With the highest African American percentage of population, nearly forty percent (40%), the high number of African American elected officials is appropriate, and can be found remarkable only in the recognition that these numbers are a recent development (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register, 2004-2008). When Robert Clark made history as the first African American member of the House of Representatives in 1968, he was the sole African American among 122 members. Today, thirty-five members of the state house of representatives are African Americans, as are eleven of the fifty-two state senators. Mississippi has been represented by an African American in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1987 when voters of the Mississippi Delta elected Mike Espy to represent them in Washington. In 1993, Bennie G. Thompson was elected to represent the Delta district which comprises of one-fourth of the state's total population (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register, 2004-2008).

Together Forward

“Together forward” was ironically the campaign slogan of Mississippi's first Republican Governor since Reconstruction, the reactionary Kirk Fordice, who was elected in 1991. Fordice was a master at the subtle Reagan technique of making a wink and a nod at racism. When asked about racism in Mississippi, he huffed “We don't do race anymore.” He threatened to call on the National Guard rather than raise taxes if ordered to do so under the terms of a federal case brought to correct under-funding at state historically black universities (Eubank, 1991). Governor Fordice did little to foster “togetherness” or to embrace the concept of moving forward during his eight-year tenure.

“Together forward” can be a sincere rallying cry for Mississippi's future. There is an old saying by the late Dr. Booker T. Washington, that is often repeated by civil rights workers in Mississippi that “one man cannot hold another man down in the ditch without remaining down in the ditch with him” (Harlan and

Smock, 1981). As the poorest state in the Union, Mississippians have held each other in the proverbial ditch since the founding of the state (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register, 2004-2008). A wide range of institutions have begun to devote time and resources to finding racial common ground.

At the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss) in 1963, efforts to integrate the student body were met with official resistance and white violence, but in 1999, the William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation was established on that same campus. The life of its namesake, former governor William Winter, is an instructive example of both the progress Mississippi has made in race relations and also how far the state has yet to go. Winter began his career in the late 1940's as a segregationist, though never of the race-baiting ilk of Bilbo or Eastland. In the 1960's Winter moderated his views on race, and was attacked as being an "integrationist" during his unsuccessful bid for governor in 1967 (Lamis, 1994; Goldfield, 1990). Winter enjoyed near-unanimous African American support in his successful bid for governor in 1979. Since his term as governor, Winter has become a leading force for racial and social justice in Mississippi, and was appointed in 1997 to serve on President Bill Clinton's Commission on Race in America. The William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation builds more inclusive communities by promoting diversity and citizenship, and by supporting projects that help communities solve local challenges (William Winter Institute for Racial Conciliation Website).

At the University of Southern Mississippi, the Center for Community and Civic Engagement, formed in November 2000, is working to foster service learning in ways that value diverse partnerships between K-16 educational institutions and community-based organizations that focus on civic responsibility and community needs. The Center focuses particularly upon underserved communities where the at-risk youth populations are large. By building partnerships with existing institutions and community-based organizations, the Center seeks to help address community needs as defined by the communities themselves, rather than as an imposition of programs and techniques from outside the communities (Center for Community and Civic Engagement Website).

Tougaloo College, largely considered the historic heart of the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi, launched its Center for Civic Engagement and Social Responsibility, in 2003. Its mission is to serve as a catalyst, a forum, and an incubator of new ideas, creating a network of interaction between academia and the community at large. The Tougaloo Center is beginning to explore innovative ways to escape the "Ivory Tower" mentality of academia by engaging diverse communities at the grassroots through public forums on issues of local, state, national and international concerns (Center for Civic Engagement and Social Responsibility Website).

Mission Mississippi is an ecumenical Christian organization "founded to encourage and demonstrate unity in the Body of Christ across racial and denominational lines in Mississippi" (Mission Mississippi Website). The great common denominator between most white Mississippians and most African American Mississippians is a professed faith in Jesus Christ. The Mission has worked for more than a decade to bring perhaps the most powerful force in Mississippi society, the Christian faith, to bear upon the injustice of discrimination and the moral indefensibility of racial exclusion, hatred, and violence. Racially-segregated

church congregations across Mississippi are being led by Mission Mississippi to worship together in joint services, to visit congregations of different race or denomination, and to engage in religious study and discussion across racial boundaries in ways never before undertaken in Mississippi (Mission Mississippi Website).

Mississippi Policy Forum, a non-profit, nongovernmental organization founded in 2003, has a mission of enhancing civic literacy among adults and providing opportunities for middle school and high school students to develop their skill as citizens before they reach voting age (Mississippi Policy Forum Website). Given the long history of systematic exclusion in Mississippi, there is not a strong culture of civic participation in most Mississippi communities. Mississippi Policy Forum works to provide all Mississippians the means and skills essential for them to be able to exercise their full civil rights, interact with policymakers and influence policy outcomes. By providing practical civic education for both students and adults, the Forum will empower and equip the citizenry of Mississippi to develop a more vigorous, diverse, interactive and broad-based democracy (Mississippi Policy Forum Website).

Conclusion

Each of the aforementioned foundations are new, having found their existence at a time when at least some Mississippians are learning that they must heed the words of the prophet, and come to reason together. These organizations represent a vanguard, but are only a part of the overall “homegrown” efforts to come to terms with Mississippi’s history, embrace inclusion and diversity, and truly move “together forward”.

The late Governor Fordice notwithstanding, Mississippi does still “do” race. Rev. Rims Barber, a committed civil rights activist who came to Mississippi for Freedom Summer and never left, describes himself as “a recovering racist.” Mississippians who have committed themselves to furthering the goals of diversity know that the dark hatred of difference continue to dwell in the souls of many. Mississippi has long been a metaphor for racism in America, a powerful symbol for the unfulfilled promise of the Declaration of Independence. The fits, start, and detours Mississippi democracy has endured, and continues to endure, can be instructive for others who grope for the rocks to cross the river towards inclusion.

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Corruption of Language and Nigeria's Debased Value System

By Adeyemi Adegaju

When language in common use in any country becomes irregular and depraved, it is followed by their ruin and degradation.

-John Milton

Abstract

This paper invites attention to language (ab)use evident in the lexico-semantic constructions and reconstructions that are tactically deployed to configure and, more often than not, to conceal Nigeria's debased value system. It discusses some linguistic choices in relation to the major facets of the situation, namely labour and productivity, security, social life and politics. The article acknowledges the fact that the depravity of Nigeria's social order is alarming and unhealthy for national development and, to this effect, has been the subject of many discourses. But it contends that the linguistic options that Nigerians use to code all kinds of unacceptable behaviour are as threatening to the cause of national development as the practices themselves. Therefore, this study posits that any crusade that is geared towards sanitizing the Nigerian society should not be directed only at the manifestations of the country's perverse world-view but also at the linguistic expressions that serve as their 'life support' system.

Keywords: 'Naija', Meaning, Value System, World-view, Development

Introduction

Contrary to Shakespeare's memorable words: 'What's in a name? That which we call a rose. / By any other name would smell as sweet.', it is a fact that when a name changes, the values attached to it often change as well. In the *Holy Bible*, for example, Abram's name was changed to Abraham, Jacob's to Israel and Saul's to Paul, at the point of a higher force changing the cause of their destiny for good. It is noteworthy, however, that changing a person's name does not always have positive attractions. There are people whose character traits have earned them appellations that have superseded their original names. For example, there are people who answer appellations such as Thatcher, Maradona, and so on¹. Popular as such names are in the larger society, those who are now using them as cognomen and their character traits are objects of contempt in the Nigerian context.

It is also a usual development for the names of countries to be changed when such countries are in search of cultural or ideological identity. In such a situation, such names tend to re-define the missions of such countries. In Africa, for example, Ghana was formerly known as Gold Coast, Burkina Faso as Upper Volta, and Congo as Zaire and now Congo Democratic Republic. Apart from the cultural and ideological perceptions that could underlie such a change of names, a country's perverse world-view could make her original name or that of her nationality metamorphose into another. This applies to Nigeria's situation in which the original name 'Nigeria' / 'Nigerian' has pejoratively metamorphosed into 'Naija'. The name 'Naija' and its attendant untoward behaviour patterns as exhibited by Nigerians have channelled an inglorious path for the country in the international community, as Aribiah (2000: 233) observes:

'Naija' is a slang; a very informal nomenclature. Yet it is quite popular in the United States of America. A Nigerian is usually referred to as a Naija . . . it is a derogatory term. The Nigerian is so-called especially when he/she exhibits unethical behaviour in government or business . . . rushing unnecessarily to board a train or a coach, evading tax payment deliberately and telling lies to cover up their illegal immigration status. Such unacceptable behaviour patterns observed over time amongst some Nigerians become associated with them. They are sarcastically called Naija. Naija is usually pronounced with a low-rise tone.

Instances of such unacceptable behaviour exhibited by Nigerians beyond the shores of their father/motherland and their being labelled 'Naija' are worrisome. However, within the context of the present paper, we focus attention on the appalling behaviour patterns exhibited by Nigerians at home, which usually attract the sarcastic exclamation 'Naija' or 'Omo Naija' (the true Nigerian) and the concomitant meaning-making reflexes that have been devised to capture the world-view in such a manner that bespeaks of a deliberate attempt to explore the expressive possibilities of language for dubious purposes. Such behaviour patterns span interpersonal relations, the discharge of one's duties at one's place of employment, (dis)service to the nation, passing through a system in pursuit of certain goals, among others. It is in this light that we treat the concept 'Naija' in this paper as it affects Nigeria's social depravity vis-à-vis degeneration of language use.

At this stage, we specify how the rest of the paper is organized. After this introductory section, we will

consider by turns the following: theoretical perspective, aspects of Nigeria's debased value system, discussion and concluding comments.

Theoretical Perspective

The kind of analysis we carry out in this paper is purely sociolinguistic in approach, as it covers 'studies of language in its social context – language as spoken by ordinary people in their everyday lives' (Trudgill, 1974: 33). Within this framework, we apply 'linguistic relativity' which is one of the two associated principles of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, the other being 'linguistic determinism'. Linguistic determinism as a strand of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis posits that language determines thought, as we can only perceive and think what our language allows us to perceive, think and say. This is considered a strong version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis which few linguists would accept, as the most obvious problem, according to Pinker (1994) quoted in Parr-Davies (2001: 2), is the idea of causality – one cannot ascertain whether (if at all) language has affected thought or if the thought has affected the language.

Gumperz (1996) cited in *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, however, holds the view that current linguists, rather than study whether language affects thought, are studying how it affects thought. It is against this backdrop that we appeal to the more moderate or limited Whorfianism called linguistic relativity which posits that language influences the way we perceive and remember, and generally, it predisposes us to look at the world in a certain way. Chandler (1994) contends that while few linguists would accept the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in its 'strong', extreme or deterministic form, many now accept a 'weak', more moderate or limited Whorfianism, that is, linguistic relativity which differs from linguistic determinism in a number of ways:

- the emphasis is on the potential for thinking to be 'influenced' rather than unavoidably 'determined' by language;
- it is a two-way process so that 'the kind of language we use' is almost influenced by 'the way we see the world';
- any influence is ascribed not to 'language' as such or to one language compared with another, but to the use *within a language* of one variety rather than another (typically a *sociolect* - the language used primarily by members of a particular social group);
- emphasis is given to the social context of language use rather than to purely linguistic considerations, such as the social pressure in particular contexts to use language in one way rather than another. (Chandler, 1994: 3).

It is based on this understanding that we appeal to linguistic relativity in discussing language (ab)use with

regard to Nigeria's perverse world-view. At this point, it is useful that we cast light on the context against which we will anchor our subsequent discussion.

Aspects of Nigeria's Debased Value System

It is no news that Nigerians sometimes shudder to disclose their identity in the midst of other nationals in anticipation of the contempt and ridicule that would greet such a revelation. 'Is it a crime to be a Nigerian?' (Oha, 2001: 4) asked when Sabena Airlines refused him booking for being a Nigerian. Eso (1999: 90) attempts to picture the bizarre situation and its underlying ravaging malady:

The mess this country is in, especially in the realm of corruption, now seems to have practically isolated the country from the progressive world. It has stared[sic] off investors from a country which badly needs an upward economic progression, given the country a negative image, especially in the news media of the developed world . . . Everywhere one goes, the signs are there, physically or subtly displayed. When they are physically displayed, it is clearly shown that the Nigerian is not welcome. When they are subtle, they are accompanied with sighs and contemptuous smiles signifying that he (or she) is least regarded. (parenthesis mine)

Expressing a similar view, Mbanefo (1999: 11) laments:

How was it possible for our value system to become almost completely destroyed within a space of less than twenty years? Our social fabric has been worn terribly thin, our morality has fallen into disrepute, and our respected institutions have lost their authority, while our educational system has lost its quality. The sad corollary to all these is that, internationally, we have lost respect as a serious people who can be trusted in business.

These viewpoints encapsulate the extent to which Nigeria's value system has degenerated. We will now attempt to shed light on some spheres of Nigeria's national life that have become breeding sites for corruption.

Nigeria's educational system has suffered terribly from the pangs of her debased value system. A major vice that is thriving by the day is examination malpractice. It is noteworthy that offering and taking of bribes by candidates and examination officials respectively in both internal and external examinations have aided examination malpractice. Some candidates allegedly contribute some amount of money for invigilators at examination centres so that they could have their way. Thus, the conduct of examinations is replete with cases of examination leakage, especially in external examinations conducted by bodies such as West African Examination Council (WAEC), National Examination Council (NECO) and Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB). In 2005, the *Vanguard* newspaper carried on its front page the screaming headline: 'Exams Leakage Scandal Rocks WAEC' with a rider: 'Students Procure Each

Question Paper with ₦5, 000'. To further heighten the national disgrace, a sample of one of the leaked subjects tagged 'Bromide of alleged CRK paper' appeared on the front page. Reacting to this development, the *Tell Magazine* of June 20, 2005 tagged its cover story: 'Exam Scams: Why Nigerian Certificates Are Worthless', capturing the sorry state of Nigeria's educational system by titling the piece: 'The Reign of Empty Heads'.

In the tertiary institutions, some disgruntled male lecturers unduly favour students of the opposite sex and receive gratifications from the male students or both sexes so that the students could pass well even when they have not worked for such. Commenting on this, Bugaje (1995: 4) has this to say:

You no longer need to be qualified to gain admission nor do you need to pass the exams to get the degree, for so many ways of going round all these have been perfected and are gaining ascendancy in the amoral atmosphere of the campuses.

At present, the certificates offered by Nigeria's educational institutions no longer command any respect in the labour market both within and outside the country. In effect, the national development scheme and the dream of successfully implementing it are fast fading away.

The practice of journalism in Nigeria is also one of the most affected by corrupt practices. For long, journalists have been notorious for taking bribes from corporate bodies and government officials but this assumed a national and disgraceful dimension on 8th February 2002 in the wake of Professor Jerry Gana's (formerly Nigeria's Minister of Information) holding a session with foreign pressmen, particularly of Cable News Network (CNN) and South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) extraction for their negative reporting on the aftermath of the Idi-Araba riots and Ikeja Army Dump explosion which suggested that Nigerians were in support of the military return to power (*This Day* Saturday February 9, 2002). After the session, it was reported that (some of) the reporters received gratification of ₦50, 000 notes equivalent to \$430. Professor Jerry Gana, however, denied bribing foreign journalists during the interactive session, arguing that in the letter of invitation sent to the journalists, 'arrangement has been made to cover their travel and incidental expenses, hence the decision to give each of them the sum of ₦50, 000' (Jerry Gana quoted in Aluko, 2002: 4).

Notwithstanding the truth or falsity of this report, the practice of journalism and its ethics in Nigeria have been denigrated by bribery. Stephen Faris reported in *Time Magazine* (International Edition) April 14, 2002 (quoted in Aluko, 2002: 3) that:

Cash-filled envelopes are routinely handed over by government officials, oil companies, banks and just about anyone giving a press conference. "Virtually all journalists are given", says Yinka Aderibigbe, who covers Lagos State Governor for the Guardian . . . A typical press conference yields up to \$15, more than half of most reporters' weekly salary. Editors have money delivered to their offices. A single source – a state government, for instance – might give a senior editor \$200 every few months to ensure favorable coverage.

In the political arena, corruption has taken its toll on the sustenance of Nigeria's political system. In the current political dispensation, bribery has reached such an alarming rate that ('Ghana-must-go') bags containing millions of naira have been reportedly dragged to the floor of the parliament as bribes when decisions on the impeachment of parliament officials or any other crucial state decisions were to be taken. Apart from this, other political actions such as the organization and execution of solidarity/political rallies, exercise of civic rights in local, state and national polls, have been characterized by the allocation and distribution of money to participants. The April 2007 general elections in Nigeria, apart from being marred by violence, also suffered grave setbacks owing to reported large-scale electoral malpractices that thrived on bribing the electorate and the officials of the electoral body. It is interesting to note that the report of the European Union Election Monitoring Group on the April 2007 general elections in Nigeria has been officially presented to the Nigerian government (*The Guardian*, Wednesday, September 5, 2007). Pointing out some of the lapses in the elections, the EU observes:

Incidents of hijacking of ballot boxes were witnessed by EU observers, who reported widespread irregularities, including under-age voting, and significant evidence of fraud, particularly during the result collation process, which completely lacked transparency due to the fact that polling station results were not publicly displayed at any level of the election administration throughout the country.

(The Guardian, Wednesday, September 5, 2007, p. 70)

The security system of the country is also adversely affected by the country's moral decadence. Men and women of the Nigeria Police no longer enjoy the confidence of the people in view of the bribery that thrives in the system. Policemen mount illegal check points not to enforce any law but to extort naira notes from road users, thereby giving defaulting road users and criminals the licence to operate at will. In fact, the lapses in the Nigeria Police at a time precipitated the emergence of vigilante groups as a means of law enforcement in Nigeria. Besides, men of the Customs Service, Immigration Service and Road Safety Corps collect bribes at their various duty posts. The implication of this is that 'anything goes' in the Nigerian system so long as one could offer a bribe.

So far, emphasis has been laid on bribery as a facet of corrupt practices in Nigeria. Equally worrisome is the Nigerian scam called four-one-nine (419) or the 'Nigerian Connection' as it is mostly called in Europe. The advance fee fraud has given the country such a negative image that there is a Nigerian 419 Coalition website <<http://home.rica.net/alphae/419coal/>> on the Internet to alert the whole world of the 'Nigerian way of doing business'. There are such warnings/captions on the website as 'The Five Rules of Doing Business with Nigeria' and 'What to Do if You Receive a Nigerian Scam/419 Letter'. In this sense, one would share Bugaje's (1994) view that the country is daily receding but the only thing moving forward in the country is corruption which is growing and thriving and becoming the biggest industry. In view of this, there is an extent to which one can dispute Tijssen's (2001-2006) assertion that 'in the Western World, Nigeria is rapidly becoming known as the business fraud capital of the world'. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) of 2000 ranked Nigeria

the most corrupt country in the world; the second most corrupt in 2001, 2002, and 2003; the third most corrupt in 2004; the sixth most corrupt in 2005; and the eighteenth most corrupt in 2006 (http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/suveys_indices/cpi)

The picture painted so far touches on the facets of ‘Naija’ and this is encapsulated in Asemota’s and Yesufu’s (2002: 19) view:

... there is something fundamentally wrong with our value system. Nigeria is a classic example of **“representation without taxation”, “reaping without planting” and “sharing without contributing”**. Nigerians need to work hard, **not** scheme hard for what they want and get. Hard work must be made to pay in Nigeria of the 21st century.

It is noteworthy that corrupt practices in Nigeria have been condemned in strong terms by successive governments over the years. In particular, the Obasanjo administration came up with two agencies saddled with its anti-corruption crusade by first inaugurating the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and later the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). While the EFCC has been severely criticized for being selective in its arrest and prosecution of public officers, the successes recorded by the agency so far in curbing financial crimes (<http://www.efccnigeria.org/>) must have engendered Nigeria’s upward review on the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) of the Transparency International as indicated earlier. Recently, Nigeria’s efforts at fighting corruption received a tremendous boost with President Umar Musa Yar’Adua’s public declaration of assets. This development has been widely commended:

June 28 2007, would remain a remarkable day in the history of this present administration and Nigeria. This is because, on that day, President Umar Musa Yar’Adua publicly declared his assets and liabilities. This is remarkable in the sense that never in the history of Nigeria, either during any military regime or civilian administration of past governments has any Head of State or President opted to publicly declare his assets.²

In this respect, Raufu (2007) emphasizes the culture of transparency that President Yar’Adua is trying to enthrone by the exemplary action of declaring his assets publicly. He then notes that President Yar’Adua’s war against corruption will work because of his willingness to lead by example rather than preaching what he cannot practise.

At this juncture, it is pertinent for us to point out that corruption is a worldwide phenomenon and not peculiar to Nigeria alone. In a report monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), (available at <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3819027.stm>) it is established that corruption is pervasive in Africa. It points out, for instance, that in some Cameroonian public hospitals, patients say that they have to put some money in the doctor’s consultation book before they are attended to. And in some schools, a student cannot pass examinations without bribing the teachers. One of the respondents to the poser ‘How deep is corruption in Africa?’ holds the view that corruption in most African countries takes place within

the civil service, as civil servants who are poorly paid have to subsidise their income through corruption. It is interesting that there are also diverse linguistic expressions used to capture corruption. In Zimbabwe, it is called 'sweetener'; corruption in the Gambia is fuelled by a deep-rooted norm called 'MASLAHA'; and 'kitu kidogo' is the Kiswahili word for bribes.

Even among the developed nations of the world, corruption is still prevalent. According to a survey by the Chartered Institute of Building in 2007, (available at <http://www.ciob.org.uk/news/view/1222>) 51% of UK construction professionals felt that corruption is commonplace within the UK construction industry and manifests in employment of illegal workers, fraud, offering a bribe, and producing a fraudulent invoice, among others. Besides, O'Kelley (2004) provides insight into corruption in the American society, making reference to 'Enron', 'WorldCom' and 'Halliburton' which are names indelibly associated with ethic violations that have shaken the American economy and captured headlines in the past few years. David Callahan, quoted by O'Kelley (2004), sees 'Enron' as just the tip of the iceberg and argues that the country is now riddled by an ethos of cheating that touches the lives of every American.

Having given an overview of the pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria and tried to locate it within a global trend, we proceed to the thrust of this study by examining the linguistic habits which are used to configure the facets of Nigeria's perverse world.

Discussion

Our discussion of the appropriation of meaning relative to Nigeria's perverse world- view is predicated on Limberman's (1997: 1) view:

Of what does verbal communication consist? It consists of words. But words do not possess their meanings in themselves; rather, the occasioned discourse taken as a whole carries the sense and distributes the meaning to its component words. "Meaning" has to be something about words, but one cannot find it in the words alone. The words institute shifting system of signification, but they themselves are subject to this very system, which provides for them new traces of possible sense they can take up.

Given this background, we will start by assessing Nigeria's security system with close reference to the activities of the Nigeria Police. A visitor to Nigeria for the first time who sights the array of slogans that are used to brand the Nigeria Police would be tempted to judge their service by such slogans. At a time, there was a special squad called 'Anti-crime Patrol'. Then came the era of 'Operation Sweep³', 'Operation Crush', 'Operation Flush', 'Operation Wipe', and so on. All these slogans give an air of sophistication and combat- readiness to the agency. The reality, however, is that they are mere cosmetic emblems in view of the inefficiency of the police in combating crime wave in the country. It is rather ridiculous to find patrol vans prominently displaying such slogans parked at strategic points on our roads where policemen extort

money from road users.

With the change of leadership of the Nigeria Police from Musliu Smith as the Inspector-General to Tafa Balogun, the slogan adopted to combat the ever-increasing crime wave became 'Fire for Fire'. The exit of Tafa Balogun and the stepping in of Sunday Ehindero as Police Inspector-General also changed the slogan to 'To serve and protect with integrity'. Among other alleged diverse acts of aiding and abetting criminals and even perpetrating crimes themselves, one wonders the integrity the police are protecting when the missing handset of a road user, stopped for routine checks by a police team in Obudu Local Government Area of Cross River State, allegedly rang in the cap of one of the policemen on patrol (*Tell Magazine* No. 5 January 31, 2005 p. 10). It then suggests that these catchy slogans have not in any way changed the inefficiency that has hitherto been the bane of the agency. Obviously, there is a deliberate attempt to (ab)use language in order to give a false identity, which tends to cover up the rot in the system and deceive the people.

Apparently, it is difficult to reconcile the semantic import of these lexical entries with the world of reality in the country's security system. And to assuage the people's deep resentment against the police, the agency further came with the futile image-laundering project captured in the slogan, 'The Police is Your (the people's) Friend' – the parenthesis is mine. The word 'friend' used here, as in other popular discourses, is semantically vacuous for someone who professes to be a friend may turn out to be an enemy, though. Meaning, we must note, does not reside in a word but in the external world of realities where interactants have cause to process them. Of course, a 'true' friend would have the attribute of actually serving and protecting with integrity and this must have informed the popular saying: 'A friend in need is a friend indeed'. How readily available are the police when the people are in dire need of their service? So, the agency should know the meaning attached to the kind of friendship that the people see them posturing.

In the labour sector, when the workforce of ministries, parastatals and any other establishment is bloated so that those at the helm of affairs could share the excess money accruing from the subvention, the non-existent workers, whose names on the payroll fetch the booty, are referred to as 'ghost workers'. In a bid to detect the 'ghost workers', an exercise referred to as 'pay parade' is usually carried out but there is a Nigerian way of doing it again that 'ghost workers' are not detected in the end and when detected they are found to be actually ghost (deceased) workers whose names have continued to appear in the payment voucher. That then suggests that the supposed 'ghosts' have living souls behind their 'existence' for ghosts live in the spirit world and would therefore have nothing to do with the country's currency which would not be a legal tender in the world of the spirits. Therefore, the expression 'ghost workers' is semantically slippery, as people have devised this dubious strategy of injecting fictitious names into the pay-roll to siphon the country's resources.

Another expression that has been grossly abused in the labour sector with regard to the allocation of positions and resources is 'federal character' or 'quota system'. In an attempt to reflect the so-called 'quota system', merit is underplayed. As a corollary to this, there is the expression 'son of the soil' that gives any bearer the privilege to attain certain goals within the system without recourse to his/her qualifications.

Sometimes, the expression is used to absolve an individual of a wrongdoing at his/her duty post when an 'outsider' would pay dearly for such. It is particularly worrisome that the expressions 'quota system' and 'federal character' are used on false premises by 'the powers-that-be' to gratify praise singers, sycophants, family members, people of the same religious or ethnic affiliation.

Moreover, a common expression that is used to cover up the Nigerian way of sacrificing merit and excellence at the altar of mediocrity is 'let my people go' – an expression which is a parody of the Biblical account of how God instructed Pharaoh, the Egyptian king, to set the Israelites free from captivity. It is disheartening to note that the promotion of mediocrity is the bane of Nigeria's development; for mediocrity, according to Osundare (2007: 30), is a 'virulent weed that chokes whatever legitimate plant . . . within its reach, then spreads and takes over the entire terrain'.

In the manufacturing sector, Nigerians crave for foreign goods to the neglect of locally made goods. Such foreign goods that Nigerians refer to as 'fairly used', 'Belgium' or 'Tokunbo' (arrivals from overseas) have completely supplanted home-made goods that are pejoratively referred to as 'Aba made' which means products from an industrial city (Aba) in southeastern Nigeria. Ironically, what Nigerians refer to as 'fairly used' may have constituted a nuisance to their original users abroad that they would find every means to dump them somewhere else. In fact, the terms 'fairly used', 'Belgium' and 'Tokunbo' have become household expressions in the Nigerian parlance that Nigerians do not seem to see that something is wrong with their value judgement.

Generating power for public consumption in the productivity sector is a national disgrace. Nigerians have grown so weary of the failure of the corporation that generates power that its former name, National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) was sarcastically changed to 'Never Expect Power Always' (NEPA). Also, the once proposed name of the corporation (NEP Plc) when it was to be privatized was accordingly changed by consumers of electric power to 'Never Expect Power; Please Light Candle'. All these show the re- contextualisation of meaning to reflect the true picture of power supply in Nigeria. In this regard, Bugaje (1997: 2) writes:

There is a death but there are also deaths. National Electric Power Authority's (NEPA) epileptic service not only deprives one electric power whimsically but often blows up one's gadgets anytime NEPA decides to bring it back . . . One hears otherwise unbelievable tales of how surgeons often finish operation with a torch-light hurriedly borrowed from the night-watch, when NEPA fails.

Nigerians' reaction to the reality of power supply in the country has gone so perverse that it is taken as a normal occurrence for the Nigerian people to be kept in perpetual darkness for days, weeks or months. Therefore, when electricity is restored, especially at night, shouts of 'UP NEPA!' would rend the whole of the atmosphere. What an irony! It is, in fact, ridiculous that the expression 'UP NEPA' has become one of the readily available expressions for young children, who are just trying to speak the language of the immediate speech community, to pick as part of their lexicon because of the recurrence of the expression

in the people's day-to-day affairs.

As regards the abuse of language in the political arena, one expression that has suffered most is 'nascent democracy' relative to the current political dispensation. I pointed out earlier that there have been reported cases of ('Ghana-must-go') bags loaded with money and dragged to the floor of the parliament to influence important parliamentary decisions. Worse still, parliamentary debates have sometimes degenerated into scuffles characterized by the throwing of dangerous weapons such as chairs, exchange of blows among parliamentarians, display of arms and fetish objects, and the scramble for and seizure of the mace of the parliament. And all of these shameful acts are explained away as the characteristic teething problems of a fledgling democracy instead of outright condemnation and prosecution of defaulters.

Besides, the expressions 'dividends of democracy', 'second term' and very recently 'third term' have been so abused that the political class have capitalized on their use to give false credibility to their respective governments. For instance, 'dividends of democracy' is a political jargon designed to give the impression that the people are enjoying certain rights and/or privileges that were denied them during the long years of military era. In the real sense, however, it is the political office holders that are exclusively enjoying the 'dividends of democracy', as they abuse office and amass wealth, forgetting the people that voted them into power. The on-going trial of former political office holders, particularly state governors who have siphoned billions of naira from the coffers of their respective states reported by Raufu (2007) in his feature writing available at http://www.efcnigeria.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1513&Itemid=2) leaves no one in doubt as to the poor standard of living of the people and the deplorable state of infrastructure in their domains. Little wonder that the expression 'second/third term' has become a household jargon in the political parlance of Nigeria's civilian-to-civilian transition, as almost every incumbent political office holder seeks re-election popularly called 'second/third term bid' to ensure 'continuity' in the execution of people-oriented(?) programmes.

Although the falsification of age and forgery of certificates have been synonymous with Nigeria's moral decadence such that Nigeria was once banned for some years from participating in under-age tournaments organized by The International Federation of Association Football (FIFA), the current political dispensation has witnessed unprecedented cases of falsification of age and certificate forgery. It was even alleged that the late Chief Evans Enwerem and Senator Chuba Okadigbo (formerly Senate Presidents) and Senator Bola Tinubu (formerly Lagos State Governor) had cases to answer in this regard. But the political figure that paid most dearly for such vices was Alhaji Salisu Ibrahim (formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives) who allegedly falsified his age and presented the certificate of the University of Toronto, Canada, that he never attended (*Tell Magazine* No. 31 August 2, 1999). Since then, the word 'Toronto' has been humorously introduced into the lexicon of Nigeria's debased value system to cover up all manners of certificate forgery (a common 'Naija' phenomenon).

All in all, the corrupt practices that pervade the various facets we have focused on in our discussion so far are configured in diverse expressions. When contracts are awarded, a certain amount of money goes back into the purse of those that award the contracts. This is termed '10%' patterned after the Christian

injunction of tithes paying that takes 10% of one's income. This is not a new development in Nigeria's moral decadence. Eso (1999: 93 – 94) notes that:

The first Republic was noted for allegations of obtaining ten per cent of funds allocated to projects as bribes, and public officers including ministers, were the targets of these allegations. The bad reputation spread beyond the shores of the country, and Nigeria was known as a country of ten-percenters.

In the current dispensation, 'kickback' is mostly used to label the percentage that would go back to the source in the award of contracts. Also, based on the offering of bribes in cash usually by using a brown envelope that is not in any way transparent, 'brown envelope' has become a constant in the parlance of Nigeria's debased value system to stand for a bribe offered in cash. Apart from offering bribes in monetary terms, gift items are also presented as inducements. Both gift items and money are encapsulated in the word 'settlement'. Given the widespread involvement in the act of 'settlement', the impression is generally created that there is hardly any mischievous or illegal deal one wants to perpetuate in Nigeria that would not be executed if one could 'settle'. Giving an account of the pervasiveness of 'settlement' syndrome in Nigeria, a victim of the social vice, quoted in Aribiah (2000: 236) complains:

I settle police
 I settle soldier
 I settle customs
 I settle immigration
 I settle taxman
 I settle local government
 I settle the truck driver and him boys
 I settle task force people
 I settle my neighbour I settle de carpenters.
 . . . The lexical entry 'settle' here means 'to bribe'

The beneficiaries of this act of 'settling' as shown in the excerpt above leave no one in doubt as to the pervasiveness of this culpable act and the urgency of tackling the social malaise.

Furthermore, the high level of corruption within the leadership circle is also worth mentioning. Those at the corridor of power loot the nation's treasury at will and since other Nigerians have the impression either rightly or wrongly that '. . . for us in Nigeria, the political kingdom has for too long been the gateway to the economic kingdom' (Obasanjo, 2002), everyone jostles for power to have their own share of the 'national cake'. It is rather worrisome that the country's resources that ought to be well managed have been so labelled and denigrated to the level of cakes meant to be shared freely at birthday or wedding ceremonies. It is, therefore, not surprising that they make it a 'do-or-die' affair, resorting to political assassinations to eliminate their opponents and have access to the 'national cake'.

It is pertinent that we also comment on an aspect of Nigeria's social life that is most unethical. Nigerians are never patient; everybody seems to be in a hurry. And this has not particularly helped the traffic system for it has made traffic jam a permanent feature of the major towns and cities. In a bid to wriggle out of such hold-up, Nigerians find it particularly fashionable to trade insults with their fellow road users and in some cases to heap curses on one another. What is disturbing, however, is that the way the people hurry on the roads is never the way they hurry to meetings and important (state) functions. A ceremony billed to start, say 10a.m. may start at 12 noon or 1p.m. and yet the lackadaisical attitude to punctuality is explained away as 'African time'. This concept of 'African time' calls into question African perception of the natural phenomenon time. In this regard, Osuntokun (2001: 103) notes:

Africans liked to set target. This could be in terms of where the society would want to be at a particular time or in terms of productivity . . . This is why it is difficult to understand the origin of the idea that Africans had (have) no sense of time. If this were true, it must be a racist concept⁴ . . . In many of Africa's wise sayings it is common to suggest that time does not wait for anybody . . . (ellipses and parenthesis mine)

On a final note, the use of the cliché 'Nigerian factor' calls for a careful consideration. The expression has become a stereotype with which Nigerians encapsulate and trivialize the drifting of the country's value system as it affects every facet of national life. It is such a potent expression in that it has coloured the people's thoughts and made them believe and resign to 'fate' that they are a people destined to crawl, where and when other nations are soaring high. Interestingly, the expression 'Nigerian factor' could be re-focused in a positive sense to typify that surging spirit attendant to every revolution. In this sense, it would be a propelling force behind making great strides towards breaking the jinx of underdevelopment; it would be an apt slogan in a bid to chart a new course for the national development scheme. This is indeed a subject for national discourse and the National Orientation Agency has a vital role to play.

We have so far discussed the (ab)use of language to reflect the various manifestations of Nigeria's depleted social fabric. We will now give the concluding comments.

Concluding Comments

What we have tried to do in this paper is to re-appraise, on the one hand, Nigeria's debased value system and, on the other hand, to bring into focus the nuances of meaning that characterize the situation. Obviously, such subtle expressions that are used to code unacceptable behaviour patterns tend to detract from the enormity of such unethical behaviour and, in effect, trivialize and mask issues of serious national concern. Therefore, it is our contention in this paper that the linguistic habits deployed by Nigerians relative to their unethical value system have the unimaginable propensity to influence the way they think of and understand reality and behave with respect to that reality. In addition, an outsider, (a non-Nigerian) may not know the import of the subtle linguistic options that are used to configure the depletion of

Nigeria's social fabric, as they are innovatively but mischievously coined for the Nigerian milieu. It could be implied from our discussion so far that negative social behaviour influences language use negatively and that perverse language, in turn, influences social behaviour, thereby cutting the picture of a vicious circle.

On the whole, this study is geared towards raising awareness rather than pointing accusing fingers at the government, relevant agencies and the people. Therefore, in order to ensure that this negative aspect of Nigeria's national life is redressed, the government has a major role to play. Corruption seems to be the symptom and not the disease of the Nigerian society; for it is a reflection of the deep economic and social problems of society. In this respect, the government has to take certain measures and make policies that would directly impact on the living standards of the people in order to rid the country of unethical behaviour. It is then it can embark on the spirited effort of sensitizing the people on the need to shun corrupt practices. As the government and its relevant agencies brace up for this challenge, Nigerians should be mindful of their linguistic behaviour that provides a kind of grid through which they perceive, analyze and respond to their depleted social fabric, as a result of which they see culpable acts as mere 'common practice'. Consequently, we submit in this article that not until Nigerians recognize the enormous potentials of language and its instrumentality to sustaining the country's depleted social fabric, they will find it absolutely difficult to win any battle waged to sanitize their society.

Notes

¹. Thatcher and Maradona are the names of distinguished personages in human history. Within the Nigerian context, however, Thatcher has become a negative label for a strict or high-handed woman, while Maradona has become a stereotype for any individual that is skilful at deceiving people for his/her own selfish end.

². 'Operation Sweep' was the initiative of the military administration of Lagos State under the leadership of Brigadier-General Buba Marwa and it was highly efficient in curbing the crime wave in the state at its inception. Later on, however, the model anti-crime unit (from which other states copied) became notorious for corruption and indiscriminate killings of innocent citizens. Much later, the Lagos State Police Command started operating another unit called 'Rapid Response Squad'. Interestingly, Eko FM 89.75 (The Broadcasting Corporation of Lagos State) as at then was airing a programme (Watchdog) that reviewed security issues in Lagos State and entertained responses from the populace on the efficiency of the squad. While some of such responses were complimentary, some were so uncomplimentary and cast serious doubts on the 'rapid response' tag of the squad.

³. This excerpt is quoted from a feature article titled 'Nigeria Fighting Corruption – The Yar'Adua Example' available at http://www.efccnigeria.org/index/php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1527&Itemid=2

⁴. Although Osuntokun (2001: 103) gives the impression that the expression 'African Time' must be a racist

concept, it is noteworthy that Nigerians seem to have become so used to it that they see it as a normal way of life. Therefore, the fact that Nigerians themselves propagate this abnormal lifestyle tends to disprove the stance that racism is at work in this situation.

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